THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISII AS A SECOND LANGUAGE AT FOUR URBAN ZIMBABWEAN SCII0OLS

BY

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Thesis presented for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPIIY
In the Department of Linguistics

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JULY 2002

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to describe the process of second-language development of grade 5 English Language learners from three different socio-linguistic environments in Zimbabwe namely: a) English input acquisition-rich where English input is obtained in and out of classroom, b) English input acquisition-average where English is used in the classroom but occasionally out of the classroom, c) English input acquisition-poor where English input is obtained only in the classroom. Four schools representing the three environments were selected. School One was categorized as acquisition rich, schools Two and Four as acquisition-average and School Three as English input acquisition-poor. Naturalistic data was collected in 1993 from all 36 pupils in each class but data analysis was confined to selected subjects. After recording, data was transcribed and analysed. The research arises from a hunch I have always had that it is possible that learners from different linguistic environments may develop differently in the way they acquire certain linguistic features. I therefore decided to find out whether or not this could be proved empirically. The analysis therefore centred mainly on determining whether or not learners developed differently in their acquisition of verb morphology and their ability to supply correct answers to rising intonation questions. I also wanted to determine whether or not learners from different linguistic environments exhibited different patterns of lexical repetition at particular points in time as well as over time. To calculate correct response scores of rising intonation answers at each time, I expressed the total number of correct responses as a percentage of the total number of answers to rising intonation questions used. Correct verb rates were calculated by expressing the total number of

accurately realised verbs in a single text and at each Time as a percentage of the total number of verbs deployed in each text. To calculate lexical repetition rates, the total number of repeated words (types) were expressed as a percentage of the total number of words (tokens) used in each text and at each Time. Results showed that learners exposed to English input in and out of the classroom had few problems supplying correct answers to rising intonation questions compared to learners from other environments. For verbs, learners from School One developed differently when compared to other pupils particularly those from School Three. I concluded that learners from different socio-linguistic environments exhibited different growth rates. However, the routes of development for learners from all schools do not seem to be different. The study also showed that repetition rates for learners who were exposed to English input only in the classroom were higher than those of learners who were exposed to English in and out of the classroom. I contributed to knowledge by showing that learners from different linguistic environments develop differently in the way they acquire certain linguistic features as they progress along the interlanguage developmental continuum. I think I also contributed to knowledge by showing that it appears possible to explain learners' general linguistic proficiency as well as explain learners' language development by calculating correct verb rates, lexical repetition rates and correct response scores for answers to rising intonation questions. Also, by studying the linguistic features above, I have conducted a developmental study of those linguistic features which I think has not been done before with Shona speakers of English.

Dedication

To my daughter Tafadzwa Queliwe Mlambo

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ACKNOWLEDGEMETS

I am indebted to my thesis supervisor Professor R. Meshthrie of the University of Cape Town without whose patient guidance the objective would not have been realised. I am also sincerely grateful to the University of Cape Town for the financial and moral support which I received and which I badly needed. My gratitude also goes to the Zimbabwean Ministry of Education for allowing me to use the pupils in the schools as my subjects for the study. I am also grateful to the many secretaries who took turns to type this work.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND CONCEPTS

1.1 Background

In Zimbabwe, 77% of the people speak Shona, while Ndebele, which is spoken in the Matebeleland region constitutes 18% of the total linguistic population. English, according to Chitiga (1994:7) and Chimhundu (1997:132), is the official language in Zimbabwe and is the native language of white people of European origin. Chimhundu (1994:36) also reports that the English language dominates as the language of business and instruction. In 1977, the white population was 273 000. The population of the whole country then was five and half million. Today, the population has more than doubled.

Chimhundu (1983: 231) has categorised the language groups of Zimbabwe as follows:

GROUP I	(a) African	Shona Ndebele
	(b) European	Mainly English
GROUP II	Language of Indigenous Minorities	
	(a) *Shona — dominated*	
	Barwe, Hlengwe, Tonga, Chikunda, Venda	
	(b) Ndebele — dominated	
	Kalanga, Lilima, Shangwe, DOMBE, Birwa,	
	Tswana and Lozi	

GROUP III

Languages of Migrant Minorities

African **(a) Nyanga, Sena, Bemba, Sotho.**

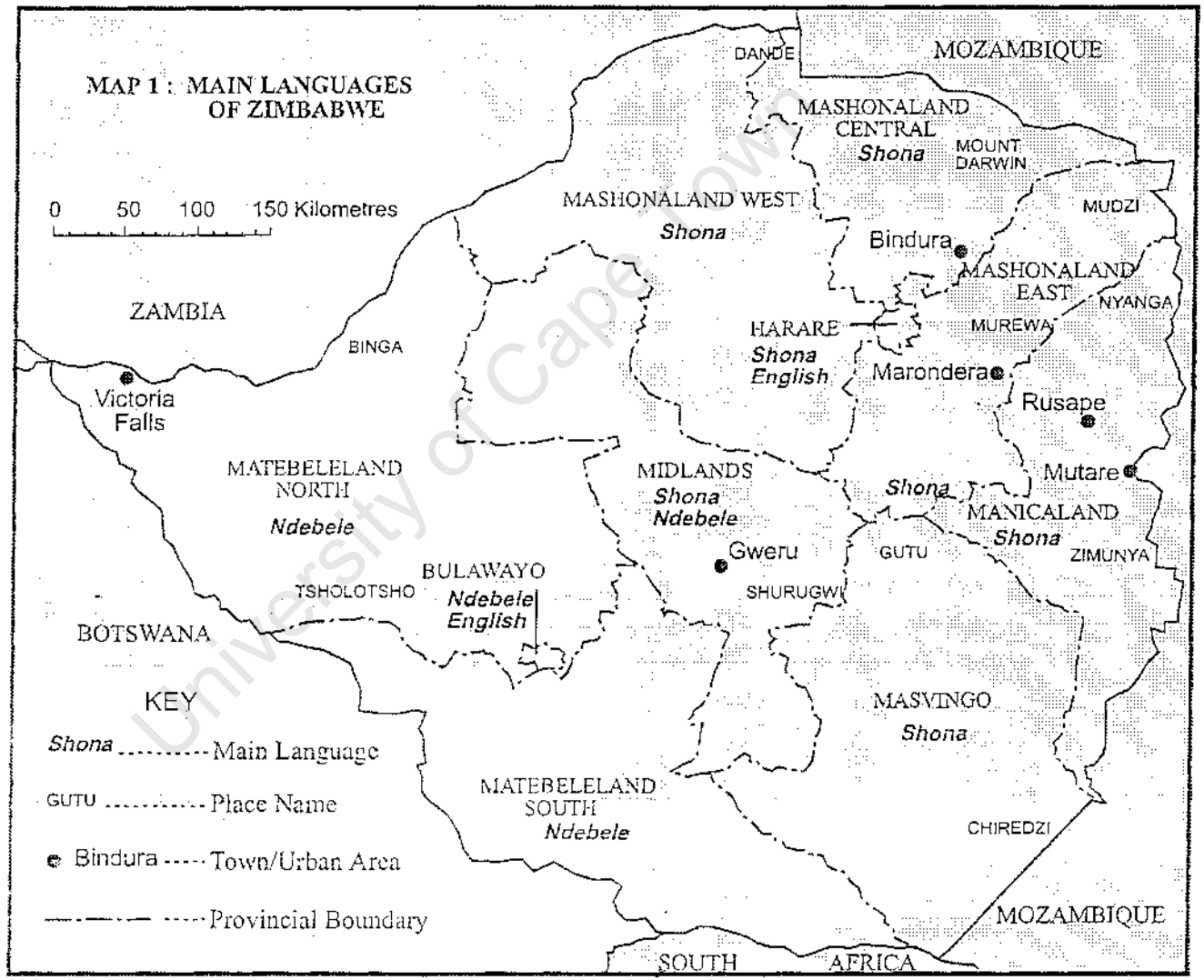
Non-African (b) Afrikaans, Portuguese, Hindi, Italian, Greek and Italian.

Ngara (1977:41) estimates the proportions of speakers of the languages in Zimbabwe as follows:

Shona	75%
Ndebele	18%
English	5%
Other	1-2%

The 5% here refers to native speakers of English but excludes blacks who also use it as their mother tongue. The Shona language, according to Thondlana (1994:16) and Chimhundu (1998:2), is the language of the majority of Shonas and is the most dominant indigenous language. Ngara (1977:66) however, distinguishes status dominance from numerical dominance. English has status dominance because it is viewed as the most prestigious, while Shona enjoys numerical dominance because it has the largest number of speakers.

The Shonas, who according to historians may have been in this country since 1000 to 1200 AD, are found mainly in Mashonaland while the Ndebeles are resident in the Matebeleland region as indicated on Map 1.



Source : Based on Hachipola (1998)

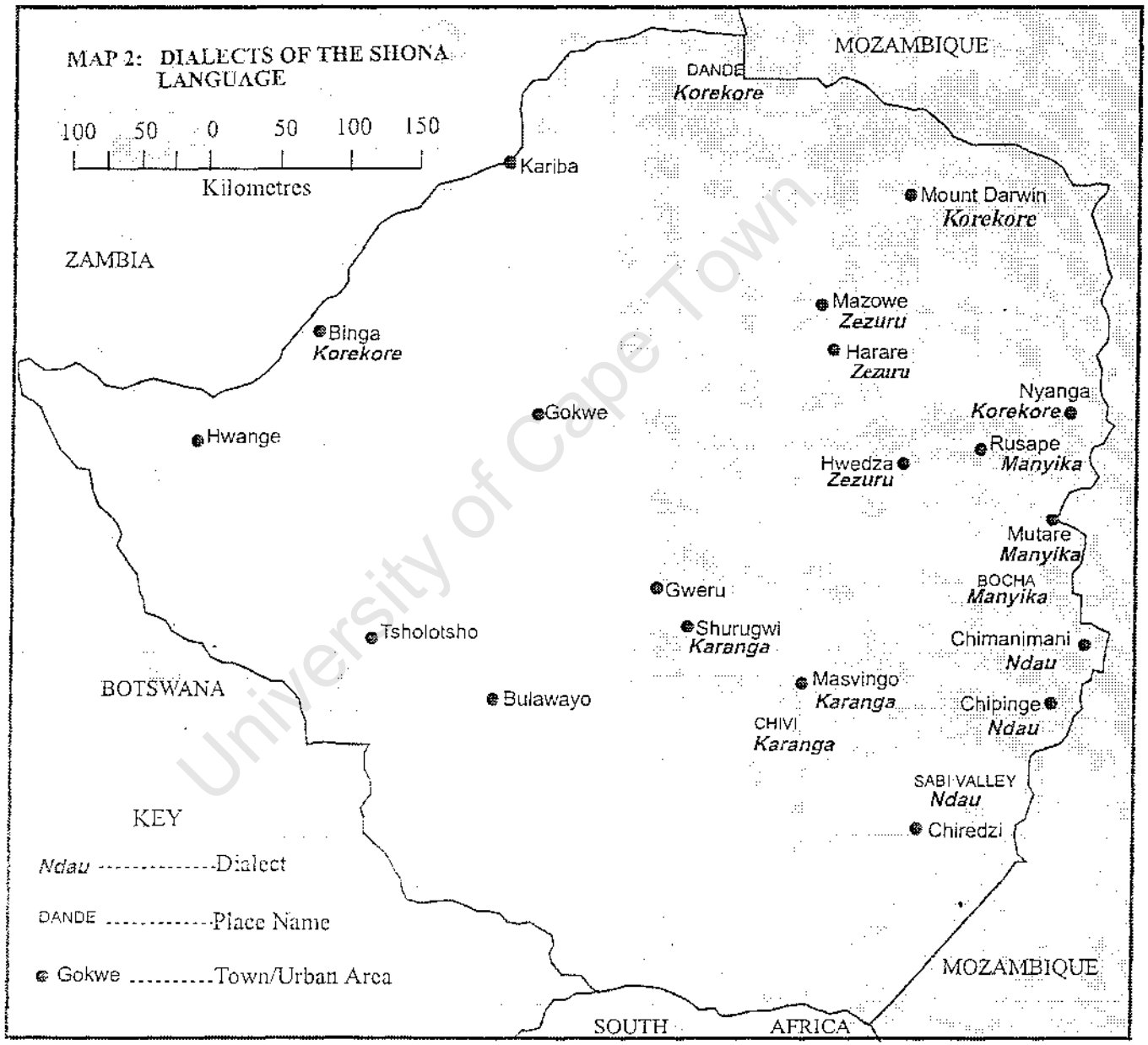
The term Shona can be traced to a study conducted by Doke (1931) in which he referred to a number of dialects, which are linguistically related. The main dialects of Shona, according to Thondhlana (1994:16) and Chimhundu (1994:5058) are Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika, Korekore and Ndau. However, some dialects, e.g. Ndau and Zezuru, are so different that they can be considered distinct and separate languages in their own right. It should be noted that these Shona dialects have several sub-dialects of their own. The dialects and sub-dialects have been presented in detail here to show the complexity of the Shona language. Many Shonas can speak several dialects of their language as well as several sub-dialects of their dialects. For example, this writer is Ndau and is fluent in all the Ndau sub-dialects.

Table 1 below shows dialects of Shona and their sub-dialects and areas where the various dialects are spoken.

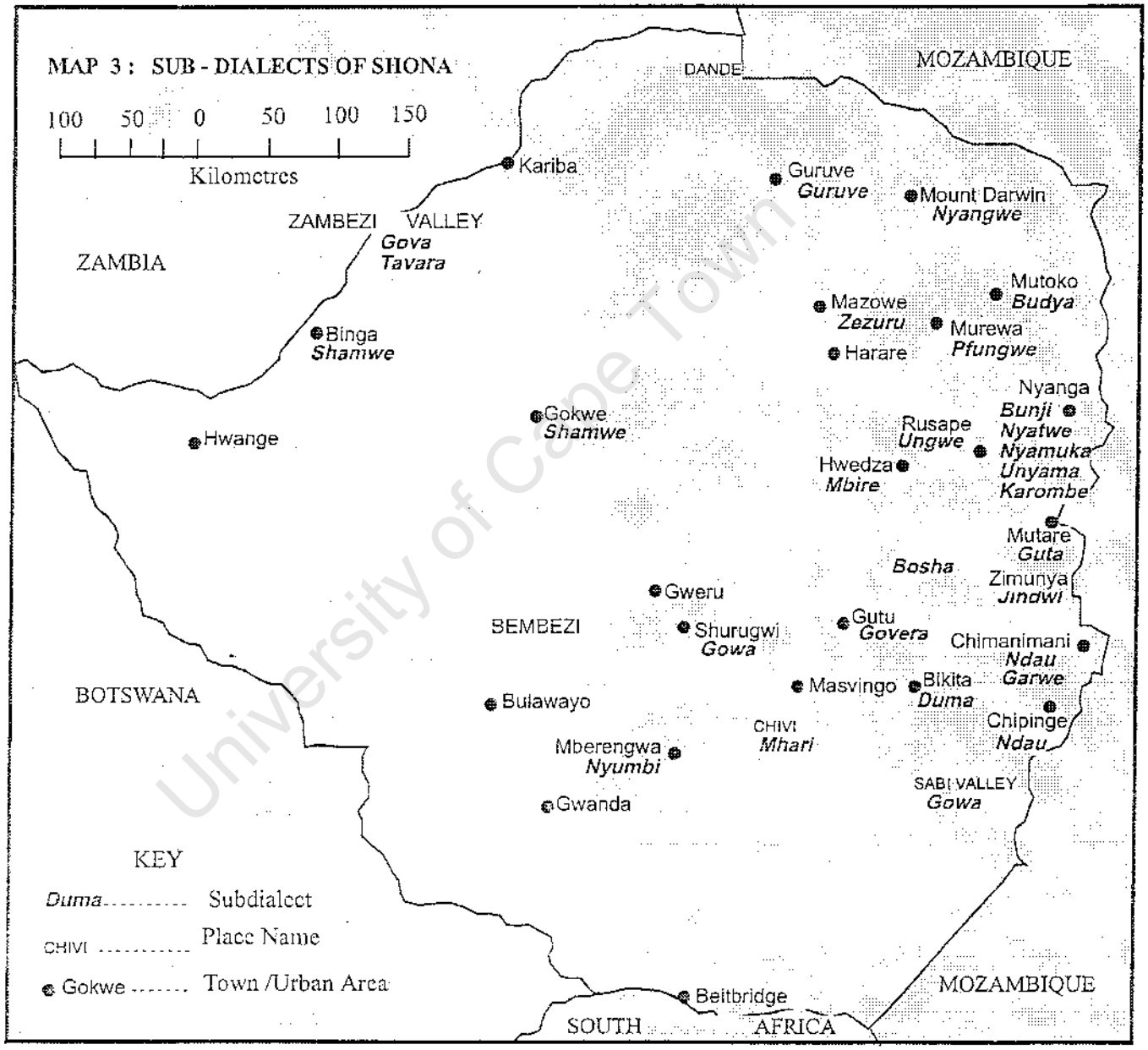
Table 1: Dialects of Shona and their sub-dialects

Karanga	Duma	Bikita
	Mhari	Chivi
	Govera	Gutu
	Gowa	Churungwi
	Nyumbi	Mberengwa
Zezuru	Mbire	Hwedza
	Zezuru	Mazoe
Ndau	Danda -	Mozambique border

	Gowa	-	Sabi Valley
	Ndau		Chipinge, Chimanimani and Mozambique border
	Garwe		Chimanimani
Manyika	Guta		Mutare area
	Jindwi		Zimunya
	Bocha		Bocha
	Ungwe		Rusape
Korekore	Pfungwe		Mrewa
	Nyangwe		Mt Darwin
	Tande		Dande
	Guruve		Guruve
	Shamwe		Binga, Gokwe
	Tavara		Zambezi valley
	Goya		Zambezi Valley
	Budya		Mtoko
	Bunji		
	Karom be		
	Nyatwe		All in the Nyanga area
	Nyamuka		
	Unyama		



Source : Based on Chimhundu (1983)



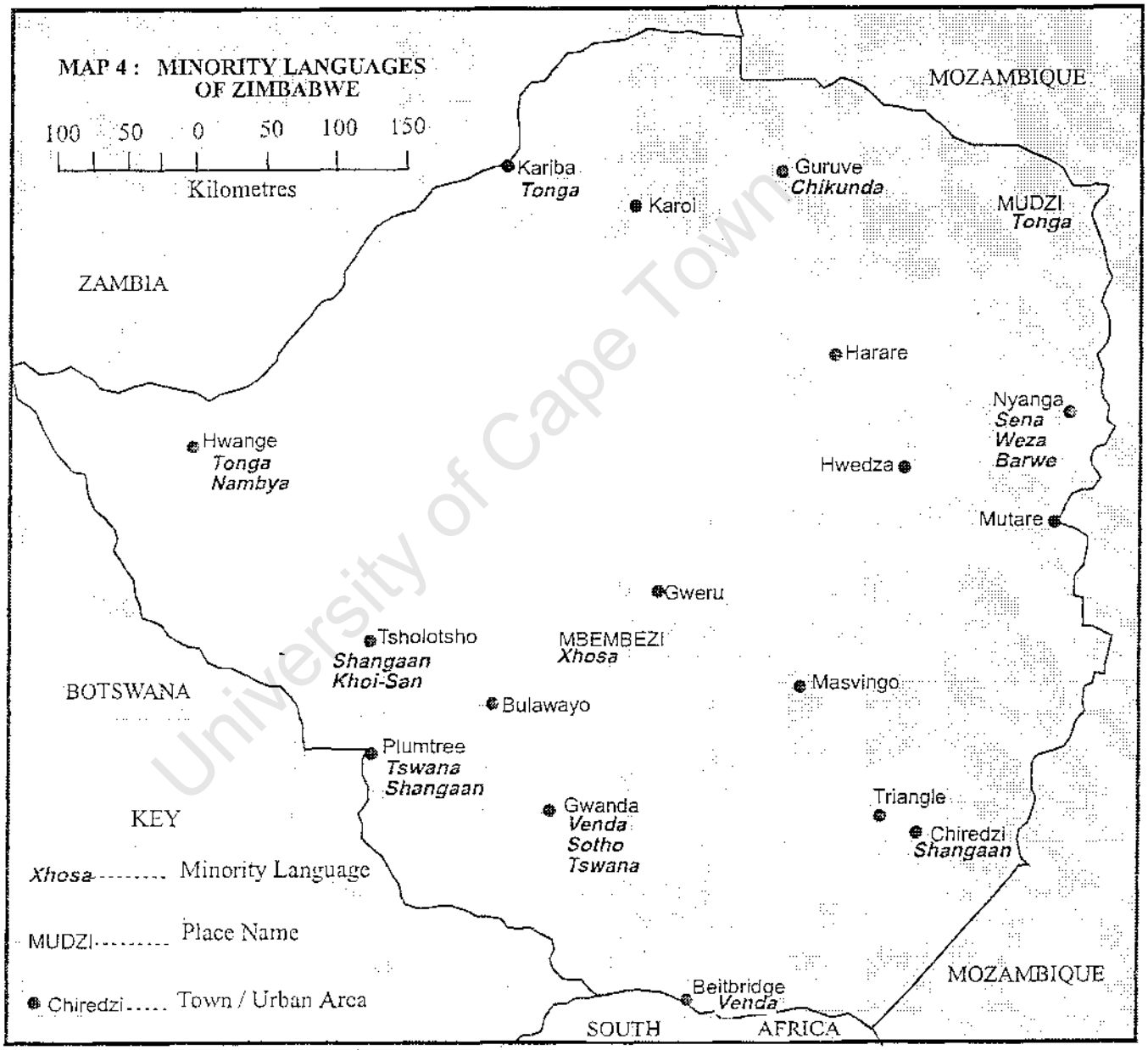
Source : Based on Chimhundu (1983)

The majority of subjects used in this study are Shonas. There are small but significant ways in which the English of these learners is influenced by their L1. However, the study of cross-linguistic influence is not the main focus of this study. The focus will be the description of learner language taken from various sociolinguistic environments.

In addition to the linguistic groups referred to above, there are a few who belong to minority language groups. The term minority languages in Zimbabwe, according to Hachipola (1998:8), is used by government officials and educationists to refer to any Zimbabwean African language, which is not Shona or Ndebele. Hachipola also reports that speakers of minority languages are small ethnic groups found nearly throughout Zimbabwe. Some of these minority groups are bilingual. Table 2 presents minority languages of Zimbabwe and areas where they are spoken:

Table 2. Minority languages in Zimbabwe and areas where spoken

Language	Area where spoken
Sotho/Tswana/Venda	Beitbridge
Venda	Gwanda
Shangaan	Plumtree, Tsholotsho, Chiredzi
Tonga	Kariba, Hwange, Mudzi
Nambya	Hwange
Chikunda	Guruve
Wesa, Barwe and Sena	Nyanga
Xhosa	Bembezi
Khoi-San	Tsholotsho
Tswana	Plumtree
Gujarati	In most towns
Afrikaans	Among commercial farmers in the countryside.



Source : Based on Hachipola (1998)

Very little or no English at all is spoken in "minority language areas" referred to above, except perhaps in cities and towns. This has led some scholars in Zimbabwe, e.g. Makoni (1993:102) and Hachipola (1998:8) to argue that in rural Zimbabwe, English is a foreign language. The divide between a foreign language and a second language has always been very thin and sometimes a little confusing. Ngara (1977:53) and Mhundwa (1987:46) have suggested that English is a second language if it is used as a medium of instruction, trade and commerce, parliamentary debates, for law courts and for the television, radio and newspapers. In this sense, English is a second language in Zimbabwe. It is a foreign language if it is not used in the sense described above and if it is used only for specific purposes. In this sense, English is a foreign language in countries like Angola and Mozambique. In rural Zimbabwe, English is limited to the classroom while African languages are used for general communication, a point made clear by Chimhundu (1998:32) when he argues, 'In their ordinary lives, the vast majority of Zimbabweans continue to use Shona and also Ndebele'. Hachipola reports that most people in these areas hardly ever speak English. However, in my opinion, I think it is reasonable to say that in Zimbabwe, English is essentially a second language, mainly because of the role it plays in the school system.

1.2 Brief Background of English Teaching

The Education Act of 1987 stipulates that there would be three official languages in Zimbabwe, namely, Shona, Ndebele and English and that all the three languages would be taught in schools from Grade One. In areas where Shona is the dominant language, the pupils will be taught two languages, Shona and English. In areas where Ndebele is the dominant language, pupils would be taught English and Ndebele as

school subjects. In both cases, all the other subjects will be taught in both English and Shona. From Grade Four onwards, English will be the medium of instruction for all subjects except Shona and Ndebele. In areas where minority languages exist, the minister has the power to authorise the teaching of such a minority language prior to Grade Four. But if the majority of the pupils speak any of these two languages, Shona and Ndebele, that particular language will also be taught as a subject together with English and other subjects.

The English language is usually taught using the communicative approach and less commonly, using the traditional drill method. At primary school, English is allocated a total of eleven teaching periods a week on the timetable. Each period is thirty minutes long. But one education officer said, at some schools, the rule is not always observed. Some periods allocated for the teaching of Shona, are used for the teaching of English. This is because many teachers and headmasters feel that the English language, which has status dominance, deserves greater attention than Shona and Ndebele, which have a much lower status. Perhaps it is for this reason that English examination results at Grade Seven are always better than those of Shona. According to the head teachers of these schools, the teachers hold teaching diplomas from the country's teacher training colleges.

1.3 Scope of this Study

The aim of this study is to describe the process of second language development of Grade Five English language learners who are mainly L2 speakers of English, over a period of about one year. This study falls into the domain of classroom second-language development study. According to Ellis (1984:83), development can mean

two things, it can mean either the manner in which rules of the language are added to the learner's linguistic system, or how the learner's linguistic system is made to become more complex. This study will focus on the latter even though aspects of the former will be briefly discussed. It will describe the individual learner's linguistic characteristics at various stages of this linguistic development. The changes that occur from one stage to the other will concern this study the most. In this regard, this study will be process-oriented and not product-orientated. Studies become longitudinal and process oriented if the studies show a continuous pattern of development from one stage to the next as compared to product-orientated studies which are often cross-sectional and in which isolated learner utterances are studied without necessarily referring them to each other as showing a continuous pattern of development. This approach is supported by Hatch (1980: 177) who notes, The basic question that second-language research addresses is, how can we describe the process of second-language acquisition'. She goes on to argue that the idea behind linguistic analysis is to discover systematicity in language and then formulate a framework for analysis that will capture that systematicity.

This study arises from a hunch I have always had that if a study of the utterances of various urban non-native speakers of English is conducted, linguistic differences and similarities which are mainly attributable to the different sociolinguistic environments in which pupils learn will be revealed. This study progresses from the following hypotheses:

(i) Learners from sociolinguistic environments in which English is used rarely and those learners from linguistic environments where English is used often,

exhibit different acquisition patterns as regards the manner in which they acquire linguistic features such as answers to rising intonation questions that require yes or no responses.

(ii) Learners acquisition patterns of linguistic features such as verbs, are likely to differ partly due to the fact that learners come from different sociolinguistic environments.

(iii) Lexical repetition patterns exhibited by learners from different sociolinguistic environments may differ. This difference in lexical repetition patterns may, to some extent, be attributed to the fact that learners are exposed to different kinds of input.

The acquisition status of a linguistic context or environment in this study, is determined, among other things, by the extent to which English is used in that environment. I have established three acquisition contexts. The first one, which I have called 'acquisition-rich', is one in which English is used the most. The second one, which I have called 'acquisition-average', is one in which the English language is not used very often. Lastly, the environment in which English is either never used or used by very few people very rarely, has been called 'acquisition-poor'. Learners in 'acquisition-poor' environments are not exposed to primary linguistic data but rely on data carefully selected for them by the teacher and given to them only a few hours a week. Therefore, as Sorace (1985:239) makes clear, 'learners have few opportunities to practice language outside the classroom'. Ellis (1990-172) explains the difference between acquisition-rich and acquisition-poor as follows:

An acquisition-rich environment is one where the learner receives plenty of

comprehensible input out of the classroom. An acquisition -poor environment is one where the learner receives little comprehensible input in natural settings. (Ellis 1990:172).

In determining the above-mentioned linguistic contexts, the following factors, which will be further explained in Chapter Two, have been taken into consideration.

(a) The extent to which the learner uses English at home and at school.

(b) Whether or not the learner has access to radio, television and video.

(c) Whether or not the learner lives in an environment with a substantial number of people who use English as their Li.

(d) Whether or not the school the learner attends is well staffed. A well-staffed school is one, which has a full complement of trained teachers.

(e) The extent to which the learners have access to elaborate learning facilities, e.g. libraries.

(f) Physical location of the school.

The importance of the linguistic environment has been supported by Ellis (1984:13) who has argued that second language acquisition occurs when there is interaction between the learner's existing knowledge and his linguistic environment. Makoni (1993:97) also argues that the process of acquiring a second language is determined by the environment as well as the learner's mother tongue. Pica's (1983:465) emphasis on the importance of the environment is different from that of Makoni but agrees that the process of acquiring a second language is facilitated by certain specific linguistic contexts. She identifies three contexts, namely, naturalistic, instructed and mixed. In the naturalistic context, the learner acquires the English input only from the environment. In the instructed context, the learner acquires the

English input only from the classroom while in the mixed context, the input is obtained from both the classroom and the environment.

The following research questions, which arise from the hypotheses, will be addressed: Does language development necessarily mean a decrease in the number of errors committed by a language learner during the given period? What is the nature of the learners' lexical repetition rates from time to time? To what extent can learners from 'English acquisition-rich' settings be said to exhibit lexical repetition patterns in the developmental process that are different from those of learners from 'English acquisition-impoverished' settings? To what extent can we justify a generalisation that failure to respond appropriately to questions that require artes or no answer is a characteristic feature of learners from English 'acquisition-rich or poor' settings.

1.4 Why this study is different from other studies of English in Zimbabwe

In the first place, this study is different from previous studies of Shona speakers of English, which have been cross-sectional and product-oriented. By contrast, this thesis is based on product and process-oriented research. It is product and process oriented because, when two or more distinct "products" separated by time are studied in relation to each other, such a study is no longer "product" or cross-sectional, but "process" and longitudinal. In other words, a comparative study of "learner products" over a period of time can be considered process-oriented research, as I will further illustrate below. Secondly, the framework for data analysis described in Chapter Four is largely mine, even though some of its aspects are

modifications of other researcher's models. Thirdly, whilst most studies in this area of study focus on the study of learner language in and out of the classroom, this study will include the study of learner language when learners are exposed to English input only in the classroom. Some details on these linguistic contexts are supplied in Chapter Three. Also according to Sridhar and Sridhar, (1986: 5): most second-language acquisition research is carried out in contexts in which the input available to the learner is extensive and intensive enough to permit acquisition of the full range of competence in the target language'.

My research is different from the one referred to above because only learners from my 'acquisition-rich' category would suit Sridhar and Sridhar's description. Those from acquisition-poor and 'average' linguistic contexts do not have similar exposure to the one cited above. Moreover, while most researchers have made a distinction between 'acquisition-poor and rich linguistic contexts, they have not included 'acquisition-average' contexts in the manner in which I have done. Lastly, well-known researchers like Ellis (1985:221) have voiced a concern that studies on classroom second-language acquisition are very few indeed.

1.5 Background Concepts

In this section, I am going to make a brief description of several concepts, which are almost always intrinsically linked to second language acquisition studies and which are crucial in this particular study.

1.5.1 Product/Process Research

Classroom second-language development is a process if second-language data shows a continuous pattern of development over a selected period of time. This is why longitudinal studies, which are often process-oriented, are more revealing than cross -sectional studies, which are often product oriented. Ellis (1984:13) observes:

> Classroom second language development research becomes product-oriented research ... when isolated learner utterances are examined without reference to the developmental state to which they belong. (Ellislg84:13).

What is crucial in classroom second-language development research, it appears from Ellis' explanation, is not necessarily learner utterances as produced at a particular point in time but the actual changes that occur along the developmental continuum. Ellis (1984:13), therefore, argues that second language development research has a diachronic rather than a synchronic focus. This study is largely meant to be process-oriented, even though some learner utterances may be described in isolation in order to explain as well as clarify certain issues.

1.5.2 Naturalistic and formal L2 acquisition

Language is said to be learnt formally if it is obtained within the confines of the classroom. This is sometimes referred to as tutored second-language acquisition.

Very often it is assumed that grammar rules are taught explicitly. Classroom language learning is controlled by the teacher who also serves as a source of comprehensible input. Naturalistic L2 acquisition has been studied by scholars such as Felix (1987). An L2 is said to be acquired naturalistically if it is obtained through exposure to data outside the classroom. Very often, very little overt attention is paid to grammar rules and the acquisition process is free from systematic teaching.

1.5.3 Effects of instruction on L2 acquisition

Teresa Pica (1983) carried out a study on the acquisition of grammatical morphemes by L2 learners exposed to English only in the classroom in order to ascertain the exact effect of instruction on L2. She made a comparative study of 18 native Spanish-speaking adults whom she divided into, (a) those who acquire English through only instruction, (b) those who acquired it naturalistically and (c) a mixture of (a) and (b). The data was collected through informal conversation. The criteria for data analysis was based on the learners' ability to use article a, plural s and progressive -ing. She found out that the overall production of article a was similar for all subjects. Their production of this article was target-like in instances such as a little, a lot, and a few. She also found out that classroom instruction enhanced the acquisition of plural s.

Felix (1981) observed German pupils aged 10 and 11 who were studying English as a second language. He collected his data by jotting down every utterance that he thought he would need. The teacher explained difficult concepts in German. The method of teaching was the traditional drill method. Any error the pupil made was instantly corrected. His findings were that pupils demonstrated a great deal of

confusion on negation, interrogatives and use of pronouns. On negation, Felix reports that when, for instance, the learners were asked, "Is there a flag in the house?", the learner would answer "Yes it is". Similar confusion was explicit in the use of pronouns. For instance, in response to a statement, "Go back to your seat", the pupils said, "Yes, I am going back to your seat" . Felix (1981:221) also observed that even though pupils practised these structures daily, they always committed the same mistakes.

1.5.4 Rate and route of acquisition

The rate of second-language acquisition pertains to the speed with which learners acquire a second-language and the proficiency level they finally reach. Some studies have been carried out to determine if formal instruction assists the rate of second-language acquisition (SLA). Long (1983:359) discovered that instruction helps in increasing the rate of SLA but suggests that his research may have been flawed because certain variables were not adequately controlled. Caroll (1967:131), and Chihara and Oiler (1978:55) found a positive correlation between instruction and proficiency as regards the rate of acquisition. However, Upshur (1968:124), Hale and Budar (1970:297) concluded that formal instruction did not have an advantage over naturalistic second-language acquisition in accelerating the rate of (SLA). This lead Hale and Budar to conclude:

> It appears that those students who spent two to three periods of the six period a day in special TESOL classes were being more harmed than helped (Hale and Budar 1970 : 297).

Fillmore (1982) conducted a study to investigate not only if the rate of L2 development was facilitated by instruction but also if the most effective method of instruction was the one which was pupil-centered rather than one which was teacher-centred. Her observations were that successful L2 learning had taken place in the class where there was a high proportion of non-native speakers of English and where the method of teaching was teacher-centred. Success was also observed where the number of L2 learners and native speakers of English was roughly the same but where the teaching method was open and student-centred. On the other hand, in the class with a higher proportion of L2 learners than Li learners of English, and where the method of teaching was pupil-centered, the L2 learning process had not been facilitated. Also, the learning process had not been adequately facilitated in the class with roughly the same number of Li and L2 learners and where the teaching method was teacher-centered.

The route of L2 acquisition, according to Ellis (1984:242), refers to the order or sequence of acquisition of linguistic features. Mendizabel (2001:71) has suggested that some linguistic features tend to be acquired very quickly whilst others are acquired more slowly. Ellis (1990:139) reports that the learner will almost always acquire certain features first and in a predictable order, while others will be acquired later, regardless of the amount of instruction he receives. Gupta (1994:88) who conducted a study on Singapore Colloquial English, argues that there is a specific predictable order in which children acquire wh- interrogative elements. In the speech of most children, the elements what, and where appear first, followed by the element who. Very often, the element when will be the last to be acquired. Ellis (1990:15)

citing Krashen (1985) also argues that 'grammar teaching is powerless to alter the natural route of L2 acquisition and that learners should be left to follow their own internal syllabus'. A number of other studies to determine the effect of instruction on the route of L2 acquisition have been carried out. Perkins and Larsen-Freeman (1975:237) conducted their studies on university students and concluded that instruction does not influence the route of L2 development. There was no correlation between teaching order and learning order of acquisition of specific linguistic items. They concluded that formal instruction does not alter the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes when the learner is focused on meaning. Ellis (1984:138) has argued that the determination of the real effect of instruction on the rate and route of language acquisition is very crucial to second language acquisition studies. And from the discussion above, there does seem to be a consensus among researchers that instruction does not alter acquisition sequences.

1.5.5 The acquisition/learning hypothesis

Krashen (1982) distinguishes second language acquisition from second language learning. He argues that the acquisition process occurs subconsciously and naturalistically outside the classroom situation in a manner similar to first language acquisition. Gregg (1984:80) and Schutz (2001:2) have expressed views which are similar to those of Krashen. And Schutz (2001:2) has argued:

> Acquisition is the product of a subconscious process, a very similar process children undergo when they acquire their first language. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language, natural

> communication in which speakers are concentrated not in the form of their utterances, but in the communicative act. (Schutz 2001:2).

In acquisition, there is no explicit learning of grammar rules even though the learner may have intuitive knowledge about the grammaticality of sentences he constructs.Seliger (1983:179) suggests that the main focus in language acquisition is communication and not the mastery of grammatical rules. On the other hand, language learning, which, according to Gupta (2000:11) requires a great deal of patience on the part of the learner, occurs in the classroom. Wilkins (1974:26) cited in Ellis (1990:41), has argued that linguistic input is obtained via the teaching process, and, as Felix and Hahn (1985:234) have suggested, the learners are taught only a few structures at a time. In this process, explicit error correction by the teacher is central. Schutz (2001:2) has suggested that it is mainly because of the manner in which he describes the distinction that exists between language learning and language acquisition that Krashen has become well known by linguists and language practitioners.

One of the main criticisms of this hypothesis, however, is that Krashen does not explain the difference between conscious knowledge and unconscious knowledge. For the purposes of this study, the terms acquisition and learning will be used interchangeably because in practice, it is difficult to separate one from the other.

1.5.6 The natural order hypothesis

During the data collection process, I observed that some pupils sometimes tended to commit the same kind of errors. This observation was reinforced by the class teacher who complained that the pupils tended to repeat the same errors regardless

of teaching aimed specifically at eliminating them. This observation made me think that perhaps this phenomenon can partly be explained through reference to the natural order hypothesis, which has already been alluded to in the review on product/process research, and the input hypothesis. Krashen (1994:45) argues that language rules are acquired in a predictable order, some rules tending to be acquired early, while others tend to come later. This view is similar to that of Littlewood (1984:94) who has argued that learners may become ready to acquire item A, eg /—s/ to mark plural nouns in English in words such as boys, before they are ready to acquire item B, e.g. /—s/ to mark third person verbs. It is widely argued that this order of rule acquisition is often independent of the order in which rules are taught. Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1985:56) have suggested that children conform to a natural order even in the way they employ specific language learning strategies.

1.5.7 The contrastive analysis hypothesis

The term contrastive analysis was first used by Charles Fries in 1945 but was popularised by Robert Lado in 1957. The concept emanated from a desire by language teachers to solve L2 language learning problems. Contrastive analysis (CA) has its roots in behaviorism. Some language researchers e.g. Lado (1957), who had been influenced by behaviourist psychology, argued that language is a set of habits. Therefore, the acquisition of language is similar to the manner in which other habits are acquired. When someone acquires his Li, he is said to have mastered the linguistic characteristics of that language. These characteristics will get entrenched within his linguistic system and become what they call Li habits. When he learns a second language, the Li characteristics interfere with his

production of his L2. The features of the Li will manifest themselves during the production of the target language. Lado then concluded that all language learning problems were caused by this interference, which is also referred to as negative transfer.

The contrastive analysis hypothesis (CAH) argues that L2 errors can be predicted if a linguistic contrastive analysis of the Li and the L2 is made. If we compare the features of the Li and the L2 lexically, phonologically, semantically and syntactically, the differences between the Li and L2 will be made explicit. We can predict that if the features of the Li and L2 differ substantially, the learner will find them difficult to learn. But if the L1 and L2 features are similar, the L2 learner will find them easy to learn. This is the basis for what has been called the strong version of the CAH. The weak version rejects the predictive aspect and suggests that CA can identify errors which are caused by interference. Sajavaara (1983:177) suggests that CA can also be used to identify some areas where cross-linguistic influence may be a potential source of trouble. Supporters of the weak version accept that some L2 errors are not caused by interference. In the 1970s, the contrastive analysis hypothesis started to lose support as a viable second language acquisition theory, mainly due to the very many criticisms levelled at it, some of which have been listed below:

1. Some L2 errors are caused by teaching methods and not by interference.
2. Some linguistic features are easier to learn when the L2 is different from the Li.
3. Mclaughlin (1987:66) observed that CA over-predicted some errors while it under-predicted others.

4. Some features predicted to be difficult for learners to master were in fact easy to learn.
5. Interference does seem to be more applicable at a phonological level than at other levels.
6. Contrary to the CA, the Li can in fact be a rich resource for second language learning.
7. L2 learners from different language backgrounds often commit similar errors.
8. Many L2 errors are developmental errors and are not caused by interference.
9. The CA hypothesis does not make a distinction between competence errors and performance errors.

The criticisms levelled at the CAH were so numerous that it was almost totally abandoned as a viable second language acquisition theory. It was because of this that researchers in this field started referring to the "crisis" in the CAH. In this study, I recognise and accept as valid the very many criticisms levelled at the CAH some of which have been listed above. For this reason, I do not necessarily use the CAH as postulated by its many supporters as the basis for this study. However, it is important to mention that cross-linguistic influence is sometimes evident in the speech of L2 learners. But this recognition of the role of the L1 in the L2 learning process is not the same thing as saying all L2 errors are caused by the influence of the Li. There is a way in which, at least to a very limited extent, the first language can influence the production of the English of Shona speakers. A similar observation was made by Ngara (1977). In this study however, cross-linguistic influence will not be included. This does not mean that I am oblivious of the ways in

which the second language has in fact adversely affected the process of second language acquisition.

1.5.8 The interlanguage hypothesis

According to Corder (1981:87), the term interlanguage was first used by Selinker in 1972 to describe the structures a learner produces at any given time. Ellis (1985:42) has suggested that:

> Interlanguage is a theoretical construct which underlies the attempts by second language acquisition researchers to identify stages of development through which a learner passes. (Ellis 1985:42)

One of the characteristics of interlanguage, according to Ellis (1985:42) and Trim (1986:88) is fossilization. Corder (1981:87)argues that fossilization occurs when the L2 learner retains speech residue of his Li which is exhibited in the production of a second language. It can also occur as a result of a learner's mental psychological condition when, according to Tarone (1983:150) the learner decides to "stop" learning. This happens when he has concluded that he has acquired sufficient input for his communicative needs.

An interlanguage is also said to be permeable. Sharwood Smith (1991:97) has argued that permeability occurs when the structures of the second language have been invaded by the structures of the first language. The interlanguage hypothesis suggests that in second language acquisition, the learner gradually accumulates the features of the second language in stages as he proceeds towards target language

competence. Each stage in this development continuum, has its vocabulary and its rules. Each stage has second language rules that the learner has mastered and some that he is in the process of mastering. When certain rules have not been mastered, the learner will commit certain errors. The learner constantly revises these rules in his interlanguage system to ensure that they conform with target language norms and will continue to do so for as long as he has motive to do so. If his command reaches what he perceives as adequate to communicate with native speakers, his motive to continue restructuring his output disappears.

Dulay and Burt (1972:235) have argued that L2 acquisition involves a restructuring as well as a recreative process. It involves a restructuring process if the learner is constantly restructuring his Li system progressively in order to accommodate the incoming target language. It becomes a recreative process when second language acquisition involves creating a language system in a manner similar to first language acquisition.

Corder (1981:31) has suggested that an IL speaker does not speak a target language at any time but speaks a language of his own, which is a unique idiolect and which no doubt shares many features of the target language. Ngara (1977:37) in support of this view, suggests that the learner's language is an approximation of the target language. Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985:102) have described interlanguage as the 'manifestation of a coordinated set of systems'. According to Mclaughlin (1987:60), interlanguage is also said to refer to the learner's system at a single point in time as well as to, a 'range of systems that characterize the development of the learners language over a period of time'. It needs to be stressed

that studies that focus on the learners system at a single point in time are product-oriented while those that focus on the learner's development over a period of time are process-oriented.

As has already been alluded to above, according to Ellis (1985:217) interlanguage is characterized by variability. Variability is a term which is used to explain the various changes that occur to learner language as the learner proceeds along the interlanguage continuum. As Littlewood (1984:81) has correctly observed, language learners do not switch abruptly from using a language rule incorrectly all the time in one interview to using the same rule correctly all the time in another interview. There are two broad models from which the concept of variability is derived. There is the homogeneous competence model which contends that all variability is non-systematic and the heterogeneous competence model which contends that variability is both systematic and unsystematic. Ellis (1985:76) has argued that variability is systematic if changes that occur to learner language occurs in a predictable order depending on the context. On the other hand, Ellis (1985:121) suggests that variability is non-systematic if learner language changes haphazardly. There are two broad categories of non-systematic variability, free variability and performance variability. Free variability occurs when the learner uses various competing linguistic forms to express the same meaning whilst performance variability occurs when the learner fails to live up to his competence due to performance variables such as fatigue, depression and excitement. Huebner (1979) cited in Mclaughlin (1987:71) has suggested that although the learner's interlanguage appears chaotic, underneath it is systematic. Ellis (1985:71) has suggested that in the production of a second language, the learner does not use

rules in a haphazard manner but in a systematic fashion. The learners learn on the basis of an existing rule system. Non-systematic variability refers to the existence of linguistic forms within the L2 system which are not guided by any rules.

The interlanguage hypothesis is of crucial importance not just because it is among the most studied in recent times, but also because it forms a basis on which second language development studies can be done. There is however some tension that exists between supporters of the interlanguage approach and those who belong to the 'localised or nativised varieties of English' school of thought. This issue is dealt with at 1.5.13 in relation to English in Zimbabwe.

1.5.9 Error analysis theory

The error analysis theory gained prominence as the contrastive analysis hypothesis fell into disrepute. It is a process of identifying, describing, defining, explaining and evaluating errors committed by the language learner in order to establish how they hinder communication. The assumption behind this theory, according to Corder (1981:68), was that a careful study of errors committed by the learner in his attempt to speak a second language, would provide 'factual empirical data' on which the preparation of teaching materials would be based, rather than rely on what they called theoretical speculation.

Researchers in this area contended that identification of these errors would involve putting them into categories. Below I present some of the categories identified by some researchers:

Table 3 Error categories

Richards (1971)	(a)	interlingual error category
	(b)	
	(c)	over-generalization error category
Corder (1981)	(d)	interlingual error category
	(e)	intralingual error category
	(f)	local error category
	(g)	global error category
	(h)	overtly idiosyncratic error category

In the table above, at (a) interlingual errors, are those that occur as a result of cross-linguistic influence, and according to Van Els (1984:54) they can be phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical as explained below:

(i) In Zimbabwe, interlingual phonological errors occur because learners have problems in articulating the difference between certain words such as /ht/ and /het/.

(ii) Interlingual morphosyntactic errors occur when, for example, learners add an /-s/ morpheme to a word such as information.

(iii) Interlingual lexical errors occur when learners mistake a particular word for another. For example, some learners make no distinction between words such as snakes and snails.

On the other hand, intralingual errors indicated at (b) in table 3, according to Van Els (1984:55) fall into four categories as outlined below:

(i) Intralingual phonological errors such as the use of elements like /row/

instead of /rau /

(ii) Morphosyntactic errors such as the use of /-s/ in womans instead of women.

(iii) Intralingual errors that are due to deviation in word order e.g 'She saw coming a young girl', instead of 'She saw a young girl corning'.

(iv) Intralingual lexical errors e.g. those that occur due to the use of words such as niece instead of nurse.

Also, at (c) in table (3) some errors occur due to overgeneralization. According to Richards (1974:38), an over-generalization occurs when a rule is used in an environment where it does not apply, such as the use of the /-ed/ morpheme in the word thinked instead of using irregular past from thought. Learners also tend to denote plurality by using an /-s/ morpheme where it does not apply as in the use of the word datas instead of data.

And lastly, Corder (1981) cited in Brown (1987:194) makes a distinction between local and global errors indicated at (f) and (g) respectively in table 3. Local errors are those that affect 'a single element in a sentence'. The meaning can be retrieved from the context as in the sentence, 'Zimbabweans eats sadza', where the morpheme /-s/ in the verb eat has been unnecessarily included. Such a violation of a grammatical rule does not obscure the learner's communicative intention. However, when a global error has been committed, such as in the sentence 'The different city is another one in the another two', the learner's communicative intention is obscured. Brown (1987:194) citing Hendrickson (1980), argues that local errors need not be corrected because they do not interfere with the natural flow of communication.

However, global errors need to be corrected because they often lead to a communication breakdown between speakers.

Error analysis, like the contrastive analysis hypothesis before it, received widespread criticism. The following were some of the objections raised against it.

1. Schachter (1974) cited in Ellis (1985:33) has argued that this approach does not cope with avoidance strategies. Avoidance relates to instances where learners avoid the use of linguistic features which, as Brown (1987:172) puts it, 'pose difficulty for them'. For example, Brown (1987:84) cites the following conversation between a learner **(L)** and a native speaker (NS):

   L : I lost my road

   NS : You lost your road?

   L : Uh, ... I lost, I lost, I got lost.

   In the last utterance above, the learner avoids the use of the lexical item road. Several scholars, such as Ellis (1986:34) and Brown (1987:172) argue that error analysis is helpless in solving linguistic problems that arise due to avoidance.

2. Error analysis concentrates on showing what the learner is unable to do and not what the learner can do. For example, error analysis can show that the learner cannot articulate the phonological differences that exist between elements such as /baed/ and /bed/.

3. **Error analysis gives a static picture of the learner's linguistic behaviour. It tends to describe "events" and not processes. For example, if a learner writes the plural form of the word feet as feets, error analysis cannot tell us why such an error has been committed. All that it can show is that a grammatical rule has been violated at a single point in time. This does not give us an insight into how plural forms are acquired.**

Such a critical assault on the error analysis theory helped to give rise to other theories, among them was the interlanguage hypothesis. The discussion on error analysis theory is significant to my study for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates that, contrary to the claim made by CA that second language learner errors are caused by the influence of the mother tongue, a large number of errors are caused by many other factors. Secondly, it gives me the opportunity to indicate that although some learners' errors are described, this study is not based on the `mainstream' error analysis approach.

1.5.10 The input hypothesis

Krashen (1985) argues that there is only one way in which second acquisition process takes place. This happens when the learner receives messages and comprehensible input. The learner progresses along the natural order of acquisition by understanding input which, according to Lightbrown (1985:175), is beyond his current level of competence. He moves from i, the learner's current linguistic knowledge, to i + 1 which is the learner's next stage of linguistic competence. The i + 1 is said to be a stage a little beyond i. If the input acquired is schematically i + 2, or i + 3, it would be considered excessive and debilitative because it will overwhelm the learner since it is far beyond the learner's current linguistic competence. Ellis, Yoshihiro and Tanaka (1994:455) suggest that if learners receive input which is excessive, they will 'switch off' their attention very rapidly and the learning process will be negatively affected. According to Haynes (2001:2) therefore, 'comprehensible input means that the spoken or written message is delivered at the learner's level of comprehension'. Krashen maintains that the explicit teaching of grammar rules will not necessarily assist the learner in the language acquisition process. Grammar rules, according to this theory, tend to be acquired spontaneously based on comprehensive input.

This hypothesis has received widespread criticisms some of which are listed below:

1. There is no guarantee that input necessarily always becomes intake i.e. other factors beside input are down-played in Krashen's model.
2. Gregg (1984:80) has argued that the definition of i + 1 is problematic i.e. it is a schematic definition that has not been spelt out in terms of concrete data.
3. The explicit teaching of grammar may also provide comprehensive input.

4. The theory makes too strong a claim on the value of input.

5. By arguing that this theory is the only theory that can adequately explain the second language acquisition process, Krashen may be overstating his case.

Despite all these criticisms, it seems there is a way in which the learner's competence is in many ways determined by the nature of input.

1.5.11 Social and psychological factors affecting second language acquisition

There are certain social and psychological factors which some scholars have said may hinder or facilitate second language acquisition. Some of these factors, which are often associated with the work of Schumann (1978) have been selected and are presented below. A discussion on the extent of the practical applicability of some of them is given at the end of the outline.

a. Dominance

Dominance refers to a situation which arises if the second language learning group (L2 group) is socially and politically superior or inferior to the target language learning group (TL group). There will be social distance between the two groups which will result in the L2 group losing its keenness to learn the second language. This will negatively affect this groups overall language acquisition process. The second language acquisition process is facilitated if the two groups see themselves as socially and politically equal.

b. Assimilation

Assimilation occurs when the L2 group assimilates the values of the TL group. When this happens the second language learning process is enhanced, but if the L2 group chooses to preserve its own values, the acquisition process is negatively affected.

c. Enclosure

Enclosure refers to whether or not the L2 group and the **TL** group share facilities like schools, hospitals and churches. If they do, enclosure is said to be low and the learning process is enhanced. If they don't, enclosure is high and the learning process in inhibited.

d. Cohesiveness and size

Cohesiveness and size refers to the numerical sizes of the L2 group in relation to the TL group. If the L2 group is large, learners tend to interact with each other much more than they interact with the TL group. When this happens, the language acquisition process is negatively affected.

e. Attitude

If the L2 group and the TL group have positive attitudes towards each other, the second language acquisition process is facilitated. If they have a negative attitude towards each other, the learning process is debilitated. According to Walqui (2000:2), 'language attitudes in the learner... can have an enormous effect on the second language acquisition process'.

f. Language shock

In the process of learning a second language, adult learners tend to be wary about the possibility of being ridiculed if they commit errors. This anxiety negatively effects the language acquisition process. The negative effect of this anxiety is what Schumann refers to as language shock.

g. Motivation

Motivation, which Barber and McIntyre (1993:58) have described as orientation, refers to the underlying need or motive to learn a second language which the learner possesses. There are two kinds of motivation, integrative and instrumental motivation. If the learner wants to be integrated into the culture of the TL group, his motivation is integrative. If he is interested in learning a language for functional or utilitarian purposes, his motivation is instrumental. Integrative motivation is said to be more facilitative than instrumental motivation but research findings on this are not conclusive.

h. Extroversion/introversion

Schumann points out that extroverts attain a much higher proficiency level than introverts.

i. Field dependence/field independence

Schumann (1978) in Richards (1978:17) argues that a field independent learner is one who has 'the capacity to perceive a visual or auditory field and detect sub-patterns within that field. On the other hand, a learner who is field dependent is one who Schumann says: 'gets lost in the totality of the visual or

auditory stimulus and fails to detect relevant sub-patterns and subsystems'. According to Schumann, a field independent learner is not only more analytical than a field dependent learner, but has got a greater capacity to detect or perceive significant linguistic items in a lesson.

Monitoring

According to Schumann (1978) in Richards (1978: 172), 'Monitoring takes place when the learner uses conscious knowledge of target language rules to modify his performance'. However, Schumann is quick to point out that research findings about whether monitors are better language learners than non-monitors are not conclusive.

k. Tolerance for ambiguity

Tolerance for ambiguity refers to learners who tend to find certain topics confusing. When this happens, the language acquisition process is inhibited. A learner who does not get confused by certain topics is said to have tolerance for ambiguity. Such a learner achieves a higher proficiency level than the one without such tolerance.

l. Culture shock

A learner in a foreign country, struggling to understand and cope with the demands of his new environment may suffer disorientation and stress resulting in him feeling that he has been rejected. This may negatively affect the language acquisition process. Such a learner is said to have suffered

from a culture shock. Culture shock, according to Haynes (2001:2), is a 'normal stage in the acculturation process that all newcomers go through'.

It is clear that researchers need to be wary of such factors as they set out to investigate linguistic phenomena. Schumann (1976) in Richards (1978: 750) summaries these concerns when he remarks, researchers in second language acquisition will have to be as much psychologists and psycholinguists as they are linguists and educators'. However, these factors are not without limitations. Firstly, their exact effects on the learner are difficult to ascertain or measure because many of them, as Van Els (1984: 118) suggests, are based on inference. Secondly, the validity of the generalisations made about the effects of some of these factors is suspect. For example, according to Ellis (1985: 18) it is not always clear as to what sort of motivation is more beneficial to learners, as he puts it, 'In certain situations an integrative motivation may be more powerful in facilitating L2 learning, but in other situations, instrumental motivation may count for more.'

The above view is supported by Van Els (1984: 119) when he says that the importance of the integrative/instrumental divide depends largely on the context in which the language is learnt. To add to this, Ellis (1985: 120) suggests that research findings on the real effects on the learner of the factor on extroversion and introversion have been inconclusive. Also, Chapelle and Green (1992:48) have suggested that the importance of field dependence to the second language acquisition process should not be over-emphasised.

The arguments cited above suggest that while researchers in the area need to be cautious about the possible effects of some of these factors, it is important to bear in

mind that some of them, may not be as significant to the research process as it might sound at face value. Researchers like Richards (1978: 175) take an extreme view and suggest that it is even possible that there is no direct relationship between some of them and language learning. It is mainly because of the reservations that some researchers, like Richards have about the importance of these factors that I decided that, perhaps I need not make these factors central in this research effort. It however, needs to be mentioned that L2 researchers and curriculum designers need to be on the look-out for the possible effects of some of these factors. This point is also stressed by Zuengler (1989:80) who says that when selecting syllabi, several social dynamics need to be taken into account.

1.5.12 Competence and performance

According to Gregg (1993) cited in Lantolf (1995:18), Chomsky's theory of linguistic competence is the most developed and the most scientifically sophisticated of all linguistic theories. Following Chomsky (1965), a distinction is often made between competence and performance. Ellis (1985: 5) has suggested that in the second language context, 'competence consists of mental representation of linguistic rules which constitute the speaker-hearer grammar'. Other researchers, such as Canale and Swain (1980:3), Paribakht (1985:132) as well as Tarone and Yule (1989:67) argue that competence consists of grammatical competence, strategic competence, and sociolinguistic competence. By grammatical competence they mean the learner's knowledge of the phonological and grammatical structure of language and the ability to use the language with grammatical accuracy in both writing and in speech. By strategic competence they mean the learner's ability to deal with various communication problems that arise in the process of speech production. And by

sociolinguistic competence, they mean the learner's ability to speak or write in a manner relevant and appropriate to various sociolinguistic contexts. This view of sociolinguistic competence is also held by Rivers (1983: 25) who argues:

> Students need to understand how language is used in relation to structure of a society and its inner and outer relationships if they are to avoid clashes, misunderstandings and hurt. (Rivers 1983: 25)

In addition to the three categories of competence outlined above, there is also what is called discourse competence. By discourse competence I mean the learner's knowledge of the structure of text as well as knowledge of rules of coherence and cohesion. Brown (1987: 24) and Sharwood Smith (1986:241) express a different view. To them competence is one's underlying knowledge of a system, event or fact, what he calls, the non-observable idealised ability to do something. Sharwood Smith (1983:192) has described competence as, 'the what of linguistic knowledge'. Other scholars have described competence differently, Garham (1985:23) has described it as knowledge of unconscious rules of the language, whilst Beaugrande (1997:287) citing Chomsky (1965:18) says competence deals with mental processes that lie far beyond the level of one's consciousness. Also to Brown (1987: 24), performance is the overtly observable and concrete manifestation or realisation of ones competence'. Two other researchers, Green and Coulson (1995:18) have described competence and performance as follows:

> Competence refers to people's knowledge of a language, the knowledge that enables them to produce and understand utterances in that language. Performance refers to the actual

production and comprehension of utterances, whether in speech or writing. Any faults or hesitations in speech or writing are thought to be due to temporary lapses which affect performance but do not necessarily reflect on people's underlying competence. (Green and Coulson 1995:18)

The best known characterization of the competence/performance distinction, according to Wardhaugh (1986:3) has been made by Chomsky himself (1965:3-4) a part of which reads:

> To study linguistic performance, we must consider the interaction of a variety of factors, of which the underlying competence of the speaker hearer is only one. In this respect, study of language is no different from empirical investigation of other complex phenomena
>
> (Chomsky 1965:3-4 in Wardhaugh 1986:3)

From the definitions above, it appears it is not easy to separate competence from performance, because one cannot measure the learner's underlying knowledge or one's internalized language system without measuring the overtly observable language system (performance). In any case, the various definitions of competence referred to above directly and indirectly refer to performance in one way or the other because they refer to actual speech production, which in fact is what performance is all about.

It can therefore be argued that competence and performance are intrinsically linked, which creates serious problems for second language researchers when they want to

study children's language due to what Brown (1987:25) calls 'the difficulty of attempting to extract underlying grammatical knowledge from children'. In order to extract underlying grammatical knowledge from children, one has to do this via measuring children's performance. The fact has made Ellis (1986: 6) to conclude that, 'Second language research is about performance'.

However, even if competence can be measured by first of all measuring performance, the researcher's problems do not go away. For it is a known fact that learner performance is often altered or affected by performance variables such as fatigue, depression or illness. Performance is also affected by what has been referred to in sociolinguistics as 'the observers paradox'. Labov (1970) cited in Ellis (1985:77) suggests that this applies to a learner who, when realising that he is being observed or watched, tends to change or alter his linguistic behaviour. As a result when the learner alters his linguistic behaviour the researcher might end up collecting data which will not accurately reflect the learners' linguistic ability.

However, even though some researchers have acknowledged problems posed by performance factors, it is possible to minimize the overall effects of these performance variables. I minimized the negative effects of performance variables by ensuring that the interaction between the pupils and myself was naturalistic, which resulted in the realisation of natural speech. In order to minimize the effects of performance variables, I ensured that the classroom atmosphere was characterized by the following:

1. Errors that pupils made were not corrected.
2. Spontaneous utterances like interjections were not discouraged.

3. Informal linguistic utterances such as "ya" were not discouraged.
4. Topics for discussion were familiar to pupils, topics such as, `Food' and `Holiday'.
5. Laughter during the sessions was not restricted.

Further details on the atmosphere that existed in the classroom during the data collection process are supplied in Chapter 3.

1.5.13 English in Zimbabwe vs Zimbabwean English

According to Ngara (1977:53) the English language was introduced to Zimbabwe by settlers from England under the leadership of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South African Company in 1890. These settlers made it the language of instruction in the schools, administration, parliamentary debates and law courts. And as already explained, it achieved status dominance while local languages enjoyed, and still enjoy, numerical dominance.

The widespread use of English in Zimbabwe opens up debate as to whether there is a local variety that can be called Zimbabwean and whether this variety, if it exists, can be called an interlanguage. Makoni (1992:6) has argued that the concept of Zimbabwean English implies that the English spoken in Zimbabwe is a localized variety. He argues that some black local scholars do seem to want to africanise the English language in a way which is comparable to the manner in which African literature and African history were africanised. Those who want English to be localized, he argues, aim at achieving linguistic independence to match political independence. McGinley (1987) cited in Makoni (1993:8) argues that the idea that there is a variety of English that can be called Zimbabwean came after black

majority rule in 1980. Ngara (1982:56) argues that there is an explicit Zimbabwean variety of English especially at the level of pronunciation. He goes on to say that African languages influence the L2 speakers' articulation of English sounds. Li influence on L2 has long been recognised by the advocates and supporters of the contrastive analysis hypothesis. Ellis (1986:7) argues that the learners' Li is partly responsible for his failure to reach target language competence. Two other researchers, Dulay and Burt (1974:37) have called this influence, the transfer of the Li into the learners production of the L2. Sharwood Smith (1991) cited in Makoni (1993:97) describes this as cross-linguistic influence. Ngara (1977:38) has suggested that the Shona speaker of English approximates the sounds of English in the production of the L2. He suggests that this is so because the Shona language uses five vowel sounds, thus [a], [e], [i], [o], [u]. These same vowels are used in his production of English sounds. Ngara suggests that these localised forms of English can also be found at the semantic, syntactic and lexical levels, even though they are more explicit at the level of pronunciation.

According to educationists and government officials in Zimbabwe, the reference point for correct English is the native speaker and any variety which does not conform to native variety norms is said to be deviant. McGinley (1987) cited in Makoni (1993:8) has argued that his research confirms the above argument. Makoni (1993:101) has argued that the white variety of English is used as a norm or reference point because whites have greater economic power than blacks. So the variety of English that tends to be used as a norm is for those who have greater economic power. But rural children have only the classroom as a source of comprehensive input. The variety of English spoken in these areas is not only

different from the native speaker variety but is also different from the L2 variety spoken in towns. The native speaker plays a powerful role in determining the norms to be used. As McGinley (1987) cited in Makoni (1993:8) has argued:

> In Zimbabwe, it is not without sociolinguistic significance that the term Zimbabwean English gained popularity in some circles at the same time as people began to complain about standards of English.
>
> (McGinley 1987 in Makoni 1993:8)

Makoni (1993:103) argues that in Zimbabwe, the variety of English spoken by non-native speakers of English cannot be called Zimbabwean because it is an interlanguage that tends to use the native variety as a model making it difficult to talk of a distinct Zimbabwean variety. Makoni (1993:103) emphasises that English in Zimbabwe cannot be called Zimbabwean because among other things:

(i) it is not stable.

(ii) it is not compact but diffuse.

The implication for this is that the linguistic hierarchy in terms of prestige of varieties spoken and in relation to local languages in Zimbabwe would be in descending order be something like the one in table 4.

English	a Native variety
	b Near native variety
	c Acrolect
	d Mesolect

	e	Basilect
African Languages	f	Shona/Ndebele
	g	Minority languages

Table 4. Language prestige hierarchy in Zimbabwe.

Table 4 above represents what I have called language variety prestige hierarchy in Zimbabwe. This is based on Ngara's (1977), Mhundwa's (1987) and Makoni's (1993) perception of the language situation in Zimbabwe. The native variety of English is considered the most prestigious 'language' whilst local languages occupy the last two bottom slots and are considered the least prestigious. This "inferior" position of local languages from the point of view of some Zimbabweans, is clearly articulated by Chimhundu (1998:18) when he describes Shona and Ndebele as "marginalized". He also argues:

> English is prestige laden and enjoys high status. Shona and Ndebele enjoy relatively low status. And minority languages enjoy even lower status. (Chimhundu 1998:18).

A minority language, as well as Shona and Ndebele are included in the table to emphasize that the least prestigious variety of English is considered more prestigious than local languages. Next to the native variety is what has been called the "Nose brigade" variety of English. This is a variety said to be spoken by pupils and students who live in English acquisition-rich residential areas like Highlands,

Mount Pleasant, Glen Lorne, Borrowdale, Avondale, Chisipite and many others. In terms of accent and pronunciation, this variety is believed to be nearer the native variety than other varieties. The speakers of this variety are said not to want to have social interaction with people from English acquisition-poor environments, who speak what is referred to as rural English. These rural people are said to speak English in a manner which is consistent with their rural backgrounds and have been nicknamed SRBs which is an acronym for *'strong rural background'.* These so called SRBs attend schools located in English acquisition-poor residential areas such as Highfields, Mbare, Kambuzuma, Mufakose and Dzivaresekwa. The term "nose brigade" was coined by "SRBs" to denote the manner in which these youths from English-acquisition-rich environments "speak their English through the nose" in an attempt to speak like native speakers of English who are said to speak in this manner. The term is derogatory because it is meant to capture what they say is a snobbish and patronizing attitude the youths from "rich" residential areas have towards their poor counterparts. Youths from these "rich" areas are also referred to as "salad kids" by the so called SRBs because they are said to eat salads and other expensive foods which are associated with privilege. The term is derogatory because it is meant to denote those who are affluent but who are also perceived to be affected. These children from "rich" areas are considered "misguided" by the so called SRBs because they are perceived to be uninterested in their African culture or African ways of life. It appears that to many "SRB" children "nose brigadism" is synonymous with "saladism". In retaliation, the so called "nose brigades" coined the term *"strong rural background'* (SRB) in order to identify and denote those who are perceived to speak English which is heavily influenced by their first languages.

These "nose brigades" and the "SRBs" are antagonistic towards each other especially at the University of Zimbabwe.

After the nose brigade variety, there are varieties which are indicated in table 4 as acrolect, mesolect and basilect respectively. Before I proceed with this analysis, it may be helpful to make a brief description of those terms. Hudson (1980:6) has suggested that the terms acrolect, mesolect and basilect in sociolinguistics are often associated with the work of Bickerton (1975). Romaine (1995:170) has suggested that these terms are used by sociolinguists to refer to linguistic varieties that are said to be evident in linguistic communities during language development processes. Crystal (1992:6) observes that the term acrolect is used to refer to a prestige variety of a language. On the other hand, the basilect, according to Crystal (1992:36) is a linguistic variety which is most remote from a prestige variety. And lastly, Crystal (1992:216) reports that a mesolect is a linguistic variety which falls between the acrolect and the basilect. When the above linguistic classification is applied to the Zimbabwean sociolinguistic context, it can be said that the acrolect is spoken by educated people who hold university degrees, people such as doctors, lawyers, professors, lecturers, secondary school teachers and top government employees. The mesolect variety can be said to be a variety of English spoken by lower middle class Zimbabweans who do not hold university degrees. And lastly, a basilect is a variety of English spoken by Zimbabweans with only primary school education.

The native speaker at the top of this hierarchy, will consider it degrading to speak a variety below this native variety category. Although the linguistic boundaries between categories cannot be said to be rigidly stratified, it would be reasonable to suggest

that in many cases, the speaker of a variety does not mind speaking any variety above his own because this is associated with upward social mobility. However, some educated blacks consider the 'nose brigade' variety as superficial, yet at the same time, they want to send their children to former whites only schools, where very often the 'nose brigade' variety is acquired. It seems to me that this is the paradox of life which many people in Zimbabwe might have to live with for many more years to come.

It appears therefore, the creation of Zimbabwean English will be constrained by attempts by some speakers of some varieties to move from one linguistic category to another. For some speakers, however a movement from one linguistic category to another is unnecessary. It is however important to point out that it is not every speaker of English who concerns himself with a movement from one linguistic category to another.

Makoni (1993:101) argues that a Zimbabwean variety of English needs to satisfy the following criteria:

(a) It should be taught in schools;

(b) It should not be a native speaker model;

(c) It should be used in the media as well as for creative writing and should have distinct local features.

It appears therefore, that the idea of Zimbabwean English is complex. There are people who argue that black Zimbabweans in general cannot adopt a local variety as a model because there are many people in Zimbabwe who prefer standard English

as their model. Some argue that a local variety of English, as long as it is not native, whatever forms it will take, will be viewed by many as inferior and, substandard. So, some people ask why it is necessary to aim at creating a variety whose status in society is dubious.

I think it is a fact that varieties of English used in Zimbabwe have not been institutionalised in the strictest sense of the word. However, I think it is also a fact that there are many varieties of English spoken in Zimbabwe which are pragmatically identifiable as Zimbabwean. The fact that these forms have not been overtly recognised or institutionalised does not suggest that they do not exist. There is a large number of people who live in rural Zimbabwe who do not have access to any other variety of English other than the one they speak to each other, if the need arises. I think that it is linguistically problematic to expect these people to use native varieties of English as their models when in fact there is virtually no contact between themselves and native speakers of English. The existence of Zimbabwean English is a 'defacto' rather than a `dejure' phenomenon and an official recognition of its existence, perhaps by education authorities, when it comes will only confirm what already exists because Zimbabwean varieties of English have been in operation 'on the ground' for decades. I think that the phrases Zimbabwean English or English in Zimbabwe mean just about the same thing. A Zimbabwean variety of English, which I have said is already in operation 'on the ground' needs to be given official and formal recognition for the reasons outlined below:

1. International trends seem to suggest that local varieties are preferable to non-local varieties. For example, in Ghana, Sey (1973: 1) reports that, '... if

an educated Ghanaian speaks the Received Pronunciation of English, he is frowned upon as distasteful and pedantic'. In Sri Lanka, Ceylonese who speak 'Standard English' are generally unpopular. In Nigeria, Bamgbose (1971: 47) has argued that, 'Many Nigerians will consider it as affected or even snobbish any Nigerian who speaks like a native speaker of English'. Kachru (1981: 214) may have summed it up when he argues, The second language user never seemed to win in this see-saw of attitudes. If he gained a native-like linguistic competence, he is suspect, if he did not gain it, he was an object of linguistic ridicule'.

2. According to Prator (1968: 140), 'The ultimate test for effectiveness of a variety of a language is whether it meets the communication needs of those who use it'.
3. According to Kachru (1981: 36), The argument that native models be presented to all non-native speakers for all contexts and for all sub-varieties is a constraint which is pragmatically undesirable since human languages do not work that way'.
4. Cook (1998:4) has observed that, 'The native speaker comparison may be interesting and convenient but is useful only up to the point at which it starts to deny the special nature of people who know more than one language'.
5. According to Cook (1992:558), the L2 learner should be compared with a fluent bilingual not with the monolingual.
6. Mesthrie (1994: 183) has argued, 'Groups of people who are prejudiced against others will probably always be able to find linguistic differences to

support their prejudices'.

7. Cook (2001:4) has observed that 11 "success" in becoming a native speaker is different from L2 "success" in becoming an L2 user'.

8. Cook (1999:2) has argued that, the suggestion that multicompetent L2 users also make good language models for L2 learners and in some cases have advantage over native speakers in the L2 teaching context is an important point to be considered.

9. Gupta (2001:18) reports that 'in Singapore ... it is accepted that there will be a local accent of English and that there will be local words for local concepts'. Because of the existence of local culture, Graddol (1997:56) argues that, inevitably, local varieties of English do develop.

Gupta (1998:7), and (1999:3) says that this variety of English in Singapore is called Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) and is sometimes also referred to as SingE. Gupta (1998:4) also reports that some Singaporeans refer to this variety of English as `Singlish'. This term reminds us of `Shonglish' (Shona English) which is a term sometimes used by some Zimbabweans to refer to English spoken by some Shona people. Gupta (1998:1) has also argued that SCE has syntax which is viewed as 'autonomous'.

10. McArthur (1998:216) argues that in several other countries, there are other varieties of English such as 'Hindlish', which is spoken in India, and is a combination of Hindi and English, and 'Frenglish' a combination of French and English which is spoken in France. McArthur, as well as Friedman (2001:195) say that there is also `Spanglish', which is spoken in Spain and which is a combination of elements of Spanish and elements of English. Friedman also reports that Spanglish, which he refers to as 'the poetry of

the people and which deserves a place in academia', is, as he puts it, also spoken, sung and written in the United States and all of South America.

11. Bamiro (2001:29) citing George Lamming (1984:36) suggests that English is a West Indian language.
12. Jenkins (2001) cited in Hewings (2001:327) has suggested that L1 varieties of English should no longer provide norms against which "correctness" of pronunciation is measured.

I am of the opinion that the observations outlined above, deserve some serious consideration by educationists in Zimbabwe.

1.5.14 Conclusion

The concepts described in this Chapter are meant to provide background information about some of the issues that will be described in this study. It is important to stress that whilst some of the concepts will remain in the background, others will be much more 'visible' in the analyses that will be done.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Background description

According to Mhundwa (1987) primary schools in Zimbabwe fall into five categories. In the first category, there are government schools. Before 1980, they were classified as Group A schools and were among the best in the country because they were well staffed and had the best facilities. Most pupils were white and Li speakers of English and sometimes there were also a few **L2** English speakers of Asian origin. Today, these schools are known as "former Group 'A' primary schools". They are now multiracial, still well staffed with generally good facilities.

In the second category were government urban schools known as Group B schools. They were located in towns but mainly in black residential areas. The pupils were all black and **L2** speakers of English. The learning facilities were often inferior to those of Group A schools. Today, these schools are known as 'government urban schools, former Group B schools'. Theoretically, these schools are now in the same category with those in the group just discussed above. In practice, group B schools are still all black and **L2,** while their learning facilities are still considered inferior to those of former Group A schools. A third category comprised private schools run by churches. Some of the pupils in these schools were L1 speakers of English while others were L2 speakers of English. These schools were located in both urban and rural areas. The fourth category comprised schools in the rural areas called "Rural

Primary schools". They were run by local authorities but were government-aided. Most of the learning facilities were poor, and these schools were generally poorly staffed. All the learners were L2 speakers of English.

The number of rural primary schools has increased tremendously since 1980, but they have remained poorly staffed and the learning facilities have remained poor. A fifth category comprises independent private schools where learning facilities were, and are still, elaborate. The schools are run by Boards of governors and very often fees are high. They are multiracial but most L1 speakers of English are found here. In terms of categorization of primary schools in Zimbabwe, schools for the present study are taken from the government urban schools former group A category and one from the private school category run by churches. The rationale for this choice will be explained later. For the purposes of this study, the categories can be reclassified according to the following criteria, which are presented in diagrammatic form in Table 5.

A: 1. Well staffed

2. Well aided by PTA
3. Pupils L1 speakers of English
4. L1 Teachers of English
5. Facilities elaborate

B: 1. PTA aided but not as much as at A

2. Well staffed
3. Few or no L1 speakers of English
4. Often no L1 teachers

5. Facilities average or below

C: 1. Well staffed

2. Well PTA aided

3. Many native speakers of English

4. Li teachers of English

5. Facilities elaborate

D: 1. Poorly staffed (very often)

2. Little or no PTA support

3. No L1 speakers of English (pupils)

4. Very often no L1 teachers of English

5. Facilities often very poor

E: 1. Well staffed

2. Many L1 speakers of English (pupils)

3. Facilities elaborate

4. Many L1 teachers of English

5. Well aided by PTA

. Government urban schools Former Group A	A Well staffed Well PTA aided Many speakers of English May have L1 teachers of English
2. Government urban Schools Former Group B	B PTA aided but average Well staffed

	Few or no LI speakers of English Often no L-1 teachers Facilities average or below
3. Private schools church run	C Well staffed Well PTA supported Many native speakers of English Often many LI teachers Good facilities
4. Rural primary schools local authority government aided	D Poorly staffed (Often) Little or no PTA support Facilities often poor No LI learners No LI teachers
5. Independent private schools Board of governors run	E Many LI speakers of English Well staffed Good facilities Many L*1 teachers Well PTA supported.

Table 5: Categorization of primary schools based on Mhundwa (1987)

Even though primary schools in Zimbabwe are categorized according to whether or not they are government urban schools, former Group A schools, government schools, local authority rural primary schools - government aided and independent private schools; the physical outlook, the economic viability and the linguistic environment of the school as well as the racial outlook would support my classification. A school with a financially active Parent Teacher Association (PTA), is more likely to have elaborate learning facilities than one without. A PTA is an association of all parents of pupils at a school and their teachers. Its main function is to source extra funds needed by the school in updating the facilities. Hence,

because of the scarce resources, many schools without sufficient PTA backing are deteriorating very fast. The English language is used extensively and intensively in and out of the classroom at a school where there is a large number of native speakers of English. Where there are no native speakers of English (eg in category D), English is spoken only at the insistence of the teacher and very often only in the classroom. According to my classification, some church-run private schools like the ones at C are richer than the ones at D because their facilities are quite elaborate, while some urban government schools like the ones at A are more affluent than the ones at **B.**

2.2 Description of Schools

2.2.1 School One

The school is situated in Harare at a walking distance from the centre of Harare City. It is surrounded by residential flats which, before independence in 1980, were home to L1 speakers of English who were mainly white. Today, these flats are occupied by whites, blacks and people of Asian descent, but the majority are black. These are people in regular employment, and mostly Shona speakers. The school offers both primary and secondary school education. According to Mhundwa's categorization, this is a private school which is run by the church in this case, the Catholic church. In my scheme of analysis, this school is in category C, well staffed, very well supported by a PTA and therefore has abundant learning facilities and a satisfactory teacher-pupil ratio.

Even though the majority of people who live here are black, the majority of teachers and pupils in the school are L1 speakers of English and white. The English

language is used both in and out of the classroom. As will be seen below, there is a great deal of difference between School One and School Three, even though both schools are church-run private schools. And as mentioned above, there is no correlation between the linguistic composition of people who live in the area and the pupils who learn at the school. Linguistically, this area is in the English acquisition-rich environment.

2.2.2 School Two

According to Mhundwa's categorisation of Primary schools, School Two was formerly a Group A school, and an urban government school. In my classification, this school is in category A. It has a PTA support and is very well staffed, partly because of its facilities and partly because it is located in one of the most exclusive suburbs in town. It has a number of Li speakers of English even though the majority are L2 speakers of English.

Historically, this residential area of Mt Pleasant was reserved for white people. After 1980 however, it became multiracial. It is possible that the whites who live here numerically outnumber blacks. But this racial composition is not reflected at the school and in the classroom in which the research was carried out, as has already been pointed out above. One can say however, that the extent to which the English Language is used at this school, particularly in the classroom in which the research was carried out, reflects the historically all-white and all-Li nature of environment in which the school is located. Thus this school has a lot in common with the church-run private school Category C in terms of staffing, and the extent to which English is used in and out of the classroom. But this school is not considered as exclusive as

School One because it does not seem to have as much PTA financial support as School One.

2.2.3 School Three

School Three is located in the black African suburb of Mbare. Before 1980, Mbare was the African township of Harare. It is perceived by educationists as having graduated, at least in name, from being called "township", a term which is derogatory because it is associated with squatters, to "suburb" a term considered more respectable because it is a term used for residential areas where rich people and often L1 speakers of English live. However, the term suburb in reference to Mbare is essentially a euphemism. This is because these residential areas are still associated with poverty and unemployment.

School Three is located in such an environment. Residents here are virtually all black and L2 speakers of English. English is hardly spoken in this area. This school is run by black Catholic nuns who are L2 speakers of English. Pupils and teachers are entirely L2 speakers of English. There are hardly any libraries here and most pupils have never spoken to any L1 speakers of English. The teacher is their only source of English input. This is clearly a linguistic environment in which learners exposure to English is severely restricted.

2.2.4 School Four

This school is located in Mabelreign, a residential area which was all white before 1980. The residents were generally all L1 speakers of English. Today, most people

who live here are black L2 speakers of English. So, even though this school is a government, urban, former Group A school, it would fall into my B category group. Most pupils are now black L2 speakers of English. All the teachers and the headmaster are non-native speakers of English. The school has an active PTA which assists this government sponsored school with funds, but one gets the impression that financial procurement by the PTA is a laborious and painful task. The library is not well stocked and very often pupils share textbooks. This research therefore, among other things, will hope to confirm and illuminate my hypothesis that the linguistic features of learners from English-acquisition-rich environments shows more characteristics of Standard English than linguistic features of learners from English acquisition - poor environments. And most central in this study, it would be interesting to see the extent to which learners in different categories acquire the L2 at different rates, and whether the route of acquisition of specific features is the same or not.

2.3 Description of the Subjects

2.3.1 School One subjects

School One is peculiar in this study because all the pupils are girls, the majority being Li speakers of English. Only seven pupils in this group are L2 speakers of English, five black Zimbabweans, one of Asian descent and one German. It is important to point out at this stage that group one is taken from School One while groups two, three and four are taken from Schools Two, Three and Four respectively. So very often the term school and group are used inter-changeably. L2 speakers in School One all speak English in the classroom and in the school playground. Most of them speak English even at home. They receive eight hours of

formal English instruction a week and learn all subjects in English. Shona is taught by a special tutor and is learnt as a Foreign Language.

2.3.2 School Two subjects

The majority of School Two learners in this class are L2 speakers of English even though a number are Ll speakers of English. The pupils in this class are taught all subjects in English except Shona, which is taught in both English and Shona. Pupils speak to each other in English in class and in the school playground. The majority of these pupils speak English at home. Most pupils have access to elaborate learning facilities such as modern laboratories, computers, latest textbooks, stoves and refrigerators for cookery lessons, television sets and video-recorders. But the facilities are not as elaborate as those for pupils at School One where facilities such as those listed above are found in large numbers. So, even though School Two and School Four belong to the former Group A schools category, linguistically, they are not in the same category. For that reason and for the purpose of this research, I have put the learners into two related but distinct categories.

2.3.3 School Three subjects

School Three pupils are L2 speakers of English who are taught by a teacher who himself is an L2 speaker of English. All subjects are taught in English and Shona except Shona, which is taught in Shona. New concepts are very often explained in Shona and English. English lessons are taught in English. Pupils are encouraged to speak to each other in English during lessons but they speak to each other in Shona most of the time in the classroom and out of the classroom. Most of these pupils live in the high density suburb of Mbare where interaction with each other is almost

always in Shona. The teacher encourages pupils to speak English at home and whenever they can, but they never do. As library facilities at this school are virtually non-existent, these pupils do not have much access to reading materials. Virtually all these pupils are L1 speakers of Shona. They have no contact with Li speakers of English anywhere. The majority of them have no television sets but have radios. Most television programmes in Zimbabwe are in English while radio programmes are either in English, Shona or Ndebele depending on the stations. Many of these pupils listen to Radio Two whose programmes are either in Shona or Ndebele

2.3.4 School Four subjects

School Four is located in the English acquisition-average area of Mabelreign and as has already been pointed out, is a former Group A school. All the pupils in this group are black Zimbabweans and L2 speakers of English. They are taught all subjects in English except the subject Shona which is taught in the Shona language. The pupils are expected to speak in English in the classroom at all times but very often do not observe this rule. In fact, few speak to each other in English. These pupils speak Shona in the play-ground virtually all the time. The majority of them do not have television sets at home.

2.4 Data collection procedure

As has already been mentioned, the aim of the study is to describe the development of the language acquisition process via data taken from 4 primary schools. This study falls within the dormain of what Ellis (1985:160) calls, classroom second-language research. The data was collected in 1993 from four primary schools in

Zimbabwe between the months of January and December. It could not be collected for all the 12 months because the pupils go on holidays during the months of March/April as well as August/September. It was collected from pupils in Grade Five from schools labelled, for the purpose of this research, School One, Two, Three and Four. The idea was to study learner language and not teacher language. A considerable amount of teacher language study has been done before by scholars such as Mhundwa (1987) and many others. The data was recorded using a tape recorder in order to facilitate the collection of natural language. Very often, the pupils would talk for as long as they wanted. Each recording period was about thirty minutes. This method of data elicitation was different from that of the others because, although the learners were made to be free and as relaxed as possible, deliberations pertaining to the topic under discussion were controlled by the researcher and very often, the class teacher was not present during the recording. Also, this data-collection method was not meant to record teacher-pupil interaction, pupil-pupil interaction or teacher-teacher interaction.

The aim was to record and capture individual pupil utterances on each particular topic, very often, chosen by the researcher and perceived to be of interest to learners eg. 'My holiday', 'My likes and dislikes', 'Ghosts' and 'Food'. The utterances were addressed partly to me, but mainly to other pupils who sometimes interjected and asked questions to seek clarification or explanation. More on this later. But it was clear the pupils were aware that I had an interest in them as well. It can be said that pupils' utterances were to some extent often characterized by dialogue and therefore could not be said to have been monologic. I do, however, realise and acknowledge that this kind of classroom language, even though it shares many

characteristics with non-classroom discourse, does have its limitations. The limitation often arises from a phenomenon which Labov (1970) cited in Ellis (1985:77) called the observer's paradox. In this instance, the nature of the pupils' discourse is said to be affected by the mere fact that they are aware that they are being observed by the researcher. Yet for us to study pupil talk, we need to elicit pupils' speech and observe them talk. However, as already mentioned above, the nature of the topics used and the dialogue that often ensued made discussions quite naturalistic. The pupils were not told of the topic in advance and so the discourse was unplanned. After the end of nine months, the data was transcribed and analysed to ascertain the learners progress. Following linguistic practice e.g. Ziko (1984:25), Tamanaki (1994:243) and Simons-McDonald (1994:38) a brief linguistic background of the pupils is presented diagrammatically, in tables 6 to 9 to enable us to see the extent to which learners are exposed to English outside the classroom.

Very often, the pupils participated willingly and enthusiastically. Motivation was often high, except when it appeared that certain pupils were not very conversant with the task or topic and very rarely, if they did not quite like the topic. Usually the atmosphere in the classroom during the recording was jovial. Sometimes there were

Research Name	Age	Male Female	L1.	Other Languages	Language at Home	Languages with Friends	English out of Class	Acquisition - Rich/ Average /Poor	Creche Years	Teacher L1 or L2	TV	Radio
Vanesa	10	F	German	-	German	English	Very often	Rich	2	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3
Natasha	10	F	Gujarati	-	English / Gujarati	English	Always	Rich	2	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3
Benita	10	F	Shona	-	English	English	Always	Rich	3	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	1/3
Tamari	10	F	Shona	-	English/ Shona	Shona	Sometimes	Average	2	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3
Chenai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	English	Sometimes	Rich	1	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3
Tess	10	F	Shona	-	Shona/ English	English	Very often/ Always	Rich	2	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3
Kudzai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	English/ Shona	Very often	Rich	3	1-L1 2-L1 3-L1 4-L1 5-L1	Yes	3

Table 6. School One Pupils

RESEARCH NAME	AGE	MALE FEMALE	L1.	OTHER LANGUAGES	LANGUAGE AT HOME	LANGUAGES WITH FRIENDS	ENGLISH OUT OF CLASS	ACQUISITION - RICH/ AVERAGE/ POOR	CRECHE YEARS	TEACHER L1 OR L2 GRADE-TEACHER	TV	RADIO
Lina	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Very often	Average	5	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Torai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Always "Often"	Average	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Funase	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Very Often	Poor	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Anita	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Very Often	Rich	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Tom	10	M	Shona	-	Shona/ English	Shona English	Very Often	Average	-	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Veronica	10	F	Shona	-	Shona/ English	Shona English	Occassionally	Average	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3/2
Rose	10	F	Shonaa	-	Shona/ English	Shona/ English	Very often	Rich	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	0

Table 7. School Two Pupils

RESEARCH NAME	AGE	MALE FEMALE	L1.	OTHER LANGUAGES	LANGUAGE AT HOME	LANGUAGES WITH FRIENDS	ENGLISH OUT OF CLASS	ACQUISITION - RICH/ AVERAGE /POOR	CRECHE YEARS	TEACHER L1 OR L2	TV	RADIO
Renia	10	F	Shona	-	Shona/ English	Shona/ English	Very often	Rich	3	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Tembikosi	10	F	Shona	-	Shona/ English	English/ Shona	Very Often	Rich	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Shorai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	English/ Shona	Very Often	Rich	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Ndela	10	M	Ndebele	-	Ndebele	Ndebele/ English	Occasionally	Average	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Winston	10	M	Shona	-	Shona	English/ Shona	Occasionally	Rich	-	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Petuka	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	English/ Shona	Very Often	Rich	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Beauty	10	F	Shonaa	-	Shona	Shona	Occasionally	Poor	3	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3

Table 7. School Two Pupils (Cont.)

RESEARCH NAME	AGE	MALE FEMALE	L1.	OTHER LANGUAGES APART FROM ENGLISH	LANGUAGE AT HOME	LANGUAGES WITH FRIENDS	ENGLISH OUT OF CLASS	ACQUISITION - RICH/ AVERAGE/ POOR	CRECHE YEARS	TEACHER L1 OR L2 GRADE-TEACHER	TV	RADIO
Tese	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	English	Sometimes	Poor	5	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Chanetsa	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	0	2
Vera	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Mona	10	M	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Tamuka	10	M	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	-	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	2
Tatenda	10	M	Shona	-	Shona	'English'	Never	Poor	4	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Liza	10	F	Shonaa	-	Shona	Shona	Sometimes	Poor	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	0	2

Table 8. School Three Pupils

Research Name	Age	Male Female	L1.	Other Languages	Language at Home	Languages with Friends	English out of Class	Acquisition - Rich/ Average/ Poor	Creche Years	Teacher L1 or L2 Grade-Teacher	TV	Radio
Anita	11	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Never	Poor	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	2
Morris	10	M	Shona	-	Shona/ English	Shona	Never	Samora	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	0
Kinopa	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	2
Petai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Jane	11	f	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	?	2
Chenai	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Never	Poor	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	?	2

Table 8. School Three Pupils (Cont.)

RESEARCH NAME	AGE	MALE FEMALE	L1.	OTHER LANGUAGES APART FROM ENGLISH	LANGUAGE AT HOME	LANGUAGES WITH FRIENDS	ENGLISH OUT OF CLASS	ACQUISITION - RICH/ AVERAGE/ POOR	CRECHE YEARS	TEACHER L1 OR L2 GRADE-TEACHER	TV	RADIO
Lorraine	10	F	Ndebele	Shona	Ndebele	Shona	Very often	Average	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Joy	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Occassionally	Average	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Themba	10	M	Ndebele	Shona	Ndebele	Shona	Very Often	Average	3	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Nora	10	F	Shona	-	Tonga	Shona	Occassionally	Averge	4	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Roxana	9	F	Shona	-	Shona	English	Occassionally	Average	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Shelly	9	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Occasionally	Average	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Faith	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Occassionally	Average	3	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	2

Table 9. School Four Pupils

RESEARCH NAME	AGE	MALE FEMALE	L1.	OTHER LANGUAGES APART FROM ENGLISH	LANGUAGE AT HOME	LANGUAGES WITH FRIENDS	ENGLISH OUT OF CLASS	ACQUISITION - RICH/ AVERAGE/ POOR	CRECHE YEARS	TEACHER L1 OR L2	TV	RADIO
Pora	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona/ English	Occassionally	Average	0	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Steven	10	M	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Occassionally	Average	1	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Nerisa	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	Shona	Occassionally	Average	3	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3
Vhira	10	F	Shona	-	Shona	'English'	Occassionally	Average	2	1-L2 2-L2 3-L2 4-L2 5-L2	Yes	3

Table 9. School Four Pupils (Cont.)

sad moments during these recordings as was one case when a pupil explained how one evening she saw the ghost of her dead father. There were about thirty-six pupils in each class who took turns to be interviewed. Data was collected from whoever was willing to contribute. This was meant not to alienate some pupils who would not be selected for research. It is important to stress that, as has already been mentioned above, because the study is classroom based, I decided that all data was to be collected from within the confines of the classroom. I decided that the following features would be analysed: answers to negative rising intonation questions, verb morphology and lexical repetition. The rationale for the choice of these features is supplied at 3.1 and 3.2.5,4.1 and 5.4.2 respectively.

In gathering this data, I used what Ellis (1990:68) called participant ethnography, where the researcher participates in the activities being done by the pupils. The researcher often told pupils of his own experiences, especially about ghosts. This often increased the learners' interest as well as enhanced their motivation. Ellis (1990:65) has suggested that classroom second language acquisition can best be understood if the researcher participates in some of the learners' classroom activities. He contrasts this approach with what he calls non-participant observation, where the researcher stands outside the classroom activities as an observer.

There are clear gains and drawbacks to each approach. The first carries the advantage of prompting by the researcher, so that data from as many pupils as possible can be collected. It also ensures comparability of the data. Where this method is less satisfactory, is that the topics and nature of the interaction is not always self-selected by the pupils and hence slightly less naturalistic than is

desirable. However, for the purpose of syntactic and lexical comparative study (rather than discourse or conversational analysis) the method was deemed effective. My data may not have been as naturalistic as that of those scholars who take subjects to restaurants, where communication between pupils becomes more spontaneous. But I attempted to create spontaneous discourse within the confines of the classroom, contradictory though this might sound. I think that if the learner discusses a topic he is very familiar with, while in a very relaxed state and paying attention not to form but to meaning and when the researcher acts in such a way as to appear one of them, a high degree of linguistic spontaneity in the classroom may be achieved. Some researchers have suggested that classroom language is constrained by the fact that it is obtained through simulation, which itself is an artificial process. However, it is important to emphasize that a great deal can be done to reduce this artificiality.

2.5 Sampling procedure

In the collection of data, I first had to select the schools from which the data would be collected. These schools would provide my research population. It is from the population that the samples for the research would be obtained. To enable me to select the schools and pupils to be used for the research, the simple random sampling technique was used. Before describing exactly how this sampling technique was used, it may be helpful to make a brief description of the terms population and sample. According to Borg and Gall (1989:213), cited in Thondhlana (1994:68), a population is what they call a large group we wish to learn from', whilst a sample is the smaller group we actually study. Two other scholars , Best and Kahn

(1993:13) have described a sample as 'a small proportion of the population selected for observation and analysis'.

Many researchers in Zimbabwe have used the simple random sampling technique. One such researcher is Thondhlana (1994) who conducted a contrastive study of rhetorical patterns of argumentative writing in Shona and English by native speakers of Shona as well as by English native speakers. To select her samples, she used the simple random sampling technique as follows:

(a) Firstly, she numbered every school in the population.

(b) Secondly, she put each number on a slip of paper and in a bag.

(c) Thirdly, she shuffled and mixed the slips of paper.

(d) Fourthly, she drew, one, by one, a sample of the required size.

The simple random sampling technique used in my study resembles that of Thondhlana in many ways. My first task was to select the schools from which the data would be collected. In order to choose School One, the following procedure was followed:

(a) Firstly, I selected every school in Harare which has a large number of L1 speakers of English and a small number of L2 speakers of English.

(b) Secondly, I assigned numbers to each school and wrote the numbers on slips of paper which were put into a bag.

(c) Thirdly, the slips of paper were shuffled and mixed.

(d) Fourthly, I drew one sample from the bag.

Schools Two, Three and Four were selected in similar ways as outlined above. School Two was selected from a number of schools in town which have a larger L2

student population than L1 student population. School Three was selected from schools in town which have a 100% L2 student population whilst School Four was selected from schools with nearly a 100% L2 student population but from a different linguistic environment than that of School Three. Details about the schools have been provided at 2.2.

I then had to decide which grade would be chosen for this research. Pupils in Zimbabwe undergo seven years of primary school education, from grade one to grade seven. In grade seven, they write final examinations which will enable them to enter form one, which is the first year of secondary education. A pupil who passes this examination with good results will have the privilege to choose the school in which to attend his form one, while one who does not do well, will be forced to attend whatever school he is assigned to. One who fails, may drop out of school.

I decided to conduct this research in grade five for two reasons. Firstly, this seemed an appropriate stage by which all pupils should have gained familiarity with English. Secondly, the research would not interfere with the pupils preparations for the above mentioned examinations. I also had to choose particular classes in which the research would take place. This was necessary because in most schools, there are about five streams of grade five classes. The simple random sampling technique described above was also used in the selection of the classes. Firstly, grade five class lists which had been supplied by the headmaster were assigned numbers. Secondly, the papers were put in bag. Thirdly, the papers were shuffled and mixed. And fourthly, I drew one number from the bag. The class whose number matched the number drawn, would constitute my research sample.

The selection of pupils to be used as subjects was done in a similar manner as above, but after I had finished collecting the data. All pupils' names on class lists were assigned numbers. Each name was cut off the list and put in a bag. The papers were then shuffled and mixed up. I then drew, one by one, the samples that were deemed necessary. For School One, all L2 speakers of English were chosen because they were only seven. As can be seen from the accounts given above, the sampling procedure tended to be tedious because it involved repeating procedures. I however, think that it is important to describe these procedures in detail in order to give a clear picture of what exactly took place when sampling was conducted.

2.6 Limitation of this research

One of the problems with this research methodology was the accumulation and transcription of a vast amount of data, more than was strictly needed or relevant for this study. Even though this data can be used for other research apart from this one, this process was very time consuming. This method had to be used because all the pupils needed to be occupied during this period. It would have been an administrative burden if the teacher were required to take over part of the class while I was recording the other. Also, during the recordings, some pupils dominated the sessions while others said as little as they could. As a result there is more data from some pupils and less from others.

CHAPTER 3

INTERLANGUAGE ANALYSIS OF A SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTION: ANSWERS TO RISING INTONATION QUESTIONS

3.1 Introduction

There are a few constructions reported to be wide-spread in varieties of English in Africa that have received little attention from researchers. Some of these constructions are those that involve answers to rising intonation questions. In Chapter 1, I pointed out that during the data collection process, a few questions were asked that resulted in the production of such constructions in the pupils' discourse. I therefore decided to carry out a study and focus on answers to a certain category of questions, which I have called rising intonation questions. The analysis of answers to rising intonation questions will be preceded by background description of various kinds of questions e.g. interrogatives, wh-questions, tag questions, yes/no questions, and intonation questions. A discussion of these various kinds of questions above is important to enable me to locate my discussion of rising intonation questions within the context of other questions. After discussing the questions, a brief description of why it is important to study these kinds of questions will be made. An analysis of a framework to be used for data analysis will also be made. Lastly, data involving rising intonation questions from the four schools will be presented and analysed in terms of route and rate of development. And for comparative purposes, data from Li pupils will be presented.

3.2 Background

3.2.1 Interrogatives

According to Crystal (1980: 299), the term interrogative is used by linguists to refer to different kinds of questions. In this study, the terms question and interrogative will be used interchangeably. There are basically four types of interrogatives:

a) wh-questions

b) tag questions

c) yes/no questions

d) intonation questions

This chapter will be based on intonation questions, but first, a description of all the four categories of questions listed above will be made in order to place intonation questions within the context of other interrogative questions.

3.2.2 Wh-questions

Wh-questions contain a wh-element which is normally placed at the beginning of an interrogative sentence and are used to ask for what Huddleston (1990: 113) calls, 'some piece of information'. Sinclair (1990: 99) observes that very often, the information required is of a specific nature, about a particular person, thing, reason, method or amount. Sinclair (1990: 200) outlines nine categories of wh-questions which I present below:

a) Who. Who is often used in order to determine someone's identity. It can be used as a subject of a verb.

b) Whom. Whom can be used as a substitute for who (in objective/accusative case) but it can also be used as an object of a preposition as in:

1. For whom is it meant?

c) Whose. Whose is often used as a possessive as in:

2. Whose keys are these?

d) Which. Which can be used for a question that requires specific information about something or someone. It can be used as part of the subject as in:

3. Which book did you buy?

e) When. When is used for a question that requires time specification as in:

4. When did you arrive?

f) Where. Where is often used for questions that require information about a place, a position or direction as in:

5. Where is the robber?

g) Why. Why is used in order to ascertain causes as in:

6. Why did you lie?

h) How. How is often used to find out the manner in which something is done, to enquire about someone's health, or to ask for clarification as in:

7. How do you bake a cake?

8. How are you?

9. How much sugar do you want?

i) What. What can be used to ask for specific things and can work as an object of a preposition as in:

10. What do you require from me?

11. What is it made up of?

How is the odd one out because, unlike the wh-question words outlined above, it does not have the wh-element, although it also belongs to this category. Many of the wh-question words can stand on their own, especially in speech. For instance, in response to a statement 'She got married' one can simply just remark 'where?', 'when?. And in response to a statement 'One of you has been selected', one may simply ask 'who?' or 'whom?'.

Blakemore (1992:114) reports that in conversation however, sometimes these wh-interrogative question elements are not used to get information but for other reasons which are outlined below:

j) Expository questions e.g.

12. What problems are involved?

In a question such as this one, the speaker proceeds to answer the question himself.

k) Rhetorical questions e.g.

13. Why do you keep looking at me?

In a question such as this one, the speaker does not even expect an answer.

l) Speculative questions e.g.

14. Who will be the next president of Zimbabwe?

A question such as this one is addressed to a speaker who does not know the answer and may not be expected to.

m) Guess questions e.g.

15. What is in my bag?

In (m) the speaker already knows the answer but wants the listener to make a guess about something. Blakemore calls such questions "trivial" because they do not fall into the category of 'mainstream' questions which require specific answers. Finally, Blakemore reports that wh-question elements can help to indicate the presence of a relative clause in a statement.

3.2.3 Tag Questions

Several definitions of tag questions have been made. Below, a brief discussion of such definitions by four scholars namely Cowie, Sinclair, Ngara and Schmied is provided. According to Cowie (1989: 1307), 'a tag is a word or phrase that is added to a sentence to give it emphasis'. On the other hand Sinclair (1990: 433) considers a tag to be used to convert a statement into a question. He says that a tag is a short structure that is added to the end of a statement to turn it into a question. Sinclair argues that in standard English, tag elements are either affirmative or negative. An affirmative tag element is used if the main clause in the sentence is negative e.g.

16. You are not coming with us, are you?

On the other hand, a negative tag is used if the main clause is positive as in:

17. You are coming with us, aren't you?

Where a statement contains an auxiliary, the same auxiliary needs to form part of the tag element e.g.

18. She has gone, hasn't she?

Milroy (1987:54) suggests that in discourse, very often tag questions are not used as requests for information, but rather as he puts it, 'are conducive forms seeking

confirmation of a previously stated proposition'. Also, if a statement has a past or present form of be, the be will form part of the tag element e.g.

19. They are, aren't they?

And where the main clause of a statement does not have the auxiliary, do is often used.

20. She worked for pirates, didn't she?

However, it is not all the time that tags are used to convert statements into questions. They have a multiplicity of other uses as briefly outlined below. A tag can be used to make an order as in (21):

21. Come into the office, will you.

Tags can also be used to check if someone else feels the same as the speaker as in (22):

22. I am very hungry, aren't you?

According to Schmied (1991:73) in African English, tags are said to occur in invariant forms. For example, sentence (16) repeated below would be:

23. You are not coming with us, isn't it?

While sentences (17) and (18) would be as (24) and (25):

24. You are coming with us, isn't it?

25. She has gone, not so?

In Zimbabwe, sentence (23) and (24) sometimes occur, but not (25). Sentence (25) occurs in some varieties of English which are spoken in some West African countries e.g. Sierra Leone. Sentence (25) would occur as:

26. She has gone, isn't it?

Also in Zimbabwe sentence (27) would occur as sentence (28):

27. You want to leave for Nairobi, not so?

28. You want to leave for Nairobi, isn't it?

Ngara (1987: 78) argues that in standard English, very often the subject of the main verb recurs in the tag element. This suggests that the emphasis is on the doer of the action and not on the action itself, while in African English, the fact that the tag element in (23) and (24) refers to the verb coming suggests that the emphasis is on the action performed and not on the subject. More on this later.

3.2.4 Yes/No Questions

A large number of yes/no questions have an auxiliary occurring before the subject and the main verb, what Crystal (1980: 289) calls 'the inversion of the subject and the first verb in the verb phrase'. For example in (29) below, the subject and the verb are inverted and if a sentence does not have an auxiliary, the question is realised by a form of the verb (do/does/did) as in (30):

29. Have you finished?

30. Does he smoke?

Sentence (31) below indicates that if a sentence contains two auxiliaries, it is the first auxiliary in the verb phrase that is inverted.

31. Have you been drinking?

Tsui (1987: 82) argues that in speech, three different kinds of yes/no questions can be distinguished. The first one involves what he calls 'neutral polarity', where the answer expected from the question can either be a yes or no as in (32):

32. Does anyone require my help?

A second kind of yes/no question is one that is 'biased' towards what he calls, a positive orientation where the answer expected is a yes as in (33):

33. Did someone take my pen?

The speaker suspects that the culprit is somewhere in the vicinity and expects him to own up. In the third category, Tsui argues that sometimes a question is 'biased' towards a negative orientation where the expected answer will be negative as shown at (34) below:

34. Isn't your car working?

I agree with Tsui's argument that in speech it is possible to manipulate questions and tilt them towards a yes or no answer within a suitable context. When we talk of 'biasing' questions towards negative or positive responses, we need to emphasize that the responses that may ensue, may very well depend on the respondent's attitude towards the speaker or the question itself. They may very well also depend on the context in which the question is asked.

A less problematic way of approaching yes/no questions in relation to their answers is perhaps to look at them from a strictly grammatical point of view. The rules of standard English can be fruitfully compared with the way these questions and answers occur in non-standard varieties of English. In such a study in which a comparison is made between standard English and South African English, Mesthrie (1994: 188) argues that in standard English, answers to yes/no questions operate on the basis of an agreement that exists between a yes and is on one side and a no and isn't on the other. He summarises this argument by saying:

> In Standard English, agreement holds between a yes and is and between a no and isn't in the answer irrespective of how the question is framed (Mesthrie, 1994: 188).

Mesthrie illustrates this contention by giving the following examples from standard English:

35. Q. Is he arriving tomorrow?

36. Yes he is or No

37. Q Isn't he arriving tomorrow?

38. Yes he is or No (he isn't)

In other words, in standard English, the answer to (35) can never be 'Yes, he isn't' or 'No, he is'. Likewise, the answer to (37) can never be 'Yes, he isn't' or 'No, he is '. However, the rules governing answers to yes/no questions change when it comes to certain varieties of African English. For instance, let us consider the following sentences of Black South African English which Mesthrie (1994:189) presents:

39. Q: Is he arriving tomorrow?

40. A: Yes (he is)

41. Q: Isn't he arriving tomorrow?

42. A: Yes (he n't)

43: Q: Is he arriving tomorrow?

44: A: No (he n't)

45: Q: Isn't he arriving tomorrow?

46: A: No (he)

Mesthrie argues that a yes in (40) implies 'he is', but in (42) it implies 'he isn't'. The same principle also applies to those utterances that require no answers. For example, in (44) a 'No' implies 'he isn't' but in (46) it implies 'He is'. Mesthrie (1994:189) argues that in Black South African English, 'agreement holds vertically between question and answer and not laterally. Also, according to Sey (1973: 41), in Ghananian English the answer to question (47) below would be sentence (48).

47. Q. Isn't he coming?

48. A. Yes, he isn't coming.

Judging from the answers we get for questions such as (37) on the one hand and questions (47) on the other, we can see that the grammatical rules that apply in the standard English and non-standard English dialects are different. The nature of the problems that arise among non-native speakers of English about answers to yes/no questions have led Bokamba (1984: 84) to remark:

> Of the various syntactico-semantic deviations in African English, none has perhaps caused more confusion in communication than the use of the affirmative answers to yes/no questions.

3.2.5 Rising Intonation

According to Morley (1991:493), there has been a rise in the attention that is paid to the study of intonation of non-native speakers of English. Crystal (1980: 182) has argued that intonation is a term used to denote pitch patterns in speech, which linguists analyse in terms of tone units. Intonation cues can be used to convey

various emotional attitudes such as anger, sympathy, indifference or to depict patronizing attitudes. Furthermore, Crystal (1980: 182) suggests that intonation cues can also be used to signal the use of sarcasm. Wennerstrom (1994:400) citing Chunn (1988) suggests that intonation cues can also be used for negotiating a turn, indicating awareness of shared information between speaker and hearer, topic management and boundary marking. Also, as Gimson (1970: 266) correctly points out, the full meaning of an utterance is derived from variation in pitch movement. In speech, it is intonation that helps us differentiate a statement from a question. For instance, the sentence such as (49):

(49) You are a teacher.

can be viewed as a declarative if it is said in a level tone. But if a rising tone is used, it becomes a question. Brazil (1975) cited in Coulthard (1977: 104) identifies five main intonation patterns which are presented below. The examples are taken from those used by Martin Hewings, a lecturer from The University of Birmingham, UK, who was teaching intonation to the MA class at the University of Zimbabwe.

(a) Falling tone as in:

50. The tiain was late.

(b) Fall rise as in:

51. The thain was'late.

(c) Rising as in:

52. Zimbat5we

(d) Level tone as in:

53. Zimbabwe

(e) Rise fall as in:

54. 1 we

The semantic implication of the falling intonation at (50) is that the speaker cannot be blamed for being late because it was the train's fault. The fall-rise pitch at (51) is used to create a humorous effect because the speaker is implying that his lateness is something funny and that the listener is free to laugh if he wishes. The semantic cue indicated by the rising intonation at (52) is that the speaker is asking a question which, in its elaborated form would be:

55. Is it Zimbabwe that you are referring to?

The level tone at (53) suggests indifference on the part of the speaker. In its elaborated form, it can be:

56. I come from Zimbabwe.

Such a statement would imply for instance that one comes from Zimbabwe and that there is nothing significant about that. And lastly, the fall-rise semantic cue suggested by sentence (54) is that the speaker is being sarcastic. For instance, with the full realisation that the Zimbabwean economy is doing badly, the speaker might say:

57. You come from Zimbabwe? The economy has been doing very well of late.

Coulthard (1977: 98) has correctly emphasized that intonation is used to express the speaker's attitude to the situation in which he is placed.

Specifically in this chapter, I am concerned with interrogatives that arise due to the use of a rising intonation which is similar to the ones indicated at sentence (58) and (59). In my opinion, questions such as the ones at (58) and (59) are very common in the English of many Zimbabweans. And I think they are more common than inverted yes/no questions. For these sentences, interrogativeness is indicated by a rising intonation pattern. As we have already mentioned and as Ellis (1985: 60) also observes, these kinds of sentences are utterances which have a declarative word order but are spoken with a rising intonation.

According to the way I have categorized the questions in this study therefore, sentences (58) and (59) as well as sentences (60) and (61) have been classified as different:

58. She is your aunt?

59. She's not your aunt?

60. Is she your aunt?

61. Is she not your aunt?

In speech, sentences (58) and (59) are positive and negative rising intonation questions respectively, whereas, sentences (60) and (61) are positive and negative yes/no questions respectively. In standard English, the answer to question (59) is either:

1r—— *
Yes she is or No she isn't

In determining the correct answers to a question such as (59), the principle is similar to the one used by Mesthrie (1994:188) in his analysis of yes/no questions. There is an agreement that holds between a 'Yes' and 'is' on one side, and a 'No' and isn't on the other. There is a collocational relationship between positive elements on one side and negative elements on the other. From Mesthrie's principle, the answer to question (59) can never be 'Yes she isn't' or 'No she is', because in this communicative context, positive and negative elements do not exist together.

3.3 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

3.3.1 Motivation and Hypotheses

As already indicated above, during the data collection process, it appeared as though learners from English input acquisition poor linguistic environments were having problems in answering negative rising intonation questions while those learners from English input acquisition -rich environments were not having problems in answering these questions. For example in answer to a question such as:

62. You didn't disappear?

Tatenda from the English input acquisition-poor environment of Mbare gave the answer 'Yes' instead of the answer 'No'. On the other hand, when a similar question was asked to learners from School One, a correct answer was realised. I therefore hypothesized that this was a general trend, that those learners who were exposed to English input only in the classroom were more likely to give incorrect answers to negative rising intonation questions, while those learners from English input acquisition rich environments, who were exposed to English input in and out of the

classroom, were more likely to give correct answers to the said questions. Before proceeding with this analysis, I think it is important that I put the notion of "correct" and "incorrect" that we see in tables 10 to 15 into the context in which this analysis is made. By "correct" answers, I mean those negative rising intonation answers that are 'correct' because they conform to the standard English norms of correctness. On the other hand, by "incorrect" I refer to those linguistic forms that are "incorrect" because they do not conform to standard English norms of 'correctness' but are however "correct" by other norms of "correctness". As has already been explained in (1.5.13), according to educationists and government officials in Zimbabwe, the reference point for correct English is the native speaker and all other varieties of English will not be tolerated. It is within this context that Tatenda's answer to question (62) should be seen. His 'yes' has been judged according to the rules of standard English.

In support of this view of linguistic analysis, Ellis (1985:51) citing Jacobivits (1970) and Cook (1971) has argued:

> ...evaluating L2 performance in terms of target language grammar is unsatisfactory because the learner behaves 'grammatically' in the sense that he draws systematically on his interlanguage rules. The term 'error' itself therefore, is doubtful ... For the L2 learner, however, the true norms are contained in the interlanguage system he has constructed.
>
> (Ellis, 1985:51)

More recently, Cook (1998:3) has this to say about L2 linguistic "correctness" or "incorrectness" in relation to native speaker norms of correctness:

> L2 users are speakers in their own right, not imitation native peakers... They are not native speakers and will never be ... Labovs' argument that class and race lead to language differences, not language deficits (Labov, 1969), should be extended to the L2 situation. It may be as discriminatory to consider an L2 user a failed native speaker as it is to consider a man a failed woman ... L2 users use the language for their own purposes and in their own ways. If you measure apples by pears, you will undoubtedly conclude that apples have the wrong shape, colour and flavour.
>
> (Cook, 1998:3)

I also hypothesized that if a developmental study of the negative rising intonation questions were done, we would see that the proficiency rates of those learners who have problems with the said questions would increase progressively along a continuum. I therefore decided to carry out an investigation to establish whether or not the above generalisations could be supported empirically. I think it is important to mention that there were not many rising intonation questions that were asked during the data collection process. This was so mainly because, in my opinion, if too many questions were asked, this would tend to interfere too frequently with the flow of talk, thereby rendering the data collection process less naturalistic than would have been desirable. However, Gupta (1994:141) has suggested that even with a little amount of data it is still possible to determine developmental norms, a point she makes clear when she suggests, 'establishing developmental norms ... will be possible even with the limited data available'. Although Gupta was referring to her study of developmental norms in Singapore Colloquial English, I think that her

comments are applicable even to second language acquisition research in Zimbabwe.

3.3.2 Framework for analysis of answers to rising intonation questions

In order to facilitate the analysis of the data, tables which contain rising intonation questions are presented . In each table, the names of the pupils from whom the data was collected are written on the extreme left. After the names, the dates on which the data was collected are written. Immediately after the dates, all the questions asked and the responses given are presented. The next column is the Correct answer column where a tick is used to indicate that a pupil has supplied a correct answer to the question. If an incorrect answer is given, this is indicated in the Incorrect answer column by a cross. If neither the answer yes nor the answer no is given, the response is labelled an Avoided answer and is indicated in the table by the letter A.

From the data, we can say there are about three reasons why an 'avoidance' is committed:

(i) The learner has the competence to use the yes/no form but consciously avoids it because he feels it is not obligatory to use it.

(ii) The learner has the competence to use the form, but unconsciously avoids it and uses other linguistically acceptable options available in his repertoire.

(iii) The learner does not have the competence to use yes/no so he uses other forms he is more comfortable with.

In the column labelled Expected answers, responses that the pupils were expected to give are provided. In some cases, an explanation of the pupils' answer is also given. And in the last column, brief comments on the answers are given, though not in every case. To calculate the proficiency rates for each group, we express the total number of correct responses as a percentage of the total number of all the responses realised by each group. If, say the total we get by adding all the responses realised by School X is (20) and the total number of correct responses realised by the whole group is 5, the 'correct response percentage' would be 25%. The same formula is applied for incorrect as well as avoided responses. To determine whether the proficiency rate for each group is improving or not, a comparison is made between group responses realised say, during the first half of the data recording period and responses realised in the second half of the data recording period.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS RELATING TO RISING INTONATION QUESTIONS

3.4.1 School One: Rate and route of development of answers to rising intonation questions

An examination of Group One yes/no responses indicates that this group realises the highest correct response score of 53% as indicated in table 10. This score is however, significantly different from that of native speakers which is 89%. The 0% incorrect response score they realise however, is also the same score that is realised by native speakers. The correct response score of this group is also much higher than that of the other L2 groups especially that of School Three which is 0%. Kudzai's responses presented below reflect this groups competence is answering rising intonation questions:

63. Researcher R : You didn't eat lots of sadza?
64. Pupil P : I did.
65. R : Answer by a yes or no.
66. P : Yes I did.-

In table. 10, I present data in which answers to rising intonation questions is used. I wish to stress that, as I have already pointed out, the grammatical rules that are used to determine 'correctness' and 'incorrectness' are those of standard English. From Table 10, we can see that these learners don't have problems in supplying answers to rising intonation questions particularly those that require no answers. However, there are indications that these learners are not as confident with the questions that require **yes** responses as they are with those questions that require no responses.

Names	Dates	Question & Answers	Correct Answers In standard English	Incorrect Answers In standard English	Avolded Answers	Expected Answers	Comments
Benita	26 Jan.	R: You didn't get scared? P: I was very scared.			A	*'Yes'*	
Kudzai	26 Feb.	R: You didn't eat lots of sadza? P: I did (laughs) lots of sadza. R: Answer by a *yes* or *no*. P: *Yes* I did. R: You didn't eat lots of guavas, bananas and oranges. P: I ate lots of guavas and bananas. R: You didn't drink maheu? P: *No.* R: You didn't go by car? P: We did go by car. R: Answer by *'yes'* or *'no'*. P: *Yes.*	✓ ✓ ✓		A A A	*'Yes'* *'Yes'* *'Yes'* *'No'* *'Yes'* *'Yes'*	Demonstrates confidence and certainty.
	4 Jun.	R: You didn't eat lots of sadza? P: No. R: You didn't sleep a lot? P: No. R: You didn't help your parents during the holiday? P: I did.	✓ ✓		A	*'No'* *'No'* *'Yes'*	

	25 Jun.	R: You didn't make it up? P: And it is a true story.. R: You didn't make it up? P: No. R: No or Yes P: No.	 ✓ ✓		A A	'No' 'No' 'Yes'	Checking strategy
Vanesa	5 Nov	R: You haven't spoken? P: No	 ✓			'No'	
			53%	0%	47%		

Table 10 School One: Rising intonation questions from English acquisition rich category

This is so because virtually all the avoided answer responses are the ones which in fact require yes responses, while virtually all the no responses are found in the correct answer category. As can be seen from Table 10, School One realises a 47% avoided answer responses. And of these scores, 83% require yes answers while only 17% require no answers. This suggests that these learners indicate a degree of uneasiness about rising intonation questions that require yes answers. To illustrate this point the conversation below is presented:

67. R : You didn't eat lots of sadza?
68. P : I did (laughs) lots of sadza.
69. R : Answer by a yes or no.
70. P : Yes.
71. R : You didn't eat lots of guavas, bananas and oranges.
72. P : I ate lots of guavas and bananas.
73. R : You didn't go by car.
74. P : We did go by car.

This phenomenon may, perhaps, be explained by suggesting that as far as rising intonation questions are concerned, those that require no answers are acquired first before those that require yes answers. In other words, it is possible that this is the order in which these linguistic features are acquired.

To conclude, it is important to make a reminder, as well as take note of the fact that Group One pupils are all girls whose school is predominantly Li and which is located in a linguistic environment I have categorised as English input-acquisition - rich.

3.4.2 School Two : Rate and route of development of answers to rising intonation questions

School Two is located in the English input acquisition-rich linguistic environment of Mt Pleasant suburb where the majority of residents are native speakers of English. But this racial outlook is not reflected at the school where the majority of the learners are L2 speakers of English. I have categorized the school as English input acquisition-average because, even though the environment is acquisition-rich, the school itself is predominantly Black and L2 in outlook. As indicated in table 11, this group realises a correct response score of 38%, which is much higher than that of School Three and Four combined. Even though the correct response score for School Two is higher than the scores for Schools Three and Four combined, the 38% correct response score is on the whole significantly low, especially, when compared to School One rates.

For School Two, responses that are accurately realised are those that require no answers to negative rising intonation questions. For example at Time 30/5 Veronica accurately deploys the no answer:

75. R: You didn't eat derere?

76. P: No.

77. R: You don't eat derere?

78. P: No.

In order to further illustrate the extent to which some learners are proficient in the use of no answers, as well as provide the context in which some of these linguistic features occur, I present the texts below, in which Sharai is talking about her holiday experiences as well as a dialogue I have with her:

79. R: Ok, Sharai go ahead. Tell us your name and go ahead.

80. P: (Giggles). Urn. (pause). My name is Sharai. During the holidays, I stayed at home. It was very boring. And eh.. (giggles) after breakfast I went to play with my friends (pause).

81. R: Go ahead.

82. P: I tried to write a letter to Rumbidzai (giggles) but didn't have any stamps and envelope (noises and giggles from other pupils in the class). And um, on Christmas day , on Christmas day my mother brought home some cakes so that we um, we could enjoy everything on Christmas day. She bought four cakes (more giggles and loud laughter from class). We enjoyed the cakes. And for breakfast we had bacon, sausages and toast (Ooh! Mm.... loud cries of all sorts from class) and tea. We started exchanging presents and I got a , a, a, bag. (A bag! someone in class

mimics her) and a hair band. But I don't have any here. On New Years' day, Um ... (whispers of Mr Mlambo, Mr Mlambo from the class).

83. R: What happened on New Years' day?
84. P: Nothing much
85. R: Not much?
86. P: No. It was boring
87. R: Did you enjoy yourself during the holiday?
88. R: No if was very boring.
89. R: You didn't enjoy yourself during the holiday?
90. P: No.

In the last set of questions, question (87) has been recast as question (89) .A question such as (87) does not cause any problems for these learners. Therefore, the answer that is given is taken to be an accurate reflection of the pupil's communicative intentions. However, after the pupil has given the answer to the first question, the same question is repeated, but this time using the negative rising intonation form which is the one I have hypothesized as causing problems to these learners. Then I compare the first answer with the second in order to ascertain the learners consistency in her responses. From the response to the first question, in this case question (87), I can tell what it is that the learner intends to say. I can then determine whether or not the pupil has violated the rules of standard English that pertain to negative rising intonation questions.

Sharai's text is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly, in my opinion, answers (86) and (90) which, according to the rules of standard English are correct answers to rising intonation questions, provide us with evidence to suggest that Sharai is proficient in the use of these kinds of questions that require no answers. Secondly, Sharai's story gives us an idea, not only of exactly what happened in these classrooms during the data collection process, but also, an idea of the warm, relaxed and friendly atmosphere that existed in the classrooms. The pupils' cheerful mood, the laughs, giggles and friendly interjections we see at (80) and (82) would support this suggestion. Therefore, because of the conviviality of the classroom atmosphere that we have said existed virtually all the time, I think it is reasonable to suggest that the questioning of pupils that we see at (84), (87) and (89) was also characterized by the same degree of friendliness that we see in the text, even if on the surface, some of the questions may not appear as friendly as would have been desired. I think it is also important to mention that in many ways, it is mainly the manner in which the question is asked, coupled with the atmosphere which exists when the questioning takes place, that will determine whether or not the questioning process is friendly. I think, therefore, that the rising intonation questions that are used in this study, need to be viewed within the context of the friendly and natural atmosphere that existed in the classrooms during the data collection process. This is not to suggest that the data was a 100% naturalistic. As Milroy (1987:59) suggests, it is virtually impossible to collect data which is 100% naturalistic, a point he makes clear when he argues, 'the concept of an entirely natural speech event is, as several sociolinguists have pointed out, an untenable one'.

Also, from the data, pupil's responses that require s answers are the ones that get 'avoided' as the following conversation indicates:

91. R: You didn't eat guavas?

92. P: We did.

93. R: You didn't?

94. P: For dessert.

In the sentences above, the yes form has been 'avoided'. All the answers to questions that require yes are either incorrectly realised or are 'avoided'. And a 100% of all avoided response answers are those that require s responses. This suggests that perhaps, this phenomenon can be explained in terms of the route of development.

In table 11, data pertaining to negative rising intonation questions and answers is presented. I think from the table it is explicit that these pupils are not as proficient as School One in answering these sorts of questions, although, as I will try and show, they are much more proficient than School Three pupils.

Names	Dates	Question & Answers	Correct Answers in standard English	Incorrect Answers In Standard English	Avoided Answers	Expected Answers	Comments
Rose	28 Jan.	R: Did you enjoy yourself during the holiday? P: The first day was boring R: But eventually it wasn't? P: Yes, it wasn't boring		X		*'No'*	Answer for questions such as the first one will not be considered for analysis because they are not negative rising intonation
	30 May	R: Did you buy nice clothes? P: No. R: You didn't? P: *Yes* .		X		*'No'*	
Veronica	28 Jan.	R: You didn't enjoy your holiday? P: I did.			A	*'Yes'*	

	30 May	R: You didn't eat derere? P: No. R: You don't eat? P: No. R: You didn't eat guavas? P: We did. R: You didn't? P: For desert.	✓ ✓		 A A	'No' 'No' 'No' 'Yes' 'Yes'	
Sharai	28 Jan.	R: What happened on New Year's day? P: Not much. R: Not much? P: No. It was boring. R: Did you enjoy yourself during the holiday? P: No it was boring. R: You didn't enjoy yourself during the holiday? P: No.	 ✓ ✓			 'No' 'No'	Provides evidence that the '*no*' above wasn't accidental.
	30 May	R: You never have chibage for breakfast. P: I sometimes do.			 A	 'Yes'	'Chibage' is maize cob
Beauty	30 May	R: Did you eat quite a lot? P: Yes. R: You didn't eat quite a lot? P: Yes, we ate quite a lot. R: Did you eat macimbi? P: Macimbi, no. R: You didn't? P: Yes, but I eat them at home. R: You didn't eat them at home? P: No.	 ✓ ✓	 x		 'Yes' 'No' 'No'	The rest of the sentence is consistent with the '*yes*' given.
Renia	30 Jun	R: So, you haven't said anything today? P: Yes.		 x		 'No'	
Lina	28 Sept.	R: You can't swim? P: Yes. R: You don't drown? P: We do drown.		x	 A	'No' 'Yes'	
			38%	**31%**	**31%**		

Table 11 School Two: Rising intonation questions from English acquisition-average category

3.4.3 School Three: Rate and route of development of answers to rising intonation questions

School Three pupils are from the L2 African suburb of Mbare whose linguistic environment I have categorised as English input acquisition-poor because the learners are exposed to very restricted English input. As is indicated in Table 12

these learners realise a 0% correct response rate which shows that their knowledge of the rules that are applied in answering negative intonation questions is severely restricted. These learners also realise an incorrect response rate of 80% which, compared to other groups, is the highest. From Time 3/3 where the first negative rising intonation questions appear in the corpus to 7/7 where the last questions occur, there is not much indication that the proficiency rate is improving. Except for the first answer which is an avoided response, the rest are incorrectly realised.

We can therefore conclude that the rate of development in the acquisition of these types of questions is very slow. Perhaps the 20% avoided response score in table 12 is an indication that some learners feel that some of the responses they are giving may not be what they are expected to give.

In answering negative rising intonation questions, these pupils tend to respond to the form of the question itself rather than to the standard English inner logic implied by the question. For example, at 30/6 Tatenda is telling us about a ghost which disappeared. In the excerpt below, I am asking him whether he also disappeared after the disappearance of the ghost:

95. R: Did you disappear as well?
96. P: No, I get in the bus.
97 R: You didn't disappear?
98. P: Yes.
99. R: Answer with a 'yes' or 'no' . You did not disappear?
100. P: Yes.

By supplying the answer `yes' instead of a `no' Tatenda is agreeing with the negative element didn't which is in the question. It can therefore be seen that the rules that obtain in standard English which are used by Group One, are not in operation here. That is why the proficiency rates of these two schools are different.

Names	Date	Question and Answer	Correct Answers in standard English	Incorrect Answers in standard English	Avoided Answers	Brief Description of Answer	Comment
Fura	3 March 3 June	R: You haven't finished? P: I have R: Did you eat Pork during the holiday? P: No. R: You did not eat any chicken? P: Yes		 x	A	 'Yes' 'No'	These two questions check on each other to see to what extent the second response can be considered reliable.
Tatenda	30 June	R: Did you disappear as well? P: No, I get in the bus. R: You didn't disappear? P: Yes R: Answer with 'yes' or 'no' You did not disappear? P: Yes		 x x		 'No' 'No'	Questions like this one are not used in determining the percentages below. Trying to determine if some answer will be given
Jane	7July	R: Does he (his father) shoot people? P: No, he is a doctor. R: He is a doctor? P: Yes R: So he does not shoot people? P: Yes		 x		 'No'	Second question asked with a rising tone.
			0%	80%	20%		

Table 12 School Three: Rising intonation questions from English acquisition-poor category.

3.4.4 School Four: Rate and route of development of answers to rising

intonation questions

School Four is located in what I have categorised as English-input-acquisition-average linguistic environment of Mabelreign, where the majority of residents are Black and L2 speakers of English, even though this suburb traditionally was home to only native speakers of English. The groups proficiency rate in answering rising intonation questions is 24%, which is much lower than that of School One, but also much higher than that of School Three. This score tends to support my hypothesis that the proficiency rate of this school will be somewhere between that of School One and that of School Three. That is one of the reasons for categorizing this school as English input acquisition-average.

When we look at the profile of all the pupils in the sample, which is captured in Table 13, we can say that the language developmental process in relation to rising intonation questions is slow but characterised by increasing rates of competence. Some rising intonation questions have been realised correctly, although about 47% have been 'avoided', while 29% have been realised incorrectly. Many answers that require 'yes' responses are 'avoided'. I have described avoided responses as those responses in which the answers are neither yes nor no. In the discussion of rising intonation questions for School One, I made the observation that most of the questions that are 'avoided' are those that require a yes answer. On the basis of this observation, I argued that with particular reference to rising intonation questions, it is possible that these learners learn to respond to questions that require no answers before they learn responses to those questions that require yes answers. To a certain extent, I think that the same argument holds for School Four pupils. For

argument holds for School Four pupils. For example, at 1/6 Teerai is describing her holiday experiences and the following conversation takes place:

Names	Dates	Question and Answers	Correct Answers in standard English	Incorrect Answers	Avoided Answers	Expected Answers	Comments
Shelly	1 Feb.	R: Did you eat today? P: Yes R: You didn't eat today P: I ate.			A	'Yes'	Question not used for analysis.
Nora	1 Jun.	R: That wasn't the end of the holiday? P: No.	✓			'No'	
	24 Jun.	R: But were you dreaming? P: No. R: You weren't dreaming? P: Yes.		x		'No'	
Teerai	1 Jun.	R: You didn't eat sadza during the holiday? P: We ate sadza. R: You ate or you didn't? P: Aah. R: You did not eat sadza? P: We did. R: And did you do some swimming? P: No. R: But you can't run? P: I can run. R: Can you run very fast? P: No. R: You can't run very fast. P: Yes		x	A A A A	'Yes' 'Yes' 'Yes' 'Yes' 'No'	
	24 Jun.	R: You didn't see one (ghost)? P: No, I did but I didn't see it again. I spent the whole night thinking about it. R: Oh, but you didn't cry? P: No I didn't.	✓	x		'Yes' 'No'	
Vhira	1 Jun.	R: You didn't drink beer? P: No. R: You don't drink beer? P: I don't. R: Eeh? P: I don't.	✓		A A	'No'	She does not drink beer.
Roxana	1 Jun.	R: You didn't get bitten by snakes? P: Chii. R: You didn't get bitten by snakes? P: No. R: Oh, you didn't P: Yes.	✓	x	A	'No' 'No'	'Chii' is Shona for 'What'..
Joy	24 Jun.	R: But were you dreaming? P: No. R: You were not dreaming? P: Yes.		x		No	
			24%	29%	47%		

Table 13 School Four: Rising intonation questions from English acquisition average category

Example, at 116, Teerai is describing her holiday experiences. I ask her of number of questions starting with question (101):

101. R: You didn't eat sadza during the holiday?
102. P: We ate sadza.
103. R: You ate or you didn't?
104. P: Aah.
105. R: You did not eat sadza?
106. P: We did.
107. R: And did you do some swimming?
108. P: No I can't swim.
109. R: You can't swim
110. P: Yes.
111. R: But you can't run?
112. P: I can run.

The conversation seems to show that the learners' competence in answering rising intonation questions that require yes answers is restricted. But the same cannot be said of questions that require no answers as the following conversation shows:

113. R: Did you see a ghost?
114. P: No... I spent the whole night thinking about it.
115. R: Oh but you didn't cry?
116. P: No I didn't.

The correct response 'no' that we see in the last answer suggests that this learner, whose responses are taken to be representative of those of the rest of the pupils in this group, seems to have less problems with questions that require 'no' answers than he does with those questions that require 'yes' answers. It can therefore be argued that the route of development in the acquisition of these forms is such that those answers that require no are learnt first before those answers that require yes. In support of this method of linguistic analysis, Dulay and Burt (1974) cited in Mclaughlin (1987: 32) have suggested that it is possible to calculate acquisition order on the basis of accuracy data. In other words, in this particular case, although not in all cases, correctness equals acquisition and incorrectness implies lack of acquisition of a target language (standard rule) of a rising intonation question.

3.5 Native Speakers: Rate and route of development of answers to rising intonation questions.

As has already been indicated, data from native speakers of English is also presented for comparison purposes. These pupils are from the same school as School One pupils. They were asked similar rising intonation questions to those asked to L2 pupils from the same school. And as can be seen from Table 14, they realise a 89% correct response score; a score which is much higher than that realised by L2 pupils from the same school which is 53%. They also realise a 0% incorrect response score which suggests that they have competence in supplying correct answers to rising intonation questions.

Names	Dates	Question and Answer	Correct Answer	Incorrect Answer	Avoided Answers	Expected Answers	Comment
Rita	3 May	R: You don't remember eating sadza-with chicken? P: No.	✓			'No'	Sadza is staple food for black Zimbabweans.
Nicola	4 June	R: You didn't eat guavas and sadza? P: No.	✓			'No'	People don't eat sadza with guavas.
Tebbie	4 June	R: You didn't eat any crocodiles? P: No.	✓			'No'	Most people don't eat them.
Beuala	4 June	R: You did not eat any guavas P: No R: You did not each lots of food. P: No	✓ ✓			'No' 'No'	
Mirriam	4 June	R: You didn't eat any guavas? P: No. R: Did you go to the club? P: Ya R: Are there crocodiles there? P: Ya. R: There are no crocodiles there? P: There are.	✓		A	'No' 'Yes'	This was used in order to compare with next.
Sonica	4 June	R: You did not drink lots of coffee? P: No. R: You did not drink beer? P: No.	✓ ✓			'No' 'No'	She does not drink.
			89%	0%	11%		

Table 14: Native Speakers; Rising intonation questions

To further substantiate this claim, this conversation I had with Mirriam is presented. Mirriam is telling the class about a visit to the game park and the following exchange between us ensues.

117. R: You didn't eat guavas?

118. P: No.

119. R: Are there crocodiles there?

120. P: Ya.

121. R: There are no crocodiles there?

122. P: There are.

Mirriam's answers are further evidence to suggest that these native speakers of English have competence in the use of standard English rules to provide correct responses to negative rising intonation questions.

3.6 Conclusion

To sum up, a table showing yes and no and avoided response scores for all groups is presented. And for comparison purposes, scores from native speakers of English are also presented.

Table 15: Scores for all the groups including those of native speakers

GROUP	CORRECT RESPONSES %	INCORRECT RESPONSES %	AVOIDED RESPONSES %	ACQUISITION CONTEXTS
One	53	0	47	English acquisition rich
Two	38	31	31	English acquisition average
Three	0	80	20	English acquisition poor
Four	24	29	47	English acquisition average
Native Speakers	89	0	11	

Table 15 above is interesting in a number of ways:

(i) School One incorrect response scores resemble those of native speakers of English. They both have a 0% incorrect response score.

(ii) School One correct response scores and those of native speakers differ by 36%.

(iii) School Three has the lowest correct response score of 0%.

(iv) Native speaker correct response scores and those of school Three differ by 89%

(v) Native speakers have a 11 % avoided response score.

It is important to stress that, as has already been indicated at 3.5, there is evidence from the text to suggest that the avoided response at (122), which is the only avoided response answer from the native speakers category, is recognised as another way of saying 'yes', which, in fact, is the expected answer. Therefore, I think it is not unreasonable to suggest that these learners have a high degree of competence in giving correct answers to rising intonation questions, particularly when we consider that they realise a 0% incorrect response score. In other words, we should not read too much into the 11% avoided response score, but rather, the emphasis should be on their 89% correct response score, which is by far, the highest.

The data also suggests that some pupil's proficiency levels increased towards the end of the data collection process while others didn't. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the figures in Table 15 suggest that it is possible that there is an extent to which the process of second language development might be related to the learners' linguistic context. But it has to be remembered that there might be other factors that influence the process of second language acquisition. These factors have been described in detail in Chapter one, where I have also warned that it is possible that the importance of these factors is also often exaggerated. It however, needs to be pointed out that failure to provide the appropriate yes/no forms according to rules of standard English did not really lead to a communication breakdown at all between the pupils and myself. In fact, my experience with The

University of Zimbabwe students is that any attempt at "correcting" these responses is considered by the students to be puritanical, overzealous and absurd. The question that arises is whether or not these "corrections" will necessarily alter the pragmatic and communicative value of the utterances. I don't intend to answer that question in detail here except to say that when Zimbabweans are speaking to each other in Zimbabwe in purely Zimbabwean sociolinguistic contexts, there won't be any breakdown in communication for failure to use the rules of standard English in the answering of rising intonation questions. What the analysis has done is to show the tension that exists between rules of standard English on the one hand and the actual practice on the other. I have also argued that it is reasonable to suggest that, as far as answers to rising intonation questions are concerned, there exists a route of development where answers to questions that require no responses in standard English, are acquired first before the acquisition of those answers to questions that require yes responses. And, as has already been pointed out, this analysis proceeds from the standpoint that correctness equals acquisition, while incorrectness equals lack of acquisition of standard English rules, a point made clear by Dulay and Burt (1974) cited in Mclaughlin (1987: 32) who have correctly pointed out that it is possible to measure acquisition order on the basis of accuracy order. In other words, those forms that have been accurately realised, are also the forms that have been acquired. The results above perhaps confirm the natural order hypothesis which, according to Krashen (1985) cited in Mclaughlin (1987: 30), states:

> that we acquire the rules of the language in a predictable order, some rules tending to come early and others late. The order does not appear to be

determined solely by formal simplicity and there is evidence that it is independent of the order in which rules are taught in language classes.

(McLaughlin 1987:30)

CHAPTER 4

VERB MORPHOLOGY: A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY

4.1 Introduction : Hypotheses and Motivation

In this Chapter, I attempt to explore and describe the nature of second-language development with a focus on verb morpholology. I will investigate whether the routes and rates of learners' acquisition of verbs is influenced by the linguistic environments in which the pupils' schools are located. That is, whether learners whose schools are located in English input acquisition-rich linguistic environments develop differently in their acquisition of verbs when compared to those learners' whose schools are located in English input acquisition-poor linguistic environments. I will also investigate whether non-systematic variability in the acquisition of verbs is more evident at School Three, which is located in the English input acquisition-poor environment of Mbare than it is at School One which is located in an English input acquisition-rich environment.

The above hypotheses imply that violation of morphological rules can be more frequent at schools located at English input acquisition-poor environments than at English input-acquisition-rich environments. I therefore decided to carry out an investigation to see if the above generalisations could be supported by empirical evidence.

In addition to what I have outlined above, I decided to focus on verbs because they are central elements in sentence structure as heads of verb phrases. Further, Leech

and Short (1981:205) suggest that since they occur quite frequently in texts, from a methodological viewpoint, studying them is quite 'revealing' and profitable. Leech and Short's view is shared by Crystal (1980:72) who argues that, in many grammatical theories, the verb is the most important element in sentence structure.

This study falls within the domain of classroom second language development. According to Ellis (1984:9) this has been a relatively neglected area of study. One of the main reasons for this, according to Van Els (1984:68), is that researchers have not really established and agreed on specific analytical descriptive tools which can be used to measure the dynamics of language development. Also, as Ellis (1983:4) has rightly commented, researchers face enormous problems in deciding exactly what data, from a large corpus, could be used as a basis for description and analysis. This concern is also voiced by Lightbown (1983:83) who observes; 'characterizing classroom interaction is not a straight forward exercise and the range of variables one might choose to describe is very great'.

Although analytical descriptive tools for the measurement of language development have not been agreed upon by linguists, some researchers (eg. Brown 1987:75) have argued that there are many different ways to describe the progression of linguistic development that learners manifest. I will begin by describing a framework for linguistic analysis that has been used in this study.

4.2 Framework for the analysis of development in verb acquisition

It is within the context of the observations above that I present this framework for data analysis. In order to facilitate the analysis of this data, I decided that each day

and date on which the data was collected constitute a single Time. If for example, data was collected on January 1, 1993, the Time will be assigned the label 1/1 or Time 1/1, where the first 1 represents the day of the month and the second, representing the month of the year. The actual time label would be Time 1/1/93, but the year will be left out in the discussion. So, if for example, data was collected on the 3rd of March, 1993, the label will simply be Time 3/3. Data was collected in 1993 between the months of January and December. It however, could not be collected for all the 12 months because the data collection process often got interrupted when pupils went on vacation.

In this study, the learner's accuracy rate in the use of verbs at each Time will be measured by first determining the total number of verbs deployed in each text at each Time. Then I will determine the total number of verbs deployed accurately and inaccurately in a text. I will determine the learner's accuracy rate in each text by expressing the total number of verbs accurately deployed in relation to the total number of verbs deployed in each text. For example, if a pupil deploys a total of 15 verbs in a text where only 9 have been used correctly, the correct verb rate (CVR) will be determined by expressing 9 as a percentage of 15. The correct verb rate would be 60% while the incorrect verb rate will be 40%. The 60% will be taken to represent the learner's accuracy rate in the acquisition of verbs at a given Time. The developmental process or the rate at which the acquisition of verbs takes place will be determined by comparing the various correct verb rates realised by each pupil and each group at various Times throughout the data collection process. The data collection period is taken as constituting a continuum. I need to emphasise at this point that, even though correct verb rates realised by each pupil are important, the

rates realised by whole groups are more central in this study because group proficiency rates enable me to show a broader picture of the acquisition process, than individual proficiency rates.

I think the term realise, which is referred to above, requires explanation. Following Van Els (1984:91) the term realise is used to refer to a word which the learner actually uses. On the other hand, a word which the learner does not use, but which he is expected to use has been referred to as expected. More on this later.

My framework for measuring morphological development is based on one developed by Snow (1996:80). Snow's method involved the identification of noun phrases and verb phrases from a speech sample. Then she expressed the noun phrases and verb phrases that were missing morphological markers in terms of the total number of noun phrases or verb phrases deployed in a text. This method of data analysis enabled her to determine mean scores for each Time. The various scores realised from Time to Time enabled her to determine monthly growth rates. She termed every constituent that was fully marked as 'saturated'. Using the approach referred to above, she observed a group of 52 mothers and their children engaged in a dyadic play. The dyads were observed at three intervals when the children were aged 14, 20 and 32 months respectively. The study was based on noun phrases. She reported a significant increase in noun phrase saturation between the periods of 20 and 32 months. My method of analysis involves a modification of the one used by Snow. I could not use it exactly as she did because I felt that perhaps hers was more suitable for subjects younger than the ones I used.

The route of development will be calculated on the basis of what Dulay and Burt (1974b) cited in Mclaughlin (1987:32) calls accuracy data, that is, when accuracy order is taken as a reflection of acquisition order. The route of acquisition will be determined by comparing verbs that have been accurately realised with those that have been inaccurately realised. Groups of verbs that are accurately realised will be taken as occurring first in the acquisition order while groups of verbs realised incorrectly will be taken as occurring later. This concept of 'correctness equals acquisition' has been explained in Chapter Three. At this stage however, it is important to emphasize that it is not all the time and in all cases that correctness is said to equal acquisition. The principle becomes applicable particularly when one studies route of acquisition. Also, it may be helpful to clarify and emphasize the difference that exists between rate of acquisition on the one hand, and route of development on the other. As already explained at 1.5.4 rate of acquisition refers to the speed with which linguistic features are acquired whilst route of language development refers to the order in which linguistic features are acquired.

Also, detailed comments on variability will be made to show the extent to which the interlanguage development process is characterized by variability. This will be done by describing changes that occur to learner language that pertain to verb morphology as pupils progress along the interlanguage developmental continuum towards target language competence. I will also show that variability is not confined to non-native speaker discourse but to native speaker discourse as well. This will be done by making an analysis of native speaker language for purposes of comparison.

4.3 DATA ANALYSIS RELATING TO DEVELOPMENT IN VERB ACQUISITION FOR L2 LEARNERS

4.3.1 School Three: Rate of development in verb acquisition

In the analysis of the morphological development in verb acquisition, I will focus on School Three first. Since the analysis is based on what Mclaughlin (1987:32) has referred to as accuracy data, the large number of inaccurately realised verbs that are evident at School Three would provide a useful starting point for analysis.

For School Three pupils, as indicated in table 16, a profile of their linguistic behaviour is presented on the basis of correct or incorrect realisation of verbs. Before proceeding with the analysis, it may be helpful to make a brief description of what table 16 represents. In the left hand column of table 16, the names of pupils are written, followed by the column with the heading Time. Under this heading, the dates on which the data were collected are written. Under the heading, Verb Realised, verbs that were used inaccurately are written and under the heading Verb Expected, verbs which the learner was expected to use are also written. Under the heading Incorrect Verb Rate, percentages of all verbs that were inaccurately used are written and under the heading Correct Verb Rate, percentages of all the verbs that were accurately used are written. As explained at 4.2, these percentages are arrived at by expressing the number of incorrectly used or correctly used verbs as a percentage of the total number of verbs deployed at each Time. The average Correct Verb Rate for each pupil for the entire period under investigation, is arrived at by adding up all the figures in the Correct Verb Rate column and dividing the total by the number of recording Times. To determine how many instances of 100% correct verbs there are, we count the number of 100% correct verb rates that may occur under

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected	Incorrect Verb Rate %	Correct Verb Rate %
				%	%
FURA	29/01	am	was	100%	0%
		play	played		
		give	gave		
		buy	bought		
		say	said		
		run	ran		
		go	went		
	03/03	help	helps	57.2	42.8
		give	gives		
		kill	kills		
		want	wanted		
	03/06	am	was	46.2	53.8
		help	helped		
		go	went	55.6	44.4
		eat	ate		
		was	would		
	28/10	go	went		
		is	was		
		eat	ate		
		drink	drank		
		are	were		
			Average	**64.8**	**35.2**
KINOPA	03/03	kill	shoot	7.7	92.3
	30/06	go	went	36.4	63.6
		come	came		
		tell	told		
		walking	riding		
	07/07	cook	cooked	39.2	60.8
		eat	ate		
		wake	woke		
		meet	met		
		rings	rang		
		come	came		
		write	wrote		
		finish	finished		
	27/09	-	-	0	100
	30/09	-	-	0	100
	27/10	cook	cooked	12.5	87.5
	04/11	-		0	100
			Average	**13.7**	**86.3**
TAMUKA	03/06	play	played	50	50
		sleep	slept		
		wash	washed		
		come	came		
		am	have		
	27/06	buy	bought	42.9	57.1
		wake	woke		
		wash	washed		
	30/06	is	was	40	60
		was	(unnecessary)		
	07/07	come	came	58.4	41.6
		run	ran		
		was	(unnecessary)		
		set	sent		
		start	started		
		fetch	fetched		
		am	have		
			Average	**47.9**	**52.1**

TIKI	03/03	would	will	55	45
		-	can		
		puts	put		
		get	got		
		start	started		
		runned	ran		
		had cheat	cheated		
		pour	poured		
		see	seeing		
	30/06	go	went	32.15	67.85
		will	can		
		go	went		
		walk	walked		
		were	had		
		hide	hid		
		turn	turned		
		sawing	saw		
		says	said		
		told	had tell		
	31/06	close	closed	37.5	62.5
		prepare	prepared		
		get	got		
		walk	walked		
	07/07	give	gave	40	60
		come	came		
		go	went		
		wash	washed		
		praying	playing		
		start	started		
		is	was		
		were	(should not be there)		
	28/10	wake	woke	42.86	57.14
		wash	washed		
		wear	wore		
		start	started		
		were	was		
		am	was		
	04/11	swam	swim	22.3	77.7
		am	have		
		don't	does not		
			Average	**38.3**	**61.7**

Table 16 School Three: Correct verb rates

the Correct Verb Rate column. For example, for School Three pupils, there are only three instances of 100% correct verb rates and these are realised by Kinopa at Times 27/9, 30/9 and 4/11. The gaps in the columns for Verb Realised and Verb Expected, for example, those at 27/9, 30/9 and 4/11, indicate that the pupil realised all the verbs accurately on the dates in question and therefore no verbs have been entered into the columns. Although verbs that have been accurately realised are not entered into the columns, their percentages are. For example, Fura at 29/1 realises a 0% Correct Verb Rate and a 100% Incorrect Verb Rate. But because there is a large number of incorrectly realised verbs in this group, only the scores for four randomly selected pupils will appear in the table. The linguistic behaviour of these pupils is considered to be representative of the linguistic behaviour of the rest of the pupils in the group. However, the scores for many pupils who do not appear in the table will nevertheless *be* included in the actual discussion.

The growth in the proficiency level of each learner depends on whether CVR increases or decreases from Time to Time. In this section the following arguments will be presented:

(a) The language acquisition process is characterized by a gradual increase in Correct Verb Rates which signals that learner's general proficiency level in the acquisition of verbs increases from Time to Time and over time.

(b)The developmental process is characterized by the deployment mainly of present habitual forms of the verb instead of the past form.

(c)The learners' greatest difficulty is in the accurate realisation of finite verbs.

(d)The overall CVR of School Three pupils is lower than that of other schools.

The most important analysis in this section is one that involves the description of changes that occur in pupils' correct verb rates from Time to Time along the developmental continuum. It is important because it is the one that most clearly focuses on the rate of development. The scores in Table 16 suggest that the acquisition process is characterized by a gradual increase in the number of verbs that are accurately realised from Time to Time, despite the pupils violation of some morphological rules.

For example, in table 16 at Time 29/1 where Fura is describing how she spent her holiday, she realises a CVR of 0%. At table 17, some of the verbs used have been extracted from table 16 and presented together with verbs that should have been deployed.

Verb Realised	**Verb Expected**
play	played
visit	visited
run	ran
give	gave
buy	bought
go	went

Table 17: Realised and expected verbs for Fura

To further clarify this point, the following excerpt is presented:

> During the holiday, I am at home. I play with my sister. And my grandmother visit me and I run and he give me money and I

buy some biscuits ... my brother say ... Then I go and I play
with my friends.

In the excerpt above, the verbs am, play, visit, run, give, buy, say, go, play are all inaccurately realised. They are presented in the present habitual rather than in the past. Another morphological violation is the omission of the morpheme /-s/ on give and on say. At Time 3/3, the rate increases to 42.8% and further increases to 53.8% at Time 3/6. Even though there is a slight decrease in the CVR at Time 28/10 where it is 44.4%, this does not significantly alter the pattern that has already been established.

The pattern we see with Tamuka's rates is similar to the one we see with Tiki's rates. Table 16 shows that, initially, the CVR is as low as 45% at Time 3/3 where Tiki is talking about a film he has seen. Ten verbs have been incorrectly realised. What is important though, is that at time 30/6, the rates increase to 67.85%. At the subsequent Times, the rates swing between slight drops and slight increases. But by Time 4/11, the rates have increased to as high as 77.7%. Some verbs that characterize this developmental process are dynamic verbs of activity such as eat and cook deployed by Kinopa at Time 7/7 as well as dynamic verbs of movement such as, come, run, go. There are also transitional event verbs such as wash, wake and close used by Tiki.

Furthermore, in table 16, there are several verb patterns which indicate instances of morphological violations that occur during the learners' language acquisition process. I wish to present examples of such verbs which are common in the data.

(a) There is the use of unmarked present forms of regular verbs to refer to events that happened in the past, for example, the use of verbs such as start instead of started and play instead of played:

1. He start to fight.
2. He play with his friends.

(b) The use of unmarked present forms of irregular verbs to refer to events that happened in the past, for example, the use of give instead of gave or the use of go instead of went:

3. He give me money.
4. She go home.

(c) The use of 3rd person singular present forms of irregular verbs such as rings and puts at (5) and (6) instead of rang and put respectively.

5. Yesterday, they rings the bell.
6. Last week he puts on his coat.

(d) Problems with the use of 3rd person singular present where learners tend to use unmarked present forms of verbs to denote present habitual time such as at sentences (7) to (9) instead of using the /-s/ morphemes:

7. Every morning he help his mother.
8. The boy give the puppy milk everyday.
9. He kill people daily.

(e) The use of incorrect /-ing/ forms of verbs such as the use of the verb walking at (10) instead of the verb riding:

10. He was walking on his horse.

(f) The use of the first person singular present am as at sentence (11) instead of the first person singular past was:

11. Last week I am at home.

(g) The use of third person singular past was where it is not required such as (12):

12. He was died.

(h) The use of an /ed/ past morpheme where it is not required. For example, the use of the word runned instead of ran. Mitchell (1993:16) has described such an incorrect verb use as, 'the regularization of an irregular verb':

13. He runned to town.

(i) The use of the auxiliary verb had, where it is not required as in (14), instead of using the /-ed/ form to denote events that happened in the past.

14. I had cheat him.

(j) The use of an /-ing/ morpheme to denote events that happened in the past as in (15), instead of a past form of a regular verb saw:

15. I sawing him.

(k) Some learners tend to mark for tense verbs which are located in non-finite positions and which should not be marked for tense, such as the use of verbs swam and kicked in (16) and (17) below:

16. She said I want to swam.

17. I want to kicked the ball.

With particular reference to (16) and (17), it might be helpful to comment that in social gatherings in Zimbabwe, there is a small minority of people who deliberately mark for tense the verbs referred to above because they think that such a deliberate violation of morphological rules is invaluable material for humour. However, such

jokes are very rare and therefore it is highly unlikely that errors such as those at (16) and (17) can be said to emanate from jokes such as these.

It is important to stress that the largest number of inaccurately realised verbs that characterize the developmental process, are finite verbs. Hurford (1994:74) has described a finite verb as 'a form of verb that shows agreement with subject and is marked for tense'.

For School Three pupils, inaccurate use of verbs occasionally leads to a communication breakdown. For example, at Time 28/10 Liza is describing a party she attended and says:

> I drink coke and eat cake. And then it will be a party and go
> home. Mother father, tell me my friends. You see me at the party.

There is no cohesion between all the four sentences deployed. The most difficult sentence to understand is 'Mother father, tell me my friends'. But most importantly, from the context, I know that the verbs drink, eat, go, tell and see have been inaccurately deployed. This has contributed to the breakdown in communication. Curiously enough, though, there are also cases where violation of morphological rules does not necessarily lead to a serious breakdown in the communication process. For example, in the following excerpt, Tiki is telling us a ghost story and the following is what he says:

Let's go through there. And we went. I want to told him. I want to told them but my grand-mother said 'Do not told the ghost will come back. Told tomorrow'.

In the text above, a morphological rule has been violated because the morpheme told has been inaccurately realised in almost every sentence. From the context, Tiki uses the past morpheme told instead of the present form tell. But communication has not really broken down. It is interesting to note that Tiki deploys a past morpheme instead of the present, something not very common for these pupils. It is difficult to determine why this is so. However, there are instances where the language acquisition process is characterized by a communication breakdown which cannot really be attributable to lack of competence in verb use. For instance, at Time 30/7 Liza is telling us about a visit to the grave of her late mother. The following is what she says:

One day I go I went to the grave-yard. I see a goat. I saw mother.
I said mother, we come to buy. I'm finished.

In the text above, the verbs went, saw said and finished have been accurately realised. But the relationship between the goat, and mother is not clear. It is also not clear what Liza wants to buy at the grave. The lack of coherence results in a communication breakdown. And lastly, it is important to point out that the correct verb rates realised by School Three pupils are much lower than those of the other three groups. But from table 16, we can see that even though many verbs are inaccurately realised, the rate of acquisition is increasing.

It can therefore be said that beneath what appears to be 'chaos' caused by a large number of inaccurately realised verbs, learners progress slowly towards varying degrees of linguistic competence. We can conclude, therefore, that despite the occasional breakdown in communication, the general competence rate in the acquisition of verbs gradually increases.

4.3.2 School Three: Route of development in verb acquisition

In this section, I am going to discuss the route of development in verb acquisition for School Three pupils. I will give an example of the verb go because this is one of the verbs in the corpus for School Three whose acquisition by the pupils indicates clear developmental changes along a continuum. I am going to argue that evidence from the sample shows that learners acquire the verb go before they acquire the verb went, which suggests that the present habitual form of the verb is acquired before the acquisition of the past form. Evidence for the above argument is derived from the fact that most learners in this group fail to deploy the verb go correctly at the initial Times of the data gathering process. The correct form appears in the corpus six months after the data collection process has started.

In order to substantiate the above assertions, a number of pupils utterances are presented. In the sentences below, at Time 27/6, 30/7 and 28/10, Liza realises the verb go incorrectly. But it is realised accurately at Time 4/11

Time 27/6

18. Yesterday we/go to the party of sister.

Time 30/7

19. One day I go/went to the grave.

Time 28/10

20. We go to the party.

Time 4/11

21. I went to birthday.

At sentences (18) and (19), Liza is talking about her encounter with a ghost. She uses a present form of a verb instead of its past form which suggests that she has not yet mastered the appropriate use of the verb go. At (19) she shows, uncertainty about its correct use because she uses two forms of the verb at the same time. It is at (21) that the verb is realised correctly without indicating any degree of indeterminacy, unlike at (19). The manner in which Liza deploys the verb go. is similar to the manner in which Kinopa and Tiki deploy the same verb inaccurately at the initial Times of the data collection process, but realise it correctly at a later Time. For instance, at Time 30/6 Kinopa is telling us a ghost story and says:

22. The fire go up.

But at Time 7/7, the verb is used correctly as seen at (8) below:

23. I went to buy some milk.

Also, at Time 3/3, Tiki realises the verb correctly and incorrectly and finally correctly at Time 7/7. For some learners, like Fura, the verb go is deployed incorrectly throughout the data collection process. For example, she uses it wrongly at Time 3/1, 3/6 and 28/10 as shown below:

Time 3/1

24. Then Igo to church.

Time 3/6

25. We go home.

Time 28/10

26. Last week I go to my grandmother.

At sentences (24) and (25), Fura is telling us what she did during the holidays. The use of 'last week' at sentence (26) gives a clue to readers who do not know the context in which the utterance was made that Fura may be violating a rule. The correct/incorrect development profile of the verb go discussed above is presented diagrammatically in table 18:

	Time 30/6	Time 30/7	Time 28/10	Time 4/11
Liza	go - - ->	go ---4	go ----->	went
	incorrect	incorrect	incorrect	correct
	Time 30/6	Time 7/7	Time 27/9	
Kinopa	go -----*	went ----->	went	
	Incorrect	correct	correct	
	Time 3/3	Time 30/6	Time 7/7	
Tiki	go - - > - - - - -	go /went --	went	
	Incorrect	incorrect/correct	correct	
	Time 3/1	Time 3/6	Time 28/10	
Fura	go - - > - - - - - -	go ----->	go	
	Incorrect	incorrect	incorrect	

Table 18 Route of development for School Three pupils for the irregular past tense form went.

Table 18 above shows that initially, all the learners deploy the verb go instead of past form went. But later, the verb went appears in the data. In Table 18, the Times at which the verb go and went are used have been indicated and beneath each verb, I have made an indication as to whether or not the correct form of the verb is deployed. The arrows indicate movement along a developmental continuum.

What can be concluded from the outline above is that the verb go, is acquired before the verb went. This is so because it is the one that learners tend to use accurately first. The morphemes /-ing/ and /-s/ are very few in the corpus, which suggests that perhaps these are acquired much later. And when they finally appear in the corpus and that is towards the end of the data collection process, they are used incorrectly. This prompts me to conclude that because the morpheme go is acquired first before the morpheme went, this is the natural order of acquisition of these morphemes. In other words, as Dulay and Burt (1974b) cited in Maclaughlin (1987:32) have argued, accuracy order has been taken as reflecting acquisition order. The point that needs to be stressed is that, because these pupils have a tendency of consistently deploying the present tense where the past is expected, or where the use of the past is obligatory, this is a manifestation of the order in which tense morphology is acquired.

4.3.3 School Three: Interlanguage variability in verb acquisition

In this section, I argue that, as learners proceed along the interlanguage developmental continuum, the acquisition process is characterized by systematic and non-systematic variability. In this study, we will see how this analysis is essentially process rather than product oriented. However, I will make a description

of learner language at various points in time and over time. This analysis is based on table 19 where letters a to h represent changes that occur to learner language. The letters do not have a particular linguistic significance but are meant for easy reference to the activities and processes. The major question I address here is, 'What exactly happens along the developmental continuum with particular reference to certain verbs as L2 learners progress towards target language competence'. I will focus on the following verbs: like, drink, came, went, play, saw, tell, give, work, sing and eat.

a	Realised correctly each time it occurs
b	Realised correctly and incorrectly within same sentence
c	Realised correctly and incorrectly within same text
d	Realised incorrectly and immediately correctly in same sentence
e	Realised incorrectly each time it occurs
f	Realised incorrectly but later correctly in a different passage
g	Realised incorrectly more than once in same passage
h	Realised incorrectly more than once in same sentence

Table 19: Types of systematic and non-systematic variability

I have already argued that error analysis and interlanguage analysis work hand in hand and that interlanguage analysis has its foundations in error analysis. In table 19, b, c, d and h represent changes to verbs that occur at particular points in time

whilst a, e, and f represent changes that occur over a period of time. I will discuss, first those groups of verbs represented at b, c, d and h.

What we see in table 19 is that learner language is characterized by both systematic and non-systematic variability. For example, at (b) in table 19, the developmental process is characterized by verbs that are accurately realised in the first instance but immediately get deployed inaccurately in the same sentence. At Time 27/6 Tamuka says:

27. I wash my face and drank...drink tea.

The verb drank is realised correctly because it is used to refer to a past event. But the verb drink that immediately follows has been inaccurately deployed. This constitutes some form of indeterminacy because Tamuka is not certain whether or not he should use the past or the present form. Perhaps he is playing safe by using both forms of the same verb in the same sentence.

A phenomenon I see as the most interesting is one where a verb gets accurately deployed in a text, but the same verb gets redeployed inaccurately in the same text the rest of the time. What is interesting is that it is the accurately realised verb that occurs first almost all the time and not vice versa. The accurately realised verb is in the past form. And its accurate deployment almost all the time signals that somewhere in the vicinity the same verb will recur inaccurately. Table 20, which is an expansion of part of table 19, attempts to capture the systematic variability that occurs at c in table 19. It is a table that explains events that are taking place in another table. In the first column, the names of pupils are written, followed by a column with a past tense heading to indicate that the verb is used in the past form.

Below the heading, there a number of ticks which indicate that the verb has been realised correctly. On the right hand side, there is a column with the heading present to show that verbs under it are used in the present. Under this heading, are a number of crosses to show that the verbs have been deployed incorrectly. The next column after the present column is one that shows the dates on which the data was collected. Lastly, on the right, the sentences in which the verbs occur are presented. The verbs I focus on here are come, go, play and sing. In table 20, the verbs in question have been underlined.

Name	Past	Present	Times	Sentences
Kinopa	√	X	7/7	(a) I came to school. (b) The bell rings and we come back into the classroom.
Jane	√	X	28/10	(a) Last week I went to play. (b) I go to church.
Mona	√	X	3/6	(a) After eight days I went to Chivhu. (b) I go to stores to buy something to eat.
Fura	√	X	3/6	(a) Monday we played lot of games. (b) If we play my friend go her at home.
Tamuka	√	X	4/11	(a) Then Rebelta sang a song (b) He said he sing a song `Black and White'.
Tiki	√	X	30/6	(a) I went to five miles. (b) He go home

Table 20: Systematic variability in verb use for School Three pupils

In table 20, the verb in the first sentence at each Time has been realised accurately while the one that occurs in the second sentence in the same text is inaccurately deployed. For example, at Time 7/7 Kinopa says:

28. I came back to school.

Because she is referring to a past event, the verb came can be said to have been accurately realised. But in the same text she says:

29. The bell rings and we come back into the classroom.

Grammatically, the sentence appears correct, but from the context, I know that she is referring to a past event and that in fact, she is not aware that she is violating the rules of standard English. She uses the verb come and came interchangeably. At Time 3/6, Fura uses the verb played in the same manner as described above. The same pattern in the use of verbs is what we see at Time 3/6, Time 4/11 and Time 30/6 for Mona, Tamuka and Tiki respectively. Such a deployment of verbs for School Three pupils was so common that I decided to represent it diagrammatically as indicated above.

However, to return to table 19, at (d) some verbs are realised inaccurately as well as accurately in the same sentence. For example, the verb give is realised inaccurately while the verb gave is realised correctly.

30. I give him money and he gave me bread.

I now turn to a, e and f which represent changes to verbs that occur over time. The analysis will focus on the verbs like, wash and eat. In table 19 (a) represents verbs which are deployed accurately each time they occur in sentences and in texts. Most of such verbs available in the data are those that are used in the present form. For example, Fura realises the verb like correctly at Times 3/3, 29/7 and 30/9 as shown in the following sentences:

31. A film I like is Macgyver.

32. I like to eat bananas.

33. I like to play with my friends.

At (e), some verbs are realised incorrectly by some learners each time they are deployed. For example, at Time 3/6 where Tamuka is narrating his holiday experiences, he deploys the verb wash as in (34) in the present habitual instead of the past form:

34. In the morning I wash my face.

And at Time 27/6 Tamuka is telling us about a party he attended and he says:

35. I wake up and I wash my body.

Out of context sentence (34) like sentence (35) does not look ungrammatical but when put in context, it becomes clear that it is ungrammatical. And lastly, at (f) some verbs are realised incorrectly but correctly at a later Time. For instance, at Time 3/6 Fura uses the verb eat in the present rather than in the past but at Time 28/10 the correct form ate is realised.

It is important to stress that although some sentences such as 29, 34 and 35 look like instances in which the conversational historic present (CHP) tense is used, this, in fact, is not the case. Before I elaborate on this issue, it may be helpful to make a brief description of how the CHP tense is used. Leech and Svartvik (1992:69) argue that the 'historic present' is used in narrative discourse to describe events vividly as if they are happening in our presence. The excerpt below, according to Milroy (1987:55) illustrates how the CHP is used:

> So the woman went to sleep — found nothing, nothing missing,
> so she went to sleep and locked the door and the next morning,
> she gets up, same routine, comes back at the end of the day, the
> doors' open again. So you know, twice is a little too much.

(Milroy 1987:55)

In the text above, the verbs pets, comes, and is are used in the historic present tense. However, the pupils for my study use verbs in sentences such as (29), (34) and (35) not in 'historic present', but inaccurately. In order to further illustrate this claim, let us consider the excerpts below, in which Fura from School Three is describing his holiday experiences, a film he has watched and the party he has attended, respectively:

(a) My grandmother visit me ...and she give me money...
And my brother say, come ...

(b) Mcgyiver help people and Mcgyver give people money
and he kills the people.

(c) Sister cook, cooking rice and chicken and buy some cakes
And then eat rice.

In the three excerpts above, the regular verbs help, visit and cook as well as the irregular verbs give, buy and eat have been used inaccurately even if they are analysed according to standard English rules that pertain to the correct use of the CHP. This is so because the morpheme /-s/, which is obligatory in the verbs above, has not been used. Some scholars, such as Godfrey (1980:94), have even suggested that speakers should not necessarily switch haphazardly from one tense to another. When such switches become necessary, they need to be executed systematically:

> It is not the case, however, that speakers can switch indiscriminately from one tense to another, they must obey discourse level constraints on tense continuity if their production is to be acceptable. .. A contextual rule states that once initiated, the ongoing tense cannot be interrupted without appropriate signaling ... Once a tense is used ...the tense will continue until the topic with which it is associated is exhausted. (Godfrey 1980:94)

Godfrey has also argued that the change in verb from is often signaled by a time adverbial. In Milroy's text cited above, the change from past to historic present tense form is signaled by the time adverbial, next morning. But in Fura's texts, such linguistic devices are absent.

I think it is also reasonable to suggest that, as we have already observed at 4.3.2, it may be the case that these learners acquire unmarked verb forms before they acquire marked ones, a point Ellis (1992:15) makes clear when he argues, 'the first verb structure learners acquire is the simple form'. And, as we can see from the texts above, Fura's use of the verbs cook and cooking instead of using the verb cooked suggests that he is clearly ignorant of the rules of standard English pertaining to verb use. Further evidence to suggest that these learners lack competence in verb use, may be inferred from table 18 where it has been indicated that in the acquisition of verbs, these learners proceed from 'not knowing' 'to knowing' and that there is no evidence to suggest that the learners are making a deliberate attempt to use historic present tense forms. The argument above is reinforced by Ellis (1992:142) citing Frawley and Lantolf (1985) who has argued:

It is also recognized that when beginning L2 learners engage in narrative discourse, they do not typically make use of tense distinctions... [Ellis 1992:142 in Frawley and Lantolf 1985]

4.3.4 School One: Rate of development in verb acquisition

As has already been indicated in my analysis of School Three data, the linguistic development of pupils in verb acquisition can be determined by looking at the different correct verb rates realised by each pupil from Time to Time and over time. A profile of the learners rate of development in the acquisition of verbs is presented in table 21. Table 21 is structured in a similar manner as table 16 where a profile of School Three learners rate of development in verb acquisition is presented. Details pertaining to how these tables are organised have been supplied at 4.3.1. However, a number of interesting features about table 21 which are not explicit in table 16 need to be highlighted.

(a) In table 21, there are 27 instances of 100% Correct Verb rates.

(b) There are many more gaps in the Verb Realised and Verb Expected columns in table 21 than there are in table 16. This is so because, at School One, unlike at School Three, most verbs have been accurately realised and therefore, have not been included in the tables, although the percentage for

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected	Incorrect Verb Rate %	Correct Verb Rate %
				%	%
BENITA	26/01	going	getting	5	95
	04/06	-	-	0	100
	25/06	-	-	0	100
	02/07	-	-	0	100
	09/07	-	-	0	100
	29/07	is	was	6.2	93.8
	01/10	-	-	0	100
	29/10	catch	caught	10	90
	05/11	can	could	12.5	87.5
			Average	**3.8**	**96.2**
VANESSA	01/10	-	-	0	100
	05/11	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**
NATASHA	05/02	-	-	0	100
	04/06	-	-	0	100
	02/07	-	-	0	100
	01/10	-	-	0	100
	12/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**
KUDZAI	26/01	-	-	0	100
	05/02	-	-	0	100
	26/02	lives	lived	9.8	90.2
		had	have		
		was	were		
		want	wanted		
	29/02	-	-	0	100
	04/06	-	-	0	100
	25/06	-	-	0	100
	05/11	-	-	0	100
	12/11	sleeped	slept	7.2	92.8
			Average	**2.1**	**97.9**
TESA	26/02	-	-	0	100
	25/06	seem	seemed	5	95
	09/07	-	-	0	100
	29/10	-	-	0	100
	05/11	am	was	6.3	93.7
	29/11	-		0	100
			Average	**1.9**	**98.1**
NERIA	26/01	-	-	0	100
	05/02	-	-	0	100
	02/07	talk	talked	16.6	83.4
	01/10	-	asked	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**3.3**	**96.7**
CHENAI	29/09	-	-	0	100
	05/11	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**

Table 21 School One: Correct verb rates

such verbs are presented in the Correct Verb Rate column. For example, Benita realises a CVR of 95% and an Incorrect Verb rate of 5%.

(c) In table 21, some pupils, such as Vanesa and Natasha realise an average CVR of 100%.

For the majority of these pupils, the accuracy rate at each Time is 100% or at least more than 90%. There is a slight drop in rates at some points. Benita's rates are 93.8% and 87.5% at Times 29/7 and 5/11 respectively. But considering that her overall average CVR is 96.2%, the decrease must be explained in terms of variability which I will discuss later, rather than in terms of a decrease in the general accuracy rate. The same can be said of the decrease at 12/11 where Kudzai realises a rate of 92.8%, as well as the decrease at Time 2/7 where a rate of 83.4% is realised by Neria. Otherwise on the whole, we can say that the language acquisition process for School One pupils is characterized by a very high accuracy rate in the use of verbs. Compared to other groups, School One realises the highest average CVR of 98.4%, even though this rate is only slightly higher than that of School Two which is 98%. But the average CVR of School One is much higher than that of School Three which is 61.7%. In order to given an idea of accuracy rates exhibited by these pupils, an excerpt from Neria's story is presented:

> In the holidays we went to Greece. We reached the airport at 10 o'clock and the plane left at half past ten. We were flying in the air to Greece. We got to Greece at 8 o'clock and we gave in our tickets....

In this narrative, the verbs reached, left, flying, were are all deployed accurately. The part I like the most, however, is where she says she was flying in the air to Greece as if to imply that she can fly anywhere else apart from the air. What is important though, is that the verb flying from a grammatical point of view, has been accurately realised.

The lowest average CVR realised by School One pupils is higher than most scores of Schools Three and Four. This justifies the conclusion that in the acquisition of verbs, School One learners exhibit higher accuracy rates than learners from other schools. For example, at Time 29/2, some of the learners can already deploy several verbs in one clause. The use of verbs in combination is not very common particularly for School Three pupils.

Although the majority of verbs have been accurately used, it may be helpful to make a brief description of the few verbs from School One that have been inaccurately used. If we compare the way some verbs are used at School Three with the way they are used at School One, we see that some types of verbs that are used inaccurately at School Three, are in fact, accurately used at School One. However, virtually all verbs that are inaccurately used at School One, are also inaccurately used at School Three. Below, examples of inaccurately used verbs are described and numbered a to f:

(a) The use of unmarked regular present forms of verbs such as want and seem to refer to events that happened in the past instead of using the /-ed/ past tense marker:

36. The man want to steal.

37. He seem to be worried.

(b) The regularization of an irregular verb such as the use of the verb sleeped instead of slept,

38. I sleeped in my own room.

(c) The use of the wrong /-ing/ form instead of the verb going instead of the verb getting.

39. The men were going paid.

(d) The use of the 3rd person singular present form of a regular verb to refer to events that happened in the past, such as the use of the verb lives instead of lived:

40. They lives him alone.

(e) The use of 3rd person singular past was instead of 3rd person plural past were:

41. The boys was singing.

(f) The use of 1st person singular present am to refer to events that happened in the past instead of using the 1st person singular past was:

42. Yesterday I am at home.

43. Last week I am at home.

4.3.5 School One: Route of Development in verb acquisition

The route of development in verb acquisition, as we have also seen with School Three pupils, is based on verbs that are accurately realised in relation to those that are inaccurately deployed. As Dulay and Burt (1974), cited in Maclaughlin (1987:32) observes, developmental norms can be calculated from accuracy data. The verbs such as like, and want seem to occur in their present habitual rather in the past forms. But the other four verbs incorrectly realised occur in various forms. So, even

though evidence for the route of development for School One pupils is not as explicit as it at other schools, on the basis of the few verbs referred to above, we can see that the acquisition route is that the present form of the verb is acquired before the acquisition of the past tense form of the verb.

4.3.6 School Two: Rate of development in verb acquisition

In this section, I am going to argue that the developmental profile of School Two pupils is characterized by a high accurate realisation of verbs as indicated in table 22. And like table 21, there are many gaps under the Verb Realised and Verb Expected headings, which suggests that, like at School One, many verbs have been accurately realised. The CVR of this group is much higher than that of School Three and nearly as high as that of School One. The average CVR for the whole group is 98% whilst that for School One is 98.4%. The difference in the scores for the two groups is very small. As we can see from table 22, pupils like Thembinkosi, Petuka and Ndlela realise a 100% CVR every Time. This means that each of the three pupils realise an average CVR of 100%. This is significant because it shows the extent to which the proficiency rate of some of these learners resemble not just those of School One pupils but to some extent, also those of native speakers of English. Even some pupils like Veronica, who do not necessarily realise a 100% CVR all the time, exhibit a high proficiency rate in verb use. To illustrate this point, some excerpts from Veronica's story are presented. At Time 28/1, Veronica is telling us about what she did during the holidays.

> During the holidays, I went to my cousin's house. We played a lot. For breakfast, we ate sausages, bacon and drank tea...

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected	Incorrect Verb Rate %	Correct Verb Rate %
SHELLY	29/01	-	-	0	100
	03/02	-	-	0	100
	04/02	-	-	0	100
	04/03	-	-	0	100
	01/06	making	make	16.7	83.3
		had to walk	walked	15.4	84.6
		had to fall	fell		
	14/10	-	-	0	0
	05/11	-	-	0	0
			Average	**4**	**96**
NORAH	03/02	-	-	0	100
	21/02	-	-	0	100
	01/06	go	went	20	80
	24/06	are	were	16.7	83.3
		go	went		
	01/07	die	died	11.2	88.8
			Average	**9.6**	**90.4**
JOY	25/02	-	-	0	100
	04/03	-	have	21.5	78.5
		will	would		
		dress	dressed		
	24/06	-	-	0	100
	14/10	-	-	0	100
			Average	**4.5**	**94.6**
NERISSA	03/02	want	wants	7.2	92.8
	01/07	-	-	0	100
	04/08	force	forced	11.2	88.8
	14/10	-	-	0	100
	02/10	open	opened	4	96
		can	could		
			Average	**4.5**	**95.5**

VERONICA	28/01	-	-	0	100
	04/02	-	-	0	100
	25/02	-	-	0	100
	30/05	-	-	0	100
	08/07	-	-	0	100
	21/07	-	-	0	100
	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
	29/11	was	were	0	75
			Average	**2.8**	**97.2**
WINSTON	13/10	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**
TORAI	21/07	-	-	0	100
	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**
LINA	25/02	-	-	0	100
	30/06	-	-	0	100
	08/07	want	wanted	11.2	88.8
	28/09	-	-	0	100
			Average	**2.8**	**97.2**
NDLELA	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**

Table 22 School Two: Correct verb rates

After the word tea, she is temporarily interrupted by her classmates, who accuse her of boasting about the good food she enjoys at home. But when the noise has died down, she is not at all perturbed by the interruption, and continues:

> When we finished eating, we went to play games. Then my sister came to eat chips and cheese. For lunch we ate spaghetti and chicken.

In the text above, we can see that all the verbs have been accurately realised. Regular and irregular verbs such as went, played, ate, drank, finished and came are all correctly deployed. We also note that the /-ing/ inflection in the verb eating has been accurately realised. Veronica's performance is representative of all the pupils in her class. There were no instances of communication breakdown among the pupils themselves on one hand and between the pupils and myself on the other hand. From table 22, we can see that error patterns for School Two pupils are nearly similar to those of pupils from School One. Below, a brief description of some of the verbs that have been inaccurately used is made.

(a) The use of unmarked present forms of regular and irregular verbs to refer to events that happened in the past. For example, the use of ask and meet in (44) and (45):

44. She ask for some water.

45. He meet the man.

(b) The use of 3rd person singular present /-s/ morpheme to refer to events that happened in the past as at (46) instead of using the past form:

46. I wants to eat some food.

(c) Failure to use the 3rd person singular present /-s/ morpheme such as at (47) where its use is obligatory:

47. She like to run.

(d) The regularization of an irregular verb such as the use of sleeped at (48) instead of slept:

48. I sleeped in the house.

4.3.7 School Two: Route of development in verb acquisition

Evidence for the route of development for verbs is limited, because most of the verbs are accurately realised all the time. So it is not easy to determine the route of development. For us to have had a clearer picture of route of development in verb acquisition, these learners needed to have been studied while they were still in grades two or three, where, presumably, more errors pertaining to verb use would have been committed. From table 22, there is however, a slight indication that the present habitual morphemes are acquired first before the acquisition of past morphemes. For example, Rose at Time 4/3 realises four verbs in the present habitual rather than in the past form as shown below:

Verb Realised	Verb Expected
ask	asked
want	wanted
finish	finished
want	wanted

Table 23: Realised and expected verbs for Rose

4.3.8 School Two: Interlanguage variability in verb acquisition

Language development for School Two pupils in the acquisition of verbs is characterized by systematic variability where changes that occur in verb use are largely predictable. There are however, a few cases of non-systematic variability. For example, at 28/1 Sharai uses the verbs watch and watching interchangeably. Also, at Time 30/6, Renia uses is and was interchangeably. This indeterminate use of verbs can be said to constitute a form of non-systematic variability.

4.3.9 School Four: Rate of development in verb acquisition

From table 24, which is structured in a similar way as tables 16, 21 and 22, we can see that the correct verb rates for School Four are lower than those of Schools One and Two but higher than those of School Three. For example, the group average for School Four is 94% while those for Schools One and Two are 98.4% and 98% respectively. The lowest average rate of 86.1% which is realised by Roxana is nearly as high as the highest rate realised at School Three which is 86.3%. This emphasizes the extent of the difference in verb acquisition rates that exists between School Four and School Three pupils. All learners realise a 100% CVR at some point along the developmental process but none of them realises a 100% CVR all the time.

On the whole, the verb acquisition developmental process is characterized by a gradual increase in CVR, for most of the pupils. What is important though, are the changes in rates that occur between Times. For example, in table 24, Shelly realises a 100% CVR from Times 29/1 to 4/3. After that the rates drop to 83.3% and 84.6% at Times 1/6 and 30/9 respectively, only to rise again to 100% at Times 4/10

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected	Incorrect Verb Rate %	Correct Verb Rate %
				%	%
ROSE	28/01	-	-	0	100
	04/02	-		0	100
	04/03	ask	asked	26.7	73.3
		wants	wanted		
		finish	finished		
		want	wanted		
	03/05	-	-	0	100
	28/09	-		0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
			Average	**4.5**	**95.5**
RENIA	25/02	-	-	0	100
	30/06	is	was	14.3	85.7
		has	had		
		meet	met		
	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
	10/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**2.9**	**97.1**
TOM	04/03	-	-	0	100
	08/07	-	-	0	100
	28/09	-	-	0	100
	10/11	like	likes	14.3	85.7
			Average	**3.58**	**96.42**
TEMBINKOSI	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
	10/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**
ANITA	30/06	sleeped	slept	15.4	84.6
		Found	saw	0	100
	08/07	-	-		
	10/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**5.13**	**94.87**
PETUKA	28/01	-	-	0	100
	25/02	-	-	0	100
	04/03	-	-	0	100
	30/05	-	-	0	100
	28/09	-	-	0	100
	13/10	-	-	0	100
	10/11	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**0**	**100**

ROXANNA	29/01	get	got	7.9	92.1
		Take	took		
		Wants	wanted		
	? 02	seeing	see	2.0	80
	21/02	come	came	16.7	83.3
	04.03	wake	woke	17.4	82.6
		prepare	prepared		
		come	came		
		putted	put		
	01/06	arrive	arrived	31.9	68.1
		wait	waited		
		get	got		
		sleep	slept		
		am	was		
		was	were		
		tell	told		
	24/06	-	-	0	100
	01/07	give	gave	16.7	83.3
		send	sent		
		change	changed		
	18/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**13.9**	**86.1**
TEERA	03/02	-	-	0	100
	04/03	-	-	0	100
	01/06	-	-	0	100
	24/06	-	-	0	100
	01/07	was	were	15	85
		happen	happened		
		hear	heard		
	30/09	-	-	0	100
	11/11	-	-	0	100
	18/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	**1.9**	**98.1**
VIIRA	29/01	-	-	0	100
	03/02	-	-	0	100
	04/03	-	-	0	100
	01/06	bought	did	14.3	85.7
	11/11	will	would	8	92
		drink	drank		
			Average	**4.5**	**95.5**

Table 24 School Four: Correct verb rates

and 5/11. The same rise, fall and rise pattern in rates is what we see with the rate for some of the pupils such as Joy, Nerisa, Roxana, Teera and to a lesser extent, Pera. For example, at Time 29/1 where Roxana is telling us about her holiday experiences, she realises a CVR of 92.1%. Compared to some of the rates, she realises, 92.1% is a high score. But at Time 1/6 she realises a CVR of 68.1 which is one of the lowest in the group. However, by the Time 18/11, the rate has risen to 100%. Roxana's rates can be said to be representative of those of other pupils in the group. I think the rise and fall pattern in rates can be explained in terms of variability which is discussed at 4.3.10. It is important to point out that the topic which is discussed at Time 29/1 is the same topic which is discussed at 1/6. But the rates realised at the two Times are not similar.

The types of errors which learners from School Four commit are similar to those that are made by pupils from the other three groups. However, errors that have been committed by School Four pupils are fewer than those of School Three pupils but are more than those committed by School One pupils. Below, some of the verbs which are inaccurately used by School Four pupils are presented.

(a) There is the use of a large number of unmarked present forms of irregular verbs instead of using past forms of the said verbs. For example, the use of verbs like go instead of went and take instead of took:

49. He go to the shops.

50. She take the remaining mangoes.

(b) The use of unmarked present forms of regular verbs instead of past forms. For example, the use of dress instead of dressed and open instead of opened:

51. Our teacher was dress in a smart dress.

52. The teacher open the door.

(c) The regularization of irregular verbs such as at (53):

53. I putted on my shirt.

(d) The use of 3rd person present /-s/ to refer to events that happened in the past such as at (54) instead of using the /-ed/morpheme.

54. I wants to eat my food.

(e) The omission of the 3rd person singular present marker /-s/ such as at (55):

55. John want to eat his food.

(f) The use of 3rd person singular past was such as at (56) instead of the 3rd person plural past were:

56. The boys was eating food.

This analysis has shown that, despite the variability which characterizes the developmental process, the general trend is that there is significant increase in learners linguistic proficiency over time. We have also seen that the average CVR for the whole group is lower than that of School One but higher than that of School Three.

4.3.10 School Four: Route of development in verb acquisition

Like we have seen with School Two and School One pupils, because most of the verbs have been accurately realised, it is not easy to determine route of acquisition. However, from the limited evidence available, we can see that these learners also tend to deploy the present form of the verb in the place of the past form. Evidence for this comes from the verbs used by Roxana, which are presented below:

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected
Roxana	29/1	get	got
		take	took
		wants	wanted
	21/2	seeing	see
		coming	came
		wake	woke
		prepare	prepared
		come	came
		putted	put
	1/6	arrive	arrived
		wait	waited
		sleep	slept
		am	was
		tell	told
	1/7	give	gave
		send	sent
		change	changed

Table 25: Correct/Incorrect verbs used by Roxana.

As can be seen from table 25, a large number of verbs have been realised in the present instead of the past. For example at Time 21/2, Roxana, in an attempt to refer to an event that took place in the past, says:

57. Our teacher come with the best dress.

She realises the verb come when she intends to use the verb came. The manner in which some of the verbs are used is similar to what we find at School Three where virtually all the learners deploy most verbs in the present habitual where past forms are expected. For School Four however, the number of verbs used in this way is limited. But I think it is reasonable to conclude that if accuracy order is taken to reflect acquisition order, then it can also justifiably be argued that the natural order of acquisition of verbs for this group is that the present habitual is acquired before the past form of the verb.

4.3.11 School Four: Interlanguage variability in verb acquisition

From our analysis of data from other schools, we have already established that the second language developmental process is characterized by various forms of variability. What is of interest to me though, is the form that variability takes for School Four pupils. As has already been indicated, some forms of variability are more directly linked to 'development' than others. In table 26, those that are directly linked to 'development' are (a) (d) (f) and (g) while those that are not directly linked to 'development' are labelled (b) (c) and (e).

First, comments on the variability which does not directly contribute to 'development' will be made. I will focus on the verbs started, sleep, arrived, and hear. Some learners, as indicated in category (b) in table 26 realise certain verbs correctly and

incorrectly within the same sentence. A case in point is the realisation of the verb started by Steven at Time 30/10:

58. So we started throwing stones and it turned back and start chasing us.

On the other hand, some verbs are used correctly and incorrectly within the same text as in the verb arrive below:

59. My friends started to arrive.

60. When they arrive we had lots of fun.

And lastly, some pupils realise certain verbs incorrectly more than once in the same sentence as is the case with the verb hear in the following sentence:

61. But when they were asleep, they hear some doors being hit and they hear some footsteps.

I will now turn to variability which directly explains the language development process. I will focus on the verbs ate, pet and wake. At (a) in table 26, certain verbs are realised correctly by some pupils each time they occur. For example, Lorraine realises the verb ate correctly at two different Times, first at time 29/11 and then at time 1/6 as shown below:

62. We ate a big cake.

63. We ate some water melons.

On the other hand, some verbs are used inaccurately in the first instance but accurately at a later time, as is indicated at (f) in table 26. For example, the verb get is used incorrectly at 29/1 but is used correctly at Time 1/6 as indicated in the two sentences below:

64. We went to the buses and get in the bus.

65. We got in the bus.

a	Realised correctly each time it occurs
b	Realised correctly and incorrectly within the same sentence
c	Realised correctly and incorrectly within the same text
d	Realised incorrectly each time it occurs
e	realised incorrectly but immediately correctly in the same sentence
f	Realised incorrectly but later correctly
g	Realised correctly but later Incorrectly in a different passage

Table 26: Interlanguage variability in verb acquisition for School Four Pupils

Lastly, what we see at (g) in table 26 is the opposite of what is at (f). The verb woke is used correctly when it first appears in a text but the same verb is used incorrectly in a different passage. At time 29/1 the verb is realised accurately but at 4/3, it is used inaccurately as in the two sentences below:

66. We woke up very early.

67. I wake up my mother.

The verb wake in the second sentence is used incorrectly because the speaker is referring to an event that happened in the past. When compared to other schools, there are many more instances of non-systematic variability at School Four than there are at Schools One and Two. There are however, many more instances of non-systematic variability at School Three than there are at School Four. But what

can be emphasised at this point is that the developmental process of School Four pupils in the acquisition of verbs is not similar to that of School One.

4.4 Data analysis relating to development in verb acquisition for native speakers of English

For the purposes of comparison, data from L1 pupils was used. I wanted to find out the similarities and differences in language acquisition processes if similar development indices were used to measure language development of both L1 and L2 learners. I also wanted to find out whether or not, by using similar indices for measuring proficiency for both L1 and L2 pupils, we can make informed statements on whether or not L1 pupils can be said to be more proficient than L2 pupils in the use of verbs.

4.4.1 Native Speakers: Rate of development in verb acquisition

Data from five native speakers of English from School One is used. The five, Miriam, Patience, Tebbie, Rose and Hillary together realise an average CVR of 99.6%. As indicated in table 27, only one verb is inaccurately realised. And because virtually all verbs have been correctly realised, I think it is reasonable to suggest that the one verb that has been inaccurately realised is, in fact, a 'slip' of the tongue. And, because it appears that these learners have already acquired these linguistic features before the start of these studies, I think that, in order to get a clear picture of rate of development in verb acquisition, these pupils need to be studied before they get to Grade Five, perhaps while they are still in Grade Two or Three, where a large number of verbs are more likely to be incorrectly realised than in Grade Five. However, it is important to stress that native speakers were not the

focus of this study. They have been used only for the purposes of comparing them with non-native speakers of English.

	Time	Verb Realised	Verb Expected	Incorrect Verb Rate %	Correct Verb Rate %
Miriam	26/2	-	-	0	100
	4/6	-	-	0	100
	25/6	-	-	0	100
	21/7	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	0	100
Patience	5/2	-	-	0	100
	4/6	-	-	0	100
	21/7	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	0	100
Tebbie	5/2	-	-	0	100
	4/6	-	-	0	100
	1/10	-	-	0	100
	12/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	0	100
Rose	26/2	Flew	Flying	6	94
	29/11	-	-	0	100
	29/11	-	-	0	100
			Average	0	98
Hillary	29/1	-	-		
	5/2	-	-	0	100
	26/2	-	-	0	100
	4/6	-	-	0	100
	1/10	-	-	0	100
			Average	0	100

Table 27: Correct verb rates for native speakers for English.

4.4.2 Native speakers: Variability in verb use

The developmental process for pupils is also characterized by forms of systematic variability. Major (1994:659) has suggested that the study of variation in native speaker discourse, which enables us to fully understand language acquisition processes, has been going on ever since the days of Fisher in 1958. In this study, developmental patterns about variation are similar to those of L2 pupils in some ways but not in all ways. The differences are much more evident between native speaker pupils on one side and pupils from Schools Four and Three on the other. Variability in verb acquisition for L1 pupils is represented in table 28 below:

a	Different forms of the same verb used correctly at different Times.
b	Realised correctly everytime it occurs.
c	Realised correctly more than once in same sentence.
d	Realised correctly more than once in the same text.

Table 28: Variability in the acquisition of verbs for native speakers of English

One interesting feature about variability in the discourse of L1 pupils and which is not common in the discourse of L2 pupils is the pupils' ability to deploy various forms of the same verb. To illustrate this point, the discussion will focus on the verbs see, go, and came. Maria deploys various forms of the verb see as illustrated below:

Time 21/7	Time 21/7	Time 29/9
see	seen	saw

The verbs see and seen are accurately realised at Time 21/7 while the verb saw is accurately realised at Time 29/9. She uses the verb see as an infinitive, while the past form is used as a finite verb. Another pupil Hellen, also uses three forms of the same verb accurately at three different Times as indicated below:

Time 5/2	Time 26/2	Time 4/6
gone	going	go

At Time 5/2, the verb gone is realised whilst the verb go is realised at Time 4/6. Miriam is proficient in the use of verbs that contain the /-s/ form as well as in the use of verbs which contain /-ed/ forms as can be seen in the following sentences.

68. Suddenly, he pulls and says it is an atomic bomb.
69. We pulled an octopus from the rock.

From the discussion above, we can see that L1 pupils can manipulate and deploy different forms of the same verb.

4.4.3 Native Speakers: Route of development in verb acquisition

As has already been explained above, it is not easy to determine the route of language development for L1 pupils because there is no clue from the data as to which forms of the verbs are acquired first and what forms are acquired later because nearly all the verbs have been accurately realised. To determine 'route', one would need to study the language of these learners at very early ages.

4.5 Conclusion

This study has raised a number of issues. From table 29, we can see that some pupils like Natasha, Chenai and Vanesa from School One; Torai, Ndhlela, Winston,

Petuka and Tembinkosi from School Two as well as Miriam, Patience, Tebbie and Hillary from the native speaker category, have identical scores of 100%. On the other hand, some pupils from School Three such as Fura and Vera realise scores which are even below 50%. The highest CVR of 86.3% realised by Kinopa from School Three is lower than the lowest correct verb scores realised at School One of 96.2% which is realised by Benita as well as lower than the lowest score of 94.87% realised by Anita from School Two and is nearly similar to the lowest score of 86.1% which is realised by Roxana from School Four.

What can be seen from this study and as indicated in table 29, is that in the acquisition of verbs, learners from English input acquisition poor environments and those learners from English acquisition-rich environments develop differently. This study has established that growth rates for School One are not very different from those of native speakers of English but are different from those of learners from School Three. The general conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis is that although groups such as One and Three exhibit different growth rates, the routes of development in verb acquisition for L2 pupils are similar.

GROUP ONE	AVERAGE CORRECT VERB SCORE%
Benita	96.2
Vanesa	100
Tesa	98.1
Natasha	100
Neria	96.7
Chenai	100
Kudzai	97.9
GROUP AVERAGE	98.4%

GROUP TWO	AVERAGE CORRECT VERB SCORES%
Veronica	97.2
Torai	100
Tom	96.42
Ndlela	100
Rose	95.5
Lina	97.2
Winston	100
Petuka	100
Anita	94.87
Tembinkosi	100
Renia	97.1
GROUP AVERAGE	98%

GROUP THREE	AVERAGE CORRECT VERB SCORE%
Tamuka	52.1
Tatenda	72.2
Kinopa	86.3
Fura	35.2
Liza	55.5
Jane	78.5
Mona	76.1
Petal	66.6
Tiki	61.7
Vera	44.4
Tebe	50
GROUP AVERAGE	61.7%

GROUP FOUR	AVERAGE CORRECT VERB SCORE%
Roxanna	86.1
Lorraine	88.2
Temba	94.2
Joy	94.6
Vhira	95.5
Paul	97.5
Stephen	95.9
Norah	90.4
Nerissa	95.5
Shelly	96
Tara	98.1
GROUP AVERAGE	94%

NATIVE SPEAKERS	AVERAGE CORRECT VERB SCORE%
Mirriam	100
Patience	100
Tebbie	100
Rose	98
Hillary	100
GROUP AVERAGE	99.6%

Table 29: Average correct verb rates for all groups

CHAPTER 5

LEXICAL REPETITION PATTERNS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is on the vocabulary development of L2 pupils at four urban schools in Zimbabwe. The main focus of the study will be lexical repetition. The study of lexical repetition, in relation to vocabulary development, has been a neglected area of study. Furthermore, the importance of vocabulary in language has been expressed by several scholars. For example, McCarthy (1990), cited in Bamford (1991:228) and McCarthy (2001:398) has suggested that vocabulary is the single biggest component in language and yet it has received the least attention. Words of a language, according to Jullian (2001:38), bear the heaviest load of the message. Some scholars e.g. Luppescu and Day (1993:264), have even suggested that knowledge of vocabulary is an excellent predictor of the learner's general linguistic proficiency. Widdowson (1993:317), citing a letter written by Jonathan Swift in 1720 to a young clergyman, has remarked that the true definition of style lies in the writer's ability to put proper words in proper places. And more recently, Newton (2001:30) has suggested that the main task which is faced by a second language learner is being able to manage new vocabulary while also maintaining the flow of communication. Moreover, as Kerim-Zade and Pavlov (1989:382) have suggested, because words are polysemantic, learners find it difficult to use them in their full range of functions.

Firstly, a brief description of early vocabulary studies will be made so that I can locate the study of vocabulary within the context of how it has been studied historically. A brief description of studies on African English that have been done by scholars such as Schmied (1991) and Bokamba (1983) will also be done to enable me to put the study of lexical repetition within the context of work that has been done by some scholars of African English. Secondly, a description of the indices that have been used in the measurement of vocabulary development by scholars will be discussed so that we can see the relationship between indices that have been used by these scholars and the ones I have used. I will also discuss analytical approaches that have been used by scholars such as Hormann (1971) and Snow (1996). Thirdly, a description of what repetition entails will be made drawing on work by scholars such as Murata (1995), Halliday and Hasan (1976), Leech and Short (1975), Brown (1987) and Leech and Svartvik (1975) who seem to view repetition positively, and who have suggested that repetition is helpful in facilitating the process of communication. The views on repetition above will be contrasted with those of Tarone and Yule (1980:110) who have cautioned that it is not in all cases that repetition is as helpful as is suggested by some scholars. Fourthly, a framework for the description of repetition rates based on the type-token ratio (TTR), will be discussed, pointing out some of the problems that are associated with the TTR. And lastly, a description of lexical repetition rates of a total of 31 pupils, 8 from each of the three schools and 7 from School One will be made.

5.1 Background: A description of early vocabulary studies

Studies of children's language and development started over 100 years ago. According to Ingram (1989), they centred around diaries which certain parents kept over a period of time and in which children's utterances were recorded. These utterances, mostly words, were then published as raw data, with little or no commentaries at all to accompany the publications. The first major diary was that of H. Taines which was published in 1876 in a journal called Mind, in which he reported his daughter's vocabulary acquisition from birth to the end of her second year. Taines' publication provoked many other scholars (parents) to follow suit. One such scholar was Preyer, whose 1889 biography on the vocabulary development of his son Alex, was celebrated as one of the most extensive of that time. Ingram (1989:8) reports that in North America, the publication of biographies centred around G. Stanely Hall of Clark University. Although he didn't write many himself, he offered much needed material support to prospective scholars. He became the editor of a journal called Pedagogical Seminary in which several articles of many famous writers such as Chamberlain and Chamberlain appeared. These biographies grew in number to an extent that Wilson's 1989 bibliography listed 641 entries. Ingram reports that after 1926, the most well known vocabulary listing, also considered one of the best, was that of Leopold, written between 1939 and 1949, which was based on his daughter Hildegard. One of the latest biographies, though not based on vocabulary but phonology, was one compiled by Smith in 1973 on his son called "A".

What is most relevant to my study about early vocabulary studies that have been described above, is the concept of word counting, which was at the heart of these scholars research methodology and which I have used. Also, the most interesting thing about the practice of word counting is that, even though it has been in existence for over 100 years, it is still a viable method of conducting linguistic inquiry. Scholars like Snow (1996:78), report that word counting is still being used as a method of determining the acquisition of vocabulary by children. More on this later. Today, data from these early researchers are still important because they provide an enormous data base from which research on language acquisition can be based. One of the problems with these studies however, is that they provide us with data collected by people who had no formal training in data collection or data elicitation. Moreover, some researchers have voiced concern that by recording only what they felt was important, these parents may have 'under-recorded' the utterances. Nevertheless, from the outline above, a number of methodological issues can be noted:

- the study of children's language, especially the study of vocabulary, is a very old practice — over 100 years old;
- longitudinal language study started over 100 years ago; and
- most studies were based on children less than two years old.

It is important to emphasize that, even though my research is longitudinal, it is not based on diaries such as the ones referred to above. This is mainly so because it was not possible to track each individuals sum total of utterances in the period of study.

5.2 A description of vocabulary of African English

There are a few studies on African English that have been done. Some of the most well known are those that have been done by Schmied (1991) and Bokamba (1983). Because my subjects are African L2 speakers of English, it may be helpful to make a brief description of studies on African English that have been conducted by Schemied and Bokamba so that we can see the relationships between their approaches and mine. I will begin by describing those studies that were done by Schmied.

Schmied (1991:86) has suggested that at the level of lexis in African English, two lexical items with similar meanings are sometimes deployed within the same context, resulting in semantic redundancy as the following examples indicate:

1. This perhaps may be so. 'This may be so'.
2. When did you return back home. 'When did you return home'.
3. Where do you expect to spend your sabbatical leave. 'Where do you expect to spend your sabbatical'.

According to Schmied (1991:87), the above utterances are realised because some speakers of African English have a tendency to say more than is necessary. Also, in African English, certain English word forms are used in reference to contexts which are different from the manner in which standard English operates, as sentence (4) and (5) indicate:

4. Your mother's sister is mother
5. People from the same village are brothers and sisters.

Schmied (1991:89) also observed that collocates in African English are not used in the same way as they are in standard English. For example, the collocates carried out in (6) constitute an Africanism.

6. They prepared the room in which the dance is carried out.

Furthermore, some word combinations of African English are not similar to those of standard English. Sometimes some very general terms are used instead of specific ones, as sentence (7) indicates:

7. The election cannot be done (held/conducted).

Sometimes certain words in African English develop specialised meanings as shown at (8):

8. Don't move (associate) with bad boys.

Schmied's study is exhaustive, perhaps one of the most comprehensive in the area and clearly shows the various ways in which the vocabulary of African English is Africanised. His characterization of African English is convincing. However, it may be helpful to say that there are other reasons, in addition to those he mentions, for the occurrences of certain forms of African English. For example, in juxtaposing return and back in sentence (2), the emphasis is on going back to a place at which one has been before. The word return on its own does not adequately capture the implied emphasis for speakers of African English. Speakers who utter sentence (3) feel that by juxtaposing sabbatical and leave, they can differentiate the 'sabbatical' from other types of leave such as, 'contact', 'sick', 'study' and 'ordinary' leave. Another term which falls into this category of Africanisms is cousin brother, which is used to refer to the son of

one's father's brother, and which is very common in Zimbabwe. The term cousin on its own seems to create a 'psychological distance' between people who, according to African kinship philosophy, consider themselves to be much more closely related than is implied by the term. To go round this 'psychological barrier', the term brother, which overtly expresses the desired closeness, is added to the word cousin. Also, the word mother, in (4) as Schmied (1991:88) correctly observes, is used to mean, not just one's biological mother, but also any woman who one feels may be approximately the same age as one's own biological mother. It is also used to refer to one's mother's younger or elder sister. Sometimes it is even used to refer to the mother of one's wife or the mother of the wife of one's younger or elder brother. In other words, it is a term of respect, which almost always goes beyond its 'standard' denotative boundaries. It is also a term that captures the nature of the extended relationships that exist in African societies. The same can be said of the terms sister, brother and father. They are not just restricted to people from one's immediate family, but to people in the wider community as well. The cultural norms which permeate the Zimbabwean socio-linguistic environment place special emphasis on lexical items that denote respect and cultural solidarity. For example, to address someone about the age of one's father by his first name will be viewed, not just as socio-linguistic deviation, but also as socio-cultural delinquency.

Bokamba's study focuses on how lexical items in African English are created. He argues that lexical items are created in a variety of ways as outlined:

a) Semantic extension e.g.

9. He gave me some amount. 'He gave me a certain amount of money'.

b) Semantic shift e.g.

10. We should cut down on bringing forth. 'We should have fewer children'.

c) Semantic transfer e.g.

11. I asked her to dance but she cut me. 'I asked her to dance with me but she answered me rudely'.

d) Coinage e.g.

12. I am going to branch at my sister. 'I am going to my sister's place'.

13. I hear a smell. 'I can smell something'.

In Bokamba's study, it appears from the examples given that the difference that exists between semantic extension and coinage, as well as that which exists between semantic transfer and coinage is not quite clear. It seems to me that both branch and amount can be examples of semantic extension while both cut and hear can be instances of semantic transfer.

5.3 Measurement of lexical development

In the 1970s, several procedures for the measurement of child language were developed by several child language scholars. According to Snow (1996:75), many of these procedures involved writing the grammar of child language that was based on utterances made at a single point in time. The studies were quite

helpful in showing that child language was systematic and rule governed. The limitation of such a procedure, though, was that it tended to view language as a single monolithic phenomenon, the point Snow (1996:76) makes clear when she says, 'these research methods reflect the limitation of traditional linguistic approaches, within which stability rather than variation or change is presupposed as a normal state of languages'. The index or unit that was usually employed to measure development was the mean length of utterance (MLU). This is a unit of measurement where the length of an utterance is measured in terms of the number of morphemes it contains. The limitations of the MLU are summarised by Snow when she remarks:

> While the MLU is a good practical tool for generally characterizing a child's language level, it is not helpful in illuminating what aspects of child's language change or how these changes occur as children grow (Snow 1996:76).

Some scholars measured development using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test where the child would point at one of four pictures in a room on hearing a test word. Snow (1996:78) reports that another method that has been used to measure spontaneous children's utterances is one that involves counting the number of tokens (words) that a child produces per standard length of time. If a minute is used as a unit of time, then the tokens that are determined by the count are labelled 'word tokens per minute', and if ten minutes are used, the tokens would be labelled 'word tokens per ten minutes'. It is perhaps worth

emphasizing, as already mentioned above and as I will elaborate on later, that the method of counting words to enable researchers to make informed linguistic decisions is not a new one. According to Van Els (1986:198), it is a practice that has been in existence in one form or another for a long time. For instance, one of the most celebrated word counts was conducted by Kaeding in 1878. He conducted a count on a corpus of 11 000 000 German words. This was a frequency word count meant to determine words which had the highest rate of occurrence in written German. Another famous word count was done by Thorndike and Lorge in 1944 on a corpus of 18 000 000 words.

These word counts were useful in a variety of ways. According to Hormann (1971:82), linguists like Kaeding had long recognised that linguistic analysis could be done with the help of statistics, a point he makes explicit when he says, `linguistic events can be investigated with the same objectivity as such natural events as sun spots or social behaviour of ants'. Hormann (1971:89) also reports that word counts that were conducted by Thorndike and Lorge were used in the systematic study of readability in texts. These researchers were of the view that texts that were easy to read or understand, were those texts that contained words that occurred frequently in a language, whilst those texts that were difficult to read were those texts that contained words that were used infrequently. Readability was important in determining appropriate language for advertisements. Word counts were also used in psychological experiments to systematically vary verbal materials. Researchers in the word frequency counts tradition, argued that there is a relationship between the speed with which the

word is perceived and the frequency of occurrence of such a word in everyday life. Word frequency counts were also used in the study of sequential psycholinguistics. Sequential psycholinguistics deals with how succeeding events of a linguistic sequence influence each other. Hormann (1971:97) says that in sequential psycholinguistics, there is an assumption that linguistic events occur as what he calls, a Markov process. Hormann suggests that a Markov process, which was named after the Russian mathematician A. Markov, is a stochastic process, where linguistic events are said to occur according to the laws of probability. Hormann has summarised this linguistic behaviour when he says, 'the probability of an occurrence of a certain state in the future can be fully predicted from the present state'.

My study of lexical repetition of L2 pupils can be said to be partly informed by the work of scholars like Kaeding (1898), Hormann (1971), Johnson (1979) and Snow (1996). I think that the most important relationships between my work and that of Kaeding and other researchers referred to above, is the methodology for linguistic study that is based on word counts and arithmetic calculations. More on this later.

5.4 Scope of this study

5.4.1 Lexical repetition: Hypothesis and aim of this study.

In this chapter, the main question I attempt to answer is, 'What is the nature of the learner's language development with respect to the repetition of lexical items'. I postulate the hypothesis that learners from different linguistic

environments may exhibit different patterns of lexical repetition and that these differences in repetition rates may be explained, to some extent, by the fact that some learners acquire English in linguistic environments where English input is limited, whilst others acquire English input in linguistic environments where the input is not so limited. I will also examine repetition patterns specifically for nouns and verbs to try and determine whether or not the repetition rates for the said linguistic features increase or decrease over time. The reasons for selecting nouns and verbs will be given later. For comparison purposes, excerpts from the British Broadcasting Corporation will be used in order to show that in many ways, the native speaker uses lexical repetition differently. Such a comparison is essential because, in my opinion, a native speaker radio presenter, typifies the ideal speaker of his language. However, I wish to emphasize that the focus of this study is not a comparison of native speaker discourse with that of L2 pupils. On the contrary, it will focus on non-native speakers of English.

5.4.2 Motivation for studying lexical repetition

Lexical repetition has been viewed by several scholars as an integral part of the process of communication. Some scholars however, have expressed the view that it is not all the time and in all cases that lexical repetition is helpful in communication. Below, some studies pertaining to the two views referred to above will be briefly described. I will begin with the former.

In an article entitled 'Repetition: a cross cultural study', Murata (1995:344) views repetition as an aspect of communicative behaviour, and says that, basically,

repetition can be divided into two broad categories, namely, 'self' repetitions, in which a speaker repeats his own utterances when speaking to an interlocuter and 'other' repetitions where the speaker repeats the utterances of his conversational partner.Furthermore, Murata suggests that repetition can also be classified according to five interactional functions namely, interruption oriented, solidarity, silence avoidance, hesitation and formulation repetitions. Interruption — oriented repetitions are 'self' repetitions which Murata (1995:346) has described as 'floor taking and topic changing interruptions' which are used by a conversationalist in order to change the conversational topic. By solidarity repetitions, Murata refers to two-party repetitions where speakers repeat each others' words in order to express cooperation and agreement with each other. Murata (1995:349) citing Tannen (1989:59-62) has described this kind of repetition as 'participatory listenership'. Silence-avoidance repetitions are two — party repetitions which are used by conversationalists mainly to avoid periods of silence during conversation. Murata says that these kinds of words repetitions are used mainly by native speakers of English because, silence during conversation, is against the 'cooperative nature of English interactions. Another type of repetition identified by Murata is called hesitation repetition. This type of repetition is used to avoid quick turn-taking in conversation, which he says might sound aggressive to the conversational partner. Murata (1995:352) reports that hesitation repetitions also occur because learners doubt their competence in the use of certain linguistic features. Reformulation repetition, is another type of repetition where a speaker reformulates utterances which he has already used in

order to make the utterance less imposing to a conversational partner. And lastly, Murata distinguishes between 'immediate' and 'distant' repetitions. In 'immediate' repetitions, words that are repeated occur within the same sentences and texts whilst in 'distant' repetition, words that are repeated do not occur as closely together as stated above, but occur somewhere within the same text.

What is particularly relevant to my study, however, is the distinction Murata makes between 'other' and 'self repetitions, as well as the classification of repetitions as either "immediate" or "distant". This is so because the vast majority of repetitions that we are concerned with in my study belong to the "self' repetitions category and are "immediate" as well as 'distant' in nature. I think it may also be helpful to mention that one of the main differences in focus between Murata's study and mine is that Murata's subjects are adults and the repetitions they make are viewed and analysed as facilitating the learner's communicative intentions. In my study however, the learners are ten year olds who are studying English as a second language in a country where English is a second language. Some of the repetitions that these learner's make do not necessarily always facilitate the process of communication. It appears therefore, that we can say there are two positions regarding repetition in texts. Some scholars have expressed the view that lexical repetition in a text is facilitative to the process of communication when, for example, an item in a text refers to the same item that occurs earlier on in the text. Such repetition can serve what Halliday and Hasan (1976:4) have called a cohesive function. Also, Leech and Short (1981:96) argue that repetition is facilitative to the process of communication when a word is

repeated to reinforce an idea which has already been mentioned or described in a text. Sometimes lexical repetition, as Leech and Svartvik (1975:105) suggest, is used to indicate 'continuing change' as in (14) and (15).

14. I have told you over and over again.

15. You must never never do that to them.

According to Brown (1987:93), sometimes lexical repetition can be used to denote degree as in (16) and (17):

16. He is very very worried.

17. It is far far too narrow.

Furthermore, Brown (1987:93) suggests that sometimes lexical repetition occurs when a learner imitates or repeats models that are presented by the teacher. The positive aspects of lexical repetition are explicitly summarized by Leech and Short (1981:24) when they describe it as; '...an aesthetic counter balance to the elegant variation and gives emotive heightening to repeated meaning'.

However, some scholars e.g. Meier (1964) cited in Hormann (1971:85) have suggested that some texts which contain numerous repetitions tend to be 'lexically restricted'. This view is supported by Leech and Short (1981:204) as well as by Tarone and Yule (1989:110) who have suggested that sometimes lexical repetitions occur because the learner lacks, or does not have the appropriate lexical items to use in a given linguistic context. To substantiate the claims above, the excerpt below, taken from Tarone and Yule (1989:110) citing Nelson (1989) is presented. In the excerpt, the learner is talking to a conversational partner referred to as E.N:

Learner: I'm looking for [taste1]

E.N: Erica Tesdell? Her office is 110.

Learner: [ta sta1]

E.N: A woman teacher.

Learner: No, man. [ta ste 1]

E.N: What does he look like? etc

Tarone and Yule have pointed out that although the above examples refer specifically to a learner who had a problem in pronouncing Ted Taylor appropriately, repetitions such as these also occur in cases where learners do not know the right words to use.

Below, an example of a text in which several repeated words can be avoided is presented. The excerpt is from School Two at Time 30/5 where Petuka is telling us about her holiday experiences:

> The next morning my mother asked I made some tea. And I made some tea and after we ate our breakfast. Then we went out and played. We played many games. After that we came back and ate our lunch. Then after we went and played. We played hide and seek and hide and seek and played lots of games. After that we went and made sadza. My grandmother closed the television. Then we went to bed. We played in the bedroom ...

In Petuka's story, the word went is repeated 11 times, played 8 times, ate 4 times, tea 2 times, made 4 times and television 3 times. Although

communication does not breakdown, there is a great deal of repetition particularly of the verb went. As we have already mentioned, this is not to suggest that repetitions should not occur in texts, but that they can be minimized. For example, the number of repetitions in Petuka's text can be minimized as below:

The next morning, my mother asked me to make tea. After breakfast we went to play. Then we came back for lunch. After that we played hide and seek. Then we ate sadza for supper. My grandmother turned off the television and we went to sleep. In the text above, there are still about two cases of repetition but most of the repetitions have been avoided.

On the basis of the sentiments expressed by Leech and Short, Hormann as well as by Tarone and Yule referred to above, therefore, it can be argued that although repetitions cannot be said to be 'bad' per se, there is an extent to which repetitions in children's discourse can sometimes be said to reflect the limited nature of some of the pupils' lexical resources. And I think it is reasonable to suggest that there is also an extent to which some learner's general linguistic proficiency can be inferred from the number of lexical repetitions that are contained in their interlanguage. In view of the above, in this study, I wish to describe lexical repetition as a process, showing that learners from different linguistic environments may exhibit different patterns of lexical repetition.

5.5 Framework for analysis of lexical repetition rates

The framework that will be used in the calculation of lexical repetition rates is based on the type —token ratio (TTR), a formula which has been used by researchers to measure what Giles and Powesland (1975:138) have called vocabulary flexibility, as well as frequency of occurrence of words in texts. The TTR has also been used, according to Johnson (1979:213), to measure lexical richness, diversity and heterogeneity of the authour's vocabulary. Before I present the framework that has been used in this study, it may be helpful to make a brief description of how the TTR has been used historically.

The TTR, according to Hormann (1971:88), was first used by Carroll in 1938 but got popularised by Johnson in 1944. The formula was later adopted by several researchers e.g. Van Els (1984:205), Butler (1985:14), Taylor and Taylor (1990:147) and Snow (1996:78). According to Hormann (1971:88), and Butler (1985:14), the TTR is calculated by expressing the total number of different words in a text, called types, as a ratio of the total number of running words in a text (tokens). For example, Hormann (1971:88) says that in a text of 65 words, if one word occurs 4 times, five words 3 times each, nine words 2 times each, and twenty eight words 1 time each, the TTR would be 43:65 or 0.66. Johnson (1975:214) says that the formula for calculating TTR is as presented in figure 1:

In order to make a comparative description of lexical repetition rates of pupils at four urban schools in Zimbabwe, the framework that will be used is as presented below:

$$\frac{S}{N} \quad \text{(expressed as a percentage)}$$

Figure 4. Formula for the calculation of lexical repetition rates. (Adopted from Johnson 1979:214).

Figure 4 is a slight modification of figure 1 in terms of its application. The symbol R represents ratio, but the scores in this study will be presented in percentages and not in decimals as is the case with Johnson's scores. The symbols S and N represent, respectively, the total number of repeated content words in the text (types) and the number of content words in the text (tokens). And, following Halliday (1989:81), two or more words that belong to the same lexical unit, in their various grammatical forms, such as play, plays, playing and played will be considered as repeated word types if they occur in the same text, although they are morphologically different. To facilitate the analysis of data, each day of the month on which data was collected constitutes a single Time with a capital 'T'. If data was collected on 17 January 1993, the data collection day will be labelled Time 17/1. I didn't use the labels Time 1 and Time 2 as some researchers have done e.g. Ellis (1986:96) in his description of the diffusion model for negatives, because such a method does not specify the specific dates and months on which data was collected. To calculate the LRR, the total number of repeated content

words in a text are expressed as a ratio (percentage) of the total number of content words used in the same text. All repeated content words (types) will be calculated as a percentage of all content words used irrespective of how often they are used. If, for example, the total number of repeated words is 16 and the total number of content words used is 80, the learner's rate of repetition for that text would be 20%.

Three different sets of calculations will be made. The first will involve the calculation of overall lexical repetition rates for all content items as already explained above. The second and third will involve the calculation of Noun Repetition Rates (NRR) as well as the calculation of Verb Repetition Rates (VRR). I decided to conduct separate lexical repetition calculations for nouns and verbs because nouns and verbs are the most content-full words in English. To calculate NRR and VRR, I express the total number of repeated noun types or repeated verb types, as a ratio (percentage) of the total number of nouns or verbs (tokens) used in a text as shown in figures 5 and 6:

$$R = \frac{\text{Total number of repeated verbs (types) \%}}{\text{Total number of verbs used in a text (tokens)}}$$

Figure 5. Formula for the calculation of verb repetition rates.

$$R = \frac{\text{Total number of repeated nouns (types) \%}}{\text{Total number of nouns used in text (tokens)}}$$

Figure 6. Formula for the calculation of noun repetition rates.

It may be helpful to emphasize that, following linguistic practice e.g. Snow (1996:78), only `content' and not `grammatical' words will be counted. Traugott (1993:4) has suggested that content words are lexical items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, which have lexical meaning. Louw and Jordan (1993:135) have called such words `full words' because they contain `obvious semantic meaning'. On the other hand, grammatical words are words such as, and, or, it, this, that, prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and demonstratives.

One major problem with the use of the TTR, according to Hormann (1971:88), is the fact that repetition rates tend to increase with increasing text length. To give an extreme example of how this phenomenon occurs, we can say that a text that consists of one word will have no repetition at all. However, a text that consists of a million words is bound to have large numbers of repetition. Furthermore, as Hormann (1971:88) has observed, on the first page of a novel, a writer does not need to repeat any words. However, after writing a few hundred pages, it becomes inevitable for him to re-employ some of the words he has already used. In order to reduce the effect of such a defect, a cue can be taken from the work of Flesch (1946) cited in Hormann (1971:90), who, in a study of readability in texts, went round the problem by counting only the first 100 words of a paragraph in a book or article. Following Flesch's methodology therefore, I decided to go round the problem of texts that differ in length by restricting the counting of the samples to the first 30 to 40 content words in each text. I decided to restrict the number of words to be counted in each text to 30 or 40 because many pupils texts, particularly those from School Three, were 30 to 40 words long. Therefore,

by limiting the number of words that were to be counted, I ensured that the sizes of all texts used were fairly similar. And, following Henzl and Kleifgen (1985), cited in Ellis (1990:75) the suggestion that is made in this study is that, as far as the overall repetition rates for lexical items is concerned, groups that realise high lexical repetition rates may be less proficient in the use of lexical items than groups with low lexical repetition rates. To calculate lexical repetition rates, data from 31 pupils will be used. Data from these 31 pupils will be taken to be representative of that of other pupils. To capture the developmental profile of the 8 and 7 pupils from each school, graphs will be used. Each graph has a vertical line on the extreme left marked 0 to 80 which will help indicate lexical repetition rates realised by each of the pupils. On the horizontal line, different Times on which data was collected are indicated. And parallel to the horizontal line, various lexical repetition rates are shown. These rates are the same as those marked on the vertical lines that run parallel to the vertical lines on the extreme left already referred to above. On the extreme right of each graph, the average lexical repetition score for each pupil is shown. The average is calculated by adding all the LRR shown on the horizontal line and which are also marked on the vertical lines and then dividing the total by the number of Times that appear parallel to the horizontal line. And finally, the group average shown at the bottom right hand corner of the page is calculated by first adding up all the average repetition scores for all the pupils in each group and then dividing the total by 8 for Schools Two, Three and Four and by 7 for School One.

I decided to use a framework for analysis based on the TTR because I found it to be appropriate for the calculation of lexical repetition rates. The 'adoption' of a framework that is already in existence is consistent with linguistic practice, that, if a descriptive tool for linguistic analysis appropriate for the sort of analysis to be done is already in existence, a researcher need not necessarily devise a new one, a point made clear by Tsui Bik-may (1985:2) when he says:

> In order to make a systematic analysis of data, an objective descriptive tool is necessary so that remarks made on the data will not be impressionistic or arbitrary ... Instead of adding one more to the list, we can simply take the existing one and modify it according to the specific purposes of our analysis. The system proposed here, is by no means innovative, but rather brings together features of several observational systems ...

Although Tsui Bik-may (1985:3) is referring to frameworks used in discourse analysis, his argument is applicable to the way I have adopted the TTR formula.

5.6 Analysis of lexical repetition rates

5.6.0 Introduction

In this section, an analysis of lexical repetition rates that characterize these pupils language learning developmental process will be made. The analysis of repeat rates for each pupil will include the following:

(a) Analysis of pupils' lexical repetition rates for all lexical items.

(b) Analysis of pupils' repetition rates for nouns (noun repetition rates).

(c) Analysis of pupils' repetition rates for nouns when the topic is repeated.

(d) Analysis of pupils' repetition rates for verbs (verb repetition rates).

(e) Analysis of pupils' repetition rates for verbs when topic is repeated.

5.6.1 School One: Analysis of repetition rates for all lexical items.

In this section, the following argument will be raised:

(a) The average lexical repetition rates for all content items for School One are the lowest.

(b) School One has the 3rd lowest average noun repetition rates.

(c) Noun repetition rates increase over time when the topic is repeated.

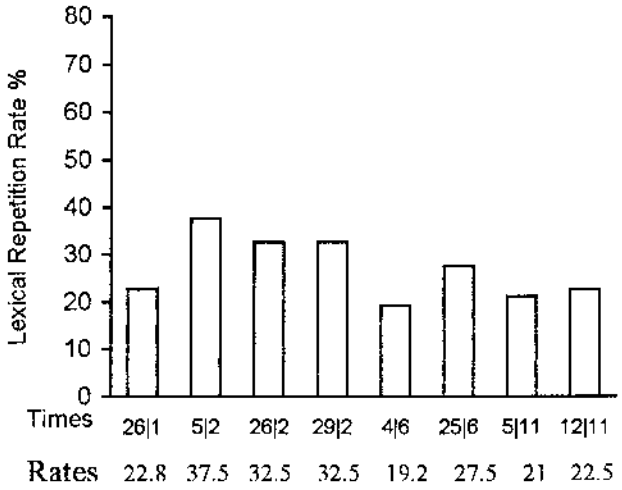
(d) School One verb repetition rates are lower than those of the other three groups.

(e) Verb repetition rates increase over time when the topic is repeated.

I will begin by describing the overall repetition rates for all content lexical items for School One pupils. If we compare School One lexical repetition rates for all content items with those of the other three groups, we see that School One pupils realise the lowest average LRR of 25.7%. This rate is nearly half of the average LRR for School Three pupils which is 49.7%. The highest average lexical repetition rate of 29.8% which is realised by Benita is lower than the lowest lexical repetition rate at School Three which is 35.4%, which has been realised by Tatenda. In fact, all the average LRR for School One pupils are lower than all the average LRR for School Three pupils. Furthermore, the highest average LRR of 60.1% which is realised by Petai of School Three is double the

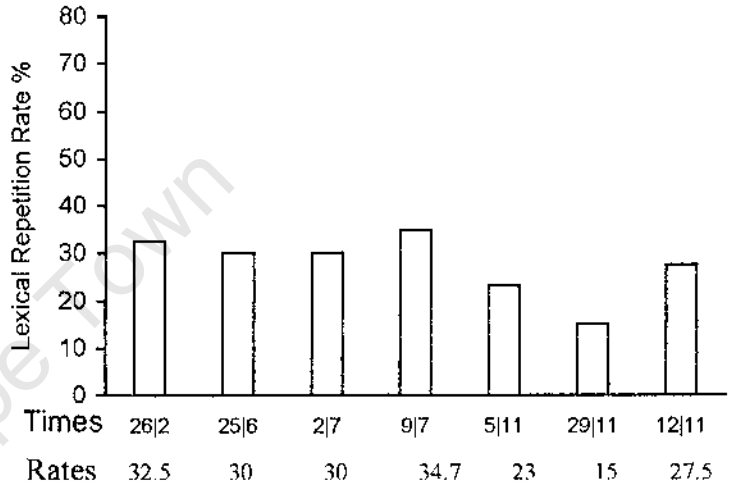
highest average LRR of 29.8% which is realised by Benita of School One. The topics that were discussed varied and included the following: 'What I did during the holiday'. A ghost story', 'My dreams', The party I attended' and 'My favourite subject'. The graphs enable us to compare repetition rates for pupils from the same group as well as compare rates for pupils from different groups. And it appears that the differences that exist in lexical repetition rates for groups suggest that the proficiency rates in the use of lexical items for the groups may also be different.

Kudzai



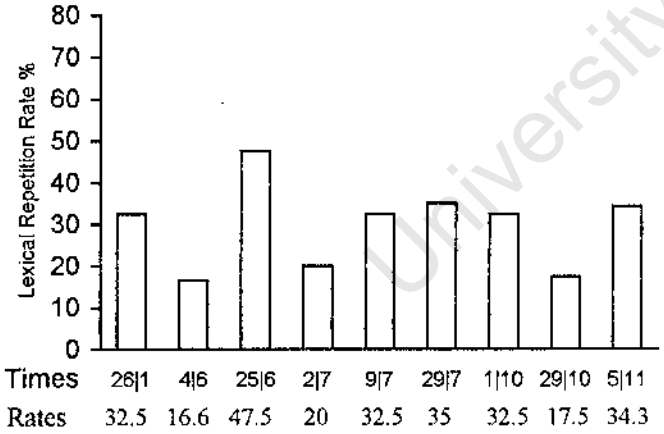
Avg 26.9%

Tesa



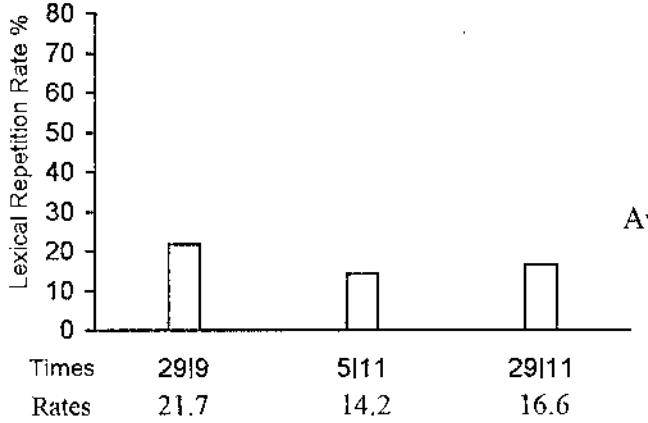
Avg 27.5%

Benita

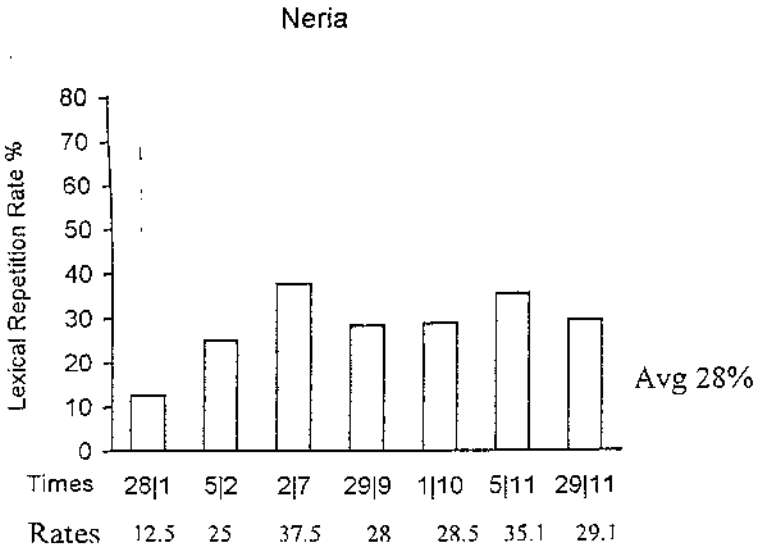


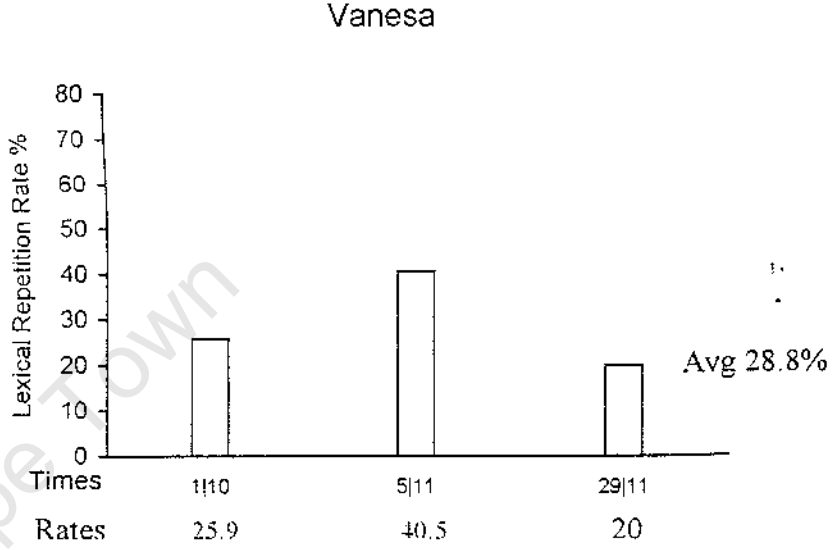
Avg 29.8%

Chenai



Avg 17.5%





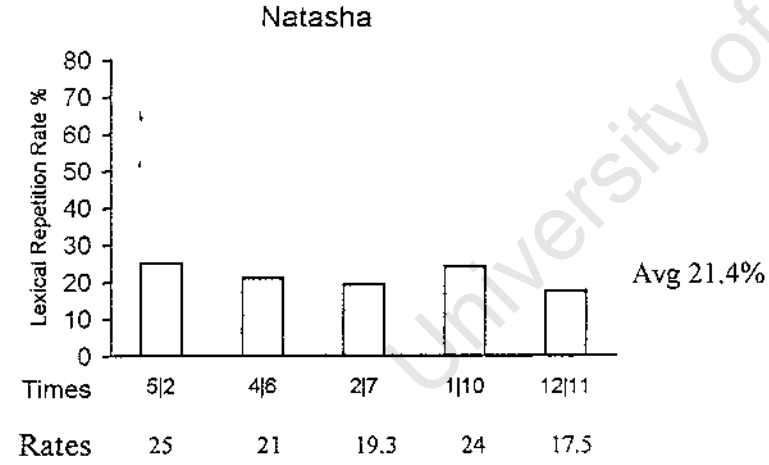


Table 30 Lexical repetition rates for School One

Group average 25.7%

5.6.2 School One: Analysis of repetition rates for nouns

To calculate the average noun repetition rates for each pupil, we add all the repetition rates for each pupil for all the Times and divide by the total number of recording Times. And to get the average noun repetition rates for each group, we add all the average noun repetition rates for all the pupils in the group and divide the total by 7 which is the total number of subjects in this group. The average noun repetition rate (NRR) for School One pupils is 21%, which, although it is higher than the rates for Schools Two and Four which are 18.4% and 24.9% respectively, it is much higher than the rate for School Three pupils. Also, of particular interest is the fact that although School One rates for nouns are not the lowest, there are 6 instances of 0% NRR and these are realised by Kudzai at Time 4/6, where she is telling us of her holiday experiences, by Chenai at Times 5/11 where she is telling us of a party she attended and at Time 29/11 where she is narrating her holiday experiences. There are also 2 instances of 0% NRR realised by Vanesa at Times 1/10 and 5/11 where she is telling us about her dreams and the party she attended, respectively. Neria also realises a 0% NRR at Time 25/1 where she is telling us about what she did during the holiday.

Name	Average NRR	Name	Average NRR
	%		%
Kudzai	20	Chenai	2.8
Tesa	26	Vanesa	11.1
Natasha	26.7	Neria	34.3
Benita	25.8		
Groups Average			21 %

Table 31 School One: Average repetition rates for nouns.

One instance in which a 0% NRR is realised which requires comment is by Vanesa, a German L2 speaker of English. At Time 1/10 she is telling us about her dream. The following is what she says:

> My name is Vanesa and I am from the Dominican Convent. A dream I will never forget. I dreamt that I was in the sea and everybody got out and I was the only one who was there. And I went far out and the shark started chasing me. And I swam and I swam and I swam. Then it got my leg and it was eating me. (Noises from the class). And then someone else jumped in. I don't remember and got bitten as well. That's all.

In Vanesa's text, although the word dream occurs twice, we can see that in the first instance, it occurs as a noun but in the second, it occurs as a verb. It is important to clarify that though the word would have been considered a repeated lexical item in the determination of overall lexical repetition rates, in the case above, it is not, because we are making a descrition of NRR and not LRR in general. However, in School One data, there are also a few instances, where almost every noun that is used in the text is repeated. One such case is at Time 29/9 where Neria is telling us about her best friends. The following is what she says:

> I am going to talk about my best friends. My best friends are Joana, Natasha and Maria. They are very nice. Maria has got brown hair. Joana has got blond hair. Natasha is very nice. Joana is very nice and Maria is very nice. I am glad that they are my best friends.

In Neria's story, the nouns friends, Joana, Natasha and Maria are all repeated. Also, one interesting phenomenon at School One and which also obtains at other schools, is where some repetition rates for nouns and verbs for some repeated topics tend to increase over time. I will begin by describing this phenomenon in relation to nouns. I decided to investigate this phenomenon because I wanted to find out whether or not the fact that a topic was repeated it would necessarily mean that the repetition rates would drop significantly. To test the hypothesis, I compared repetition rates for nouns realised by the same learner on the same topic at different Times. Because of the manner in which data was collected, (naturalistic data collection) not every learner got the opportunity to discuss the same topic more than once. So at School One, Kudzai, Tesa, Benita and Neria will be used to explain the phenomenon referred to above.

Name	Time	Topic	NRR %
Kudzai	26/1	My holiday	10 %
	5/2	My holiday	18.8
	29/2	My holiday	36.4
Tesa	25/6	Ghost story	27.3
	2/7	Ghost story	30
Benita	29/10	Party I attended	13.3
	5/11	Party I attended	27.3
Neria	26/1	My holiday	0
	5/2	My holiday	5.8
	2/7	My holiday	31.3

Table 32. School One: Repetition rates for nouns when topic is repeated.

It is important to stress that the phenomenon of increasing rates when topic is repeated is described with relation to nouns and later also with verbs because it is much more explicit in relation to nouns and verbs than it is in relation to all the content lexical items of texts. Table 32 shows the different topics repeated at different Times as well as the different rates realised by some of the School One pupils. At Time 26/1, Kudzai tells us about her holiday experiences and realises a NRR of 10%. At Time 5/2, the same topic is repeated and the rate increases to 18.8 %. And at Time 29/2 where the topic is discussed for the third time, the rates have trebled to 36.4%. Another interesting case is that of Neria where the NRR at Time 26/1 where she is describing her holiday experiences is 0 % but at Time 5/2 and Time 2/7 where the same topic is discussed, the rates have increased to 5.8 % and 31.3 % respectively. The same can be said of Benita's rates where she tells us of a party she has attended. The NRR rate increases from 13.3 `/0 at Time 29/10 to 27.3 % at Time 5/11. The phenomenon described above is intriguing because it seems to suggest that familiarity with the topic is no guarantee that repetition rates will decrease. But, it appears that the situation is not as simple as all that. One possible explanation for this is that the pupils are more enthusiastic and 'braver' the second time that the topic surfaces, but that this enthusiasm is not matched by the learner's lexical resources.

5.6.3 School One: Analysis of repetition rates for verbs

Verb repetition rates are calculated in the same way as the calculation of NRR. The average VRR for School One which is 22 % is the lowest compared to those of the other groups. It is slightly lower than the average VRR of School Four pupils which is 23.6%. How ever, when compared to the 32 % VRR of School

Three pupils, we see that the average repetition rate for School One is much lower. There are two instances of 0 % VRR and that is at Time 25/6 where Tesa is talking about Ghosts and at Time 5/2 where Natasha is telling us about her friends. Also, there are several instances where rates increase over time when a topic is repeated. For example, at Time 25/6 where Tesa is telling us a ghost story, the VRR is 0 %. However, when the topic resurfaces at Time 2/7, the repetition rate has risen to 20 %. In some instances, like the ones we see with Kudzai's rates, the increase from Time to Time appears to be gradual. For example, at Time 26/1 where Kudzai is describing her holiday experiences, she realises a VRR of 25 %. When the topic resurfaces at Time 5/2 and 29/2, the rates increase only slightly but progressively from 27.3 % to 32.5 %.

Name	Average VRR	Name	Average VRR
Kudzai	20	Chenai	17.8
Tesa	19.5	Venesa	21
Natasha	24.4	Neria	29.2
Benita	22.4		
Groups Average			22 %

Table 33. School One: Average repetition rates for verbs.

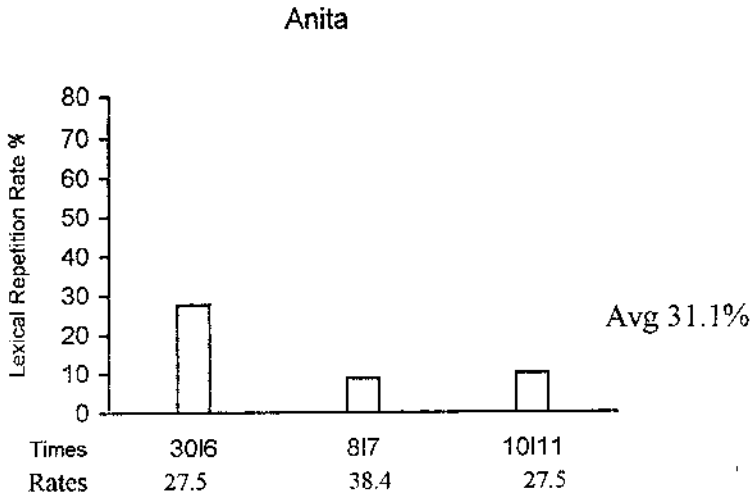
Name	**Time**	**Topic**	**VRR %**
Kudzai	26/1	My holiday	25
	5/2	My holiday	27.3
	29/2	My holiday	32.5
Tesa	25/6	Ghost story	0
	2/7	Ghost story	20
Benita	26/1	My holiday	16.7

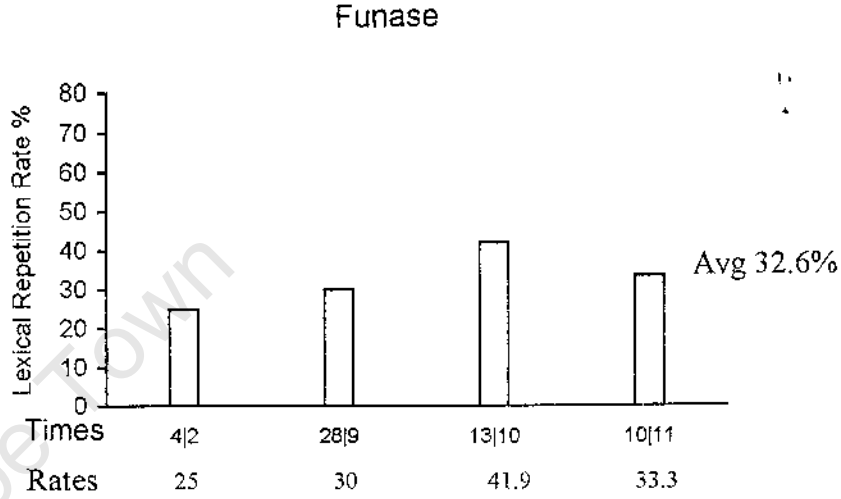
	4/6	My holiday	25
	29/10	Party I attended	18.1
	5/11	Party I attended	28.6
Neria	5/2	My holiday	18.2
	2/7	My holiday	25

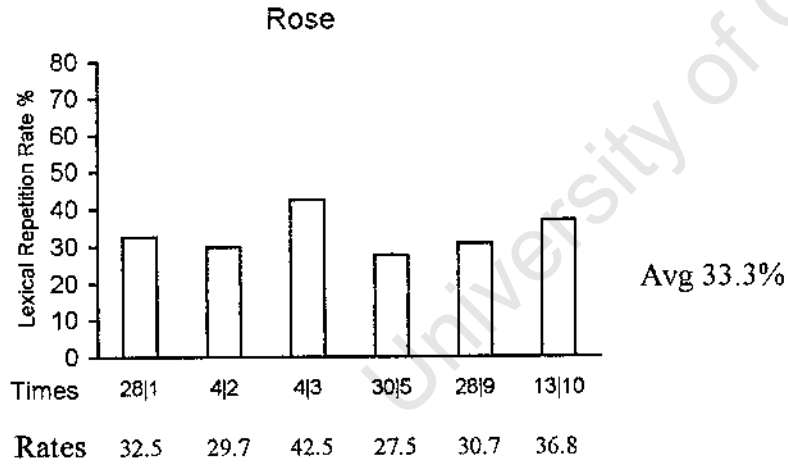
Table 34. School One: Repetition rates for verbs when topic is repeated.

5.6.4 School Two: Analysis of repetition rates for all lexical items

Analysis of lexical repetition rates for School Two pupils will involve, firstly, the analysis of the overall repetition rates for all content items realised by the 8 pupils selected as subjects, the description of noun repetition rates and verb repetition rates, as well as the analysis of repeat rates for nouns and verbs when the topics for discussion are repeated. Firstly, I will focus on repetition rates for all content lexical items used.







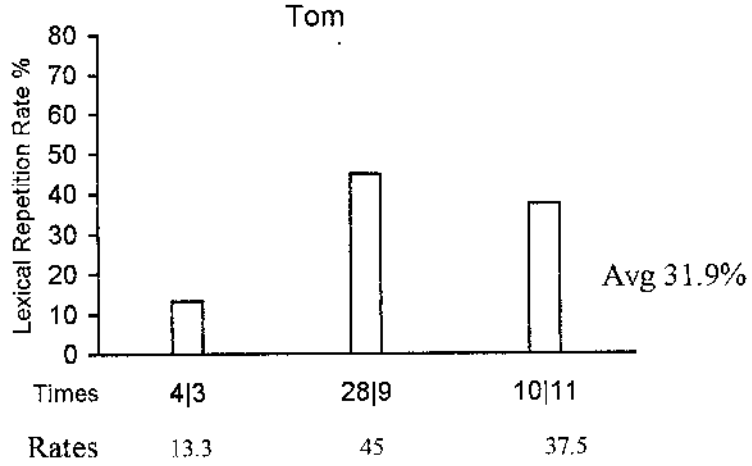


Table 35 Lexical repetition rates for School Two

Group Average 33.1%

The average group repetition rate for School Two of 33.1 % is higher than that of School One but lower than the average repetition rates for all lexical items of Schools Three and Four which are 35.3 % and 49.7 % respectively, although the difference between the average School Two and School Four rates is very small. The highest repetition rate realised by School Two pupils is 51.6 % which is realised by Petuka at Time 29/11. This rate is high considering that the majority of rates for School One pupils are below 30 %. The small difference in repetition rates between Schools Two and Four is interesting because, perhaps, it might be remembered that in Chapter 2, these two schools were both categorised as English input acquisition-average and that a suggestion was made that it was possible that learners from these two schools would, in many ways, exhibit similar patterns of lexical repetition rates as well as similar levels of general linguistic proficiency.

5.6.5 School Two: Analysis of repetition rates for nouns

The overall average noun repetition rate for School Two pupils as we can see in table 36 is 18.4 % which is the lowest of the four schools. Although it is slightly lower than the 24.9% noun repetition rate of School Four, it is much lower than the 36 % NRR of School Three. There are only two instances of 0 % noun repetition rate. One is realised by Veronica at Time 25/2 where she is describing the film she has watched, the other is realised by Renia at Time 10/11 where she is telling us about her enemies. At School Two, like at School One, although not in all cases, there are also several instances where noun repetition rates

increase over time when the topic for discussion resurfaces at a later date. There are several such instances as indicated in table 37.

Name	Average NRR %	Name	Average NRR %
Petuka	22.9	Funase	12.4
Tom	13.5	Veronica	14.8
Rose	18.2	Renia	16.7
Anita	28.3	Shorai	20.2
Groups Average			18.4 %

Table 36. School Two: Average repetition rates for nouns.

Name	Time	Topic	NRR %
Petuka	4/3	A party I attended	40
	13/10	A party attended	42.9
	28/1	My holiday	14.3
	30/5	My holiday	14.3
	29/11	My holiday	22.2
Veronica	28/1	My holiday	10.5
	30/5	My holiday	20
	8/7	My family	6.6
	21/7	My family	12.5
Sharai	4/3	Party I attended	33.3
	13/10	Party I attended	42.9

Table 37. School Two: Repetition rates for nouns when topic is repeated.

Increases in repeat rates are slight in some cases as is the case with Petuka's NRR at Time 13/10 where the rate is 42.9 %. Sometimes there are even no increases at all, as is the case at Time 30/5 where Petuka's NRR remain constant at 14.3 %. However, there is evidence that there are several cases where the increase is considerable. For example, Veronica's NRR at Time 30/5 where the topic "My holiday" has been repeated, the NRR has actually doubled. The same can be said of Veronica's repeat rate for nouns at Time 21/7 which has also nearly doubled.

5.6.6 School Two: Analysis of repetition rates for verbs

The overall average repetition rate for verbs is 25.1 %. This rate is a little higher than rates for School One and School Four but fairly lower than the average verb repetition rate for School Three. There are a number of instances of 0 VRR. There is a 0 % VRR realised by Petuka at Time 4/3 where he is talking about a party he attended. Veronica also realises 2 cases of 0 VRR at Time 4/2 where she is talking about her parents and at Time 8/7 where she is talking about her family respectively.

Name	Average %	Name	Average VRR %
Petuka	36.9	Funase	26.4
Tom	23.6	Veronica	23.5
Rose	19	Renia	26.6
Anita	20.9	Sharai	23.5
Groups Average			25.1 %

Table 38. School Two: Average repetition rates for verbs.

Like at School One, there are several instances of repetition rates for verbs which increase when a topic resurfaces for discussion at a later day. The two most interesting cases are at Time 4/3 where, initially, Petuka realises a verb repetition rate of 0 %. But when the topic resurfaces at Time 13/10, the VRR has risen to 13.3 %. A similar case is Veronicas' where, initially at Time 8/7 where she is talking about her family, the VRR is 0 %. But at Time 21/7 where the topic is repeated, the VRR has gone up to 25 %. As we can see from table 39, certain rates also tend to increase progressively when a topic is repeated.

Name	**Time**	**Topic**	**VRR %**
Petuka	4/3	Party I attended	0
	13/10	Party I attended	13.3
Rose	28/1	My holiday	10
	30/5	My holiday	18
Veronica	28/1	My holiday	37.5
	30/5	My holiday	41.7
	8/7	My family	0
	21/7	My family	25

Table 39. School Two: Analysis of repetition rates for verbs when topic is repeated.

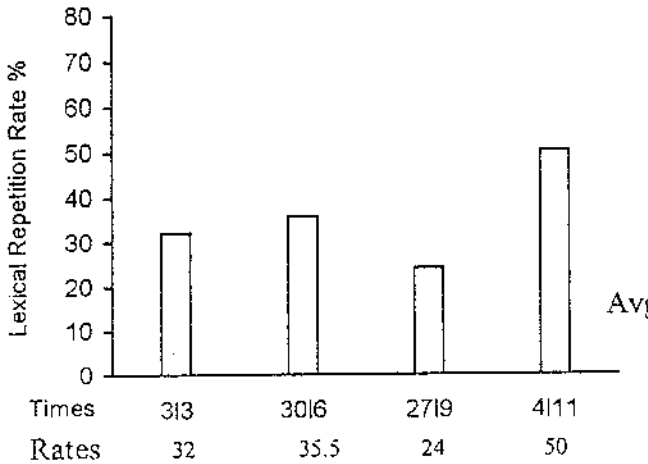
5.6.7 School Three: Analysis of repetition rates for all lexical items

The pattern of repetition rates that characterizes the development process for School Three pupils, as can be seen from the graph, is not quite similar to that of other groups. School Three realises the highest average lexical repetition rate of 49.7 %. This average repetition rate is nearly double that of School One. In fact, all average repetition rates for individual pupils at School Three are higher than all the average repetition rates for individual pupils at School One. The following except from Time 3/3 where Kinopa is telling us about a film she has watched, illustrates the nature of repetition rates that we see at School Three:

> I want to talk about Macgyver. Macgyver is a good film, film, I like to watch Macgyver very much. He he he he acts as a thief. He beats people, he beat people and she he (silence). He beat people and he take he took things of other people. He he he can shoot people with a knife. He is a, he is a good actor. I like him very much. He can, he can, he he can, he can kill people and he can help some people.

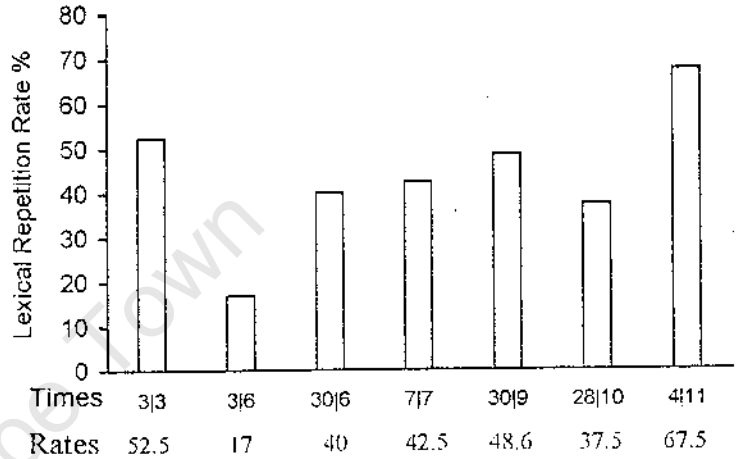
In the excerpt above, the word people has been repeated 7 times, Macgyver 3 times, beat 3 times, good 3 times, like 2 times and film 2 times. Although communication does not necessarily break down, I think that a number of those words have been unnecessarily repeated. The highest repetition rate at School Three is 77.7 % which is realised by Fura at Time 3/3 where he is describing his holiday experiences. Although all the pupils' rates are characterized by various forms of systematic and non-systematic variability, it appears that variability at

Tatenda



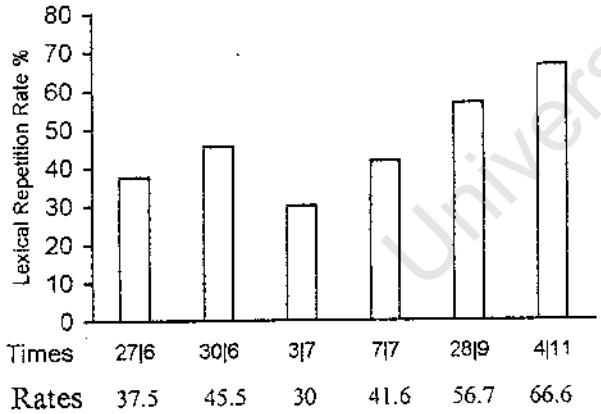
Avg 35.4%

Tiki



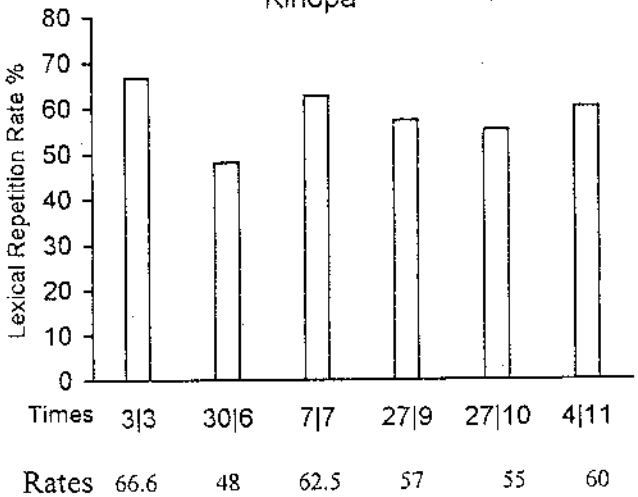
Avg 43.7%

Tamuka

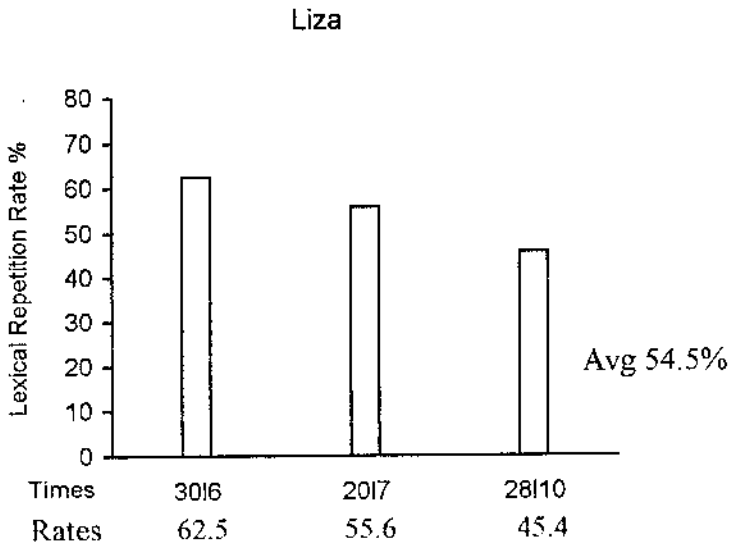


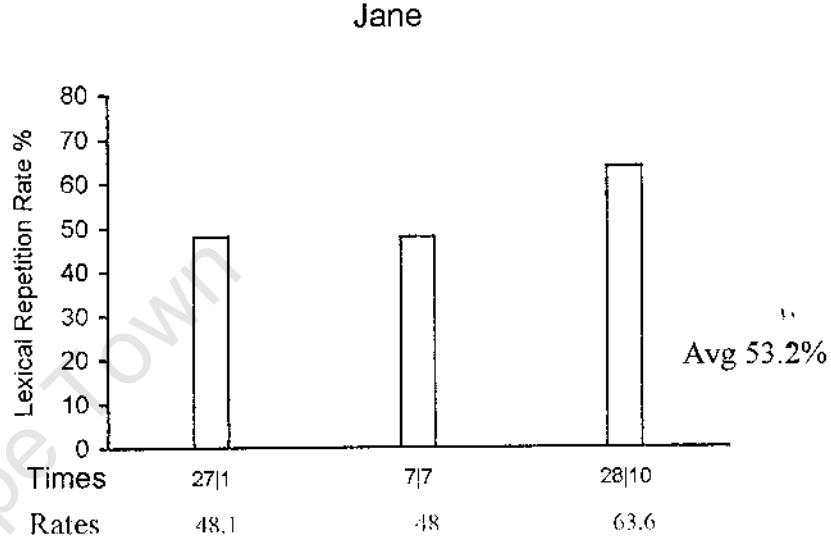
Avg 46.3%

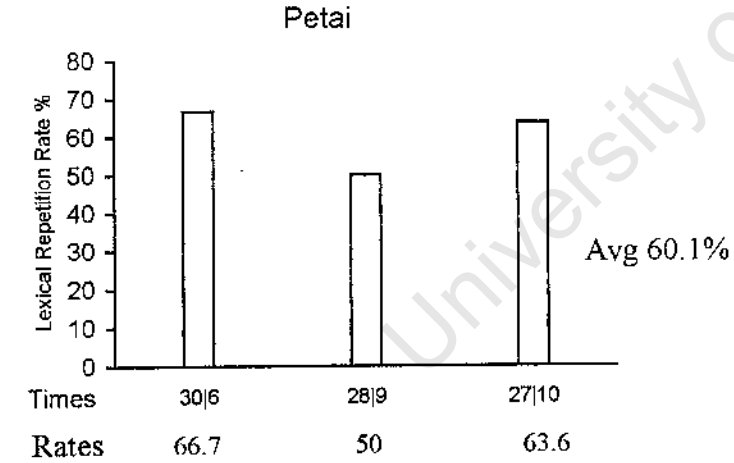
Kinopa

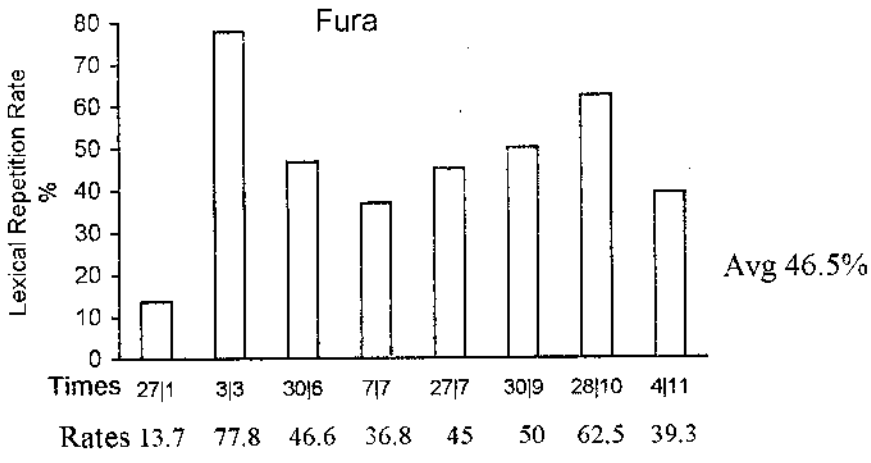


Avg 58.2%









Group Average 49.7%

Table 40 Lexical repetition rates for School Three

School Three is much more non-systematic than it is at other schools, because the rates range from as low as 13.7 % to as high as 77.7 % and the changes that occur to the learners' repeat rates are much more unpredictable than they are at other schools.

5.6.8 School Three: Analysis of repetition rates for nouns

Compared to the other groups, School Three pupils' average repetition rate for nouns of 36 % is by far the highest. The highest repetition rate for nouns is 80 % which is realised by Kinopa at Time 3/3 where she is telling us about a film she has watched. Although the repeat rates for nouns are quite high, there is however, 1 instance if a 0 % noun repetition rate and this is at Time 30/9 where Fura is telling us about his likes and dislikes.

Name	Average NRR %	Name	Average NRR %
Tatenda	34.3	Jane	38.3
Fura	18.2	Tamuka	27.2
Petai	35.9	Liza	54.2
Kinopa	47.4	Tiki	32.5
Groups Average			36 %

Table 41. School Three: Average repetition rates for nouns

5.6.9 School Three: Analysis of repetition rates for verbs

Compared to those of other groups, the average repetition rate for verbs for School Three of 32.3 % is the highest, much higher than the rates for other groups. And unlike at other schools, there is no instance of 0 % verb repetition rate. Verb repetition at School Three is particularly interesting because, at least in some instances, the relationships between the rate at which some verbs are repeated and the learner's proficiency rate in the use of the same verbs appear to be much more explicit. In other words, some of the verbs that are repeated are also inaccurately realised. In order to substantiate the above claim, the excerpt below, in which Fura, at Time 3/3 is telling us about a film he has watched, is presented.

> Macgyver help, help .. and Macgyver give people money and he kill the people who want to kill the others. And he kill the people who want to kill and want to kill the woman and the babies.

In the excerpt above, the repeated verb help has also been used inaccurately. Also, the verb kill has been used 5 times and in 2 of the Times, the verb has been inaccurately used. The same applies to the verb want which has been used 3 times. Because Fura is telling us a story which happened in the past, the verb want should have been used in the past. Also, the first and third kill should have been used in the past. However, the fact that some verbs that are repeated are sometimes also those verbs that are inaccurately realised is a side issue. It should not make us lose sight of the main argument in this section, that the verb repetition rates for this group are by far higher than those of other groups.

Name	Average VRR%	Name	Average VRR%
Tatenda	11.5	Jane	46.8
Fura	34.9	Tamuka	43.3
Petal	37	Liza	27.3
Kinopa	29	Tiki	28.3
Groups Average			32.3 °/0

Table 42. School Three: Average repetition rates for verbs.

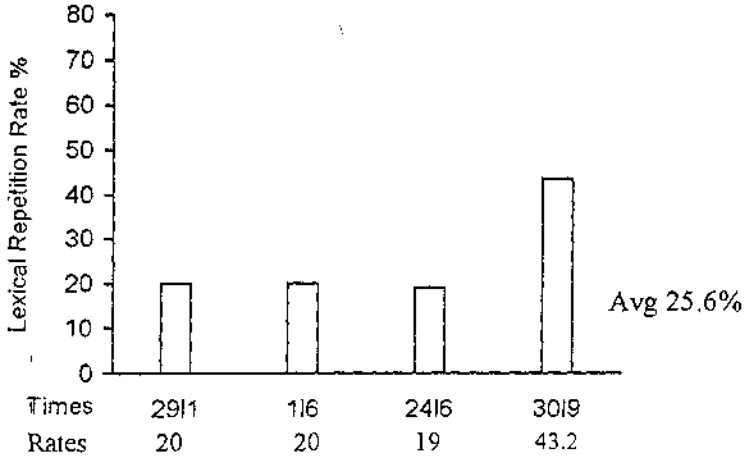
5.6.10 School Four: Analysis of repetition rates for all lexical items

The average LRR of 35.3% which is realised by School Four pupils is slightly higher than that of School Two but is significantly lower than that of School Three. Lexical repetition at School Four is typified by the following excerpt where, Roxana at Time 1/6 is telling us of her holiday experiences:

> During the holiday, I went to the rural areas areas. At half, at half past six we we went to Mbare Musika. When we arrive there, we wait wait for the bus. We wait and wait for the bus. We wait and wait for my father . After that my sister, my sister bought bought some bananas. When the bus bus arrived, we we my father bought a ticket and we got ...

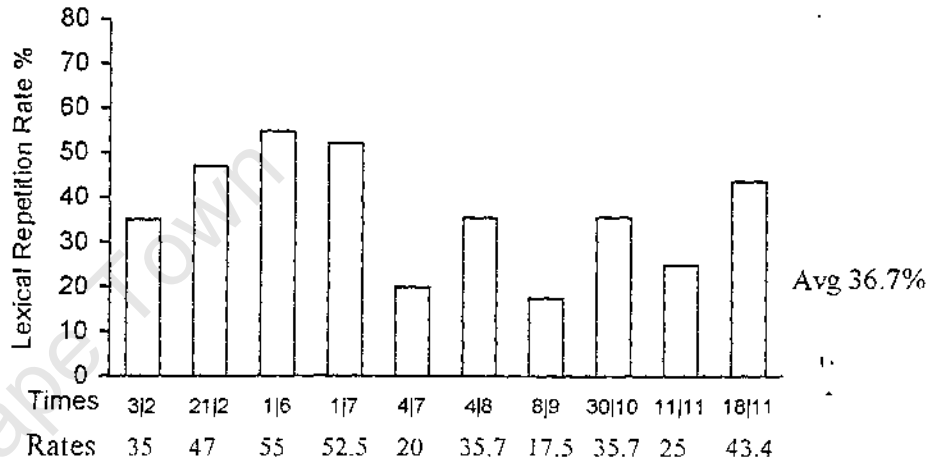
Although the repetitions above do not necessarily obscure the communicative intention of the speaker, I think it is reasonable to suggest that they are neither necessary nor unavoidable. What is particularly interesting about the repetitions in Roxana's text is that most of them are of the type Murata (1995:345) has

Lorraine



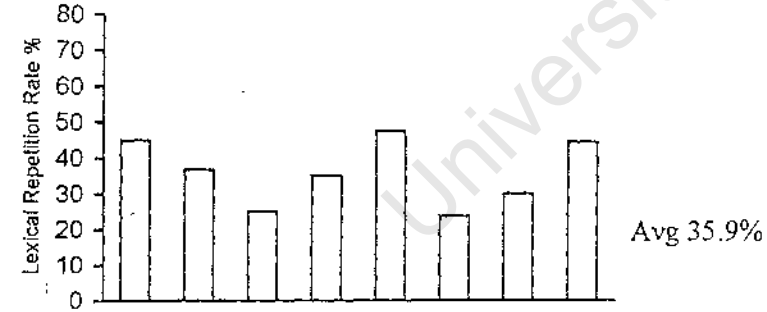
Times	29|1	1|6	24|6	30|9
Rates	20	20	19	43.2

Steven



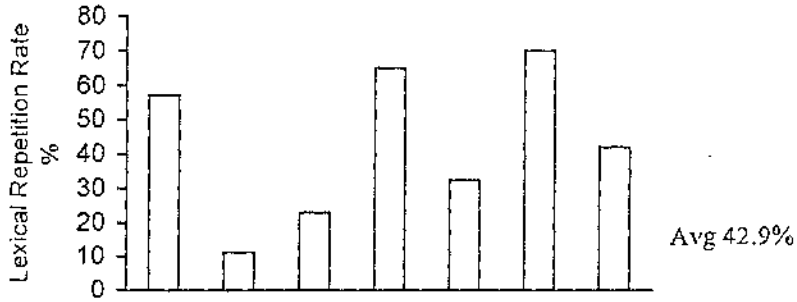
Times	3|2	21|2	1|6	1|7	4|7	4|8	8|9	30|10	11|11	18|11
Rates	35	47	55	52.5	20	35.7	17.5	35.7	25	43.4

Roxana



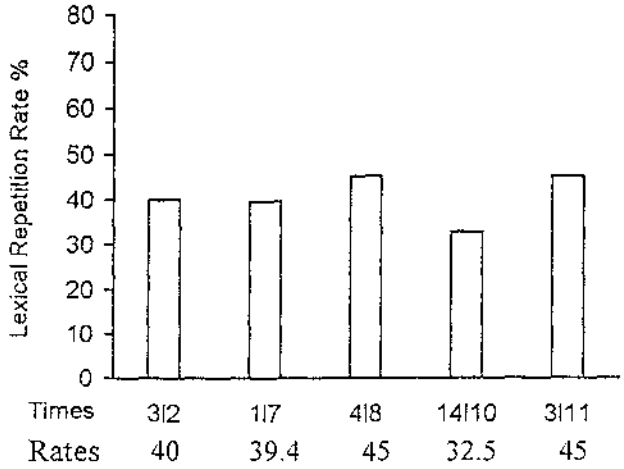
Times	29|1	3|2	21|2	4|3	1|6	24|6	1|7	18|11
Rates	45	36.8	25	35	47.5	23.8	30	44.4

Paul



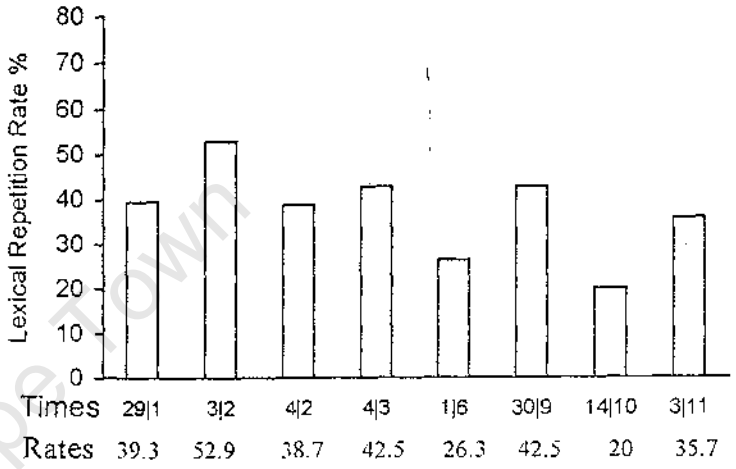
Times	29|1	4|3	24|6	1|7	30|9	3|11	18|11
Rates	57.1	11.1	22.8	65	32.4	70	42.1

Nerisa



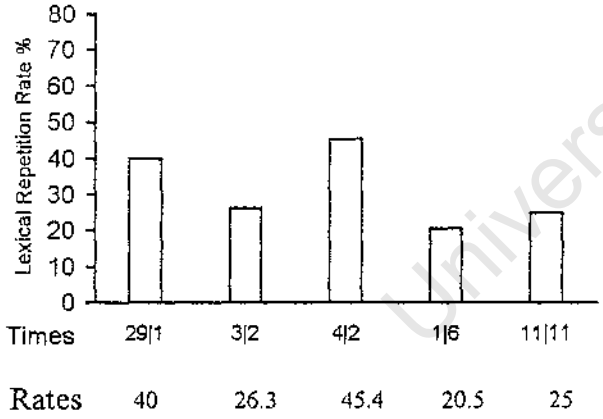
Avg 40.4%

Shelly



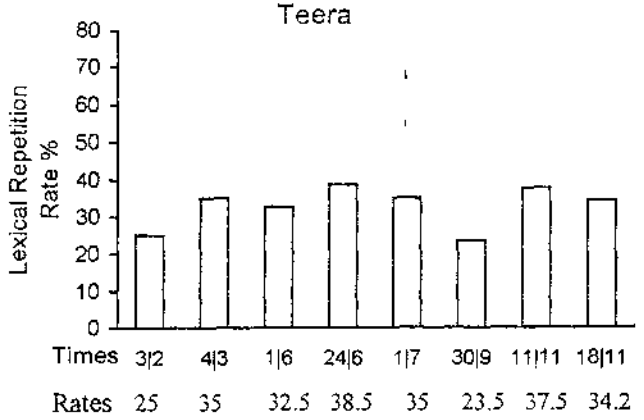
Avg 37.2%

Vhira



Avg 31.4%

Teera



Avg 32.7%

Table 43 lexical repetition rates for School Four

Group Average 35.3%

described as 'self' and 'immediate'. They are 'self' because they are uttered by the same speaker, and they are 'immediate' because they occur close to each other in a text. For example, verbs such as areas, bus half and wait are 'immediate' because they occur in close proximity in the same text. Also, the repetition rate of 70 % which is realised by Paul at Time 3/11 is one of the highest, when compared to all the rates of all pupils in all the four groups. Below, an excerpt of Paul's text is presented:

> Last Christmas I was very last Christmas I was very (laughter) last Christmas I was very excited ... last Christmas, I would like to talk about Christmas. Last Christmas I was very excited...

In Paul's text, the word Christmas is repeated 8 times, talk 3 times, like 3 times brother 2 times and last 6 times and so forth. Several repetitions that are made, like many of those made by Roxana, are the kind of repetitions that can be avoided, because they do not contribute much to the speaker's communicative intention.

5.6.11 School Four: Analysis of repetition rates for nouns

The average NRR at School Four which is 24.9% is considerably lower than the NRR for School Three pupils. However, what appears most interesting about NRR is that the average noun repetition rate at School Four is higher than that of School Two pupils which is 18.4%. This is so because these learners' schools have been classified as relatively similar in terms of the linguistic environments that I hypothesized as obtaining at their respective schools. There is only 1

instance of 0 % NRR at School Four and this is realised by Nerisa at Time 4/3 where she describes her likes and dislikes. The highest average VRR at School Four is one realised by Paul which is 35 %. And one of the highest NRR is realised by Paul at Time 3/11 where he is telling us about his experiences on Christmas day. The majority of nouns repeated are common nouns such as Christmas, bus and ticket and proper nouns such as names of friends.

Name	Average NRR %	Name	Average NRR %
Roxana	24	Vhira	18.7
Steven	29.7	Teera	25.4
Paul	35	Lorraine	19.4
Shelly	23.6	Nerisa	23.7
Groups Average			24.9 %

Table 44. School Four: Average repetition rates for nouns.

5.6.12 School Four: Analysis of repetition rates for verbs

The average verb repetition rate for School Four pupils of 23.6 is the second lowest after that of School One. There are 5 instances of 0 % verb repetition rate and these are realised by Paul at Time 4/3 where he is describing a party he has attended and at Time 18/11 where he is describing a film he has watched. Vera also realises 2 instances of 0 % verb repetition rate, the first being at Time 3/2 where she is talking about rivers and the second one at Time 4/3 where she is

describing a party she has attended. Lorraine realises a single 0 % verb repetition rate at Time 24/6 where she is talking about ghosts.

Name	Average VRR %	Name	Average VRR %
Roxana	24	Vhira	15.4
Steven	30.3	Teera	18.7
Paul	27.5	Lorraine	11.7
Shelly	22.9	Nerisa	37.9
Groups Average			23.6 %

Table 45. School Four: Average repetition rates for verbs

As we have seen with the other groups, the phenomenon of repetition rates which increase when the topic of discussion is repeated also obtains at School Four. The most interesting case is Teera's where he is talking about a trip he has made. At Time 2/2 the verb repetition rate is 8.3 % but at Time 28/6, the rate has increased to 28.6 %. Also, the verb repetition rate for Steven at Time 21/2 where he is talking about a film he has watched is 20 % but at Time 1/7 where the topic of discussion has resurfaced, the repeat rate has more than doubled to 50 %.

Name	Time	Topic	VRR %
Roxana	29/1	My holiday	27.3
	1/6	My holiday	33.3
Steven	21/2	Film I have watched	20
	1/7	Film **I** have watched	50
Vhira	29/1	My holiday	30
	4/2	My holiday	33.3
Teera	3/2	Trips	8.3
	28/6	Trips	28.6

Table 46. School Four: Repetition rates for verbs when topic is repeated.

5.7 Data analysis for native speakers of English

The manner in which lexical repetition is used by L2 learners seems to be different from the manner in which native speakers of English use it. Very often, native speakers of English appear to use it to facilitate the communication process and in many cases, it is deliberate though not for all speakers all the time. To substantiate this claim, I present data from native speakers of English which was randomly selected from a British Broadcasting corporation (BBC) radio programme. Linda, (not her real name) a radio presenter is talking to Desmond (again not his real name) an economic correspondent about the battle between Europe's mobile phone giants over takeover bids:

> The battle between Europe's phone giants is over. Germany's Mannesmann will merge with Britain's Vodafone Airtouch and subject to

the agreement of shareholders, it will be worth over 300 billion pounds. I will ask our economic correspondent Desmond to explain the implications of the deal.

In the excerpt above, there is a 0 % LRR. However, the situation is slightly different when it comes to Desmond's response below:

Vodafone already was the leading player in the world of mobile phone networks and this is gonna create a truly dominant player. It's a huge business and it, it creates a company that has the financial strength that is needed to undertake the enormous investment that is gonna be required for the next generation of mobile phone technology which will provide access to the internet for people while they are on the move.

In the text above, the words player, gonna and mobile phone each appear twice. The word mobile phone, for counting purposes is considered one word, a compound, because the two morphemes in this context need to appear together. The LRR for this text is 17.6 % which is much higher than the rate realised by Linda. However, in the next four texts, Linda realises a LRR of 17.4 % and 22.2 % respectively, while Desmond realises a LRR of 22.5 % and 20 % respectively. This means that the average LRR for these two native speakers of English for the six texts is 16.6 % which is significantly lower than the average rates realised by my Group One subjects which is 25.7 % and much lower than the average repeat rates for School Three.

A great deal of the repetition used by native speakers in these texts seems to be that kind of repetition which does not necessarily temper with conventions of natural talk unlike what we see at Group Three and in some instances at Group Four. In Desmond's text, the word player serves a cataphoric function because it prepares us for its reappearance in the next sentence. And when it does reappear, we establish that it is an anaphoric reference to the one that appears before it. The same can be said of the way in which the words mobile phone have been repeated. We can therefore see that the repetition of lexical items in native speaker discourse is quite often carefully and deliberately executed to serve a specific communicative function.

5.8 Conclusion

What this study has shown is that there are ways in which groups behave in a similar way and yet there are also ways in which they behave differently. For example, whilst School Three realises the highest average repetition rate of 49.7%, the average repetition rates for content words for Schools Four, Two and One of 35.3%, 33.1% and 25.7% respectively are significantly lower. It is important to note that the difference between the repetition rates of School Two and School Four is very small. Also, the average repetition rates for schools for both nouns and verbs differ. The average repetition rates for nouns and verbs for School Three are also by far higher than those of the other groups. And as can be seen from table 49, the average noun repetition rates for Schools Four, Two and One which are 24.9%, 18.4 %and 21% respectively

and the average verb repetition rates for the same Schools which are, respectively, 23,6 %, 25.1 % and 22 % are very low compared to the average repetition rates for School Three.

School One	25.7 %
School Two	33.1 %
School Three	49.7 %
School Four	35.3 %

Table 47. Average repetition rates for all lexical items for all schools.

School One	21%
School Two	18.4%
School Three	36%
School Four	24.9%

Table 48. Average repetition rates for noun types for all schools.

School One	22%
School Two	25.1%
School Three	32.3%
School Four	23.6%

Table 49. Average repetition rates for verb types for all schools.

Also, my analysis has revealed that there are instances where pupils realise 0 % repetition rates for nouns and verbs at certain Times. For example, there are 2

instances of 0 % VRR and 6 instances of 0 % NRR at School One, 3 instances of 0 % VRR and 2 instances of 0 % NRR at School Two, no instance of 0 VRR and 1 instance of 0 % NRR at School Three, as well as 5 instances of 0 % VRR and 1 instance of 0 % NRR at School Four. If the instances of 0 % VRR and instances of 0 % NRR are added up, we realise that School One has the highest score whilst School Three gets the lowest score. In my opinion, this seems to buttress the suggestion already made that there are more instances of repetition at School Three than there are at School One.

	Verbs	Nouns
School One	2	6
School Two	3	2
School Three	0	1
School Four	5	1

Table 50. Instances of 0 % verb and noun repetition rates for all schools.

My analysis has also shown that there are several instances where pupils repetition rates tend to increase over time when topics for discussion are repeated. I have suggested that this may be due to the fact that when a topic for discussion is repeated, learners become 'braver' and enthusiastic, but that this `bravery' is not matched by the lexical resources available to the learner. So the learner repeats the lexical items available to her.

CHAPTER 6

Overview

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I revisit some of the issues that have taken centre stage in this study, in order to emphasize their importance to this research process. A brief description of the following will be made: 'development' in linguistic analysis, process oriented studies, rate of development, route of development, rising intonation, lexical repetition and variability. I will also make a brief description of some of the background concepts that are introduced in Chapter 1 in order to show the relationship they have with other issues raised in the study. Also, I will make a description of challenges I faced while working on the thesis. Lastly, I will describe the form future research in the area might take.

6.1 'Development' in linguistic analysis

One of the most central concepts in this study has to do with language 'development'. Ellis (1985:296) has suggested that 'development' is synonymous with both 'acquisition' and 'learning'. In Chapter 1, it was noted that perhaps the most elaborate distinction between 'acquisition' and 'learning', is one that is made by Krashen (1982), which, perhaps, is the single most important linguistic exposition which has largely been responsible for his fame in linguistic circles. In short, Krashen suggests that language acquisition is a process whereby

linguistic input is obtained by the learner subconsciously and naturalistically. And when language is 'learnt' input is obtained via conscious learning of linguistic rules from the teacher in a classroom situation. On the other hand, Chomsky (1965) cited in Ellis (1985:296), who has been described by Mesthrie (1999:10) as `the most influential linguist of all time', makes a distinction, not between `acquisition' and `learning' but between 'acquisition' and `development' itself. To Chomsky, `development' is influenced by such factors as Universal Grammar, cognitive ability and memory capacity, whilst acquisition is influenced mainly by the learners faculty and is a product of maturation.

From the description above, one can see that there are several ways of viewing `development' in linguistic analysis. The view that is directly relevant to this study however, is that which is expressed by Ellis (1985:296) which says that language development takes place over time both via exposure to linguistic input naturalistically and via conscious learning of linguistic rules. In this study, I have attempted to make a developmental study of the language of four groups of learners from different sociolinguistic environments. The groups of learners have been divided into: (a) Those exposed to English input only in the classroom e.g. School Three pupils, (b) Those exposed to English input both in and out of the classroom such as School One pupils, (c) Those exposed to English input mainly in the classroom and getting a little input out of the classroom, such as School Four pupils and to a lesser extent School Two pupils. This study, therefore, has been developmental for a number of reasons.

(a) In Chapter 3, answers to yes/no questions are studied at particular points

in time and most importantly, over time.

(b) In Chapter 4, the learner's acquisition of verbs are studied at particular points in time and over time.

(c) In Chapter 5, learner's repetition rates of lexical items are studied both at particular points in time as well as over time.

In my opinion, and as Ellis (1985: 197) also observes, a study of linguistic features overtime constitutes a developmental study of those linguistic features. Also, as Frawley and Lantolf (1985:20), Schinke — Llano (1993:123) and Machado de Almeida (2000:335) have suggested, development can also be viewed in terms of the basic principles of vygoskian psycholinguistics, which they say operate on the premise that linguistic facts arise, not as a result of isolated events or products, but as a result of other linguistic facts that have occurred earlier.

6.2 Process oriented studies revisited

The study seems to confirm a view hoisted by Halliday (1985:101), that a process consists, potentially, of three components:

(a) The process itself

(b) Participants in the process

(c) Circumstances associated with the process.

The implication for this categorization is that, for a process oriented study to take place, a researcher needs to address the three conditions referred to

above. In this study, I have attempted to address (a) by making a detailed description of language acquisition process that involves rising intonation questions that require yes/no answers, verb morphology and repetition. I have also attempted to address condition (b) by making a detailed description of the pupils involved in the process. And lastly, regarding (c) a description of linguistic environments in which the process takes place has been made.

6.3 Rate of development

In this study, I have attempted a comparative linguistic description of rates of development in the acquisition of certain linguistic features of four groups of learners from different sociolinguistic backgrounds. The study has showed that there exists different growth rates for learners from different sociolinguistic contexts. As regards answers to negative rising intonation questions described in Chapter 3, this study has indicated that School One realises the highest average Correct Response rate of 54 % whilst School Three realises the lowest Correct Response rate of 0 %. The rates for School Two and School Four are 24 % and 38 % respectively. In Chapter 4, the analysis involves the calculation of rates of development in verb acquisition for pupils at the four schools. The group average Correct Verb Rate for School One which is 98.4 % is nearly similar to that of Group Two which is 98 %. The group average Correct Verb Rates for Schools Four and Three are 94 % and 61.7 % respectively. The difference in the rate of development in the acquisition of verbs between School One and School Three pupils is not only significant but also interesting. It is particularly interesting because, as stated in my hypothesis, School One pupils

are from a linguistic environment which allows them access to English input in and out of the classroom, whilst School Three pupils are from a linguistic environment which permits them to get English input only in the classroom. I think it may also help to reiterate that the average Correct Verb Rate for native speakers of English, who are used for comparative purposes, is 99.6 %, which is higher than the rates for each of the four schools. In Chapter 5, I used a formula based on the type-token ratio to determine overall lexical repetition rates for the schools. The type-token ratio was also used in the calculation of noun repetition rates as well as verb repetition rates. The results show that School Three pupils realise the highest average overall repetition rate for lexical items, whilst School One pupils realise the lowest average lexical repetition rate. The difference in the average lexical repetition rate between Schools Two and Four is very small. Also, the repeat rates for verb and noun types for School Three are much higher than those for the other three groups. We have also seen that the repeat rates for noun and verb types for some of those topics that were discussed more than once tend to increase over time. The possible reasons for this have been given in Chapter 5.

This study has also shown that, with particular reference to 10 year old L2 speakers of English, it appears that there is an extent to which these learners general linguistic proficiency rates for lexical items can be determined by calculating lexical repetition rates. And we have also seen that the lexical repetition rates for those learners exposed to English input only in the classroom

are higher than those of learners who are exposed to English input in and out of the classroom.

6.4 Route of development

Ellis (1985) makes a distinction between route, order and sequence of development. By route of development, Ellis (1985:303) refers to the transitional states enroute to target language competence that learners pass through. By order of development Ellis (1985:301), refers to the order in which specific linguistic features are acquired. And, lastly, by sequence of development Ellis (1985:304), refers to the overall profile of development of SLA which is held to be universal. In this study, I have attempted to determine route of development in the acquisition of linguistic features e.g verbs, by finding out how, at each Time and overtime, certain verbs are realised. Those verbs that are accurately realised are considered `acquired' whilst those inaccurately realised, are considered 'not acquired'. Dulay and Burt (1974) cited in Mclaughlin (1987: 30) have described this as determining route of development on the basis of accuracy data. Of particular interest, are changes that occur to certain verbs along a continuum as pupils progress towards target language competence. We observed that not only is the present form of the verb realised accurately most of the time but that the present tense is sometimes even deployed in linguistic contexts where the past tense is expected, and in some cases, where the use of past forms of verbs is obligatory. Consider the excerpt that follows:

> Yesterday we go to the party of sister. Sister cook rice and chicken and buy some coke,

In the excerpt above, the verbs, go, cook, and buy are all realised in the present habitual where the past forms of the verb are expected. There is considerable amount of evidence from the data which suggests that many learners, especially those from School Three, have problems in the use of the past tense. The vast majority of present tense forms of verbs are used in the present habitual form, e.g. 'I eat eggs' and not the progressive 'I am eating eggs'. There are very few cases of the use of the progressive in the School Three data, which suggests that perhaps it gets acquired much later than the simple past forms. But, even though Schools One and Two pupils have the competence to deploy several forms of the same verb, there is no indication that the routes of development in verb acquisition for School One and Two pupils on the one hand and those of School Three pupils on the other, are different.

The study seems to confirm the views of some scholars who have suggested that the child acquires unmarked forms first because these constitute the core grammar of a language, whilst marked forms are at the periphery of this grammar. Cook (1985) cited in Ellis (1985:199) makes this point explicit when he says:

> ... the child prefers to learn unmarked rules that conform to Universal Grammar rather than marked rules that do not square with it ...
> Core grammar and peripheral grammar are weighted differently in the child's mind.

Also, White (1981) cited in Ellis (1985:199) has suggested that unmarked rules are the ones that are immediately available to the learner whilst marked forms are not. Zobl (1983c) cited in Ellis (1985:200) expresses a similar view when he says that the child is more likely to acquire unmarked linguistic forms first before he acquires marked ones.

6.5 Rising intonation

I have categorized interrogatives as belonging to four broad categories namely, tag questions, wh — questions, yes/no questions with auxiliary inversion and rising intonation questions. But I have narrowed down my analysis to focus on answers to rising intonation questions. These are questions such as, 'She is not your aunt? whose interrogativeness is determined, not by question words, but by a rising intonation. I established that there appears to be a route of development that involves answers to questions such as the ones referred to above, where answers to questions that require no responses are acquired before those answers to questions that require yes responses . This study also revealed that negative rising intonation questions caused more problems to learners from School Three than they did to learners from Schools One, Two and Four. It appears that proficiency rates in the use of these linguistic features improve only slightly for learners from Schools Two and Four but not for School Three learners.

6.6 Lexical repetition

My data analysis for Chapter 5 has centred mainly on the calculation of lexical repetition rates. And, following Henzl and Kleifgen (1985) cited in Ellis (1990:75), I have suggested that those groups of learners with high percentages in average repetition rates for lexical items, are more likely to be less proficient in the use of those lexical items than those learners with low percentages of lexical repetition rates. I have suggested that this is so because, although repetition is used to advantage in many instances by many speakers, particularly by adult speakers, certain forms of repetition by children might suggest that they lack sufficient lexical resources to use in a particular sociolinguistic context and that such linguistic behaviour is more explicit for learners who use the English language rarely than it is for those learners who use English often. For example, School One pupils realise the lowest average LRR of 25.7 % while the repetition rates for Schools Two, Three and Four are 33.1 %, 49.7 % and 35.3 % respectively. School Three pupils by far, realise the highest average repetition rate. The widest gap in lexical repetition rates is one that exists between School One rates and School Three rates. And because of the central position taken by the TTR in Chapter 5, it might be helpful to reiterate how this measuring instrument was used.

Three sets of calculations were conducted. The first, and most important, was the determination of repeat rates for children based on all lexical items, i.e, nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. To determine the lexical repetition rate for

each pupil at each Time, I expressed the total number of repeated word types as a percentage of the total number of words used in a text (tokens). The pupils' rates for each Time were then added up and divided by the total number of recording Times in order to get the average repeat rates for each pupil for the whole period that was being studied. The average lexical repetition rates for each group were obtained by adding up all the average repeat rates for individual pupils referred to above and dividing the total by 8, which was the total number of pupils used for the study from each class except for School One where the total number of pupils used was 7. The second and third calculations involved the calculation of noun repetition rates as well as verb repetition rates. I decided to focus on these two linguistic features because these are the most content-full of lexical items. To calculate noun or verb repetition rates, I expressed the total number of repeated noun or verb types as a percentage of the total number of noun or verb tokens used in each text by each pupil. The average NRR or VRR for each pupil was obtained by adding up all the rates for each pupil obtained over time and dividing by the total number of recording Times. The average NRR or VRR for each group was obtained by adding up all the average NRR or VRR for each pupil and dividing the total by either 7 for School One and 8 for the other three schools. These calculations revealed that the' NRR and VRR of School Three of 36 % and 32.3% respectively, were by far higher than the repetition rates for nouns and verbs of Schools Four, Two and One.

The calculations also revealed that School One realised 6 instances of 0 % NRR and 2 instances of 0 % VRR compared to 0 instance **of 0 % VRR and 2**

instances of 0 % NRR for School Three. On the other hand, School Four realised 5 instances of 0 % VRR and 1 instance of 0 % NRR whilst School Two realised 3 instances of 0 % VRR and 2 instances of 0 °A) NRR. These 0 % rates were obtained by simply counting the number of instances of 0 % rates that were realised by individual pupils through out the recording Times.

Also, the calculations revealed that there were several instances where the repetition rates for nouns and verbs tended to increase over time when the topic for discussion was repeated. I suggested that this might have been , due to the fact that when a topic resurfaced for discussion, the pupils were more enthusiastic to discuss the topic than they were the first time that the topic was discussed, but that this enthusiasm was not matched by the availability of lexical resources to discuss the topic.

6.7 Variability

In Chapter 1, we suggested that variability in second language acquisition is a term which is used to explain the changes that occur to learner language along the interlanguage developmental continuum as learners progress towards target language competence. Andersen (1989:46) has underscored the importance of variation in linguistic analysis when he says:

> ... by explaining that variation, we are also much closer to explaining the nature of acquisition itself. That is, dealing with variation in SLA is not a marginal pursuit but an obligatory part of SLA research itself.
>
> (Andersen 1989:46).

Also, in Chapter 1, we suggested that there are basically two broad categories of variability, i.e systematic and non-systematic variability. Ellis (1985:118) has suggested that variability is systematic when the use of certain linguistic rules which function as variants can become predictable depending on the context. On the other hand, variability can also be non-systematic when the language user employs linguistic rules or features haphazardly. One of the most interesting distinctions made about variability and which is particularly relevant to this study, is one that Ellis (1989:22) makes between horizontal and vertical variability. Horizontal variability refers to variability, systematic or non-systematic, that occurs at a particular point in time, whilst vertical variability is one that occurs over time. Instances of systematic horizontal variability can be seen at table 20 in Chapter 4 where learners, e.g Tiki of School Three at Time 30/6 uses the same verb go at a particular point in time. Initially the verb is used correctly but within the some text, the same verb is used incorrectly. This is the manner in which all verbs in table 20 are used. Another instance of non-systematic horizontal variability is one we see at sentence (27) where the words drank and drink occur together in the same sentence. On the other hand, vertical variability, systematic or non-systematic, is much more interesting because it explains 'development' in second language acquisition and helps to explain changes that occur to certain linguistic features over time. For example, in table 19 in Chapter 4, we observed that at (a), certain verbs e.g like are realised correctly each time they occur in texts. This is an example of vertical systematic variability. However, when a verb is used correctly some of the time and

incorrectly at other times, this becomes vertical non-systematic variability. Furthermore, as Grotjahn (1983:235) has also observed, variability in this study has been inter-individual i.e, variability that occurs across individuals as well as intra-individual i.e variability that occurs within groups of individuals. And, as we have already said above, Andersen (1989:46) considers both systematic and non-systematic variability as central to second language research. However, he appears to consider the study of systematic variability as more central than the study of non-systematic variability. Evidence for that is derived from the fact that he emphasizes that whilst it is obligatory for all SLA researchers to know the difference between systematic and non-systematic variability, it is particularly important for them to be able to explain how systematic variability occurs. Furthermore, Andersen has suggested that, although it does not mean that all variation can be reduced to invariance, several forms of variation can be reduced to invariance because most variation is, in fact, surface variation. The study of variation in this study has shown that there are more instances of non-systematic variability in verb acquisition at School Three than there are at School Two and School One. There is also evidence to suggest that the language acquisition process for native speakers of English, as Ellis (1985:76) also observes, is also characterized by degrees of systematic and non-systematic variability but that the variability is more systematic than it is non-systematic.

6.8 Background concepts revisited

In this section, I revisit some of the other background concepts that have been described in Chapter 1 in order to show the extent to which they also relate to

issues that are raised in this study. I will focus on the following: contrastive analysis, error analysis, input hypothesis, the natural order and Zimbabwean English.

(a) Contrastive analysis

In this study, the process of second language acquisition has not been described in terms of a wholesale comparison of linguistic features of the first language with those of the second language, as is suggested by the advocates of the contrastive analysis hypothesis for two reasons. Firstly, a great deal of research has been done in this area. So, I felt that a slight change in emphasis would be helpful. Secondly, as has already been observed by several scholars, CA was not used because it does not help us to explain that the process of second language acquisition is developmental because it tends to focus on explaining error occurrences at particular points in time.

(b) Error analysis

Studies that are 'error analysis oriented' tend to view errors as 'events' and not as 'processes'. Therefore, because this study is 'process' rather than 'product' oriented, the emphasis has been on the study of changes that occur along a continuum, rather than on the study of learners' utterances and errors in isolation.

(c) The Input hypothesis

An aspect of the input hypothesis which is particularly relevant to this study is the aspect where its advocates suggest that the learners' success in acquiring a second language depends on the input which they are exposed to. However,

unlike Krashen's study, the emphasis is not necessarily on explaining that the process of acquiring a language involves i + 1, but rather, the emphasis has been on the developmental study of learner language when learners are exposed to different kinds of input.

(d) The natural order

In Chapters 3 and 4, an attempt was made to provide evidence which suggests that in the process of acquiring a second language, learners tend to acquire certain linguistic features early whilst other features come later.

(e) Zimbabwean English

In Chapter 3, we suggested that answers such as 'Yes I don't', or 'No I do' in response to negative rising intonation questions such as 'You don't like food', perhaps need to be viewed, not as aberrations, but as manifestations of the existence of forms of English that should be described as Zimbabwean English.

6.9 Challenges

The problems I faced lay in the data transcription, calculation of correct and incorrect verb rates as well as the use of the type-token ratio to calculate lexical repetition rates. Data transcription caused me enormous problems because it was extremely time consuming, a point also acknowledged by Van Els (1984:204), when he says that data transcription is not only time consuming, but also ' a difficult operation'. It is a difficult operation because, very often, one needs to rewind the tape several times in order to capture exactly what it is that the pupils are saying. Furthermore, a large amount of data that was transcribed could not be used because it was not relevant for the kind of analysis that was to

be done. Calculation of correct and incorrect verb rates as well as the calculation of lexical repetition rates was, by far, more time consuming than data transcription, mainly because every calculation done on each text was repeated several times to ensure that is was accurately calculated.

I also had problems in determining 'route of development' in the acquisition of verbs for native speakers of English because almost all verbs had been accurately realised. Since the determination of 'route' was based on the premise that 'correctness' equals acquisition, whilst 'incorrectness' equals lack of acquisition, such a determination becomes problematic if virtually all verbs are correctly realised. The determination of 'route of development' in verb acquisition for native speakers was important because it would enable me to say whether or not the 'routes' of development for native speakers and non-native speakers are similar. From the data available, I determined that it appears that the 'route' of development in verb acquisition for all L2 children is similar.

6.10 Future Research

A replication of the study that involves rising intonation questions could be conducted on subjects from other schools in order to determine whether or not the communication process is negatively affected by a failure to respond to the questions appropriately. It appears to me that failure to answer these questions according to the rules of standard English does not necessarily lead to any communication breakdown when L2 Zimbabweans are speaking to each other.

Also, work on answers to rising intonation questions could involve determining whether or not communication between native speakers of English in Zimbabwe and non-native speakers breaks down when these linguistic features are used. Also, the main thrust of empirical investigation involving lexical repetition could be on other linguistic features such as adverbs and adjectives to determine whether or not repetition patterns for these features resemble those of other linguistic features that have been described in this study. Lastly, I think future research could focus on the description of other linguistic features which stand out clearly as Zimbabweanisms at the levels of phonology and morphology and try and determine what linguistic forms are used by whom and with what effect.

6.11 Conclusion

In this study, I have attempted to show that, although there are other factors that influence the process of second language acquisition, there appears to be a relationship between the language acquisition process and the linguistic environment in which certain linguistic features are acquired. It appears that those learners who obtain English input in and out of the classroom and those learners who acquire English input only in the classroom proceed differently along the interlanguage developmental continuum in the manner in which they acquire linguistic features such as answers to rising intonation questions and verb morphology. The study has largely been developmental, because linguistic features as well as lexical repetition rates have been studied over time, although some errors and other repeat rates have been studied at particular points in time.

Also, the study has shown that lexical repetition rates for learners whose only source of English input is the teacher tend to be higher than the rates for those learners who receive input in and out of the classroom.

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