THE INTERLANGUAGE HYPOTHESIS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A CASE STUDY OF A NIGERIAN CHILD

BY

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CERTIFICATION

This project entitled "The Interlanguage Hypothesis in Second Language Acquisition: A Case Study of a Nigerian Child", by Ethel David Akpughunum meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Education of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DECLARARION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me and that it has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations are indicated by quotation marks and the sources of information are specially acknowledged by means of references.

Ethel D-Akpughunum
January, 1986.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, David and Martha Akpughunum, and to my sisters, Vida, Joy, Grace and Christy, through whose support and love I have come to know the true meaning of sharing and have come to grow in the light and warmth of the family bond.

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ABSTRACT

This case study in Developmental Psycholinguistics is an investigation of the application of the interlanguage hypothesis to a Nigerian child's acquisition of English as a second language in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural setting. More specifically, the study's main concern was to find out if these were any conspicous identifiable progressive stages towards Standard English, and if any what were these stages; to identify the roles played by each of her previously learnt languages and the extent to which her L_2 learning conformed to the CA hypothesis. We were also interested in identifying what specific strategies a Nigerian child adopted in the acquisition of English as a second language.

Mana's corpus of utterances as recorded in Ndahi's (1982) Volume II were analyzed using a modified form of the linguistic category taxonomy adopted from Politzer and Ramirez (1973). This analytical tool was further expanded to include two other aspects i.e. context in which the utterance was made and Possible Influence from previously learnt languages. The findings of the interlanguage analysis revealed that there were three developmental stages namely, Stage I - the Pidgin English stage; Stage II - the Early Standard English stage and Stage III - the Late Standard English stage.

Mana's Stage I was predominantly Pidgin during which she acquired the {-ing} morpheme, the plural form and the possessive marker 'S. In Stage II Mana used substitutions of various types in order to facilitate more effective communication in the target language. As she progressed to Stage III her sentences became longer and more complex with occasional throw back at Pidgin. Her sequence of L_2 acquisition also revealed certain aspects which are universal to other L_2 learners irrespective of her previously acquired languages. Like other L_2 acquirers, Mana acquired the {-ing} morpheme, the plural form and the possessive marker 'S in Stage I.

The child's previously acquired languages i.e. Bassa-Nge, Hausa and Pidgin English were also found to be quite facilitative in her L_2 acquisition. Mana's initial lexical items in Pidgin English formed the base for subsequent increase in Standard English vocabulary. Similarly, Hausa and Basse-Nge facilitated syntactic, lexical and semantic development. This study recorded twelve instances of code-switching in Hausa which further stresses its role in Mana's background.

Evidence of language transfer from previously acquired languages showed that syntactic transfer found in this study was as high as 57.5%, unlike earlier studies by Dulay et al (1982)

which quoted interference from the L_1 to be as minimal as 4% - 23%. With regard to the strategies adopted by a Nigerian child acquiring English as L_2, it was found that certain learning strategies were typical of the African context in which the child acquired Standard English. Some specific strategies adopted by the child include: overgeneralization, simplification, code-switching and the "creative construction" (Dulay and Burt, 1974) which is evidence of her ability to create some very unique sentences. She also used eight of the twelve learning strategies adopted by subjects in the Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) Study. However, her tense pattern althrough the study confirmed that the third person singular $\{-S\}$ on verbs and the past tense $\{-D\}$ were never acquired.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem and the Study

One inescapable consequence of Nigeria's colonial past is the necessity for the individual citizen to acquire the official language as a second language. This situation creates a need not only to understand the processes involved in second language acquisition in order to teach it better, but also to create a more appropriate facilitative environment for acquring the second language in this case English. In this respect, the concept of interlanguage (IL) has proved to be both an effective framework for systematizing a large body of data on second language acquisition and a creative tool for the design of studies intended to provide a better understanding of the process of second language acquisition.

As initially defined by Selinker (1972), interlanguage is a "separate linguistic system which underlies a learner's attempted production of a TL (target language) norm. Structurally, interlanguage conforms neither with the learner's native language (L_1) nor with the target language (L_2) as the latter is spoken by its native speakers. According to the hypothesis, interlanguague though not directly derivable from the learner's native language,

is, at various stages, influenced by the latter in a systematic and predictable manner. Accordingly, the relevant data of a theory of L_2 learning must be the speech forms which result from the attempted expression of meaning in a second language. Interlanguage has also been referred to as approximate system, idiosyncratic dialect, transitional competence and interlingua /Nemser (1971, 1974); Corder (1971, 1973, 1981); James (1971)_7

Although studies such as that by Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) have demonstrated the applicability of the interlanguage concept to child language acquisition in a setting in which the child lacked peer native speakers of the target language, the broad outlines of the interlanguage hypothesis have been derived mainly from studies of adult second language acquisition. More particularly, most such studies have been carried out in countries and setting (e.g. U.S.A., Japan, Canada, etc.) that do not necessarily serve as a valid and reliable model for our local situation.

A notable exception to this general pattern is the doctoral study by Ndahi (1982) of the language development of a pre-primary school Nigerian child, Mana, the daughter of a Bassa-Nge (Benue State) father and a Kaje (Kaduna State) mother. Ndahi was particularly concerned with her subject's development of two aspects of language: interrogatives and negatives. Because of her pre-occupation with these two aspects of language, Ndahi had

not paid much attention to the interlanguage aspects of her data. The present study is aimed at examining these features for the light they shed on second language acquisition. More specifically, the present study is a further analysis of Mana's speech, as recorded on audio (26 hours) and video (2 hours) tapes by Ndahi using the interlanguage hypothesis in order to reveal the stages in a Nigerian child's acquisition of English as a second language. More generally, it is an application of the validity of the interlanguage hypothesis in the acquisition of English as a second language in the multilingual, multi-cultural Nigeria. Specifically, it is concerned with answering the following questions:

1. Does a Nigerian child's language learning follow any sequence or "built-in syllabus" of the language acquisition order regardless of her (L_1) language and other languages previously learnt?

2. What specific roles are played by each of a child's previously acquired languages in the acquisition of English?

3. Does a Nigerian child's L_2 learning conform with the CA hypothesis? More specifically, to what extent does her learning of a second language provide evidence of a transfer from,or interference by, the L_1 and other previous language experiences?

4. What strategies does the Nigerian child adopt in the acquisition of a second language?

1.2 Need for the Study

The Nigerian child's acquisiton of English is usually achieved within a multi-cultural, multi-lingual context for which existing reaearch results provide relatively little understanding. Possible systematic interferences from the child's L_1, pidgin, and other indigenous languages are unknown or undetermined. A study such as the present one would provide ESL teachers with information on the influence of the child's language background on her L_2 learning and how it affects the process of her L_2 acquisition. As limited at above, there will, of course, be other sources of interference levels. Given the prominent role of English in the country, there is a need for planned achievement levels. These can only be valid if based on data such as are intended to be obtained in the kind of study intended here.

Previous local studies of language development have tended to be biased towards contrastive analysis (CA) and rudimentary error analysis (EA) for the selection and grading of L_2 learning materials. In spite of expressed criticism of these tools /see, for instance, Adeyanju (1979), and Schachter and Muria (1977)/ and the acknowledged importance of interlanguage in modern theories of language development, curriculum and syllabus development at the local level have been little influenced by

the available interlanguage data. By supplying up-to-date findings on an interlanguage based on the local setting, this study could enable planners develop research-based curricula. The study also offers opportunity to provide information for testing such theoretical concepts as "creative consturction" and "restructuring" in language developmnent. (See Section 1.5 for definitions of these and other technical terms).

Hopefully, the results of this study will expose the teacher of ESL to the different language strategies of the Nigerian child and sensitise him to the language needs of his students. Finally, the study should enable the creation of a preliminary description of approximative systems of second language learners, thus allowing a progression towards a reformulated contrastive approach of geater sophistication.

1.3 Scope or Delimitation of the Study

This study is based strictly on the child's corpus of utterances during Ndahi's (1982) two phases of data collection. It examines principally the sentence pattern of the child as she acquired standard English. The utterances are examined in terms of syntactic and lexical transfer from pidgin, Bassa-Nge, and Hausa, code mixing, aspects of phonology that may affect meaning or communication breakdown, as well as morphological structures.

The age range covered by the data was between 3 years 11 months (3:11) and five years 2 months (5:2). The subject represented a typical pre-school Nigerian child acquiring English within a multi-lingual context. It is expected that the longitudinal approach of this study gives greater insight of a child's L_2 learning than can be obtained with a cross-sectional study. However, the study lays no emphasis on the child's sex, and no references to this attribute are made or intended in the discussion of the findings. It also makes no specific reference to, or allowance for, possible urban-rural differences or comparisons.

1.4 Basic Assumptions

The study makes the following basic assumptions:

1. L_2 learners of various linguistic backgrounds demonstrate the same order of language acquisition process and similar strategoes of L_2 acquisition (Corder, 1981).
2. The L_2 learner develops her second language by restructuring her L_1 (Corder, 1978; Stern, 1983).
3. A child's L_2 is independent of her L_1 and other languages previously learnt, and developes rather in a manner in which the child "creates" her L_1.

4. There is an underlying assumption that all three-year olds acquiring English in the same language environment in Nigeria will have the same broad common features when allowance has been made for social class, sex, personality and other differences. (See Strevens, 1977).

5. Since L_1 and L_2 acquisition are similar processes, the child adopts the same strategies in their acquisition (Ndahi, 1982 and Burt and Dulay, 1974).

1.5 Definition of Terms

Various terms used in this study have the following meanings:

Ambiguous Errors are errors that can be classified equally well as developmental or interlingual.

Approximative Systems as defined by Nemser (1971, 1974) are devices which the learner of second or foreign language uses to derive the target language forms; that is, the forms that are close to those of the target language. In language learning, learner's errors are caused by several different processes.

Code-Switching is an active, creative process of incorporating material from both of a bilingual's language into communication acts. It also represents the process by which a bilingual rapidly switches from one language to another.

Contrastive Analysis is the comparison of the linguistic structures of two or more languages to determine their similarities and differences. It is based on the hypothesis that where structures in L_1 differ from those in L_2, errors that reflect the structure of L_1 will be produced, and that where structures in L_1 and L_2 are the same, no errors will be made.

Creative Construction is a subconscious process by which language learners gradually organize the language they are learning according to rules that they construct to understand and generate sentences.

Developmental Errors are errors that are similar to those made by children learning the target language as their L_1. These errors also show the learner's incompetence due to age, and lack of maturity in the target language.

Error Analysis (EA) is the study and analysis of the errors made by second and foreign language learners. Error analysis may be carried out in order to

(i) find out how well someone knows a language;

(ii) find out how a person learns a language;

(iii) obtain information on common difficulties in language learning as an aid in teaching or in the preparation of teaching materials -

(Richards et al, 1985)

First Language (L_1) refers to that language that is chronologically first acquired by the child.

Foreign Language Environment is one in which the language being learned is different from the language of the country or community in which it is being learned.

Foreign Language is a language which is not a native language in a country. A foreign language is usually studied either for communication with foreigners who speak the language or for reading printed materials in the language. (Richards et al 1985).

Interlingual Errors are errors which result from language transfer, that is, which are caused by the learner's native language. For example, the incorrect expression in English - *She have two purse.

Interlingual Transfers are mistakes which result from incorrect generalization of rules within the target language. For example, *"She has crying at my mummy room."[1]

Language Environment refers to everything which a learner sees or hears in the language which he or she is learning.

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[1]Throughout this study, ungrammatical, or otherwise deviant, constructions will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Phase has a purely temporal connotation in this study. It refers to either of the two stages of development of the child with regard to English learning.

Pidgin English refers to all utterances which adhere grammatically neither to English (the base language) nor to any of the indigenous languages which constitute the substrates. Mana, the subject of this study, started with pidgin in stage 1 of her L_2 acquisition. By stage II pidgin sentences were minimal as she progressed towards standard English. Examples of pidgin utterances in Mana's speech include:

1. *" i don go Kaduna."
2. *" i say i go come back."
3. *" Victor slap me for here."

Sociolingurstically, Pidgin is a non-standard variety. Its spelling is also not standardized.

Regularisation of Target Language Rules or Over-generalization denotes the application of a regular rule to an item which requires a special rule. For example, *"The place has breaken."

Restructuring refers to the process in which the learner progressively adjusts his mother tongue system ever more closely to the forms of the target language. Comparatively, this is similar to interlanguage.

Second Language is a language which is not a native language in a country but which is undely used as a medium of communication (e.g. in education and in government) and which is usually used along side another language or languages. For example, English as a second language in Nigeria. Richards et al (1985).

Second Language Acquisition (In Applied Linguistics) is the process by which people develop proficiency in a second language or foreign language. These processes are often investigated with the expectation that information about them may be useful in language teaching. (Richards et al 1985 : 252).

Second Language Learning Strategy is the tendency to reduce the target language to a simpler system, for example, the omission of function words, plural markers, etc. in sentences.

Second Language Communication Strategy is the tendency to stop learning as soon as the learner feels that he has acquired "functional competence" in the target language.

Stage, as used in this study, refers to the three broad developmental periods of the child's acquisition of a second language. For Mana Stage 1 was characterised by the predominant use of pidgin English. In Stage II, the Early Standard English Stage, she produced utterances characteristic of the beginning of Standard English forms. In Stage III, the Late Standard English Stage, her sentences were closer to Standard English forms, although they still had some flaws.

Standard English is the variety of language which has the highest status in the community or nation and which is usually based on the speech and writing of educated native speakers of the language. For example, the Standard variety of British English is Standard British English. Richards et al (1985 : 271-272).

Systematic Errors are mistakes that occur often in the process of learning a second language. For example, Mana's use of "didn't" for "doesn't".

Target Language is sometimes referred to as the L_2 or goal language. It is the second or foreign language to be learned after the acquisition of a first language. For example, English is the target language in this study:

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this study :

BSE	British Standard English
CA	Contrastive Analysis
EA	Error Analysis
ESL	English as a Second Language
IL	Interlanguage
ILH	Interlanguage Hypothesis
L_1	First Language or Mother Tongue

L_2	Second Language
MT	Mother Tongue
NL	Native Language
SNE	Standard Nigerian English (Also NE)
TL	Target Language
H	Hausa
M	Mana
R	Researcher
P	Pidgin
{-S}	Plural Morpheme
D	Past Tense Morpheme

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 General Introduction

This review is very selective, focussing primarily on literature within the last ten years (1975 - 1985). More specifically, it covers the following areas:

1. Theoretical bases of Interlanguage
2. Studies in Nigeria - Error Analysis, Contrastive Analysis, Interlanguage.
3. Primary School English in Nigeria.
4. Recent Child Studies.
5. Learning Processes Used in Interlanguage.
6. Other Second Language Learning Strategies.
7. Developmental Sequences and Stages in L_2
8. Review of Methodologies
9. Relevance to the Present Study.

2.1 Theoretical Bases of Interlanguage

Many theories have emerged regarding the interlanguage hypothesis. This section will examine some of the strongest views of this hypothesis.

2.1.1 Selinker's Theory

The notion of 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972), that is, the assumption that the L_2 learner has a

grammar of his own that is systematic in its own terms and distinct from both the first and second languages, has recently gained currency among applied linguists. Selinker posited that the only observable data to which we can relate theoretical prediction are the utterances produced by the learner in an attempt to say sentences of a target language. In addition, he observed that in the making of constructions relevant to a theory of L_2 learning there is a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL norm. It is this linguistic system that Selinker called the inter-language (IL).

This hypothesis further emphasizes the phenomenon of fossilization:

> Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules and subsystems which speakers of a particular native language will tend to keep in their interlanguage relative to a particular target language, no matter what the age of the learner or the amount of explanation or instruction he receives in the target language (Selinker, 1972 : 215).

In his findings, Selinker noted that many of the phenomena reappeared in IL performance when the learner's attention was focussed upon new and difficult intellectual subject matter or when he was

in a state of anxiety of other excitement. Selinker identified five central processes which characterize second language speech: language transfer, transfer of strategies of L_2 learning, strategies of L_2 learning, strategies of communication and overgeneralization of the TL linguistic material. A few minor ones include: hypercorrection, spelling pronunciation, cognate pronunciation, holophrase learning, etc. Each process "forces fossilizable material upon structure sentences." Consequently, it is also possible that those factors will influence the interlanguage of the subject in this study. However, Selinker's findings regarding fossilization of linguistic items, for example, are not applicable to child language acquisition, since it is too early for a child of this age to fossilize items in her speech.

However, Selinker's notion of "fossilization" is also a clear evidence that he conceived of interlanguage as being a "continuum", i.e. a dynamic system. (Corder, 1978, 1981). His observation of the process of "regression", i.e. backsliding, which is the "reappearance or emergence in interlanguage productive L_2 performance of linguistic structures which were thought to be eradicated seems a normal process in all L_2 acquisition, even in the case of children.

For example, Ndahi (1982) noticed that the subject in her study often fell back on her pidgin English structures when they were thought to have been eradicated. It has also been noted that such regressions are not random or necessarily towards the native language, but towards an interlanguage norm. In general, however, the findings of the initial postulation of IL referred mainly to adults learning a second language. However, further researches have been conducted to support the fact that the IL hypothesis could be extended to children. This is the subject of the next section.

2.1.2 The Interlanguage Hypothesis Extended to Children

Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) have challenged earlier claims on the interlanguage hypothesis. Selinker (1972) had proposed the existence of a latent psychological structure within which IL identifications, processes and strategies underlying L_2 are located, and that this latent psychological structure is activated after puberty when an individual attempts to expresss meaning in a second language (see section 2.1.1). However, Selinker, et al (1975) demonstrated the inadequacies of this claim and found that the speech of a seven-year old child was noticeably

distinguished from what one would expect a native seven-year old to produce. The results also revealed that, as in adult second language speech, the strategies of language transfer, simplication and over-generalization of target language rules affected the surface forms of the L_2 of the child.

Data for the study was collected from ten boys and ten girls each about seven and a half years old, and a native speaker of English. With the exception of one boy who occasionally used German at home, for each child it was his first attempt at learning a second language. At the time of data collection, the children were completing the second year (grade one) of a French immersion programme in an English language elementary school in Totonto, Canada. Their curriculum was the same as in the English-speaking Grade one classes but with French as the medium of instruction taught by a native speaker of French.

By the last month of the grade one year, Dumas (himself a native speaker of French) tape recorded a conversation in French of about ten to fifteen minutes in length with each of the children. The conversations centered around the personal interests of the children, their vacation plans, descriptions

and story-telling from a series of pictures. The results showed that the speech of a seven-year-old child was noticeably distinguished from what one would expect a native seven-year-old to produce. In addition, it was observed that, as in adult L_2 speech, the strategies of language transfer, over-generalization and simplification of target language rules affected the surface forms of the children's L_2 speech.

This piece of research is quite revealing and gives more insight into the process of L_2 acquisition. In more ways than one the present study is similar to that by Selinker et al (1975). Firstly, the two are aimed at interlanguage studies of children acquiring a second language. Secondly, the procedures used are similar: taping of a corpus from the subjects and analyzing the corpus of utterances; thirdly, the subjects in both studies are in the pre-primary school (kindergarten) although Mana seems to be younger by a few years. Although the present study is being done in a multi-lingual setting, the absence of peers who are native speakers of the target language is a variable common to both studies. But the present study maintains its identity because English plays a major role in the context in which

Mana acquired the L_2 whereas for the Selinker et al (1975) subjects, French does not play an active role in the life of the community where the children live. Thus, they rarely spoke French outside of class hours.

Furthermore, basing their IL description solely on linguistic forms, judged to be errors in terms of interlanguage (or some hypothesized norm of the IL) leads to a distorted view of the IL system. The recent approach has been to look at all the child's utterances, i.e. both errors and non-errors. In this way, evidence of other psychological factors underlying the complex processes of L_2 acquisition will be revealed. Thus, while over-generalization of the TL rules, simplification and language transfer were major learning strategies, there could be others not covered in their study. The present study, therefore, aims at providing additional information in this regard.

2.1.3 Nemser's Approximative System

Nemser's (1971, 1974) terminology has gone a step further to explain the IL hypothesis. The term, "approximative system" has the advantage of implying the developmental nature of language learning, since learner's system is continually being modified, new elements are incorporated through the learning process.

His emphasis on the IL as an evolving series of approximative systems is also worthy of note. It brings to mind the fact that the L_2 learner's utterances are successively more similar to the target language as the learning process continues.

Nemser's findings regarding stable varieties of approximative systems in immigrant speech cannot be relevant in the Nigerian situation as regards the learning of English though certainly applicable with regard to southerners in the Sabon Garis of Kano, Zaria, etc. learning Hausa as a second language. Like Selinker's (1972) findings, Nemser's observation seems limited to adult L_2 learning.

2.1.4 Corder's Conception of the Interlanguage

While Selinker (1972) and Nemser (1971, 1974) were limited to single terms, Corder has used several terms to describe the interlanguage phenomenon. These include "idiosyncratic dialect," "error analysis", "learner's language" and "learner's transitional competence" (Corder, 1971, 1975, 1978, 1981). The term "idiosyncratic dialect" connotes the idea that learner's language is unique to a particular individual. Every sentence is to be regarded as idiosyncratic until shown to be otherwise. Two types of sentences have been used to describe the learner's

utterances, viz: "overtly idiosyncratic" and "covertly idiosyncratic" sentences. Thus, learner's utterances which are well-formed in terms of the target norms may still be erroneous: well-formedness is not, therefore, a sufficient criterion for saying that the utterance is "correct" i.e. native-speaker-like.

More recently, Corder (1981) has claimed that errors are an essential aspect of L_2 learning:

> "The new approach to learners' errors has necessitated a closer look at them. They are regarded as useful evidence of how the learner sets about the task of learning and what sense he makes of the target language data he is exposed to and being required to respond. (Corder 1981 : 31).

Corder's (1981) conception of learner's errors is a development over the Selinker et al's (1975) study because emphasis is placed on both errors and non-errors.

On the other hand, the term "learner's language" (Corder 1978) makes a distinction between two types of continuum involved in language change. Here, Corder refines his discussion of continua, distinguishing between developmental (recreational complexifying) continua and restructuring continua (moving from one equally complex or simple system to another). He claims that, despite apparent transfer errors suggesting the opposite, ILs are

dynamic goal-oriented language systems of increasing complexity; i.e. developmental continua (Corder,1981:90). (Corder, 1981 :90).

Corder's stand on the issue of transfer seemed to be confusing. Earlier, he had left the matter relatively with the bias, if anything, in favour of an L_1 component in the L_2 acquisition device. Then, he switched latter, presumably in response to the findings of Burt and Dulay in the early seventies, to an L_1-free view of the way in which learners form hypotheses about the L_2. However, Corder (1981) makes a fuller, more explicit statement about his revised view on transfer, suggesting that transfer errors are performance phenomena whereby the learner borrows from the L_1 to fill out gaps in the L_2 knowledge while actually performing in the L_2: it is not in any sense a transfer of "competence". This at least holds for syntactic development.

L_1 and L_2 similarity may enable the learner to pass through the relevant developmental steps more rapidly. This is rather different from Wode's position (Wode, 1981) in which a similarity between a developmental form and the learner's L_1 will bring about a delay: the learner may get stuck at that stage for a while. Research evidence shows that

that learners of different mother tongues produce similar errors, Dulay et al (1982) and that there are similarities in the partially different inter-language continua, particularly in the early stages. This claim also implies that there is a property of the human mind which determine the way language learners process the data of the language they are exposed to.

The IL hypothesis with respect to the present study assumes that the subject's utterances, i.e. errors and non-errors are a unique system that is different from both the L_1 and the L_2, and that her L_2 acquisition may be influenced by languages previously known to her. The results of this study will show to what extent the above assumptions are correct.

2.2 Studies in Nigeria: Error Analysis, Contrastive Analysis, and Interlanguage

This Section is justified if we are to have an idea of what has been done previously in L_2 acquisition research in Nigeria, and to relate the findings in these studies to the present research. Findings in EA studies in Nigeria have revealed that structural errors, errors of mechanics, lexical errors and miscellaneous errors are the four broad categories of errors which constitute problem areas to L_2 learners

in Nigeria (Durojaiye, 1970; Akonobi, 1976; Olayemi, 1980; Obi, 1982). These studies have also attributed the occurrence of some of the errors to L_1 interference, lack of knowledge of the function of the particip;e, as well as failure to discriminate correctly between tense usage and ignorance of poor grasp of the aspects of time.

Durojaiye's (1970) study, for example, was aimed at finding out the frequency of occurrence of the different types of errors in the composition of her selected population. However, her one-sentence topic was not explicit enough for the students whose level of language learning was also not indicated. With innovations in language testing based on the latest linguistic opinions, one would have expected her to furnish the students with guidelines on the topic: "What I shall do after leaving school." Moreover, since the lower classes are expected to be guided in their composition writing until about Form Five (Bright and McGregor, 1970), Durojaiye's study falls short of modern pedagogical practice, since the children did not get much guidance from her before they wrote the essays.

Akonobi (1976) and Obi (1982) compare favourably in terms of the similarity in their samples which were taken from English essays of Form Five Students.

But, while Akonobi's study was based on Igbo students learning English as L_2, Obi's was concerned with Hausa speakers' acquisition of English. On the other hand, Olayemi's (1980) population of students from the Advanced Teachers College, Zaria, was a bit more advanced from the teaching point of view.

Studies in CA in Nigeria have also come out with positive statements regarding its pedagogical goals (See Adeyanju, 1979 ; Olaofe, 1982, for example.) CA has been described as the most systematic, relevant and economical way of selecting teaching materials, as well as a useful tool for curriculum planners and textbook writers. But, inspite of the promising goals and implications of CA, it has like EA, come under criticism. It is in no way surprising, therefore, that few, in recent years, have ventured to suggest pedagogical applications of CA (James, 1980:143). CA has been criticised for its over-exclusiveness in predicting errors never observed in actual classroom performance, the dubious quality of its statements, its reliance on an out-dated behaviourist model, and its lack of a unified theory. Doubts have also been expressed about the validity of contrast, say at the sentence level, and the hierarchy of difficulty established by Stockwell and others. (See Alatis, 1968; Lado, 1968:132; Lee, 1968:185-188; Wardhaugh, 1970; James, 1980; Fisiak, 1981).

It is because of these inadequacies of CA and EA cited above that the present research is geared towards IL analysis. The most obvious difference between these two approaches and IL is in the attitude towards learners' performance, and the notion of "error". While CA per se does not take any position on this issue, traditional EA considers errors to be harmful, and seeks to eradicate them (Sridhar, 1975). (But see also Corder, 1967, 1971 and Nemser, 1971 for a more positive attitude). In the framework of IL, the deviations from the target language norms are treated as exponents of the learner's systems. CA is concerned exclusively with that aspect of the learner's performance which can be correlated with L_1 characteristics. IL avoids this limitation, since L_1 interference is only one source of errors.

2.3 Primary School English in Nigeria: Background to Entry Competence in English

This Section is justified because Mana falls within the age range of children who graduate from the pre-primary into the primary school level. The child growing up in English-speaking Africa is surrounded by a complex language situation. For, besides having to master her own, and often a second or even a third indigenous language, she also requires a thorough command of English if she is to be educated in the modern sense of the word.

In support of the above view, Tiffen (1968) emphasizes the importance of a solid English background at the primary school level:

> The crux of the problem of English language teaching lies in the pre-primary and primary school. It is here that formal teaching of English is begun and foundations laid. However, there is often doubt that these foundations are inadequate and that the primary school children are exposed to the poor non-standard English of many teachers.

Tiffen's observation summarizes the situation in Nigeria where most L_2 teachers are ill-equipped with the necessary skills required to teach English at these levels. Apart from the poorly qualified teachers, pupils' English is also affected by a wide use of pidgin or sub-standard types of English, as well as the different indigenous language groups represented in the class.

Sayifa's (1978) study observed that interference from different dialects spoken among the children in her study affected their written and oral English. In addition, most of the children spoke Hausa all the time. In their effort to pronounce words in the target language, the mother tongue phonological systems were imposed on English (See also Sule, 1978; Olaofe, 1985). The limited use of English in some homes where only the native language is spoken also

poses a problem to most children learning English as L_2. Furthermore, the socio-economic status of parents in the present day Nigeria does not expose children to the type of genuine motivation needed to acquire a second language. Apart from the few university dons who devote their time to teaching their children outside school hours, take them to the library where they come into contact with non-classroom reading materials, most parents are too busy with other private matters, and the children do not get any extra lessons apart from what they are taught at school. Lack of facilities such as the library, supplementary readers, visual and audio-visual aids, as well as teachers approach to teaching language, have also been identified as factors that militate against the child's performance in primary school English (Otoide, 1975).

The present research is intended to throw further light on the problems raised by researchers reviewed in this Section. It deals specifically with investigating the nature of the L_2 learner's background and how to use the child's previous language experience to improve teaching methods in a multi-lingual, multi-cultural setting. Acquainting ESL teachers with the learning processes that a child in this context brings to the language class, especially at the pre-primary

and primary level, may bring some positive results towards improving the pupils competence, and the teachers standards as well, irrespective of what language groups are represented in the class.

2.4 Recent Child Studies

Recent studies in child L_2 acquisition have come up with empirical evidence which strongly indicates that developmental errors comprise the greatest proportion of those errors which children make while acquiring a second language (Milon, 1974 ; Gillis and Weber, 1976; Venable, 1974; Gonzalez and Elijah, 1979).

The first published study that investigated the proportion of interlingual and developmental errors for L_2 learners, Dulay and Burt (1974) included three groups of Spanish-speaking children who were learning English in different parts of the United States. The number and proportion of developmental, interlingual and other errors were reported for 513 unambiguous errors (see Dulay et al, 1982:135). Eighty-seven percent (87%) (447 out of 513) of the errors were developmental, reflecting the same error types as those made by children learning English as a L_1. On the other hand, 4.7% (24 out of 513) of the errors were interlingual, reflecting the structure of Spanish.

Lastly, 8.2% (42 out of 513) were "Others", being neither of the type found in the published L_1 literature nor reflective of the students' first language. Similar findings have been reported among native English-speaking children acquiring languages as diverse as Welsh, German and Urdu (see for example, Wode, 1976; Hansen-Bede, 1975).

As with the subject in the present study, the subjects in the studies reviewed above are L_2 learners. However, unlike Mana, they are not multi-lingual. One of the aims of the present study is to find out the extent of transfer from Mana's previously learnt languages on her L_2 acquisition. The results in this study, therefore will show to what extent we agree with these studies reviewed above.

Taylor (1975) also observed that the early stage of L_2 learning are characterized by a predominance of interlingual transfer, but once the child has begun to acquire parts of the new system, more and more interlingual transfers with the TL are manifested. This, of course, follows logically from the tenets of learning theory. As the child progresses in the L_2, her previous experience and existing subsumers begin to include structures within the target language itself.

Findings of the Selinker, Swain and Dumans (1975) study on the L_2 speech of the Toronto immersion children revealed that certain linguistic items remained in their speech, while others changed. In addition, it was impossible to account for all surface forms in the L_2 speech as a result of translation from their L_1. The children also operated with a separate linguistic system, namely a type of French interlanguage which shared certain features with its own right. These findings re-emphasize the fact that the IL is a unique system different from the L_1 and the target language. Evidence from the present study, it is hoped, will reveal the nature of an African child's IL.

Gleason (1973) observed that the child in the American society has to learn a formal code for dealing with teachers, ministers and other "informidable strangers." He further suggests that many children develop a characteristic style of talking to adult strangers that is marked by pauses between word, careful enunciation, and a flat affectless tone. Similarly, observers of child language have noted that children switch codes when speaking to younger children. Ervin Tripp (1973) for instance found that 2 - 3 year olds demonstrated lexical, phonological and para-linguistic changes when they speak to infants. Perhaps this may be a form of stereotyped, role playing behaviour in young children.

Ndahi (1982) noted that the subject in her study was heard to say "Poon" (spoon) when speaking to her two-year-old cousin. It has also been noted that peer group language is different from the language in which they address the adults. Colloquial and slang codes, involving an extensive use of expressive words, and very frequently, the use of first names with no term of endearment, has been found amongst children and their peers.

As regards semantic and syntactic development in child language, studies have shown that the prominent content category in a child's early speech has to do with the ways in which different objects from different concepts - including persons - relate to one another through movements or actions (Bloom, Lightbown and Hood 1975; Bowerman, 1973a; Brown 1973). Children talk overwhelmingly about what they are just about to do; what they want people to do, and less often, what they see other people doing (Bloom and Lahey, 1978:134).

It thus follows that the child gradually builds up his semantic and syntactic category of speech. The vocabulary items acquired also enable her to communicate more meaningfully and consequently the child progresses early through well-defined steps in the development of sentences. Similarly, Bloom (1978b)

has observed that the verbs that children use are the index to the kinds of relational events they talk about and so know about; that is, the verbs reflect the child's conceptual development.

Using an inferential methodology, Bloom adduced evidence from various studies of child language which led her to conclude that children's knowledge of language structure is probably never independent from the meanings of the different verbs that they know; and that instead, lexical and grammatical development are mutually dependent (Bloom, 1970; Brown, 1973; Bowerman, 1973; Lightbown, 1977; Ndahi, 1982:64). The data for these studies described consisted of many thousands of dialogues with four children (Kathryn, Eric, Gia and Peter) who served as subject informants. Each child was observed at home for up to three hours at periodic intervals.

Hatch, Shapira and Gough (1975); Katz (1977) and others observed that mother's language to the child is systematically simplified as the "foreigner talk" of native speakers to L_2 learners is also simplified. This simplification is not so much a conscious one to make the syntax simple for the learner, but a way of making it possible for the learner to carry on a conversation, to be able to contribute something relevant to the conversation (Hatch, 1978).

Eventually, the child's development progresses. Sentences become longer and more complex. This increased length of utterances is correspondingly related to increased complexity, so to speak. Also, it would seem that increase in both length and complexity corresponds with increased chronological age and linguistic maturity.

With regard to phonological development, Winitz (1969) contends that the general results of child language phonology have shown that the development of individual speech sounds are mastered before others, and that most sounds are produced correctly by the time the children are eight years old, while others do not make certain sounds before this age (Reed, 1971).

The review in this Section focussed mainly on aspects of child language acquisition which are related to the present study. All the studies show that there are certain characteristics that are peculiar to children acquiring English as a second language, either in a host environment or in "immersion programme." This discovery has led to better understanding of child language acquisition, and the hints gathered will be used in the analysis of Mana's utterances in Chapter 4.

2.4.1 Review on Mana

The subject of this research, aged between 3 years 11 months and 5 years 2 months is acquiring English as a second language in the Nigerian context. In an earlier study (Ndahi, 1982), the child was observed to have passed through three developmental stages in the acquisition of two structures viz, interrogatives and negatives. These are: the pidgin English Stage, the Early and Late Standard English stages.

The child's negative utterances (a total of 543 were grouped into six categories: Non-existence, Disappearance, Rejection, Prohibition, Denial and Unclassified. The most common negatives used by Mana were No and Not, while the category of Non-existence was the largest, followed by Denial, Rejection, Prohibition, Disappearance and Unclassified, in that order.

With regard to the acquisition of interrogatives (a total of 611), the subject passed through basically the same developmental stages as the L_1 and L_2 learners in the acquisition of Yes-No questions. The subject also adopted strategies similar to those used by L_1 and L_2 acquirer: simplification, over-generalization, language transfer, repetition, the use of prefabricated chunks, and the creative construction hypothesis.

In addition, Mana employed three of the social and cognitive strategies Fillmore (1979) had found her L_2 subjects adopting. Mana also used such culturally-oriented stategies as "lect switching" (Richard, 1979), i.e. language mixing, as well as local morphemes in her English sentences.

Ndahi's (1982) study is related to the present research because negatives and interrogatives, which were chosen for the study, are syntactic structures for which developmental stages have been observed and reported for both L_1 and L_2 learners. This study will, among other things, examine in a general way, syntactic structures in Mana's utterances, Ndahi's observations regarding the subject's adoption of the strategy of transfer is also of interest to this study. However, this was not properly documented with regard to the child's L_1, i.e. Bassa-Nge. It was also found that much emphasis was placed on Hausa rather than the L_1 which was supposed to have been acquired before Hausa, an L_2 for the child. This short-coming which was not central to Ndahi's influenced the child's L_2 acquisition process. It is hoped that results in this investigation would provide valid evidence in this regard.

2.5 Learning Processes Used in IL

Intralingual interference, the negative transfer of items within the target language, has been observed to be a major factor in L_2 learning (Taylor, 1975). The concensus of opinion has been that second language learning is often hampered mainly by interference from the L_1 (see, for example, Dunstan, 1965; Mackey, 1969, Newmark, 1966; Lado, 1957). In general, socio-economic status, sociolinguistic background of the children, and other variables that are of relevance in the Nigerian context have not been considered in these studies. However, recent opinions and findings from empirical studies (Dulay and Burt 1974; Dulay et al, 1982) seem to have de-emphasized the issue of transfer from the L_1 and other previous language experience to the L_2 learning process (see Section 2.4). To what extent we agree with these opposing views will depend on the findings in this study.

Researchers into L_2 acquisition have argued that "developmental" and "interlingual" errors, as observed by Error Analysts, are psychological processes used by the learner to realize the target language. For example, the following utterance made by a Nigerian child:

*Where's elephant?

showed that the article is omitted. This could be the child's own strategy of realizing the target language. Omissions of the article and the past tense marker {-D} have also been classified as developmental because they are found in the speech of children learning English as their L_1 (Gingras, 1978).

Corder (1978) has proposed the "recreation" or "creative construction hypothesis" (see Section 1.5 on definition of the term) in which the learner recreates the target language drawing on a "built-in syllabus" for that language. Evidence cited from Corder for the creative construction hypothesis is the formal similarity between L_1 and L_2 acquisition of English, English-based pidgins and simplified registers such as mother-talk and foreigner talk (Richards, 1980).

The complexification hypothesis (Faerch, 1978a, Corder, 1979), another L_2 learning process, contends that learners first construct a simplified version of the target language, characterized by reduced lexicons, invariance of forms, elimination of redundancy, and simplification of the transformational system of the target language. Language learning then develops along a continuum characterized by increasing complexity of these dimensions.

Another body of research supports the notion that L_2 acquisition has much in common with the pidginization of languages; hence the pidginization hypothesis (Schumann, 1974a, 1975, 1976, 1978a & b, 1979). Studies have been carried out to support the notion that the interlanguage of many L_2 speakers is akin to the pidginized forms of language. One would expect that the learner instinctively attempts to bring two languages, i.e. the target and native languages, together, to form a unique language, an interlanguage, possessing aspects of both.

Schumann's (1978) original intention of developing his model was to draw insight from pidginization and creolization for a better understanding of the L_2 acquisition process. Under conditions which favour acquisition of the TL, this simplified reduced interlanguage, gradually complexifies and expands as the learner is better able to process and retain the readily available TL input (Anderson, 1980, Corder, 1981). This temporary pidginized interlanguage thus expands towards the TL norm.

The cognitive strategy (McLauglin, 1978) suggests that interference can be considered not as evidence of transfer in the behaviourist sense but as the result of a cognitive strategy whereby the learner makes use

of L_1 rules as a source of information to work out the rules of the target language.

The learning processes reviewed above represent some of the major ones observed in L_2 acquisition. However, it is not possible to draw conclusions on which ones would affect the present research. From the basic assumptions underlying the study (see Section 1.4), conclusions regarding the creative construction hypothesis, the influence from previously acquired languages by the subject and the general pattern of the L_2 learning process can only be drawn from her learning strategies and the results in general

2.6 Other Second Language Learning Strategies

Like in the L_1 situation, the L_2 acquirer passes through a period of incorrect usage or incomplete control of a pattern prior to total mastery of the structure. Thus, in an attempt to communicate in the target language, L_2 learners have been found to adopt several learning strategies. Some specific ones identified include: simplification, over-generalisation of the TL rules, and language transfer earlier discussed in Section 2.1.2. The use of pre-fabricated patterns (Hakuta, 1974), "whole phrases" (Valette, 1964) and avoidance strategy (Schatcher, 1974; Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker, 1976) have also been observed.

Corder (1981) also identified certain learning and communication strategies. These include 'message adjustment or risk avoidance strategies, 'resource expansions', 'message abandonment' and 'semantic avoidance'. However, these strategies by Corder are more relevant to adult L_2 learning than to child L_2 acquisition. Similar communication strategies have been observed by Varadi (1980); Galvan and Campbel (1979); Faerch and Kasper (1980); Raupach (1983) and Corder (1983).

Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) have found a series of strategies children in their study used to develop second language. Eight of the most commonly occurring strategies are summarized below in Table 2.1

Table 2.1 Second Language Learning Strategies

No.	Strategy
S_1	Repetition: echo/imitation of a word model led by another, or incorporation of a word or structure used previously in an utterance.
S_2	Memorization: recall by rote of songs, rhyme or sequence of numbers or related concepts.
S_3	Answer in Unison: response by providing the answer aloud together with others

No.	Strategy
S_4	Elaboration: providing information beyond that which is necessary to carry on the interaction.
S_5	Monitoring: recognition and verbal correction of ones own error in vocabulary, style, grammar, etc.
S_6	Request for clarification: attempt to broaden understanding of knowledge of the target language by asking the speaker to explain or repeat a previous statement.
S_7	Appeal for assistance: spontaneously asking another for the correct term or structure, or for help in solving a problem.
S_8	Role play: spontaneous practice of the target language in interaction with another and fantasy play.

Source: Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) cited in Applied Linguistics Volume 6, No.1; Spring, 1985.

2.7 Developmental Sequences and Stages in L_2 Learning

Questions have been raised regarding the patterns of acquisition that apply to all second language learners. Researchers in L_2 acquisition have wondered if there are identical developmental sequences common to all L_2 learners of a given target language (Brown 1980; 183), and whether they are the same as those observed in L_1 acquisition (Hatch 1978a; Larsen-Freeman, 1978; Stern and Cummins 1981). Brown (1973) has demonstrated that children acquiring English as a first language show similar order of acquisition for grammatical morphemes in obligatory occasions. Certain morphemes such as {-ing} and plural {-D} tend to be acquired relatively early, while others, such as the third person singular "s" on verbs in the present tense (third singular) e.g. gives or the possessive marker 's tend to be acquired late. A similar order has been confirmed in child second language acquisition (see, for example, Dulay and Burt, 1973, 1974a, 1975; Kessler and Idar, 1977). Will Mana's acquisition order corroborate the sequence in these studies irrespective of her L_1 and other previously known languages?

2.8 Review of Methodologies

Observational and experimental techniques are the two most common techniques that have been used for both first and second language researches. They are usually based on regular observations, say weekly or bimonthly. However, some have recorded data on regular basis during which spontaneous speech of subjects are recorded, transcribed, and analyzed for evidence of syntactic development overtime. In a longitudinal design, a few subjects are taken at varying intervals. Length of study in longitudinal L_2 acquisition research has ranged from 4 - 18 months, although Brown's (1973) study spanned 4 years (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982). Other studies which have used the longitudinal design include Bloom's (1971) study of her daughter acquiring certain syntactic structures (Bloom and Lahey 1978), Kernan's 1969 (cited in Slobin 1973) study of a Samoan child; McNeill and McNeill 1968 study of a Japanese child's development of negatives; and of course Ndahi (1982).

Longitudinal designs have the advantage of providing an indepth study of the subject as well as as valid observed behaviour in terms of developmental change. Although the longitudinal design may be useful in observing L_2 acquisition development,

its reliance on a small sample size may produce result atypicals.

Unlike the longitudinal studies, cross-sectional studies rely on language data collected from many subjects at one point in time in their language development. The subjects should be at different points of development. Thus, the language sample is assumed to reflect the characteristics of language systems developing over a period of time. Sample sizes used in the language development literature range from 24 to over 1,200 (Dulay, et al., 1982)

2.8.1 Language Elicitation Techniques

Elicitation of data from the subjects has also been suggested for L_2 acquisition research. IL was originally defined by Selinker (1972) as a "separate linguistic system" which was hypothesized to underlie "a learner's attempted production of a TL norm." Selinker explicitly rejected the use of certain kinds of elicitation tasks in obtaining data for the study of interlanguage. Specifically, he argued that the "only observable data to which we can relate predictions" in a theory of second language learning are the utterances which are produced when the learner attempts to say sentences of the TL".

Thus, Selinker (1972) explicitly rejected the use, for example, of a learner's grammatical intuitions about his IL, because these would only "provide information about another system, the one the learner is struggling with, i.e. the TL." The present researcher agrees with Selinker's views. Moreover, with a child, grammatical intuitions are far-fetched, since the child cannot be expected to say what is correct or wrong in her utterances.

Since Selinker's proposal, researchers have used a variety of elicitation tasks, following Corder (1973). However, Schachter, Tyson and Diffley (1976) take the opposite position from Selinker, arguing that grammatical intuitions must be used to characterize intelanguage. Others who have suggested elicitation techniques are Adjemain (1976, 1981); Krashen (1976, 1981), Tarone (1979, 1982).

2.8.2 Categorization

Categorization is a taxonomy - a presentation of the evidence according to similarities, regularities and consistencies of one kind or another (Bloom and Lahey, 1978:29). Two examples of a taxonomy of language form are:

1. grouping or listing children's utterances according to the number of words (single-word utterances, two-word utterances, etc.)

2. grouping or listing utterances according to consistencies of work-order (i.e. the occurrence of verb-object order ten times, for example.)

Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) have suggested similar taxonomies. These include surface strategy taxonomy, comparative taxonomy, and communicative effect taxonomy. The surface taxonomy, for example, highlights the ways surface structures are altered in a sentence. Learners may omit necessary items or add unnecessary ones; they may misform items or misorder them. The classification of L_2 learners utterances in a comparative taxonomy is based on comparison between the structure of the interlanguage and cetain other types of construction, for example that of children acquiring English as L_1. The comparative effect taxonomy deals with errors from the perspective of their effect on the listeners or readers. It focusses on distinguishing between error that seem to cause miscommunication and those that do not.

2.9 Contributions of the Review to the Present Study

The conclusions made in the foregoing review have, no doubt, influenced the present study.

1. Regardless of the different views expressed on the issue of transfer, evidence from many of the research works reviewed still stress the influence of the L_1 (and other language experiences) on the L_2 acquisition process.

2. Developmental sequences in L_2 have also been highlighted in this review. This will help us to find out Mana's order of L_2 acquisition.

3. Insight into the different learning processes will also reveal the nature of Mana's L_2 acquisition and what specific learning processes influenced it.

4. The methodologies suggested in this review will, in addition, be synthesized and used as modified to suit the analysis of Mana's utterances in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Data Collection

The primary data had been collected through recordings on audio and video tapes (Ndahi, 1982). As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, the main motivation for collecting the data was to enable the study of a Nigerian child's acquisition of English negatives and interrogatives. But, because the data were not specifically elicited for this purpose alone, or biased in any other direction, it is possible to use them for other studies such as the present one.

The present investigation involved a detailed study of the earlier work, and a further examination of the primary data: the audio and video recordings, together with the transcriptions and on-the-spot notes made by the earlier investigator. In the course of the study, this investigator had detailed discussions with the collector of the data in order the better to appreciate and understand the environment and context within which the data collection was undertaken, and to obtain clarification and explanations on questions which arose from viewing the taped conversations.

It was evident, from listening to the tapes, and from the discussions with the original investigator that, because the original investigator got herself fully acquainted with the subject and her home and school through regular visits, the subject's responses were very natural and devoid of observer effects.

Data collection fell into two chronological periods. During the first, the child was aged between 47 months and 54 months, from October 1979 to May 1980. In the second period, the subject was aged between 59 months and 62 months, from October 1980 to January 1981. The break in data collection, between May 1980 and October 1980, was due to an accident in which the subject sustained a broken arm. (See table 3.1 below)

Table 3.1 Duration for Data Collection

Phase	Child's Age	Duration
Phase One	47 - 54 months	October 1979 - May 1980
Phase Two	59 - 62 months	October 1980 - January 198

Phase One recordings lasted a total of 14 hours 25 minutes, and were spread over 18 weeks. Phase Two involved 12 hours of audio recording and 2 hours of

video recording spread over 12 weeks. By 1981 when Mana started formal schooling, data collection had been concluded.

3.1.1 Transcription Procedure

The recordings were transcribed soon after recording by Ndahi. In the transcriptions, utterances by the subject appeared on the right side, while utterances by other speakers (e.g. the investigator, the teacher, and other children) appeared on the left. Persons were identified by initials (e.g. M for Mana, and R for researcher.) Also, explanatory information regarding different situational contexts appeared on the left in parentheses, as illustrated below:

M (R going to another room)	What do you..../
R: What do I what?	
M:	I say what do you want?/
R: I want to bring another one (Vim). See, that one is finished	
M:	It's not finish/ there is still more./
M (picking up the empty tin);	I want to play with this

The utterance boundary for Mana's utterances was marked by a slash (/). Dotted lines (....) indicated unintelligible or inaudible utterances, and doubts about correct transcription were indicated by (?) against individual words. In all, a total of 4,240 utterances were recorded and transcribed into the form shown above.

The present study examined the subject's inter-language in second language acquisition across the three stages of development, viz: the Pidgin English Stage (Stage 1), the Early Standard English Stage (Stage II) and the Late Standard English Stage (Stage III). Stage I covered the first eight weeks of Phase One (i.e. October 1979 - December 1979) when the use of pidgin English was prominent. Stage II covered the rest of Phase One (i.e. January 1980 - May 1980) when the child produced utterances indicative of the beginning of standard English forms that were neither completely pidgin nor quite Standard English. Stage III covered all the utterances in Phase Two (October 1980 - January 1981).

Table 3.2: Stages and Duration of Data Collection

Phase One		Phase Two
Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
October 1979 - December 1979	January 1980 - May 1980	October 1980 - January 1981

The term Standard English has been used in this study the way Ndahi (1982) used it (See Section 1.5 on Definition of Terms.)

3.2 Analysis of Data

The following specific data were examined with regard to the child's interlanguage:

1. sentence patterns across the three stages of L_2 development;
2. utterances with syntactic structures similar to the L_1 and other indigenous languages;
3. utterances with syntactic structures different from English (the base language) or the L_1 and other indigenous languages;
4. sequence of acquisition of certain morphemes; and
5. Mana's IL phonology.

3.2.1 Analytical Tools

The analytical tool used for this research is linguistic category taxonomy, adapted from Politzer and Ramirez's (1973) taxonomy for morphology and syntax. It is a fair traditional descriptive taxonomy which has been used by many researchers as a reporting tool that permits the organisation of detected errors. (See Dulay, et al., 1982: 148 -150)

Linguistic category taxonomies classify errors according to the language component and/or the particular linguistic constituents which the error affects. For the purpose of this study, it was designed to analyse interlanguage in Noun Phrase, Verb Phrases and Word Order of Mana's L_2 speech. More specifically, it focussed on the subject's surface forms so as to highlight the ways in which the surface structures are altered. Learners may omit necessary items or add unnecessary ones; they may misform items or misorder them

Because children learn language in contexts that include other persons, different objects and events, we have expanded the tool to include another column, i.e. context with the descriptive and interpretive information to help explain the context in which the utterance was made (See, for example, Bloom and Lahey, 1978). In addition, a column labelled "Possible Influence from Previously Learnt Language" was included to throw more light on the analysis, as shown in Chapter Four. Frequency counts and percentages were used to indicate tha compare the occurence of the different linguistic categories in the three stages of the subject's L_2 development.

3.2.2 Approach to Analysis of Utterances

The following steps were taken:

1. Samples were extracted from the child's corpus of utterances.

2. The data were presented and discussed according to the three Stages of the child's L_2 acquisition. Cross-referencing and comparison amongst the three Stages were done where necessary to enhance the analysis.

3. All utterances similar in structure and semantically equivalent to a phrase or sentence in the subject's L_1 and other indigenous languages were appropriately labelled (MT for mother tongue, and H for Hausa.)

4. All utterances that adhered neither to English grammar (the base language) nor to those of the indigenous languages (the substrates) were labelled pidgin English symbolized as (P).

5. Utterances which did not conform to (3) or (4) above were labelled "Others" (or Non-Interference.)

6. Examples of interlanguage types were listed under specific linguistic categories and subcategories (see Table 3.3)

7. Frequency counts of each type in the three Stages as well as syntactic, lexical and phonological transfers and non-transfers were also included in the tables.

8. Percentages and proportions of each category of IL were also indicated.

9. Each of the above steps was taken across the two Phases of the study.

10. In order to ascertain the validity of (3) above, resource persons who are native speakers of Hausa and Bassa-Nge were used as informants to write the languages in standard orthography.

11. The data are presented as follows: the first sentence in each group of examples is the child's L_1, i.e., Bassa-Nge, the second is her interlanguage, and the third is our target language gloss for the intended meaning in terms of our understanding of the total discourse.

Table 3.3: Framework of Taxonomy of Syntax and Morphology

Linguistic Category & IL Type	Interlanguage Example	Context	Possible Influence
1. NOUN PHRASE a. Determiners Omission of the article	*I draw baby like this? (Should I draw the baby like this?)	(M drawing talking to R)	P
	*Where's elephant? (Where is the elephant? -"the" omitted)	(M looks around room for toy elephant)	MT
Omission of the possessive marker: 's	* I will put - on teacher car (will put petrol in teacher's car)	(Talking to her friends at play)	Non-Perceptibl Influence
b. Number + Substitution of plural for singular	*What are this? (What are these?)	(M sees some fruits in a plate)	Non-Perceptible Influence.
	*He didn't want people to eat his chocolate. ("people" used instead of "anybody")	(D is not happy, and M explains why)	Non-Perceptible Influence
c. Use of Pronouns + Omission of subject pronoun, "she"	* is going to school (She has gone to school)	R: (to M) How is Cici?	Non-Perceptible Influence
+ Omission of the 'dummy' pronoun, "it"	*Is a TV (It is a TV)	Context not specified in the data.	MT
d. Use of prepositions + Omission of preposition	*Look my hand (Look at my hand)		MT
+Misuse of preposition	*You want to go on that class? (Do you want to go to that class?)	(M to R as the latter leaves	Non-Perceptible Influence
e. Use of Objects + Omission of the object	*Can I take?	(M asking another child for some biscuits)	MT

Linguistic Category & IL Type	Interlanguage Example	Context	Possible Influence
+Omission of Indirect Object	*They say is Joseph daddy (They say it is Joseph's daddy)	(M describing a man driving off to other children outside	MT/H
2. VERB PHRASE			
a. Omission of Verb	*Auntie going to work (Auntie is going to work)	Context not specified in the data.	P
+ Omission of aux. verb "is"			
+ substitution of "no" for main verb	*She no well (She is not well)		P
+ Omission of aux. "will"	*I catch it (I will catch it)	(M trying to catch the cat)	Non-perceptible Influence
b. Use of Progressive Tense	*I singing (I am singing)	Context not specified in the data	Non-Perceptible Influence
+ Omission of "be"			
+ substitution of progressive for simple tense	*When we are going they are not giving us any book in our class (When we go, they do not give us any...)	Context not specified in the data	Non-Perceptible Influence
+ substitution of "don't" for "doesn't"	*And Cici don't have (And Cici doesn't have)	Context not specified in the data	Non-Perceptible Influence
c. Agreement of subject and verb	*Those people has not come yet. (Those people haven't come yet)	Context not specified.	MT
	*I say that where's your shoes? (I said where are your shoes?)		MT
	*She have two purse (She has two purses)	Context not specified	MT
d. Tense (others)	*Victor, Victor, Titi bring squash (Victor, Victor, Titi brought squash)		MT
+ Use of simple present for past tense			

Linguistic Category & IL Type	Interlanguage Example	Context	Possible Influence
+ substitution of the present "say" for past "said"	*I say that do you know my baby's name (I said, do you know my baby's name?		MT
+ Omission of past participle	*Awa, your plane has fall (... your plane has fallen)	(M at play with A)	Non-Perceptible Influence
+ Omission of regular past marker, "-ed"	*because they paint it (because they painted it)		
+ Omission of the progressive "-ing"	*She look, touching the tree and holding.. (She is looking, ...)	(M pretending to read from a book)	Non-Perceptible influence
3. WORD ORDER			
a. Misordering	*I ate my shinkafa all (I ate all my shinkafa /rice/)	(M showing her empty bowl to R.	MT
	*Awa, isn't it you are a good girl? (Awa, you are a good girl, aren't you?)		Non-Perceptible influence
b. Misformation			
+ Misuse of subject pronoun	*because, because she she didn't give her own. (because he didn't give his own)	(M, referring to a male child)	
+ Misuse of preposition	*no/I fell down from Kaduna. (No/I fell down at Kaduna)		Non-Perceptible influence
	*then they put their bag in the gound (then they put their bag on the ground)		non-perceptible influence
c. Additions	*And I saw the Victor (And I saw Victor).		Non-Perceptibl Influence
	*I have a three sisters (I have three sisters)		Non-Perceptibl Influence

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter will examine the results obtained from the analysis of Mana's interlanguage. It will follow the specific problems stated in Chapter One, namely:-

1. The sequence or pattern of Mana's second language acquisition, if any.
2. The role played by each of the languages in Mana's linguistic background, if any.
3. The extent of transfer or interference from the L_1 and other previous language experiences. (i.e. Bassa-Nge, Pidgin and Hausa), if any.
4. Second language learning strategies adopted by Mana.

The nature of Mana's interlanguage will be discussed under two broad categories, i.e. the Noun Phrase and the Verb Phrase. Sub-categories of each will also be discussed to give a detailed picture of the overall sequence of L_2 acquisition. First, we present a distribution of sentences during the initial study period which was in two phases (See Ndahi, 1982).

Table 4.1: Distribution of Sentences During the Study Period

Phases	No. of Sentences	Percentage
Phase One	1,511	35.6
Phase Two	2,729	64.4
Total	4,340	100.00

There are three stages in Mana's development: the Pidgin English Stage I (i.e. aged between 47 and 51 months); Stage II (aged between 52 and 54 months) Stage III (aged between 59 and 62 months). Discussions will follow development in these three stages. (Ndahi, 1982)

4.1 Sequence or Pattern of Mana's Second Language Acquisition if any

Mana's L_2 acquisition started with Pidgin and gradually progressed towards Standard English. Analysis showed that there is a predominance of Pidgin English sentences in Stage I of her speech (i.e. the first eight weeks of the study). This is not surprising because the child already spoke Pidgin English before the start of the study. A summary of the language development is presented in Table 4.2

Frequency counts of Pidgin in the three stages were done. A total of 250 utterances were found. Of these, 184 featured in state I, 38 in stage II and 28 in stage III.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Pidgin During the Study

Interlanguage Type	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Pidgin	184	74	38	15	28	11	250	100

The table above shows that Pidgin featured more prominently in Stage I than in Stages II and III. Pidgin in Stage I takes 74% of the total Pidgin sentences that featured in the study. The number of Pidgin utterances decreased as she progressed from Stage I to II. By Stage II, only 15% of the sentences were Pidgin and in Stage III 11%. Less than half of the total number of Pidgin sentences occurred in the last two stages. A phase by phase comparison of the Pidgin utterances also shows that 89% of the total number of Pidgin occurred in Phase I, while only 11% occurred in Phase II. (See Table 4.3)

Table 4.3: Phase By Phase Distribution of Pidgin

Category	Phase One		Phase Two		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Pidgin	222	89	28	11	250	100

This reflects a decrease of 78%. Utterances produced in Stages I and II (i.e. Phase I) are similar. However, Stage II showed more evidence of development towards Standard English. It is also worthy to note that even in Stage III, Mana's sentences still had flaws when we talk in terms of Standard English. Nevertheless, the development from Stage I to Stage III is significant when we compare the following pieces. The first comes at the beginning of the study, and the second, at the end. In both utterances the subject was telling a story.

Early Speech:

> ... and they are eating dem food, and when dem come and eat dem food and put dem horse (?) for dem bus (?) and dancing (?) and put of di here and down down down and went to down down....
>
> (Age: 47½ months)

Late Speech:

> Once upon a time / there is a little chicken who live in here / (picking up a book and pretending to read) what they're looking for / all big one like this / (demonstrates). Like a woman / they have a tails here like this / (running her hand down head towards back). One have a stop / the small ones they are not big and all those ones / all those ones they are not the same at this / (pointing to picture).
>
> (Age: 62½ months)

These two pieces, therefore, illustrate Mana's progression from fluency in Pidgin English at the beginning of the study to the use of utterances nearer Standard English forms at the third stage of her development.

The sequence of acquisition noted in this study follows the universal sequence which has been described by many writers such as those mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 (i.e. Brown, 1973; Dulay and Burt, 1973, 1974a, and 1975); Kessler and Idar, 1977). Rosansky, 1976). Findings in the present study show that her language learning followed a consistent pattern. Certain morphemes such as {-ing} and plural were acquired early, while others such as the third person singular{s} on verbs in the present tense

(third, singular) were acquired late. The initial acquisition of the plural was in the pidgin form, e.g. dis, dem - meaning this, and they respectively, as illustrated in the following examples:

M: (drawing) (1) like dis dem de make it?
(i.e. Is this how they draw it?)

R: Who?

M: (pointing to drawing) (2) dis one / (this one)

(M hears the sound from the television) (3) They open TV
(i.e. the television is on)

R: I see. alright.
That's a good girl. (Aged 47 months)

When compared with other L_2 acquirers cited in the review of literature (See for example, Dulay and Burt, 1973, 1974, Brown 1973). Mana, from the results of this study, acquired the possessive marker 's earlier. She acquired the possessive marker during the first few weeks of the study (i.e. Stage I). Mana used this in a sentence while comparing the investigator's radio to her daddy's car.

R: (to M) You want to close,
open, and close, don't you

M: (4) Yes

R: O.K. show me 'close'

(points to a knob)

R: (pointing) here!

M: (5) It's driving/daddy's moto

(i.e. It's moving, like daddy's car)

In another example, still in this stage, Mana and her uncle were arguing over the researcher coming to her school.

M: (to U) (6) You go to your school?

U: Who? Me?

M: (7) No, me I go to Victor's School.

These examples confirm that Mana acquired the possessive marker 's early. However, this does not rule out the fact that she could also omit them in sentences later. As with the possessive marker, the {-ing} was also acquired early (See Table 4.4). The results shown above further confirm the history of morpheme studies in language acquisition in which Brown (1973) and others demonstrated that children acquiring English as a first language show similar order of acquisition for grammatical morphemes. The wide range of verbs which combined with the {-ing} morpheme in Stages I and II is also remarkable (See table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Acquisition of {-ing} in Mana's Stages I and II Speech

Verbs	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency
Paining	6	-	6
Sleeping	2	1	3
going	8	9	17
driving	1	-	1
Coming	1	1	2
putting	3	1	2
talking	1	2	3
playing	5	2	7
killing	1	-	1
working	2	-	2
cooking	2	-	2
standing	4	-	4
dancing	1	-	1
laughing	6	-	6
bathing	1	1	2
washing	1	1	2
making	1	-	1
climbing	1	4	1

Table 4.4 Contd.

Verbs	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
	Frequency	Frequency	Frequency
drinking	2	2	4
talking	1	-	1
singing	1	-	1
marching	1	1	2
eating	1	1	2
running	-	1	1
telling	-	1	1
crying	-	2	2
wearing	-	2	2
slapping	-	2	2
tearing	-	2	2
beating	-	2	2
sweeping	-	2	2
coughing	-	1	1
sitting	-	1	1
touching	-	1	1
walking	-	1	1
drawing	-	1	1
	47	41	88

A total of 88 sentences featured. Of these, 47 (i.e. 53.4%) occurred in Stage I, and 41 (i.e. 46.6%) in Stage II.

With regard to the acquisition of the third person singular {-s} on verbs in the present tense, there was no evidence in the data to show that Mana acquired it. A total of 131 verbs were classified in the Verb Phrase (See Table 4.5) under tense catogory.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Tense Category in Mana's Speech

Category	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
Verb Phrase	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Tense	17	13	37	28	77	59	131	100

There were only five attempts by Mana to use the third person singular Present tense form, and each time she used the base form. For example, she used take for takes and come for comes. This evidence confirms the difficulty order suggested in her language acquisition, as well as the fact that the tense morpheme $\{Z_1\}$ tends to be acquired late. On the other hand, the simple future tense was acquired in

Stage I and later consolidated in Stage II, as in:

(M talking to R about her mother — If she comes back, she will beat me.

(M to R) I will do a mummy

(draw mummy)

(47 months)

Mana's interlanguage also highlighted the ways surface structures are altered as well as the cognitive processess that underlie her reconstruction of the target language. For example, omissions of the article seemed to be systematic in her L_2 acquisition. Table 4.6 shows a frequency distribution of omissions of the article in the three stages of her L_2 development.

Table 4.6: Omissions in the Acquisition of Articles

IL Catetory	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Omissions of the Article	4	7.4	6	11	44	81.5	54	100

Omission of the article was less in Stages I and II than in Stage III. Of the total number of omissions, 4 (7.4%) were found in Stage I, 6 (i.e. 11%) in Stage II, whereas 44 (i.e. 81.4%) occurred in Stage III. The increase in omissions in this stage was significant.

The reverse should have been the case, since the child was moving from one stage of competence to another. Although such omissions are typical of L_2 learners, they also contradict this view obviously because such omissions of the article persisted in Mana's utterances till the end of the study.

Table 4.7: Omission of Articles Across the Phases

IL Type	Phase One		Phase Two		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Omission of the Article	10	18.5	44	81.5	54	100

Studies into the acquisition of English as a first language (See, for example, Brown 1973, Burt and Dulay, 1973, 1974) have shown that native speakers have problems with their articles at certain stages of development. Similarly, in second language acquisition, all article errors are counted as being due to 'creative construction', i.e. it is something that derives from the universal strategies of L_2 acquisition. The increase in omissions of articles in Stage III could also be seen as evidence of transfer from Mana's L_1 or Hausa where it is acceptable to say:

M: (pointing to shelf) (8) a. M' le takada ye (Bassa-Ng

b. Ina ganin littafi (Hausa)

c. I see book

d. I see a book

The article is omitted in (a) and (b) above, i.e. Bassa-Nge and Hausa respectively, while (c) is the child's interlanguage example. This is normal in the indigenous languages and might have interferred with her L_2 acquisition.

Another characteristic of Mana's L_2 acquisition is the omission of noun and verb inflections (e.g. the {-S} in trees, the {-D} in packed and the {-ing} in laughing), verb auxilliaries and misuse of prepositions and pronouns. Others are omissions of prepositions, and subject pronouns, as in Table 4.8. All the omissions of verbal auxilliaries occurred in Phase I. This accounts for 14.5% of the total number of omissions. Omissions of the {-D} regular past tense marker featured more in Stages I and II which together made up 58.3% of the total omissions. Omissions of subject pronouns were the highest accounting for 26.36%. These results support research findings that omission errors are found in greater abundance and across a greater variety of morphemes during the early stages of L_2 acquision.

Table 4.8: Omissions of Noun and Verb Inflections

	Phase I		Phase II			
CATEGORY	Stages I and II		Stage III		Total	
VERB PHRASE	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Verbal Auxiliaries	16		0	0	16	14.5
{-ing}	3		3		6	5.45
{-D} /simple past/	14	58.3	10	41.7	27	21.8
{-d} /in used/	2	25	6	75	8	7.27
NOUN PHRASE						
Possessives	12	75	4	25	16	14.5
Stages I & II & III Prepositions	7		4	-	11	10
Subject Pronouns	19		10	-	29	26.36
	47		23		110	99.8

As with articles and the object, omissions of {-D} regular past tense marker persisted till the end of the study.

In the intermediate stage, when learners have been exposed to more of the target language, additions, misformations, and misorderings of grammatical morphemes

are more likely to occur. (Dulay et al, 1982). This stage corresponds to Stage III of Mana's L_2 acquisition. The distributions of this category of IL is shown in Table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9: Distribution of Additions, Misorderings and Misformations in Mana's Speech

IL CATEGORY	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
NOUN PHRASE	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Additions	-	-	6	25	18	75	24	100
Misordering	-	-	8	33.3	16	66.6	24	99.9
Misformations	-	-	-	-	24	100	24	100

Misformations were most frequent in Stage III. The two other categories i.e. misorderings and additions, also featured equally in Stage III accounting for 33.3% and 25% respectively. On the contrary, hardly any additions, misorderings or misformations occurred in Stage I. These results confirm the fact that Mana had greater exposure to the target language in Stages II and III.

Omissions of the object is another category that featured in Mana's interlanguage. The results are presented in the Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Category of Omissions of the Object

IL CATEGORY	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Omissions of the Object	4	7	23	39	32	54	59	100

Table 4.10 above signifies that as the subject's sentences became more complex and developed toward Standard English forms more omissions of the object occurred. This can be seen in the significant increase from 4 (i.e. 7%) in Stage I to 32 (i.e. 54%) in Stage III. Results also show that majority of the omissions occurred in sentences with syntactic structures similar to the child's first language e.g.

M: (Somebody accuses M of drinking his ribena (9) I didn't drink

M: (Writing. Makes another 'F') talking to R (10) Look at

R: Good, very good

In each of these examples, only the context will indicate what the objects referred to are. The use of objects is obligatory in BSE in the sentences above, even where the context is clear. However, evidence from Bassa-Nge indicates that the object is not obligatory in a sentence, if what is referred to is

in view. These omissions were also observed (to be systematic and) to have remained till the end of the study.

Table 4.11 shows a frequency distribution of the various substitutions observed in Mana's L_2 speech.

Table 4.11: Frequency of Substitutions in Mana's Speech

IL CATEGORY	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Substitutions	22	45.8	24	50	2	4.2	48	100

From the results above, this category of IL featured more in the early stages. 45.8% of the total number of substitutions occurred in Stage I and 50% in Stage II. This is not surprising because Mana fell back on these substitutions as a strategy to express herself since she had not been exposed much to the L_2. The following sentences are examples of substitutions:

M: (telling her teacher about her ill health)

T: Where did you go?

M: (11) Because I' am not well/ They take me to the nanny.

T: Mana, they took you to the nanny! What did she do with you.

M: (12) She gave me one Sick Bay

T: She took you to the Sick Bay?

M: (13) She get medicine

(M shows a spot of ink to R.)

M: (14) It's Charles put me this.

R: Mhm? (15) It's Charles put me this.

R: It's Charles put you that? (repeating M's sentence)
What is that?
What did you do? (16) It's not my sing

Sentences (11) - (13) are an attempt to tell the teacher that she was ill and so was given some drugs at the clinic (the Sick Bay) in Ahmadu Bello University. Here Mana substitutes Sick Bay for medicine, possibly because the Sick Bay is where one can get drugs. By analogy, therefore, the Sick Bay connotes the idea of medicine. In the second example Mana substitutes the demonstrative adjective this for

the noun spot. This is perhaps the only way she could express herself. Similarly, the use of the verb sing instead of the noun form song is also significant. This could be Mana's strategy for the acquisition of nouns i.e. the verb form first and later the noun form. It is also evident from these examples that Mana's interlanguage is neither the English of the investigator (Ndahi, 1982) nor does it conform to the structure of her native language L_1 as these sentences do not make meaning in Bassa-Nge. This point rather re-emphasizes her ability to create sentences unique in themselves, and aimed at expressing meaning in the target language, irrespective of other languages previously known by the child.

By the end of Stage III, it was observed that substitutions featured minimally. This is a concrete evidence of the progress made by the child in her L_2 development towards Standard English.

4.2 Specific Roles Played by Each of the Languages in Mana's Background

4.2.1 The Role of Pidgin

Mana acquired English in an environment where she had picked up Pidgin English, a language typical of most children acquiring English as a second

language in the Nigerian context. Initially, she used Pidgin English in her interaction with the researcher (Ndahi, 1982), other children, as well as those who did not speak Bassa-Nge, e.g. the researcher's house boy. The role of Pidgin English was quite facilitative because the initial lexical items from Pidgin English helped her progress towards Standard English. Thus, Pidgin, which to some extent has been looked down upon as inferior in terms of its suitability for academic purposes, was used as a springboard for acquiring communicative competence by the child. This finding is also true of other children growing up in multi-ethnic states. It was also observed that the acquisition of plurality, for example, was first in the Pidgin English form as in:

(16) Like dis dem de make it?
(meaning 'Is this how they draw it')
(Aged 47 months)

before she acquired the Standard English form they as in:

(M indicating on herself)

(17) They are doing injection for here (meaning 'I was given an injection here)

Basically, however, from the sociolinguistic point of view, Pidgin is the interlanguage stage. Normally Pidgin leads to creolization, but does not ultimately lead to SE. Thus, it could be seen that the acquisition of plurality was first through Pidgin. Before she mastered SE there was a need for Pidgin. But once she acquired SE, the need for Pidgin English was minimal and the role which Pidgin was playing is now played by SE. On the other hand, it could be a combination of Pidgin and Hausa since she was learning the two languages simultaneously. Since the child knew Hausa, she might have learnt it through Hausa because Hausa also has this concept.

Although this Standard English sentence still had flaws from Pidgin influence, there is evidence that Mana was advancing towards communicative competence in the L_2, judging from the first example above. Similarly, her initial use of the possessive marker 's was in the Pidgin English Stage and may have come spontaneously as in:

(18) It's driving/daddy's moto.
(i.e. motor car)

Evidence of the first lexical items was in Pidgin. Since most of the objects are the same in Standard English, Mana used them to build up her vocabulary,

as in the use of moto in example (17) above. Thus, her ability to process and retain the readily available TL input is significant.

Sometimes attempts to master the target language end with some unique sentence forms as in:

(19) i dei for home/she has sleeping
(She is at home. She is sleeping)

In this example, there are two separate parts. Mana has combined Pidgin English with another form structurally different from both the L_1 and the target Language.

On several occasions, she also used Pidgin when she switched code from Standard English to Pidgin. For example, in a reply to a question asked by the house boy, Mana said:

(20) i no bi my own wo!/my own
dei for my hand wo!
(meaning: It's not mine.
Mine is in my hand)

(Aged 62 months 2 weeks)

In a similar example, while playing with two groups of children, one peer who spoke Pidgin and another who were native speakers, Mana recognised the difference between the two groups of children, and spoke to each accordingly. Here, Pidgin English was person specific as well. Her use of Pidgin

English in the last two weeks of the study could also be seen as a matter of choice as in:

(21)Mhn, look at your food be that/ see your food inside/ I don make am for you.

(meaning: That's your food in there/I've prepared it for you)

This piece is not a regression but is rather re-emphasizing the strategy of code switching in Mana's speech especially when playing with her peer group.

4.2.2 Role of Hausa

Hausa, a second language in Mana's background, also enhanced her syntactic, lexical and semantic development. As in the case of Pidgin, Mana successfully borrowed from Hause names, expressions for certain objects and actions. Results showed that in an attempt to produce sentences in the target language, she often used the Hausa word for an object or action she did not know its equivalent in English.

Evidence of code-switching in Hausa also stresses the role it played in Mana's background. Twelve instances of code switching were found in the data all occuring in Stage III (See Ndahi, 1982 Vol.2). This aspect of Mana's interlanguage is symbolic because it is a normal occurence in the natural

context of languages in multilingual societies. However, the absence of this strategy i.e. code switching in Stages I and II shows that Hausa did not feature prominently here. It could be that Mana had not acquired enough Hausa then. Moreover, the environment did not allow it, hence her inability to use it freely as she did later. In Stage III more Hausa people were introduced and so she spoke more Hausa than she did in Stage I.

Lexical transfers and borrowings as well as sentences with syntactic structures similar to the L_1 and other indigenous language (See Section 4.3) are also evidence of how Hausa enabled her make more complex sentences. One wonders if this will be the case with children of similar language experiences acquiring English in the same setting.

4.2.3 Role of Bassa-Nge

As with Hausa, Mana's L_1 was person specific. She spoke Bassa-Nge with her grandmother, her Auntie and cousins. In listening to Mana speak English, it was obvious that she had acquired much vocabulary items from her mother tongue. Her ability to use these words could therefore be as a result of her knowledge from the L_1. Since L_1 acquirers often fall back on their L_1 especially at certain stages

of their L_2 acquisition, Mana's L_1 thus served the purpose of filling in the gap in her communication in the target language. Her use of such lexical items as rogo (cassava), rake (Sugar cane), shinkafa (rice), angulu (vulture), gongoni (tin) and many others in her English sentences confirm the role played by Mana's L_1 in her L_2 acquisition process.

Since the L_1 will not always have a positive effect on the L_2 acquisition process, Mana's inter-language exhibited L_1 influence in her phonological development. There was evidence of L_1 influence on such words as hais (eye), elp (help), hegg (egg) which remained in her system till the end of the study. Other sounds which posed problems to her are the / ɬ / and/r/phonemes which were often confused as in:

(Teacher asks: What do you call lemu in English?)	(22)	ehn, leke (reke i.e. sugar cane).
M (repeating what another child said)	(23)	Teacher, teacher, a logo (rogo i.e. cassava)

This transfer from the L_1 which was carried over into her sentence pattern is discussed in Section 4.3 below, in greater details.

4.3 Evidence of Transfer of Previous Languages in Mana's Second Language Acquisition

Mana's interlanguage showed that there were different levels of transfer in her L_2 acquisition.

4.3.1 Syntactic Transfer

In sentences 24 - 27 below examples of surface structure grammatical transfer are considered. The transfer is from Bassa-Nge.

(24) a. M ga Victor a u be ba gi naka. (Bassa-Nge)

b. I say Victor to come and eat meat.

c. I told Victor to come and eat meat.

(25) a. A ga 'o gini bana O. (Bassa-Nge

(Children asked to go and stand somewhere, not run.

b. They say that you stand here.

c. You were asked to stand here.

M sees a child running)

(26) a. Bo la u da? (Bassa-Nge)

b. Where did you put?

c. Where have you kept it?

(Children blow painting.

M notices a child who has none).

(27) a. Teacher ka la u. (Bassa-Nge)

b. Teacher will give you.

c. The teacher will give you some

In these examples, Mana has constructed the sentences inin the way they would be said in Bassa-Nge. Example (24) is a direct translation from Bassa-Nge. The verb

say has been used instead of told. In (25) the pronoun they is used for the third person singular you. This is typical of most Nigerian languages in which they is used for an adult as a sign of respect, i.e. they is an honorific used in place of the teacher's name in this example. It is also commonly used among children in this environment when referring to an adult. Examples (26) - (27) show that the object has been dropped and only the context will indicate what objects are being referred to. (See discussion in Section 4.1). These sentences are however correct in Bassa-Nge where the object is not obligatory in speech.

4.3.2 Lexical Transfer

Sentences 28 - 30 are examples of Lexical transfer.

(28) a. A kpe TV. (Bassa-Nge)

b. They open TV.

c. They switched on the television.

(29) a. M'a la le kin. (Bassa-Nge)

b. I fall her down.

c. I pushed her down.

(30) a. M'be be bici m'yi. (Bassa-Nge)

b. I came with my leg.

c. I walked.

(31) a Mi e wa wo ami m'. (Bassa-Nge)

b. I want to hear my voice

c. I want to listen to my voice.

The way open, fall her down, came with my leg and hear are used reflect usage in the subject's L_1 and other $L_{2's}$ in the environment. Examples 28 shows an extension in meaning in the lexical items. The English verb switch on has been given a direct translation from the L_1. Kpe i.e. open as used by the child signals the action of switching on. In 29 - 31 direct translations into English from the L_1 have been used. Literally in Bassa-Nge, the sentence (29) would read I made her fall down while listen to in (31) is translated as hear (which has two meanings i.e. hear and listen). Similarly in example (30), the verb walked is translated as came with my leg by the child. This sentence in Hausa would read

(32) Na zo da kafata (I came with my leg).

In another category of lexical transfer, specific words in L_1 and other indigenous lenguages are used in the sentence as in the following examples:

M: (Showing her empty plate to R)

(33) a. M' gi shinkafa m' pin (Bassa-Nge)

b. I ate my shinkafa all.

c. I ate all my rice.

(34) a. Aye 'O yi ke ye angulu an
(*Bassa-Nge*)

b. Your face is like angulu.

c. Your face is like that of a vulture.

M: takes a crayon and tries to explain to C what it is

(35) a. Janbaki u yi e (Bassa-Nge)

b. Is janbaki,/janbaki (i.e. red of mouth)

c. It's a lipstick, lipstick

(36) a. Le *nyika yo*

b. See Kifi

c. That's a fish

Examples 34 - 36 are lexical transfer from Hausa. It is interesting to note the child's confusion in (35). She is not able to differentiate between a lipstick and a crayon. The word order with all occurring at the end of the sentence (33) is also typical of the L_1 and other indigenous languages. This brings us to another category of transfer from Pidgin English, what I have called Baby-Talk. Mana's IL showded evidence of baby-talk from Pidgin English influence. This is a typical characteristic of children in this environment and could be Mana's initial attempt at acquiring adjectives. For example, jaga jaga is often used by most children to describe something that is ugly or not good as in:

(37) Jaga jaga window

(38) A woman didn't have jaga jaga feet.

Similarly, it was observed that the auxilliary do covered a wide range of semantic entries in Mana's IL. For example:

(R tries a biro, ink doesn't flow
(M drawing)

(39) It's not do;
(meaning: It's not writing)

(40) I can do a daddy.
(i.e. I can draw daddy)

R: What did you do in school today?

(41) I do 'ring-a-ring-aroses.
(I learnt 'ring-a-ring-a roses)

Others are: paint, give, tell, sound the car horn, etc. All these examples were found in Stage I. Could this be the beginning of acquisition of verbs since sometimes do was used in place of the main verb? It was also observed that the use of the auxilliary do in place of the main verb did not feature in Stages II and III. Another aspect of lexical transfers, was in the form of code switching.

Code switching and language-mixing also featured in Mana's L_2 acquisition. The multilingual nature of Mana's acquisition setting also necessitated language mixing. It was observed that this aspect of Mana's L_2 learning facilitated her acquisition of English. (See Section 4.2.2). Examples of language-mixing are:

M (talking to A) (42) Sunana ba Cici ba/You can't say Mana

(i.e. My name is not Cici. Can't you say Mana?)

(M hisses, talking to H) (43) If you come here zan barawo ka.

(i.e. If you come here, I will call out 'thief').

In the sentences' above, Mana mixed Hausa and English. These two examples occurred in Stage III. This brings us to another category of transfer observed in Mana's interlanguage, i.e. phonological transfer.

4.3.3 Phonological Transfer

Phonological transfer from Pidgin, Hausa and Bassa-Nge was also found in Mana's L_2 speech. Table 4.12 is a freqency distribution of the phonological category.

Table 4.12: Phonological Category In Mana's IL

IL CATEGORY	Stage I		Stage II		Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Phonological	18	37.5	9	18.75	21	43.75	48	100

The beginning of her phonological development was influenced very strongly by Pidgin. Phonemes such as /θ/ and /ð/ were represented by /t/ and /d/ respectively. This is evidence of influence from the L_1 and other indigenous languages. Since most Nigerian languages she was in contact with do not have /θ/ and /ð/ in their system, Mana fell back on the nearest

approximations to these English sounds. These are /t/ and /d/ respectively.

Table 4.13 shows a distribution of words that featured at each stage of her L_2 development (as she pronounced them).

Table 4.13: Mana's Phonological Development Across The Stages.

CATEGORY	PHASE ONE		PHASE TWO
	Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
	Paiming /peniŋ/	hobiti/hospitl/	stomas/ stʌmak/
	mout /maut/	peteto/pɛteitou/	
	lait /rɑit/	melling/smeliŋ/	slipas/slip z/
			logo/rogo/ (cassava)
	peibi /beibi/	pis /pi:z/	leke /rake/ (Sugarcane)
	hais /aiz/		
	stomas /stʌmək/	lait / rait/	plat /pleit/
	and /haend/	plat /pleit/	hai / ai/
	klaii /krai/	wia /wiə /	
			melling/smeliŋ /
	moda /mʌdə /	don(t)/dount/	
	leidio/raidiou/	won(t)/wount/	aeloplane /eərɾɒplein/
	bok /bɔks/		hus / ʌs /
	flak /flaesk/		milik /milk/
	gru: /zu/		trong /strɔŋ /
	(h)appy /hapi/		jak /dʒʌg/
	bju: /blu:/		mout /maut/
	laiting /raitiŋ/		teet /ti:θ /
	slipas /slip z/		mɔles / smɔlist/
	bled /bred/		bigəs /bigəst/
			hegg /eg/
			ikokotamu /hipəpɒtəməs/
			animos /aeniml/

Table 4.13 shows that Mana had difficulty with distinguishing between /l/ and /r/ in speech. These sounds were often confused or exchanged in some cases. Clusters such as [sm-] [-str] and [-nt], [-lk] were not properly articulated. The final consonants were often dropped. Also observed was her omission or deletion of the final consonant sound in the word used, pronouncing it as use, instead. This persisted till the end of the study. Other sounds not realized properly are /ʃ/ and /s/. However, by Stage II words like flask /flaesk/ and blue /blu:/, earlier rendered as /flak/ and /blj:/ disappeared, while others like hais /aiz/, elp /help/, ikokotemu (hippotamus) remained. These sounds may have remained possibly because language development including phonological development is not completed, even by the age of 8 (Reed, 1971).

This analysis also revealed some of Mana's utterances which were not due to language transfer from either the L_1 or other previous language experiences. Our findings in this regard are discussed under four sub-headings i.e. Syntactic over-generalization, Oversimplification, Communication demands and Imperfect mastery of the target language.

4.4 Evidence of Non-Interference

4.4.1 Over-generalization

The following are examples of overgeneralization.

(M notices some broken tiles in the kitchen sink) (44) This place has breaken. (This place has broken)

(To a child who suggested that they cook biscuits) (45) It does not cooken it. (It's not meant to be cooked) Stage II

In the sentences above, Mana has used the morphological rule of the target language inappropriately in an attempt to generate a novel target language utterance. She is an active participant in the language acquisition process and is exercising her already acquired knowledge of the target language in a creative way. Earlier in this stage, she had used the form:

(46) Awa has taken your plate.

hence she used breaken in (45). These sentences conform neither to the L_1 nor L_2 structure.

4.4.2 Imperfect Mastery of The Target Language:

(R: (to M) How's Cici? Is she still crying? (47) She has crying at my mummy room (48 months 2 weeks)

(R: (to M) Where's the dog? What's the dog doing? (48) She am playing. (47 months 2 weeks).

Examples 47 and 48 occurred in Stage I and confirm that Mana had imperfectly mastered the target language structure at this stage. It is also an attempt at using the progressive form.

4.4.3 Communication Demands

Mana's L_2 acquisition also revealed that certain utterances were made because of the communication demand at that time. For instance, she either used Hausa or Pidgin English when speaking to certain people. This situation is different from when she spoke to the investigator (Ndahi, 1982). In the example below, Mana was asked to speak to the houseboy who does not understand English.

R:(to M) Do you speak to him in English or Hausa?

M: (49) No, my mummy will speak in Nupe

R: And you what do you speak to him?

M: (50) In Hausa.

R: Hausa? Say something to hkm in Hausa, let me hear.

M: (51) Sannu Madam (Hello Madam)

R: Sannu Madam. Shi ne Madam? (Hello Madam. Is he Madam?)

4.4.4. Oversimplification

This aspect of Mana's IL featured most in her pronunciations. Because of her inability to pronounce such words as smelling, biggest, smallest, etc. the

initial or final consonants were often deleted as in:

(52) I take small/It's melling (smelling)

(I took a little. It's smelling).

(53) Bigges(t) one, no the smalles(t) one.

Similar examples have been discussed by Ndahi (1982). To conclude this section on evidence of transfer in Mana's L_2 acquisition, we present a summary of the findings in this regard. Table 4.14. shows the distribution of transfer from Pidgin, Bassa-Nge and Hausa in the study.

Table 4.14. Distribution of Transfer From Pidgin, Bassa-Nge, And Hausa In The Study

Sentence Type / Transfer	Phase One Stages I&II		Phase Two Stage III		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Syntactical	223	55.3	180	44.6	403	57.5
Lexical	89	43.8	114	56.1	203	29
Phonological (Stages I, II and III	27	56.2	21	43.7	48	6.85
Others (Non-Interference)	16	34.8	30	65.2	46	6.57
					700	99.6

Mana's L_2 development showed that syntactic transfer from Pidgin which was predominant in Stage I had (See Table 4.2) decreased in Stage III. However, 57.5% recorded in this category could be as a result of syntactic transfers from the Hausa and a few Pidgin utterances that featured in Stage III. Similarly the increase in lexical transfer from 43.8% in Stages I and II, to 56.1% in Stage III accounts for the language mixing, lexical transfer and code switching that featured in this Stage. Notice also the decrease in syntactical transfers from 55.3% in Stages I & II to 44.6% in Stage III. This is a significant aspect of her development. It confirms her effort at producing more target language forms and less of structures based on the L_1 or other indigenous languages as she progressed towards Standard English. Phonological transfers featured more at the beginning i.e. Stage I, hence the minimal percentage of 6.85%. The 6.57% recorded for Non-Interference also shows that this category featured minimally in the study.

The discussion so far has been concerned with Mana's sequence of acquisition, the characteristics of each of the three stages and the nature of her interlanguage, generally. In the next section of our discussion, specific L_2 learning strategies adopted by Mana are discussed.

4.5 Mana's Second Language Acquisition Strategies

Results in this research have revealed some specific strategies which Mana used in her L_2 acquisition. In Stage I the Pidgin strategy was very dominant. Evidence of this strategy was also noticed in Stage III Her use of Pidgin English in this stage could be viewed from two perspectives (a) as a learning strategy still in operation or (b) as regression. However, children using their mother tongue have regularly been observed to "regress" (i.e. backslide) to earlier (less complex) forms when addressing younger siblings or "playing up" to their parents. (See Corder, 1981). Second language interlanguage speakers have also shown similar regression or backsliding in their performance. So this is not peculiar to Mana alone. Her reliance on the strategy of language transfer was also very obvious in her L_2 acquisition. Examples of syntactic, lexical and phonological transfers found in her speech have been discussed earlier (See Section 4.3).

Overgeneralization of TL rules was also observed to have affected the surface forms of Mana's L_2 speech (See Section 4.4.1). These two learning strategies i.e.language transfer and overgeneralization appear to be two distinctly different linguistic manifestations of one psychological process: reliance on prior learning to facilitate new learning. Similar findings

were reported by Selinker et al (1975). Simplification was another learning strategy adopted by Mana. Substitutions of various forms as well as the various meanings attached to the auxilliary do, especially in Stage I, also seem to be specific strategies used by Mana to acquire nouns and verbs, for example.

In addition, the strategy of code-switching was used to complement her communication competence as was observed in Stages II and II. Language-mixing, (for example, Hausa and English) was found to be person specific and served the function of fulfilling certain communication demands. She also used the "creative construction" (Dulay and Burt, 1974) which is evidence of her ability to create sentences that do not conform to the standard form.

4.5.1 Natural Order in Mana's Use of L_2 Learning Strategies.

Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) noted that children use certain learning strategies in an attempt to develop the second language. Eight of these strategies which were identified in Mana's L_2 speech are presented and discussed in Table 4.15 (See Table 4.15 on the next page). Her L_2 learning strategies are similar to those used by these other L_2 acquirers. As pointed out above, there are other strategies used by her which are evident of the environment in

Table 4.15: Second Language Learning Strategies

Strategy	Example	
Answer in unison:		
response by providing the answer aloud together with others	Children in the class R arrives and asks: Whose seat is this? (pointing) The children including Mana reply	Nobody
Elaboration:		
providing information beyond that which is necessary to carry on the interaction	R (Telling a story about two children who lived in a little hut with their grandmother) Do you know what a hut is? Class responds 'Yes', R tries to explain further; 'It is a small house with a thatch roof'. Mana continues on this topic: M	And they put a small door/ and they put a small window
Monitoring:		
recognition and verbal corrections of one's own error in vocabulary, style, grammar, etc.	(M talking about people in the picture)	When they wash their plate, they are going to put it in a roba (plastic container)
	(On hearing this, R says: In a roba? Mhm? M quickly corrects herself	in a basket.
Repetition: Echo/ imitation of a word modelled by another, or incorporating a word or structure used previously in an utterance	R: (talking to M) What colour is Bingo? M replies	Green
	R: Green? No it's black.	Black
	(As soon as R corrects her, M repeats...) and continues saying	blackie blackie etc.

Strategy	Example	
Request for Classification:		
attempt to broaden understanding or knowledge by asking the speaker to explain or repeat a previous statements	R and M looking at pictures.	
	R points to the picture of mittens and M says	Socks
	R explains that they look like socks but they are called mittens.	
	R explains further that in cold countries they are worn on the hands and M asks	
	(still not clear with R's explanation)	When you're going to cook
	R says: When you're going out because it's very cold	
Appeal for assistance:		
Spontaneously asking another for the correct term or structure, or for help in solving a problem.	(M talking to R)	Auntie draw me a car.
	R: Please. (M repeats)	Please Auntie draw me a car
Role Play:		
Sponteneous practice of the target language in interaction with another by taking on the role of another and fantasy play.	(Children playing at cooking)	I de come now I de come./ na me di mumm na me di mumm
	Mana quickly announces as another child gets up and pretends to take some food	it's me di mummy (I'm coming.
		(I am mummy)



Strategy	Example	
	She had rebuked a child who tried to put more potatoes into the pot	No put it again... potato. Take it, take it. (Stage I)
Memorization: recall by rote of songs, rhymes or sequence of numbers or related concepts.	R: (to M) Do you know any other songs?	
	M rattles off automatically	Pussy cat, pussy cat, Where have you been?/ I'm guarding a boat./
	Realiz ing she hasn't said the rhyme properly she goes on with:	Pretty maid, pretty maid, what gave she you?/ (The Queen). She gave a big diamond as big as my shoes.

Below are the four strategies in the Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) study not used in this research

Strategy	Example
Formulaic expression: words or phrases which function as unanalysed automatic speech units for the speaker, often serving the function of initiating or continuing a conversation and giving the impression of command of the target language.	When Lupe, placing the last piece in her puzzle, exclaims, 'Yo gane' (I won), Miguel protests, 'No, no dije "ready let's go"' (no, I didn't say "ready let's go").
Verbal attention getter: any means by which the speaker attracts the attention of another to him/herself so as to initiate interaction	The teacher is discussing with the class the subject of bee stings, and reminding them of a bee sting incident of the previous year. Marcela pipes up, 'It was me' to focus the teacher's attention on her, and the teacher asks 'You?'. Marcela, having succeeded, continues, 'It got real red.'
Talk to self: Practice in target language by engaging in verbal behavior directed to him/herself	Enrique, solving his math problems, counts on his fingers, saying to himself, 'Five take away two', then 'One, two, three, four', as he counts the remaining four problems.
Anticipatory answer; Guessing from context to provide a response for an anticipated question, or prematurely fill in a word or phrase in another's statement	The teacher, holding flashcards, begins, 'When you put "st" in front —'. Maria interjects, 'stop', interrupting the teacher before she finishes. The teacher continues her sentence, '— of it — stop' and writes the work on the board.

which she acquired English. For example, the use of Pidgin English, Code-switching and Language mixing; tags such as ko and ba are all typical characteristics of the multi-lingual setting in which she acquired the L_2. Similarly, her use of lexical items from both Bassa-Nge and Hausa further confirms this.

4.6 Overall Results

The aim of this study was to investigate the truth value of the interlanguage hypothesis to a Nigerian child acquiring English in a multilingual context. More specifically it was concerned with finding out the nature and the sequence of the child's L_2 learning processes, as well as the complex psychological process that underlie her utterances. We also wanted to examine the role played by the different languages previously known to her and to see if there was any difference between the subject's IL and those of other L_2 acquirers which may be different due to environmental differences.

The overall interlanguage analysis showed that Mana passed through three stages of development, i.e. the Pidgin English Stage, the Early Standard English Stage and the Late Standard English Stage.

At each stage, Mana's pattern of speech and narration, especially in story telling often revealed the structure that was being acquired.

Stage I was characterized by the use of Pidgin English forms in which the progressive form -ing. The plural form dem (they) and the possessive marker 's were acquired. In addition, she used substitutions of various types, and baby talk which is typical of children acquiring English in the Nigerian setting. (See section 4.1).

By Stage II, Pidgin English had diminished and forms closer to Standard English appeared, though they still had flaws. Mana's sentence patterns revealed the omission of articles, objects, prepositions, and verbal and noun inflections. There were also misorderings, additions and misformations of different types. Adverbs such as yesterday and tomorrow were used by Mana to describe events that happened a long time ago. The tense category of IL also revealed that her greatest difficulty was with the acquisition of the {-s} on verbs in the third person singular (which was never acquired). The {-D} past tense morpheme as well as the use of the auxilliary didn't and doesn't.

Evidence of influence from the L_1 and other indigenous languages which was first observed in

Stage II, intensified by Stage III as her L_2 development progressed. There were lexical, syntactic and phonological transfers from Pidgin, Bassa-Nge and Hausa. Code-switching and language mixing was also prominent at this stage. In addition, there were other aspects which were not due to syntactic interference. These included overgeneralization, simplification, communication demands and imperfect mastery of the target language. It was also noticed that Pidgin English featured in Stage III even though they were supposed to have faded away in Stage II.

As in adult L_2 learning, the strategies of overgeneralization of TL rules, simplification and language transfer were major strategies adopted by subjects in the Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) study. In conclusion, evidence of certain linguistic items remaining in Mana's speech while others faded away, as in the Selinker et al, (1975) study was also found in this research. (See Section 4.1)

4.7 Discussion of Findings

1. One major finding in this study is that Mana's sequence of L_2 acquisition process exhibited influence from the L_1 and other languages previously known to her. This is contrary to Dulay et al (1982)

claims that L_1 interference is minimal in child second language acquisition. Findings in this study show that the extent of transfer is not as small as 4% - 23% as earlier claimed by Dulay et al. (1982), but 57.5%.

2. Mana's L_2 acquisition sequence also corroborates findings in Brown's (1973) longitudinal study, Kessler and Idar (1977), Burt and Dulay (1973, 1974a, 1975) results that child second language acquisition order is identical to that of the first language child, and that certain morphemes, such as {-ing} and plural tend to be acquired relatively early, while others, such as the third person singular {'s} on verbs in the present tense and the {-D} and the possessives, are acquired later. However, Mana's acquisition of the possessives in Stage I is significant. This could be because she was older than children in the studies referred to. Unlike the two year olds, Mana was 3:11.

3. The results in this study also substantiate those in Ndahi (1982), Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) and Taylor (1975) that the strategies of overgeneralization, simplification and language transfer are major strategies used by L_2 acquirers.

4. This study has also demonstrated that a child's previous language experiences could positively enhance the process of L_2 acquisition. This does not neglect the fact that it could also be negative; as was the case occasionally with Mana. The other languages, i.e. Bassa-Nge and Hausa, were also facilitative.

5. The omission of the article in Mana's utterances also confirmed the 'creative construction' hypothesis although articles are not compulsory or obligatory from the African point of view.

Chapter 5

TEACHING IMPLICATIONS

Having investigated Mana's IL in L_2 acquisition, it is necessary to sum up, assess the the contributions made to the field of applied linguistics and ESL teaching in Nigeria and offer suggestions. This is the concern of this chapter.

Mana is a typical representation of a pre-primary urban child growing up in an educated/elite environment (Durojaiye, 1980). In such an urban educated environment, there is a lot of academic and challenging stimulus particularly in the area of English. These factors, therefore, facilitate quicker and better mastery of English. It is obvious that these are the advantages which the rural child does not enjoy with regard to English, In the framework of IL, her L_2 learning has proved to be an effective tool for planning and grading teaching materials especially at the pre-primary or nusery school level .

The findings in this study have shown that some grammatical morphemes are acquired earlier than others. For example, the {-ing}, the possessive

marker 's as well as the regular plural were acquired earlier, while the third person singular {-s} on verbs in the present tense was acquired late. In addition, the simple future tense was acquired early while there was hardly any evidence that the {-D} past tense morpheme was ever acquired by the child.

This sequence or order of L_2 acquisition has implication for L_2 teaching in the pre-primary and and primary schools. In the lower classes grammatical structures requiring the use of the {-ing} and the plural S on nouns should be introduced to the pupils earlier in the programme, while the possessive marker 's, personal pronouns, as well as the third person singular (as in takes) {-s} on verbs should be taught later in the course. All sentence structures of this pattern should be introduced orally before the beginning of any reading or writing.

In principle, therefore, we should teach easy points first and leave the more difficult features of the language until later on. The omission of the past tense marker {-D} which featured prominently in Stages I and II should also serve as a reminder to the ESL teacher that this morpheme should not be

introduced early. There is the need to consolidate on the present continuous tense before introducing the simple past tense. For example, all the vocabulary involving the use of the continuous tense should be used in sentence types such as: "I am touching your shirt", etc. The children should be accustomed to working in groups and pairs, asking and answering simple questions. Later, the simple past (with actions) could be introduced.

For example:

Teacher says: What did I do? (walking to the door)

Pupils respond: You walked to the door/window, etc.

Adverbs such as Yesterday, today, etc. could be added to give opportunity for more practice.

For example:

He is playing football today

He played football yesterday

The teacher should keep to regular verbs so as not to confuse the pupils. For more younger children the simple present should be introduced later in the course and carried on to the beginning of the next class. The possessive (e.g. mine, yours, his, etc.) should be introduced almost immediately since this may not pose much problem to the children. Dialogues could be used; children could provide answers to simple questions such as:

Teacher: Whose bag is that? (Pointing to bag)

Pupil: It's mine (yours, his, hers) etc.

Based on their progress, the simple future tense could be taught earlier in the term of the language course. Teacher should also provide opportunity for practice, e.g.

He will draw a house tomorrow/next week.

She will sell her cow tomorrow/next week.

Also simple future interrogative and negative forms could be included. The irregular past can then be taught based on their previous knowledge of the simple past tense. Teacher can also use questions and answers. For example:

What did you do yesterday?

What did we do yesterday

Answers should follow the sequence earlier introduced in the simple past tense:

We opened the door

We went to our desks

We drew a picture, etc.

Many pupils find it difficult to learn how to use a and the properly in English. The reason is that we find it difficult to explain the difference between the two articles except by presenting lists of examples which illustrate various usages. We would

probably find it difficult to sum up the difference between a and the in the rule that the pupil can easily apply. Since the article is not noticeable in most Nigerian languages, (e.g. Hausa, Bassa-Nge), it may seem normal to the pupils to consistently omit it in their sentences. Moreover, L_2 research has shown that all article errors are counted as being due to "creative construction" i.e. it is something that derives from the universal strategies of L_2 acquisition. Therefore, the ESL teacher does not need to get discouraged if this piece of grammatical item is not acquired immediately by the pupils.

Like the subject in this study, most children may not be able to use the third person singular {-s} on verbs in the present tense until later. This may also be the case with the use of the article. The amount of time devoted to this will vary according to the amount of English the children have picked up before entering school. Adverbs such as yesterday and tomorrow should also be introduced in conversational situations so as to make the context clear to the pupils.

The multilingual nature of the pupils should also be acknowledged since the Nigerian child's acquisition of English is usually achieved in such a setting. The different language groups in the

class should also not be neglected as this will enable the teacher plan remedial lessons to meet the needs of each of the groups represented. Since transfers from the L_1 and other Nigerian languages which may not be noticed in speech often manifest themselves in written compositions, comprehension exercises and so on, the teacher should be tactful in identifying them and use them to the child's advantage.

Furthermore, the ESL teacher should be aware of the fact that the child's previous language experiences can have a positive or negative influence on her L_2 learning. For example, a child who started with Pidgin English may have to base her first lexical items on Pidgin English. Accordingly, vocabulary teaching, for example should be facilitated through a positive transfer of this nature. The teacher should drill her to know the difference between Pidgin English forms and Standard English forms.

The L_2 learner's IL often reveals her effort to communicate in the L_2 by using lexical and syntactic transfers as well as substitutions of various types. It is the duty of the teacher, therefore, to discover what the child's learning strategies are. As with Pidgin, syntactic and lexical transfers from the L_1 and other indigenous languages should be used in drills

and meaningful practice so that the child would not be confused in the use of such structures.

The ability to analyze and become aware of the way linguistic concepts are signalled in their different languages is the task of the ESL teacher, if he is to utilize those concepts in his teaching. As the pupils learn the target language, the teacher should take note of their development at each level of instruction and plan his methods and materials accordingly. Knowledge of the sequence of acquisition through which Mana passed and which several other researchers have shown to be universal should help the teachers in grading and planning teaching materials as well as in making realistic demands on pupils.

In addition, this study has demonstrated that L_2 learners errors and non-errors are very significant in themselves and have a part to play in the L_2 acquisition process. Like the first language learner, the second language learner passes through a period of incorrect usage or incomplete control of a pattern prior to the total mastery of the structure. The teacher should therefore be more tolerant of the pupils' mistakes. As a teacher of young children, he should see the teaching of ESL as just an act of communication rather than teaching structures and

should make abundant provision for real life interpersonal communication between himself and children as well as among children. Over correction is dangerous and may inhibit the teacher (Chastain, 1976). We must attempt to teach only what their interlanguage systems permit them to learn at any particular moment.

More importantly is a shift of emphasis in teaching away from a pre-occupation with the grammar of the target language. Instead of grading the linguistic material that we expose the child to, we should consider grading the communication demands we make on him thereby gently leading him to elaborate his approximative system.

Finally, the results of the investigation suggest that learning experiences related to language might be organized systematically to allow children employ language learning strategies in a natural manner (Chesterfield and Chesterfield, 1984). Many existing language teaching methods are already structured to emphasize the more elementary strategies of repetition and memorization but they may be neglecting strategies which can be used by more proficient learners or which encourage greater interaction. Problem-solving exercises, relevant to the child's world,

eliciting the use of specific strategies, might be created and practised with the children to develop their strategic competence. In developing such an approach, however, an accurate appraisal of the L_2 proficiency of learners might be a primary consideration.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY, AREA OF FURTHER RESEARCH AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

In the foregoing chapters, the author has applied the interlanguage hypothesis of transcribed child language data. Basically, the following research questions were posed for the study:

1. Does a Nigerian child's language learning follow any sequence or built-in syllabus of *the language acquisition order regardless of* her L_1 and other languages previously learnt?
2. What specific roles are played by each of a child's previously acquired languages in the acquisition of English?
3. Does a Nigerian child's L_2 learning conform with the CA hypothesis? To what extent does her learning of a second language provide evidence of a transfer or interference from the L_1 and other previous language experiences?
4. What strategies does the Nigerian child adopt in the acquisition of a second language?

The study examined the subject's interlanguage across the three stages of language development, viz: The Pidgin

English Stage (Stage I), the Early Standard English Stage (Stage II), and the Late Standard English Stage (Stage III) The following research procedures were used to analyze the data collected: Mana's interlanguage were analyzed using the linguistic category taxonomy, adopted from Politzer and Ramirez (1973) taxonomy for morphology and syntax. From the overall analysis in Chapter four, the following observations were made: Mana's sequence of L_2 acquisition revealed certain aspects which are universal to other learner's irrespective of her previously acquired languages. For example, like other L_2 acquirer's Mana acquired the {-ing} morpheme, the plural form and the possessive marker's in Stage I. She also used the simple future tense which was later consolidated in Stage II. In State II which was the beginning of Early Standard English, Mana used substitutions of various types in order to facilitate communicative competence in the target language. Evidence of progess made from Stage I to III was quite obvious as her sentences became longer and more complex with occasional throw back at Pidgin. The following specific roles were played by the child's previously acquired languages: Pidgin English was quite facilitative in her L_2 acquisition. Her initial lexical items were in Pidgin English and these formed the base for sebsequent increase in Standard English vocabulary as she progressed from one Stage of language development

to the other. Plurality for example was first acquired in the Pidgin form dem (they). Similarly, Hausa and Bassa-Nge facilitated syntactic; lexical and semantic development. As in the case of Pidgin, Mana successfully borrowed from Hausa names, expressions for objects and actions. Rather than exhibit communication break down, the child often used Hausa words for objects or actions she did not know its equivalent in English. This Study recorded twelve instances of code-switching in Hausa which further stresses the role of this language in Mana's background.

Bassa-Nge was not left in the background. Since L_1 acquirers often fell back on their L_1 especially at certain stages of their L_2 acquisition, Mana fell back on Bassa-Nge for more effective communication. Lexical items such as rogo (cassava) rake (sugar) were found in her utterances. Evidence of Language transfer was more in Stage III i.e. The Late Standard English Stage. Mana produced sentences with structures similar to the L_1 and other indigenous languages.

Unlike earlier studies by Dulay et al (1982) which quoted interference from the L_1 to be as minimal as 4% - 23%, syntactic transfer found in this study was as high as 57.5%. With regard to the strategies adopted by Nigerian child acquiring English as L_2, it was found that certain learning strategies were typical of the African context in which the child acquired Standard English. Some specific strategies adopted by the child include

over-generalization and the "creative construction" (Dulay and Burt 1974) which is evidence of her ability to create some very unique sentences. She also used eight of the twelve learning strategies adopted by subjects in the Chesterfield and Chesterfield (1984) study.

Based on these findings, the following teaching implications were recommended: We should teach easy points first and leave more complex features of the language until later on. The multilingual nature of the pupils should also be acknowledged since the Nigerian child's acquisition of English is usually achieved in such a setting. The different language groups in the class should also not be neglected as this will enable the teacher plan remedial lessons to meet the needs of each of the groups represented. Furthermore, the ESL teacher should be aware of the fact that the pupils previous language experiences can have a positive or negative influence on their L_2 learning. In this study Pidgin English was seen to be facilitative and accordingly, vocabulary teaching, for example should be facilitated through a positive transfer of this nature.

Finally, the teachers own attitude to English is quite important. The child's errors should not be looked upon as a weakness in the acquisition of the L_2. If we expect much from the children, they will tend to produce it, literally rise to the occasion as long as we do not make impossible demands.

Finally, the results of this study point to the need to systematically organize learning experiences related to language in order to allow children employ language learning strategies in a natural manner.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

This study is not without its limitations. Firstly, the emphasis throughout has been on the subject's corpus of utterance. Thus, the IL analysis undertaken in this study is based on the speech forms which resulted from her attempted expression in English. This decision was deliberate not only from the point of view of the initial postulation of IL (Selinker, 1972), but also because data can only be elicited from this child through speech. Moreover, written corpora have so far been limited to adult IL studies. Nevertheless, this study can be extended to adult L_2 learning in the Nigerian context.

Secondly, the deduction of 57.5% of Mana's IL as evidence of syntactic transfer in the three stages of her L_2 acquisition is purely on the basis of the evidence supplied by the IL analysis undertaken in this study. Sometimes there is no clear cut borderline between interlingual transfer and interlingual transfer. For example, the incorrect expression.

* She have two purse.

could be explained as interference from Hausa where, pluralization of certain nouns is not obligatory and making them so may sound pedantic. For example, Gida bokwai (House seven) instead of Gidaje bokwai (Houses seven, i.e. seven houses), or could be explained as imperfect mastery of the subject-verb-object agreement or inability to use the plural s on countable nouns. As other times it could be a combination of various factors such as interlingual transfer, intralingual transfer, overgeneralization, oversimplification that led to such utterances by the child. While these results are about the most objective way of distinguishing between various aspects of Mana's IL, the evidence obtained from this IL analysis may not completely account for all the complex processes at work which underlie such utterances.

Thirdly, Standard English as used in this study is limited to the Ndahi (1982) study. However, it is necessary to point out that even in Stage III, and up to the end of the study, Mana's Standard English sentences still had flaws (especially with here tense not yet completely mastered) when compared with BSE (British Standard English) or the native speakers production.

6.3 Areas of Further Research

1. Mana's L_2 acquisition revealed a universal order of L_2 acquisition irrespective of her previous language experiences. It showed that the {-ing} the plural and the possessive marker 's were acquired relatively earlier, while the third person singular {-s} on verbs in the present tense was never acquired. Will this sequence be the same for other three to five year olds acquiring English in this context?

2. Also her use of substitutions of various types, baby talk, etc. were attributed to the enrironment in which she acquired Standard English. It will be worthwhile to find out if other children acquiring English as L_2 used these same processes as Mana.

3. The present study was conducted in an urban setting. Would Mana's interlanguage vary from that of a child of the same age acquiring English in a rural setting?

4. Does Pidgin English remain in their system after they may have acquired Standard English as it was found in Mana's Stage III?

6.4 Conclusion

In this study the author has objectively tested the validity of the IL hypothesis in a multilingual, multi-cultural setting and come to the conclusion that a Nigerian child's L_2 learning, irrespective of her background went through a similar sequence or order of acquisition as other L_2 acquirers. She also used similar strategies in reaching the TL. Furthermore, her interlanguage was seen to be a unique system, structurally distinguished from the L_1 and the target language.

Teachers do not take the child's L_2 learning sequence into account. The trend has been to neglect the child's age and rather focus on the product of her L_2 learning. Moreover data from IL studies have been neglected in the planning of ESL teaching materials. But this study has taken a different turn to emphasize aspects which EA and CA had ignored.

Our primary contribution has been to examine the L_2 learning process of a pre-primary Nigerian child. Findings so far have revealed that the L_2 learner is not a generator of malformed language, but rather has a unique language which is systematic in itself. The ESL teacher should therefore see the role of the IL in planning and grading teaching materials.

He should also know the learning strategies used by the child as well as the other complex factors that may underlie the language acquisition process. The results in this study have proved that there are interlanguage stages as shown in Mana's Stages I to III. Each stage showed a superiority over the other as she progressed to Standard English. Therefore, with respect to a Nigerian child acquiring English as a second language in a multilingual, multi-cultural setting, we do have an idea that justifies that the inter-language hypothesis does hold.

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