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The Use of English Tense and Aspect in the Written English of Krio-Speaking Learners of English

Newtona A. Olayinka Johnson

A Thesis

in

The Centre

for

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ABSTRACT

The Use of English Tense and Aspect
in the Written English of
Krio-Speaking Learners of English

Newtona A. Olayinka Johnson

This study examines tense and aspect in the English narrative compositions written by one hundred primary and secondary school students in Freetown, Sierra Leone. The students' native language is Krio. The purpose of this study was to describe the learners' use of the tense/aspect system of English verbs and to investigate the influence of their first language, Krio, on this system.

The compositions were analyzed in terms of the following: (a) the well-formedness of verbs; (b) the appropriateness of grammatical functions the learners ascribed to the English verb forms; (c) the appropriateness of tense sequencing within the sentence; (d) and the source of learners' errors. The analysis revealed that, in general, the learners produced correct English verb forms, but it also showed three major types of errors: the use of the Ø morpheme in place of the -ed, past irregular and -s morphemes; the substitution of present tense forms for past tense forms; and the tendency to use tense forms marked for progressive or perfective aspect in contexts where the simple tense was required. The majority of these learners' errors appear to be attributable to the combined influence of English and Krio verb systems.

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Introduction

Statement of Purpose and Problem

The purpose of the present study was to examine the production of English tense and aspect by Krio-speaking learners of English, and to investigate the possible influence of Krio in these learners' production.

The investigation addresses a significant problem observed in Krio-speaking ESL (English as a second language) learners' performance in English. Both teachers and educational authorities in Sierra Leone have observed that students have difficulty expressing themselves in English after seven or more years of being taught English and receiving instruction in all school subjects through English. Their difficulties lead to low proficiency in the language which in turn leads to poor performance on public examinations in English and other subjects (see Hayes, 1983).

One area in which these learners' difficulties are highly visible is in their use of the English verb. Teachers have, for a long time, observed that their students have problems with features such as inflections, auxiliaries, modals, and choice of tense. They have often attributed these problems to Krio. The primary aims of this study are to pinpoint the major types of errors these learners make in using English tense and aspect and to determine whether or not Krio has an influence on these learners' production as is often claimed by teachers. It is

hoped that the information which this study yields will give teachers, education planners and policy makers a clear indication of the specific types of errors Krio-speaking ESL learners make when using this English system, and the psycholinguistic processes which give rise to these errors.

Principal Rationale

In order to highlight the significance of this study in the field of second language acquisition and teaching, it is essential to briefly outline the principal rationale for its undertaking.

One motivation for undertaking this study concerns the perception of the relationship between Krio and English on the teaching of English to Krio-speaking children. A feature which makes this study different from most descriptive studies on ESL learners' production is that the relationship between the first language (L1) and the second language (L2) to be acquired is rather unique, in that in acquiring English, the standard language, speakers of Krio, like those of other English-based creoles, are acquiring a language that is very similar to theirs in many respects yet differs in significant ways from their language.[1] The close relationship between creole languages and their related standard has given rise to many misconceptions about the nature and origin of creoles, which have influenced the way English is taught to creole-speaking children.

One such misconception is the view that creoles are deviant dialects of their respective standard and possess minimum or no grammar (see de Camp, 1971). Linguists such as Bloomfield (1933) and Hall (1966) express the view that European speakers of standard languages systematically simplified and distorted their language to communicate with non-Europeans. Thus creoles were the outcome of 'baby talk' or 'foreigner talk' and were therefore regarded by many as inferior means of communication, incapable of expressing certain linguistic and intellectual operations (see Edwards, 1979 and Winer, 1982). Edwards (1979) points to some of the views of creoles which such misconceptions have given rise to when he quotes some comments from a report of a work group on West Indian pupils of the Birmingham branch of the Association of Teachers of English to Pupils from Overseas (1970). According to Edwards, some contributors described the language of West Indian children as "...'babyish', 'careless and slovenly', 'lacking proper grammar' and even 'very relaxed like the way they walk'. There is...a 'poverty of correct expression' and they communicate 'by sign language'" (p. 42). Hymes (1971) sums up the attitude behind such views in the following words:

> The languages called pidgins and creoles have long been a stepchild, so far as serious attention, either public or scientific is concerned.
>
> Much of the interest and information, scholarly as well as public, has been prejudicial. These languages have been considered, not creative adaptations, but degenerations; not systems in their own rights, but deviations from other systems. Their origins have been explained, not

> by historical and social forces, but by inherent ignorance, indolence and inferiority. Not the least of the crimes of colonialism has been to persuade the colonialized that they, or ways in which they differ, are inferior -- to convince the stigmatized that the stigma is deserved (p. 3).

The attitude of creole speakers towards their language is succinctly conveyed in the last sentence of the above quotation. Creole speakers, for the most part, like the outsider, have a negative attitude towards their language. They have come to accept the view that their language is an inferior form of the standard. This attitude, as Craig (1978, 1980) notes, is reflected in the traditional educational policies of many countries where a creole language is widely spoken, which is to completely ignore the creole language in school and to teach the standard language as if it were a native or first language. Craig (1978) suggests that the attitude of educational authories towards creoles is partly due to the fact that creoles and their respective standards share a common vocabulary base. He goes on to say that:

> ...because of the common vocabulary base of creole and standard, it was easy for educational planners...to feel that creole was merely a debased form of the standard language and that this debasement could be corrected by a substantial exercise of carefulness on the part of the creole speakers. The common vocabulary made it appear that the basilectal or mesolectal speaker was merely being careless about a grammatical inflection or a grammatical particle or other element here and there, but that the speaker was operating essentially the same linguistic system as the Standard English speaker (p. 406).

In Sierra Leone, where Krio, an English-based creole, is the lingua franca, no official role is accorded Krio in the educational system (Hayes, 1983). The language is treated by educational planners, policy makers and teachers with disdain, and English is taught as if it were the first language of the students. As noted earlier, students in Sierra Leone have significant problems in using English, and this makes their proficiency in the language lower than is desired. Educational authorities have tried to remedy this situation by setting up educational projects such as the KELT Project (Key English Language Teaching) in conjunction with the British Council, and one in conjunction with the International Development Agency (IDA). These projects focus primarily on teacher training, curriculum development and material production (see Hayes, 1983).

It is my view that in order to revitalize English language teaching in Sierra Leone and to improve the standard of English in the schools, there must be a change of approach to teaching English in Sierra Leone. There has to be a movement away from an approach of teaching English as if it were the native language of children in Sierra Leone to an approach more akin to the teaching of English as a second language. This movement will entail the recognition among educators and the community in general that Krio is a separate linguistic entity, though with close ties to English, and that the problems encountered by Krio speakers or Krio-influenced speakers in learning English are not due to the influence of a debased inferior form on the

acquisition of the standard, but rather are problems which any learner acquiring a new language system will face. Accepting such views after deep-rooted conditioning to the contrary is by no means an easy task for educators and the community in general. By providing concrete evidence that the problems Krio-speaking learners of English encounter in learning English are problems which reflect the processes which underlie second language acquisition and use, it is hoped that the present study will help in sensitizing educators to the true nature of the problems Krio-speaking learners of English face in acquiring the standard -- English.

Another major impetus for undertaking this study pertains to the creole/standard language acquisition setting examined. This acquisition setting, which has been the focus of little investigation of error analysis (see Winer, 1982), is a new and fascinating area in which to explore a controversial issue in the field of second language acquisition -- viz., the role of the mother tongue in second language (L2) acquisition. Researchers such as Gass and Selinker (1983) have pointed out that there is a renewed acceptance in recent years of the view that first language transfer -- i.e., the process of utilizing first language knowledge in the acquisition of a target language -- is a central process in L2 acquisition. They argue that this view is not incompatible with the view that L2 acquisition is a language developmental process in which the learner utilizes his linguistic and cognitive faculties to acquire the L2

from the L2 data to which he/she is exposed. Despite this awareness, the issue of the importance of first language influence in second language acquisition is still subject to vigorous debate (see, for example, Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982; Kellerman, 1985; Mazurkewich, 1984 & 1985; Sheen, 1980; and White, 1983). The description of the production of Krio-speaking learners of English will be the basis for an investigation into the respective roles of (a) the mother tongue, and (b) language developmental process in the acquisition of English in a creole/standard language acquisition setting. It is hoped that the study will also indicate the nature of L1 influence in this acquisition setting.

What follows in this chapter is an outline of the Krio language in which the origin and historical development of Krio and some basic syntactic distinctions between Krio and English are brought out. This section also includes explanations that can be given for the distance between Krio and English.

The Krio Language

Krio is the native language of the Creoles of Sierra Leone. This group, for the most part, is made up of descendants of persons displaced by the Atlantic Slave Trade who settled in the Freetown Peninsula between 1787 and 1815 (see Foray, 1977).

The Freetown Peninsula, the nucleus of the Creoles and Krio, consists of Freetown, the capital city and major seaport of Sierra Leone, and the countryside immediately surrounding it. This area makes up less than 1.0% of the total area of Sierra Leone which is 27,699 sq. miles (71,740 sq. kilometres).

The Creole community is one of fifteen distinct ethnic groups of Sierra Leone and also one of the smallest. It accounts for no more than 2% of the total population of Sierra Leone. The two largest groups, the Mende and Temne groups, form approximately 30.9% and 29.8% of the population respectively. (See Figure 1/1.)[2]

Despite their relatively small number, the Creoles, in the mid-nineteenth century, developed into a prosperous community of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, businessmen and clergymen. This prosperity enabled them to play a leading role in virtually all spheres of life in Sierra Leone. It also led to the widespread use of Krio throughout the country which gave rise to the present position of Krio as the nation's lingua franca.

Figure 1/1. Major language groups in Sierra Leone.

Origin and Historical Development

One cannot discuss the origin and historical development of Krio without mention of "pidgin," for Krio, like most creole languages, evolved out of a pidgin language. Pidgins have been aptly described as "contact vernaculars" (de Camp, 1971) and "emergency languages" (Taylor, 1956) for they emerge when people who do not speak one another's native language, and have no language in common, try to communicate with each other.

Several important characteristics have been ascribed to pidgin languages. One characteristic is that they have reduced grammar and limited vocabulary systems. Another is that they are not the native language of any of the people who speak them. A third characteristic of pidgin languages is that the core of their vocabulary is provided by a base language, the "superstratum," which is usually the language of the political, economic or socially dominant group. The language of the dominated group, the "substratum," provides or influences the grammatical and phonological systems of the pidgin (see Hall, 1966).

A generally accepted view of creole formation is that a creole language develops when a pidgin language extends in time, is well established, and becomes the first language of a speech community (Andersen, 1983; De Camp, 1971; Hall, 1966; Hancock, 1971; Hymes, 1971). Through this process of creolization, or nativization as the process is sometimes called, a pidgin blooms into a fully developed language with elaborate linguistic systems capable, like any natural

language, of expressing the whole range of communicative needs of a speech community. Andersen (1983) describes creolization as follows:

> CREOLIZATION is equivalent to pidginization [i.e. language acquisition under conditions of restricted input] plus the creation of form-meaning relationships which serve the creator's (learner's) communicative and expressive needs, but which cannot be explained as having been "acquired" from the input. The forms themselves come from the input, but the meanings they convey are provided by the learner and are not those they have in the input. Creolization in this sense is traditionally restricted to the creation of a new autonomous linguistic norm -- a creole -- by the children of (pre-)pidgin speakers (p.9).

The theory of simplification (pidgin) to expansion (creole) is questioned by scholars such as Allyne (1980) who believe that there is no clear evidence that modern Caribbean creoles, a group in which he includes Krio, represent "expansions" of some earlier "pidgins". In his view,

> ...creole languages should be seen within the framework of language and cultural change arising out of cultural contact (including language contact and bilingualism), rather than in terms of notions such as pidginization and creolization. This framework seems to be more powerful in the sense that it allows the parallel treatment of language forms and other cultural phenomena, and it avoids the treatment of Africanisms as "survivals" or "borrowings" (p.16).

Another issue which gives rise to much disagreement among scholars of creole languages is the origin of European-based pidgins and creoles, a group to which Krio belongs. Two theoretical positions are held on this issue. There are proponents of theories of monogenesis who maintain

that all European-based pidgins and creoles evolved from a common ancestor. Whinnom (1965), for example, holds that the ancestor is a Portuguese-derived pidgin, called Sabir, a trade language which was used on the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Other advocates of theories of monogenesis include Hancock (1969, 1980), Goodman (1964) and Taylor (1956). On the other hand, there are proponents of theories of polygenesis, such as Allyne (1980), Hall (1966) and Turner (1947), who argue that each pidgin or creole evolved and developed separately. Proponents of polygenesis believe that the similarities between pidgins and creoles are due to similar influencing factors such as African languages (Bailey, 1966) and language universals (Bickerton, 1974).

Hancock (1969, 1971, 1980) argues that Krio developed from an English-based pidgin, the Guinea Coast creole English which developed on part of the west coast of Africa. According to Hancock, this pidgin superseded a Portuguese-based pidgin in the area and spread throughout the New World with the dispersal of slaves. Although Hancock admits that varieties of Caribbean creoles influenced Krio, he maintains that "...the origin of Sierra Leone Krio goes back perhaps two centuries beyond the date generally given for its origin, that is c. 1800" (1971, p. 116).

There are scholars who reject or doubt Hancock's hypothesis (Allyne, 1971; Cassidy, 1980; Roy, 1977). Roy, like many others, argues that Krio is the descendant of

various lects of Caribbean and other creoles spoken in the New World. These lects, in his view, were taken to Sierra Leone by freed slaves who were themselves native speakers of creoles.

It is debatable whether Krio began on the coast of West Africa or in the New World. However, it is clear that the Krio spoken in Sierra Leone at the present time came into being with the establishment of a settlement of freed slaves in Freetown, Sierra Leone, in 1787. In that year a group of former slaves from the New World, who had settled in Britain for some years, returned to Africa and founded Freetown. They were joined by freed slaves from Nova Scotia in 1792 and the Maroons, a group of rebellious slaves who had escaped to the highlands of Jamaica, in 1800. These groups, speaking different varieties of English or English-based creoles, formed the first Creole community in Sierra Leone (cf. Hancock, 1985). Before long, with the abolition of the Slave Trade by the British in 1807, the linguistic situation in Freetown became further complicated by the arrival of Africans caught at sea by the British as they were being smuggled to America to become slaves. These people, Liberated Africans as they came to be known, mainly spoke only African languages (predominantly Yoruba which was the native language of a large number of Liberated Africans). As the numbers of Liberated Africans increased, and as they assimilated into the community of early settlers, the Krio language became increasingly Africanized in the sense that more African

linguistic elements, especially from the Yoruba language, permeated Krio.

By the 1850s the Creole community was firmly established in Sierra Leone and so too was Krio. But despite the Africanization of the Krio language, Krio retained its borrowings from English and even continued to borrow from English which was still dominant in Sierra Leone as it was the language of the colonialists.

The influence of early Portuguese presence in West Africa is also apparent in Krio (see Hancock, 1980; Jones, 1971). However, unlike most other Atlantic English-based creoles, Krio remains distinctly African. Its structure and, to an even greater extent, its sound system, exhibit its West African heritage and tie it to the Kwa language group, a group to which Yoruba belongs.[3]

Today, although the Creoles form a minority group in Sierra Leone, their language, like many other aspects of creole life, continues to be dominant in the country. As the nation's <u>lingua franca</u>, Krio is the most widely spoken language in Sierra Leone. Although English is the official language of the country, Krio is used more often than English in places such as government offices and business centres, especially in the urban areas. Even though its use is forbidden in school settings, Krio is frequently heard in school playgrounds. The written form of Krio has restricted use, however. It is generally used

for literary purposes and for conveying ideas, expressions, and proverbs which Krio speakers feel the English language cannot succinctly convey.

The importance of the English language in Sierra Leone should not be underestimated, however. As the sole official language and as the medium of instruction in educational institutions, English occupies an important and prestigious position. One consequence of this is that its influence on Krio continues to be significant, especially on the lexical and phonological levels. From observation, English words seem to be replacing some non-English words previously used. For example: English "eat" seems to have replaced "nyanyam" to denote food. On the phonological level, many early borrowings from English which had undergone syllabic structure modification seem to be regaining their original English syllabic structure. The initial /s/ consonant in the /CCV/ structure for instance, was originally dropped from many earlier English borrowings. Many of these words seem to be regaining the /s/. "stone," "story" and "spoon" for example, which were earlier rendered as /ton/, /tori/ and /pun/ respectively have now become /ston/, /stori/ and /spun/.[4] The common vocabulary base of Krio and English, coupled with the existence of several similar linguistic features between the two languages such as the S V O word order in statements, have tended to detract attention from the differences between the syntactic systems of the two

languages. Allyne (1980), discussing "Afro-American" (creole) dialects, a group in which he includes Krio, notes that:

> ...syntax in its earliest form cannot be derived from English in any very simple way. Even if some important grammatical morphemes are of English origin in terms of form, as well as function, there are others which are not so derived,...and even more significantly, the more abstract syntactic relations generally seem to have no English antecedents (p.105).

A little later he adds:

> [The] unity [between the Kwa and Mande language groups] is best expressed as a basic similarity in the abstract system of syntactic relationships and as the sharing of some basic phonemes and phonetic contrasts....
>
> When one compares the basic syntactic structure of the Niger-Congo languages with that of Afro-American languages and dialects, the larger unity encompassing both groups of languages is clearly revealed at this level. This basic syntactic structure of Niger-Congo languages has been transmitted to Afro-American dialects...(p.147).

Syntactic Differences between Krio and English

As noted above, both Krio and English make use of S V O word order in declarative sentences. However, Krio and English diverge in forming questions. In English, question formation usually involves a change of the S V O order of declarative sentences. In forming yes/no questions, the auxiliary verb precedes the subject[5] (see examples below). In the formation of information questions the wh-word is placed in sentence-initial position and there is inversion of subject and auxiliary. Compare the following.[6]

English	Krio
Statement	
he is here	i de nà jà [he is in here]
they are writing a song	dɛm de rɑ̀it sing [they (prog. aspt.) write sing]
Question	
is he here?	i de nà jà?
where is he?	usɑ̀i i de? [where he is?]
are they writing a song?	dɛm de rɑ̀it sing?
what are they writing?	watin dɛm de rɑ̀it? [what they (prog. aspt.) write?]

In Krio, as the above examples show, formation of yes/no questions involves no change of the declarative sentence pattern. The distinction between statement and question is solely one of intonation. While falling intonation is used to indicate statement, yes/no questions are indicated by rising intonation pattern. The examples also illustrate that in Krio, wh-questions are formed by placing the interrogative word in front of a statement, but again there is no inversion of subject and auxiliary.

Another syntactic construction which differs in the two languages is negation. Negation is preverbal in Krio. This means that the negative particle immediately precedes the verb. The following examples illustrate this.

	English	Krio
	it is raining	ren de kàm [rain (prog.) come]
(a)	it is not raining	ren nɔ de kàm [rain no (prog.) come]
	it's a dog	nà dog [it is dog]
(b)	it's not a dog	nɔto dog [it is no dog]

In English the negative is formed by placing the negative marker after the auxiliary verb as in (a), or after the finite verb as (b) demonstrates.

A third syntactic difference between English and Krio is that while both English and Krio can have agentless passive constructions (c & d), Krio has no passive constructions in which the agentive complement is present. That is, Krio has <u>only</u> agentless passives. Consider the following:

	English	Krio
(c)	the cup was broken	(d) di kɔp bin brok [the cup (past historic anterior tense) broke]
	the cup was broken by Jill	_____

One of the most recognizable differences between Krio and English is the presence of verb serialization in Krio, a construction absent in English.[7] In serial verb constructions two or more syntactically free verbs follow each other in a sequence without the use of co-ordinators. The following example illustrates this.

di titi	de	ala sing tel	ɔlmɑn di stori
NP	Aspect	V + V + V	NP

[the girl (progressive) shout sing tell everybody the story]

A typical serial verb construction is the construction in which a verb of motion, usually "come" or "go," is used as verbal complement expressing direction or purpose (see Fyle & Jones, 1980; Allyne, 1980). In these constructions the verbal complement can either precede or follow the base verb. The following examples illustrate this.

kɛr		ɑm go
V	+	complement

[carry it go]

i	kɑm	kɑm		slɑp	mi
	complement		+	V	

[He/she | moved towards me | purpose-fully | slap me]

Another notable difference between Krio and English concerns the use of inflectional morphemes. Krio rarely makes use of inflectional morphemes. Where English uses inflections to indicate grammatical functions of words, for instance, Krio uses free-standing units. For example, in pluralization, English nouns are, in general, pluralized by suffixing an -s morpheme to the base form of the noun: Krio nouns, on the other hand, are pluralized by adding the third person plural pronoun, "dɛm," (pronounced /dɛ̃/), immediately after the noun. Compare the following.

	English	Krio
singular	girl	titi
plural	girl+s	titi dɛm

Possessive constructions also reflect the use and non-use of inflectional morphology in English and Krio respectively. Similar to the construction of plurals, the possessive in English is rendered by suffixing an -s morpheme to the noun referring to the possessor. In Krio a free-standing unit, the appropriate possessive pronoun, is placed between the "possessor" and "possessed" nouns. The examples that follow bring out the differences in the Krio and English constructions.

English	Krio
My friend's book	mi pàdi ɪ buk
Those girls' dolls	dem titi dem bebi dem

The second example in Krio illustrates the importance of word order in the language. It shows that functions and meanings of words indicated in English through inflection are indicated in Krio by word order.

The linguistic system which has been singled out for investigation in this study -- the tense/aspect system -- also exemplifies the distinction between English and Krio with respect to the use of inflection and reliance on word order. It also illustrates the kind of superficial similarity that exists between the two languages which can misguide the Krio learner of English into thinking that the two languages are actually closer than they really are. Before these distinctions and similarities are discussed, it is in order at this point to define tense and aspect since the distinction between the two is not always clear. This lack of clarity is basically due to the fact that both tense

and aspect are connected with time, though in different ways, and that in English and Krio, like many other languages, the formal devices to indicate them are conflated. My definitions are based on Comrie's (1976) study.

Tense is a deictic relation between (a) the time of an event and (b) any other point in time, usually the present moment which is the time an utterance referring to the action or event is made. Thus, in general, an action or an event described in the past tense occurred prior to the moment of speaking. One described in the present tense takes place at the moment of speaking, whereas one described in the future tense will occur after the moment of speaking.

Aspect, on the other hand, is concerned solely with the time of an action or event. In Comrie's words "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976, p. 3). An action, for example, can be viewed in its entirety as an unanalyzed whole, e.g. "He looked at me." As such, the action (of looking) is completed and therefore the perfective aspect is ascribed to it. An action can also be seen, not in its entirety with beginning, middle and end all rolled up into one, but from the inside. It can be opened up, so to speak, so that the speaker can be in the middle of the action. In this state, the event is not completed and therefore it is ascribed an imperfective (progressive) aspect, e.g., "He was looking at me." (See Comrie, 1976, p. 3.) It should be noted that both this and the preceding example are in the past tense.

The tense does not change because the relation between the time of the action and the time referring to the action remains the same.

Table 1/1 brings out the different tense and aspect forms in English and Krio.

TABLE 1/1

	Tense	Form
Krio	Past	bin + V ("bin" is basically an indicator of past anterior, i.e. of past-in past)
	Future	go + V
English	Past	V-ed Past irreg
	Present	V-Ø V-s (3rd pers. sing. only)
	Aspect	**Form**
Krio	Perfective	Ø + V dɔn + V
	Progressive	de + V
	Habitual	kin + V de + V
English	Perfective	have + V-ed -en
	Progressive	be + V-ing

It can be seen from Table 1/1 that because Krio verbs are monomorphemic and can therefore not embody syntactic features such as tense through inflection, tense is indicated through auxiliary verbs. Tense in English, on the other hand, is indicated through inflections. Aspect in English, however, like tense and aspect in Krio, is indicated through auxiliary verbs. Thus, there is a structural similarity between English aspect formation and tense and aspect formation in Krio -- which is [Aux. + V].

It can be seen from Table 1/1 that the English unmarked present form i.e., V-Ø corresponds to the unmarked perfective form in Krio. This correspondence extends to the functions of these forms as some unmarked verbs in Krio are equivalent in function to English present tense. Consider the following examples.[8]

English	Krio
I know	ɑ sɑbi
I like.	ɑ lɛk
I remember	ɑ mɛmbɑ
I have	ɑ gɛt
I live	ɑ tɑp

Ø + V perfective form in Krio is also implicitly an indicator of past time and is therefore also equivalent in function to the past tense in English as the following examples show.

English	Krio
He walked	i wɑkɑ
He ate	i it
He wrote	i rɑit

Tables 1/2 to 1/6 show the functions of tense and aspect forms used to express <u>past and present time</u> in English, and the tense/aspect forms in Krio which correspond in function to each form in English.[9]

TABLE 1/2

Functions of the English past tense in expressing past time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent function
(1)To indicate definite point in time in the past	bin + V Ø + V
e.g.: (i)Billy ate everything (last night)	Billy it ɔltin nà nɛt
(ii)He lived in London (for 4 years)	i bin tàp nà Lɔndɔn (fɔ 4 jià)
ii)He knew where I was	i bin no usàdi à bin de*
iv)Old Jack Jones played in the band for ages (before his death)	ol Jack Jones ple nà di bàn fɔ lɔng (bifo i dại)
(v)Did you see me on stage last year?	ju (bin) si mi nà steǰ làs jià?

*de=located

TABLE 1/3

Functions of the English present tense in expressing present time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent functions
(1)Unrestrictive use (no time limit)	Ø + V de + V
(a)To express universal truths	
e.g.: (i)Human beings have two eyes	mɔtàl màn gɛt tu jài
(ii)The sun sets in the west	Di sàn de go dɔng nà di wɛst
(iii)Onions smell	jàbàs smɛl
(2)To depict present state	Ø + V
e.g.: (i)He loves me	i lɛk mi
(ii)We live in Freetown	wi tàp nà Fritɔng
(3)To indicate habitual or iterative actions or events	kin + V de + V
e.g. (i)Harold works at the University	Harold de wok nà di junivàsiti
(ii)Jamie walks to school	Jamie kin wàkà go skul (or) Jamie de wàkà go skul
(4)Instantaneous use (to describe events or actions as they occur)	Predominantly Ø + V though other forms such as de + V can be used
e.g.:Jimmy passes the ball to Kofi, Kofi dribbles, kicks it to Ali, Ali heads the ball -- and it's a goal	Jimmy pàs di bɔl gi Kofi, Kofi de dribul, i kik àm gi Ali, Ali ɛd di bɔl -- ɛn nà gol

TABLE 1/4

Functions of the English progressive aspect in relation to present and past time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent functions
(1)To indicate temporary situations, activities, etc.	
(a)To indicate duration but of a limited nature	de + V (pres.) bin + de + V (past)
e.g.: (i)I am looking after Joe's cat while he's on vacation	ạ de mɛn Joe ĩ pus we i go wạkạ
[Cf. I look after Joe's cat now]	[ạ de mɛn Joe ĩ pus nạw]
(ii)She is cooking outside	i de kuk nạ do
(b)To indicate actions, events etc. that are not necessarily complete	de + V (present) bin + de + V (past) dɔn + V'(present) bin + dɔn + de + V (past)
e.g.: (i)It was getting dark when he left the bar	I bín dɔn de dạk we i lɛf di bạ
(ii)The child is becoming lazy	Di pikin dɔ́n de les
(iii)She got off when he was stopping the car	I kɔmɔt we i bin de stɔp di motokạ
[Cf. she got off when he stopped the car]	[i kɔmɔt we i stɔp di motokạ]

TABLE 1/5

Functions of the English perfective aspect in relation to present and past time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent functions
Present perfect:	
(1)To indicate actions, events or states that began in past and lasted up to the present, or have results persisting at the present	dɔn + V Ø + V
(a)Continuation-up-to-the-present	
e.g.: (i)He has lived in London for 4 years	i dɔn tɑ̀p nɑ̀ Lɔndɔn fɔ 4 jiɑ̀
(ii)Old Jack Jones has played in the band for ages	Ol Jack Jones dɔn ple nɑ̀ di bɑ̀n fɔ lɔng
(b)Past events, actions etc. with results persisting at present	
e.g.: (i)Billy has eaten everything so we have nothing	Billy (dɔn) it ɔltin so wi nɔ gɛt nɔtin
(2)To indicate some indefinite point of time in past	
e.g.: (i)Have you seen me on stage?	Ju dɔn si mi nɑ̀ stẹǰ?
(ii)The Jacobs have been to London [Cf. The Jacobs have gone to London]	Di Jacobs dɛm dɔn go Lɔndɔn [Same as above]

TABLE 1/5
(cont'd)

Functions of the English perfective aspect in relation to present and past time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent functions
Past perfect:	
(1) To indicate actions, events or states that began at some definite or indefinite point in the past and continued to another, more recent, specific point in the past	bin + (dɔn) + V
e.g.: (i) Old Jack Jones had played in the band for ages before his death	Ol Jack Jones bin (dɔn) ple nà di bànn fɔ lɔng bifo i dàì
(ii) Had you seen me on stage before tonight?	Ju bin dɔn si mi nà steǰ bifo dis nɛ́t?
(iii) Billy had eaten everything so we had nothing for lunch	Billy bin (dɔn) it ɔ́ltin so wi nɔ bin gɛ́t nɔ́tin fɔ lɔnč

TABLE 1/6

Functions of the English perfect progressive in relation to present and past time	Tense/aspect forms used in Krio for equivalent functions
Present perfect progressive:	
(1) To indicate temporary situations, events, actions, etc. that began in the past and continued to the present, or have results that persist in the present	dɔn + de + V bin + de + V
e.g.: (i) I have been waiting for this call	à dɔn de weit fɔ dis kɔl
(ii) It has been raining -- the ground is wet	Ren bin de kàm -- di grɔn sok
(iii) It has been raining now for 2 months	Ren dɔn de kàm nàw fɔ 2 mɔnt
Past perfect progressive:	
(1) To indicate temporary situations etc. that began in past and continued to another point in past	bin + dɔn + de + V
e.g.: (i) He had been recovering before he had the operation	i bin dɔn de wɛl bifo dɛm du di opreš̌ɔn pàn àm

Explanations for Differences

The preceding outline of some syntactic differences between English and Krio is aimed at showing that in spite of the common lexical base and similarity of certain linguistic elements, there is some distance between Krio and English. Different explanations could be given for this distance. To those like Andersen (1983) who see European-based creole languages within the framework of a language acquisition continuum, the distance between Krio and English could be seen as the distance which exists between interlanguage approximations of the target language system and the target language system itself. This view of the distance would be based on the belief that languages like Krio started off as a developmental process towards a target language, the European base language, but because of restricted access to target language input the interlanguage stabilized and a new language, a creole, is formed.

Subscribers to this view of European-based creoles usually adduce as evidence to support their view the similarity of linguistic characteristics of creole structures and early interlanguage forms of the corresponding European languages (see Schumann, 1978, for example). The fact that Krio negative and interrogative constructions are similar to interlanguage forms produced in the early stages of English acquisition would seem to give credence to the view that Krio, like all English-based creoles, is an "underdeveloped" form of English.

However, it could be argued that the interlanguage negative construction is also similar to the terminal stage fully developed forms in Spanish. This, of course, does not mean that the Spanish forms are interlanguage forms of English as Spanish is historically and linguistically considered as a separate linguistic system from English. In the same vein, it could be argued that the differences between Krio and English could be considered as typical of the differences which exist between any two languages.

Researchers such as Allyne (1980), Sylvain (1936), reported in Allyne (1980), and Turner (1947) have tried to show that many constructions in European-based Atlantic creoles, which are otherwise regarded as simplified forms of the superstratum, have clear antecedents in the substratum, i.e. West African languages especially those of the Kwa language group. Allyne (1980) provides evidence which shows that the reliance on word order in creole languages is also a characteristic of Kwa languages. Verbal particles are used to indicate tense in Kwa languages as they are in creoles (see Allyne, p.152). This evidence contradicts Schumann's (1978) claim that the use of verbal particles in West African pidgin, English, a misnomer for he includes Krio in this group, is evidence of pidginization.[10]

Schumann also mentions that another characteristic of simplification due to pidginization is the elimination of certain transformations. One of his examples is the absence of subject-verb inversion in Neo-Melanesian. The

absence of subject-verb inversion is also a characteristic of Krio interrogative construction and it is also a characteristic of question formation in Twi, a Kwa language (see Allyne, 1980, p.165). In addition to these, Schumann also adduces as evidence of pidginization the use of preverbal "no" in American Indian pidgin English and pidgin English spoken by immigrant workers in Australia. As has been pointed out, Krio also makes use of preverbal negation, and the form of the Krio negativizer, "nɔ" is definitely derived from English. The influence on the position of the negativizer in the construction, however, is not so certain: Languages such as Yoruba, Ewe and Ga, all of which belong to the Kwa language group, show preverbal negation (see Hall, 1966).

The point is that the linguistic characteristics which have been used to support the view that Krio, like all European-based creole languages, is a reduced and "underdeveloped" system of the European base language may also be used as evidence to support continuities of the substratum.[11] Thus, it is just as reasonable to assume that the differences between Krio and English are: (a) the usual differences which exist between two languages, as to assume that they are (b) a difference between a "fossilized" interlanguage system of English and the fully developed English system.

Indeed, it can also be hypothesized that the differences could be due to the correspondence between certain structures of the substratum language(s) and

interlanguage structures of the superstratum language. This correspondence could have led to the preservation of constructions such as preverbal negation and the absence of subject-verb inversion in interrogative construction in Krio, which, as has been mentioned, have antecedents in the substratum and at the same time are similar to early interlanguage forms of English.

Schumann (1979) and Zobl (1980a and b) provide similar explanations to account for the slow restructuring process or fossilization of preverbal negation by Spanish learners of English. In essence, both Schumann (1979) and Zobl (1980a and b) suggest as explanations that the structural correspondence between an L2 interlanguage structure and the terminal stage of an L1 structure has a retarding effect on the development of that structure, in this case negation, towards its target language norm.

In a similar manner it is possible that the structural correspondence between fully developed terminal stage forms of structures from the substratum and the interlanguage forms of the superstratum structures led to the preservation of these forms in Krio.

To summarize, it has been shown in the preceding outline of the Krio language that Krio is not a debased form of English but rather a separate linguistic system which is closely related to English and certain West African languages. The similarity of lexical items, however, and of some syntactic forms and functions make the two languages appear closer than they actually are, and also cloak

important differences between the two languages. This state of affairs, as mentioned earlier, leads to many misconceptions of the relationship between Krio and English, the most important of which is the view that English-based creole speakers are operating the same linguistic system as English speakers. This view gives rise to the belief that, in learning English, Krio speakers, like other English-based creole speakers, are not acquiring a new linguistic system but rather, are rectifying oddities within the linguistic system of English which are brought about by the speaking of a debased variety of that system.

Notes

1. The terms 'acquisition' and 'learning' are used as synonyms to describe the process by which a language is gained.

Some of the similarities and differences between English and Krio are brought out later in this chapter.

I have chosen to use the term 'language' instead of 'dialect' to refer to creoles. My decision is partly based on my belief that the differences between a creole, such as Krio, and its standard are sufficiently great that the creole should be treated as a separate entity. Furthermore, the old adage that a language is a dialect with an army or a navy... (quoted in Winer, 1982) seems to hold true. Scholars such as Edwards (1979) and McDavid (1970) have noted that the definitions of language and dialect often depend on social and political rather than linguistic considerations. McDavid illustrates this point in the following words:

> ...it is often the chances of political and cultural history rather than any structural discreteness that determines whether we have a separate tongue. Bloomfield (1933) points out that the Dutch-German speech community is a continuum, stretching from the English Channel to the Oder and the Bohemian mountains...but nationalism in the Netherlands and later in Belgium has established beside standard German two prestigious local varieties in the Northwest as official languages under the names of Dutch and Flemish. In the Soviet Union there seems to be no sharper boundary between Great and Little Russian than that in northern Pennsylvania between the Northern and Midland varieties of American English. In the United States, however, where most of the non-Jewish immigrants from Imperial Russia came from the Ukraine, Ukrainian is identified as a separate language (Fishman, 1966) and its specific encouragement is one of the instruments used to strengthen the ethnic identity of parishes and neighbourhoods (p. 47-48).

2. Figures are from The International Handbook of Educational Systems: Africa and Middle East, 1983. These statistics are probably from 1963 census. It is difficult to get recent data on the ethnic composition of the population mainly because of the government's effort to create a modern national identity.

3. The Kwa language group is a subgroup of the Niger-Congo language group. The languages which belong to the Kwa group include Twi, Fanti, Asanti, Ga, Ewe, Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe and Edo.

One difference between Krio and Caribbean creoles is that unlike most other Caribbean creoles, tone plays a significant role in Krio. Researchers have commented on the grammatical importance of tone in Krio and some have even described Krio as a tone language. For discussion on tone in Krio see Fyle & Jones (1980) and Nylander (1979).

4. The alphabet used in this study will largely be phonetic. The following phonetic symbols are used:

Vowels				Diphthongs
(beat)	i	u	(book)	ɔi
(bay)	e	o	(boat)	ɔu
(bend)	ɛ	ɔ	(buckle)	ɑi
(bag)	a			

Consonants

p	t	č	k	kp
b	d	ǰ	g	gb
m	n			
f	s	š		
v	z	ž		
w	l	j		

Conventional letters will be used for the following: /ɲ/ ny; /ŋ/ ng, nk; /ɾ/ r. Proper names are also written in conventional alphabet.

Vowels and diphthongs all have nasal correlates. E.g. ĩ, ã, ãĩ.

5. Under certain conditions English yes/no questions are formed by using S V O order with rising intonation.

6. Words written within square brackets underneath Krio examples are literal translations of the latter into English.

7. It could be argued by some that English makes use of serial verb constructions such as in "come go with me" or "come look at this." These constructions are limited, however.

8. Bickerton (1977) suggests that the zero form of verbs in creoles, Krio included, marks simple past for action verbs and non past for state verbs. Allyne (1980), on the other hand, notes that verbs such as "mɛmbə," "wənt," and "lɛk," though glossed in English by the present tense have perfective meaning.

9. The functions listed in the tables for English tense/aspect forms are based on work done by Leech (1971) and Quirk, Greenbaum et al. (1972). The ascription of Krio forms to English forms with equivalent functions is based on discussion on tense and aspect in Krio and other creole languages by Allyne (1980) and Fyle and Jones (1980), as well as the researcher's linguistic knowledge of Krio and the knowledge of other native speakers of Krio.

I am aware that Tables 1/2 to 1/6 are not exhaustive in that they do not bring out all the functions of the different tense/aspect forms in English. The reason for this is that only those functions which are of relevance to the present study -- i.e., those related to the expression of past and present time, and those which are indicated by, or ought to be indicated by the forms subjects used -- are considered. The use of the simple present tense to indicate future time, for example, as in "I start work next week," is not listed as the expression of future time is not considered in this study. Likewise, the use of the simple past tense to refer to the present, e.g., "Did you want to see me?" to convey a polite tone is excluded because there is no context in the corpus in which this function is indicated or ought to have been indicated.

10. In his illustration of characteristics of pidginization, Schumann equates West African pidgin English with Japanese-English pidgin and American Indian pidgin. By equating West African pidgin English with these others, Schumann does not take cognizance of the fact that West African pidgin English includes creole varieties like Krio which is a stable fully developed language with native speakers.

11. See Bickerton (1977) for counterargument on the role of the substratum in creole languages.

Chapter One

Approaches to L2 Learners' Errors

Language learners' errors are regarded as the product through which the process of language acquisition and use can be investigated. Corder (1967), for instance, states that learners' errors are significant in three different ways, one of which is that "...they provide to the researcher evidence of how language is learnt or acquired, what strategies or procedures the learner is employing in his discovery of the language" (p. 11). The perception of L2 learners' errors and difficulties, and of the underlying process of second language acquisition have changed over the years. In the 1950s until the mid 1960s the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CA) held sway in the field of second language acquisition research and provided the prevailing approach to L2 learners' errors, and explanation of the process of second language acquisition. In essence, this hypothesis considered the learners' first language to be the most influential factor in second language acquisition, and the major source of L2 learners' errors and difficulties (see Fries, 1945; Lado, 1957; Politzer, 1960).

The late 1960s and 1970s witnessed a change of approach to second language learners' errors and difficulties. Learners' errors were no longer regarded as primarily caused by influence from their L1s. In fact, the learner's first language was considered to be of little significance in the acquisition of the target language. These views, which are

exemplified in the works of researchers such as Dulay and Burt (1972 and 1974) and Richards (1971) are embodied in the new approach which developed in the late 1960s, the Error Analysis Hypothesis (EA).

At present, in the 1980s there seem to be more balanced, less polemic views on the relative importance of L1 influence on L2 acquisition and on the cause of L2 learners' errors. Many researchers now seem to realize that, unlike first language learners, second language learners possess a native language which they actively use in the acquisition of the target language (see Lightbown, 1984).

In recent years, therefore, researchers, in examining L2 learners' errors and other elements of their production, have focussed their attention not just on proving the existence of L1 influence but, more importantly, on showing the nature of such influence. Researchers such as Gass (1979) and Zobl (1980a and b) for example, have, from different perspectives, tried to show under what conditions and in what domain of the L2 L1 transfer is most likely to occur. Such investigations are based on the observation that L1 transfer is selective, i.e. that L2 learners do not transfer any and all aspects of their L1 to the L2. One explanation for this selectivity, an explanation which may also partly account for Krio speaking ESL learners' production of tense and aspect in English, is the notion of perceived language distance. This notion will be discussed in this chapter but first a brief outline, from an

historical perspective, of contrastive analysis and error analysis hypotheses is given in which the basic tenets of each hypothesis, and the theoretical principles upon which they are based, are reviewed.

Contrastive Analysis and Error Analysis

Contrastive analysis and error analysis have provided two basic techniques used by applied linguists and language teachers to describe the difficulties second language learners encounter in acquiring the target language, and the explanatory framework within which these difficulties could be accounted for.

Contrastive analysis, based on the technique of comparing a learner's native and target languages, was the first of the two hypotheses to be developed, and had wide currency in the field of second language teaching from the 1940s to the 1960s (see Hakuta and Cancino, 1977). In essence, proponents of constrastive analysis hold the position that the difficulties second language learners encounter and the errors they make in using the second language can be predicted if a comparative analysis of the learners' native language and the target language is done (Banathy, Trager and Waddle, 1966; Lado, 1957). According to the hypothesis, the results of such analysis will indicate the linguistic elements of the L2 which will pose problems for the learners. In a very general sense, it is believed that learners will have difficulties and produce errors when structures of the L2 differ from those of the

L1. When the linguistic elements in both languages are similar, learners will produce error-free utterances (see Fries, 1945; Lado, 1957; Politzer, 1960). Lado (1957) states that

> Those structures that are similar will be easy to learn because they will be transferred and may function satisfactorily in the foreign language. Those that are different will be difficult because when transferred they will not function satisfactorily in the foreign language (p.59).

From the contrastive analysis perspective, language transfer, that is, the use of L1 rules or structures in the L2, is the main process on strategy at work in L2 acquisition. Where the features of the L1 and the L2 are different, learners will have difficulty because the transfer of L1 features to the L2 in such circumstances will result in errors. Such transfer that results in errors is sometimes termed "negative transfer." Transfer which results in error-free performance is termed "positive transfer" (see Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982, for a discussion of the origin of these terms).

The principles upon which the contrastive analysis approach is based are taken from two theories that were prevalent at the time of formation of the approach in the 1940s. These theories are structuralist linguistics and behavioural psychology. The comparing of languages and the technique of analysing a language by reducing it to its basic patterns, grammatical relationships and discrete elements, such as morphemes and phonemes, stemmed from the structuralist view that languages are different and that

each language is a self-contained system made up of discrete elements which occur in fixed relationship and create larger units.

The contribution of behavioural psychology to contrastive analysis is basically its stimulus-response theory of language acquisition. Behaviourists such as Skinner (1953) hold the view that language is learned through the establishment of habits and that habits result from reinforcement and reward of desired behaviours (see Rivers, 1968). According to the behaviourists, language is "behaviour," a set of habits acquired by a child growing up in a particular culture. Second language acquisition was therefore seen as the replacement of old (L1) habits by new (L2) habits.

This view of language learning was incorporated into contrastive analysis and gave rise to the belief that learners' difficulties in acquiring a target language are the result of L1 habits interfering with the acquistion of the habits of the L2. Hence, L2 learners' errors were regarded as counter-productive in L2 acquisition, and were therefore impediments to the learning process. Behaviourism also gave rise to the view that L2 learners' difficulties could be overcome by the strengthening of L2 habits through constant reinforcement, imitation and repetition. This led proponents of contrastive analysis to advocate the correction of all errors by teachers, through repetition, mimicry and constant practice (Banathy et al., 1966; Lado, 1964).

The view and treatment of L2 learners' difficulties and errors from the error analysis hypothesis approach differ considerably from those of contrastive analysis. First of all, unlike contrastive analysis, error analysis does not attempt to predict learners' difficulties or errors. Instead it limits itself to describing and accounting for the errors that learners make. The position taken by error analysis with respect to learners' errors is that errors are predominantly the result of incorrect hypotheses learners make about the language they are learning. The source of learners' errors is the L2 itself and not in the L1. These errors, termed "intralingual" and "developmental" errors are considered to be similar to those made by children learning the target language as their first language, and are also thought to be common in the production of the target language by L2 learners from different L1 backgrounds (see Dulay & Burt, 1972, 1974). Richards (1971) describes this group of errors as follows:

> Rather than reflecting the learner's inability to separate two languages, intralingual and developmental errors reflect the learner's competence at a particular stage, and illustrate some of the general characteristics of language acquisition. The origins are found within the structure of English [the target language] itself and through reference to the strategy by which a second language is acquired and taught....These are...errors we might expect from anyone learning [the target language] as a second language (p.173).

The error analysis hypothesis approach was strongly influenced by research work on first language acquisition which indicated that first language learners' errors were

systematic. The tenets of error analysis, like those of contrastive analysis, are based on linguistic and psychological theories which were prevalent at the time of formation of the hypothesis -- in the case of error analysis, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These theories are Transformation-generative linguistic theory (Chomsky, 1957) and cognitive psychology (Chomsky, 1968; Lennenberg, 1967; Miller, 1964; see Bell, 1981). These theories shaped the views of error analysis with respect to language and language acquisition.

Chomsky and his fellow transformationalists and cognitive psychologists viewed language as a mental phenomenon, a rule-governed activity that relates meaning to form. They considered language to be innate in man in the sense that each individual is born with a knowledge of language which is triggered and set in motion by external stimuli (Chomsky, 1965). Language is also considered to be universal in its most abstract form, in the sense that all languages share certain characteristics which permit them to be labelled as human languages (see Bell, 1981).

Language, according to Chomsky, is too complex to be acquired by imitation and repetition. He contends that learners internalize a complex system of rules which they use to generate all grammatical sentences of a language. Researchers such as Corder (1967), Jain (1974) and Richards (1971) hold the view that in internalizing these rules learners make hypotheses which they test. Errors result

when these hypotheses are incorreot. Bell (1981) describes the cognitivists' view on language learning, and by extension that of error analysis, as follows.

> ...the learner, exposed to the data of the language...attempts to create "cognitive maps" for himself by means of which he makes sense of the data. He acts, that is, like a scientist formulating hypotheses about the system to which he is being exposed and trying the rules he has worked out on native speakers. On the basis of their acceptance or rejection, he can move on in the knowledge that the rule is correct or else try out alternative hypotheses, until he hits on one that they will accept (p.105).

Within the framework of error analysis, therefore, language acquisition is regarded as a creative process in which the learner actively participates. His errors are seen as the windows through which this creative process could be viewed and examined, and the learners' progress towards the target language traced. Rather than regard learners' errors' as signs of failure as does contrastive analysis, error analysis considers learners' errors to be a natural and necessary part of language acquisition.

The de-emphasis of contrastive analysis and the rise of error analysis in the 1970s basically stemmed from the fact that the majority of learners' errors were found to be common among all learners even with different first languages. This meant that learners' errors could not be considered as the result of their first language (Dulay and Burt, 1973; Jain, 1975; Richards, 1971). Such findings challenged the claim made by contrastive analysis that learners' L1 is the major source of learners' errors. Also, the claim made by contrastive analysis hypothesis that

L2 learners' errors are predictable could not be substantiated by evidence from research studies or from the classroom (see Gass and Selinker, 1983). Furthermore, the view that L2 learners' errors reflected the interference of L1 habits on L2 acquisition was challenged by cognitivists. The loss of credibility of the traditional form of contrastive analysis, now known as the strong form or a priori version because of its claim to predictive power, gave rise to a weaker form of contrastive analysis. This form is explanatory rather than predictive in nature and is not inextricably linked to behavioural psychology. To a great extent this form functions within the broader framework of error analysis, i.e., the linguistic study and interpretation of learners' errors (see Hakuta and Cancino, 1977).

The Notion of Perceived Language Distance

Although it is no longer generally accepted that language transfer is the only major process in L2 acquisition, there now seems to be a growing awareness on the part of researchers in L2 acquisition that L1 transfer is indeed a central process in L2 acquisition. Gass and Selinker (1983) rightly point out that many researchers have in recent years come to realise that the process of language transfer is not incompatible with the "cognitivist" views of L2 acquisition. This view is reflected in the following statement by Lightbown (1984).

> The learner creates a systematic interlanguage which is often characterized by the same systematic errors as the child learning the same language as the first language, as well as others which appear to be based on the learner's own native language (p.176, emphasis mine).

Researchers such as Cancino, Rosansky & Schumann (1975), Corder (1967), and Schachter (1974), believe that the learner uses his/her L1 as the basis for the testing of hypotheses about the L2. Schachter (1983) adds a new dimension to the view of the role of the L1 by suggesting that the L1 serves as a constraint on the kinds of hypotheses that a learner can make about the L2. In essence, language transfer is seen as a cognitive phenomenom (Zobl, 1980a&b; Gass, 1984). This view is partly based on the fact that many research studies have found that L1 transfer is selective. This means that learners do not transfer any and all L1 phenomena to the L2. Language transfer seems to be systematic. Zobl (1980a), for example, notes that Japanese learners of English do not transfer the Japanese negative marker to English. Schachter and Rutherford (1979), on the other hand, found that Japanese learners of English transfer the topic-comment structure of their L1 to English. Zobl (1980b) notes that French learners of English do not transfer the French pronominal O V word-order to English, but do transfer the French rule which restricts noun-subject inversion in questions.

What, one may ask, gives rise to such selectivity? To pose the question another way, why do L2 learners choose to transfer certain aspects of their L1 and not others? A plausible explanation is proposed by Kellerman (1977, 1979, 1983), an explanation that has been implictly or explicitly corroborated by researchers such as Zobl (1980a), Schachter (1974), Gass (1979), and Rutherford (1983). According to Kellerman, learners' decisions to transfer or not to transfer L1 elements to the target language are based on both their perception of the relations between their L1 and the target language and their notion of how unique or "marked" the structures of their L1 are. In Kellerman's view, if a learner perceives a particular L1 structure to be specific to his/her native language because that structure is irregular, infrequent, semantically or syntactically opaque, he/she is unlikely to transfer that structure to the target language. On the other hand, if the learner regards the L1 structure as a language-neutral feature, that is he/she considers the structure to be universal among languages or at least common to both the L1 and the target language, that structure is likely to be tranferred to the target language.[1] In a similar vein, the acquisition of an L2 which in the learner's opinion is closely related to the target language, by virtue of the fact that many cross-linguistic ties can be made, will evidence more instances of L1 transfer than will the acquisition of a target language which the learner considers to be unrelated or distant from the L1. Kellerman (1977)

states that these two factors are relative and interact with each other in determining which L1 elements the learner will most likely transfer. It is possible, for instance, that a highly marked language-specific item may be tranferred if the learner perceives the L1 and L2 to be close. On the other hand, a language-neutral less marked item may not be tranferred if the learner perceives the L1 and L2 as distant.

The learner's perception of language distance, referred to by Kellerman as the learner's "psychotypology," is, in Kellerman's view, dynamic, for it gradually changes as the learner's knowledge of the L2 increases (cf. Taylor, 1975). Kellerman (1977) states that

> Increasing contact with the TL [target language]...will help to refine the learner's view of the NL [native language] -TL relationships. This growing perception of the nature of the TL structure will affect the degree to which he will see his native language as a viable basis for producing or interpreting the TL (p.94).

This idea that the learner's perception of the L1-L2 relationship changes as the learner progresses in the acquisition of the L2 is implicitly corroborated by the findings of certain L2 acquisitional studies such as those of Huang and Hatch (1978), Ravem (1968), Wode (1976) and Zobl (1979). These studies all show that at certain stages in the acquisition of the target language, L2 learners make errors which reflect their L1. However, as they acquire more of the target language these errors disappear, or change to incorporate the new knowledge.

In order for the learner to develop a "psychotypology," i.e., to have a sense of the distance between his/her L1 and L2, he/she must attain a certain level of knowledge of the L2. The learner must attain a level of knowledge at which he/she can perceive similarities between the L1 and L2, and hence activate the transfer process. This point is mentioned by Kellerman (1977) and discussed by Zobl (1980b), among others.

Yet another significant aspect of learners' psychotypology is that it is formed in part by the actual linguistic typological distance between the L1 and the L2. Kellerman (1977) makes this point as follows:

> Given equal opportunities for learning Spanish and Chinese, the Italian learner could hardly fail to become aware of the similarities between Italian and Spanish and the lack of them between Italian and Chinese. The learner of Spanish will quickly identify cognates, regular relationships between the morphological systems of the two languages, familiar idioms etc., so that interference errors will appear in these circumstances....Yet the learner of Chinese is faced with a language so different from his own...the learner is unable to make the cross-linguistic association and identification necessary for transfer to take place (pp. 79-80).

The importance of linguistic typological distance in contact-induced language change, such as in a bilingual setting, has been well documented (Haugen, 1956; Weinreich, 1953; Whinnom, 1971; see Kellerman, 1977). Whinnom (1971), for example, states that hybridization, the mixing of languages in a contact situation, can be forestalled if the speakers perceive the other language as different and incompatible. In his view, "words, for

instance, are not readily tranferred to or from a language which has no words in the Indo-European sense, if there is no one-to-one conceptual equivalence" (p. 96). Again with respect to the transfer of language forms in bilingual situations Zobl (1980a) points to the fact that Germanic languages in contact with English readily adopted English verbs and integrated them into their morphologies. On the other hand, Greek, when in contact with English, adopted few English verbs. Zobl notes that this difference is due to the fact that Germanic languages are closely related to English whereas Greek is not. Kellerman (1983) notes Wode's (1978) finding that German and Norwegian ESL learners produce utterances such as "Marilyn like no sleeping" which reflect German negative construction. Kellerman also observed that such a construction does not appear in other studies where the L1 is typologically more distant from English, such as Taiwanese or Japanese (see p. 115). An explanation for this is that speakers of German and Norwegian perceive English as being so close that they assume that the syntax of this type of negative sentence can be transferred directly.

A similar pattern of language transfer, i.e. the greater the distance the lower the incidence of transfer, is observed by other researchers in L2 acquisition. Schachter (1974) reports that, while her Persian and Arabic ESL subjects tranferred their L1 rules in relative clause formation, her Chinese and Japanese subjects avoided using relative clauses in English. She accounts for these

findings by stating that the perception of the similarity of English and Arabic or Persian postnominal relative clause position activated the transfer of L1 rules by the Arabic and Persian speakers. In the case of the Chinese and Japanese, Schachter believes that the perception of a dissimilarity between the Chinese or Japanese and English relative clause positioning led them to try to avoid using English relative clause.

Schachter, Tyson and Diffly (1976), in their examination of the role of the L1 in judgements of grammaticality on English relative clauses, reported that speakers of Persian showed a tendency to accept as grammatical those English relative clause constructions which conformed to their L1 rules. Their Japanese subjects, on the other hand, were not willing to accept relative clauses based on their L1 as grammatical, but identified as grammatical those based on languages other than Japanese. It seems that the Japanese subjects were aware of the distance between their L1 and English, and they were therefore reluctant to use their L1 as a basis for interpreting the target language. This led to the production of fewer errors based on the native language.

Learners at times have mistaken notions about the actual typological distance between the L1 and the L2 which leads to the production of interlingual errors. An example is reported by Schachter and Rutherford (1979) in their study involving speakers of Japanese and Chinese (topic-prominent languages) learning English (a subject-prominent

language). They found that Japanese and Chinese learners of English overproduced extraposition and existential sentences such as "It is believed that sweet flag leaves contain the power to expel sickness and evil" and "There is a tire hanging from the roof served as their playground." According to Schachter and Rutherford, the overproduction of such sentence forms is evidence of the transfer of Japanese and Chinese topic prominence, a discourse function, to existential and extraposition sentence forms in English. It is very likely that this group of ESL learners wrongly perceived a similarity between those forms in English and the topic-comment structure in their respective native language. Thus, even though there is evidence that Japanese and Chinese speakers tend to avoid certain syntactic transfers, they exhibit transfer at a different level, mistaking English subject prominence as topic prominence and thus similar to their L1.

Another important aspect of learners' psychotypology that must be mentioned is that in situations in which the learner knows more than one language, the other language(s), rather than the L1, may be the motivator of transfer. In Kellerman's view, the explanation for the commonly observed phenomenom that learners make errors which seem to have their origin not in the L1 but in another language the learner knows, is that the learner perceives the other language to be closer to the target language than is the L1. Kellerman adduces as evidence to support this view, a study done by Sjöholm (in

Ringbom and Palmberg, 1976). In that study the researcher tried to identify the source of errors made by Swedes and Finns, bilingual in both languages, living in Finland and attending a Swedish-medium university. The researcher notes that, comparatively, many of the errors of the Finnish L1 ESL learners evidence influence from their L2, Swedish. The errors of the Swedish L1 ESL learners, on the other hand, evidence influence from Swedish, their L1, and almost none of their errors were attributed to Finnish, their L2. In the researcher's view, the Finns made more errors attributed to Swedish than Finnish because the Finns were aware of the fact that their L1 was of little help in acquiring English, as well as perceiving the similarities between English and Swedish. The Swedish learners likewise were aware of the distance between Finnish and English and were therefore not motivated to transfer from Finnish.

The discussion so far on learners' perception of language distance has shown that the strategy of transfer is likely to be used when the learner perceives that the L1 and L2 are similar in certain respects. Suggestions have been made in certain studies that actual and perceived distance between languages influences the speed and ease of L2 acquisition. Corder (1979) notes that the acquisition of a language which is genetically related to the L1 will progress faster than the acquisition of an unrelated or distant language. Keller-Cohen (1979) seems to have further evidence for this in her examination of the

development of turn allocation techniques in the English of her (Swiss) German, Japanese and Finnish subjects. She found that her (Swiss) German subject used more devices for turn allocation sooner and with more frequency than her Japanese and Finnish subjects. Her explanation for this phenomenon is that there is considerably more cultural and linguistic similarity between (Swiss) German as against Finnish or Japanese. Ard and Homburg (1983) also found that closeness between languages facilitates language acquisition: In their study, Spanish-speaking learners of English performed better than their Arabic-speaking counterparts on vocabulary tests, even on test items where there were no overt similarities between Spanish and English words.

It has also been observed in some second language studies that trasferred errors are more persistent in learner speech (see Selinker, 1972). Mougeon and Hébard (1975), reported in Zobl (1980b), note that when plotted on a graph over time, transfer errors display a more gradual cline of elimination than developmental errors. In his study comparing the acquisition of English by speakers with different first languages, Schumann (1979) reports that those subjects whose L1 system of negation is preverbal and whose negators correspond in phonetic shape to the English negator "no," such as Spanish and Italian learners, tend to use preverbal negation in English more extensively and persistently. Scott and Tucker (1974), in examining the English proficiency of Arabic-speaking students of English,

noted, among other things, that L1 interference in the use of prepositions and articles was a persistent problem.

It may be true indeed that similarities between languages facilitate acquisition as there are opportunities for positive transfer. However, it is possible that a high degree of similarity, as obtains in a creole/standard situation, can become a hindrance rather than a facilitator of language acquisition. Winer (1982) makes this point by suggesting that where there is a high degree of similarity between the L1 and L2, a point of diminishing returns can be reached where the similarity becomes a liability to the L2 learner. In examining the written compositions of a number of secondary school children in Trinidad, Winer suggests that the similarity between Trinidadian English Creole (TEC) and English obscures the real differences between the two languages and leads to significant and special problems for TEC learners of English. Winer reports that although 36% all non-writing errors -- errors which are not the result of problems with writing such as punctuation -- were attributed to the L2, English, 35% were attributed to the L1, TEC, and a further 30% to the L1 combined with English. Winer suggests that the high level of negative transfer (interlingual errors) may be the result of confusion in the minds of the learners which may be attributed to the deceptive closeness of TEC and English. One great source of confusion which is brought out in Winer's study is the non-equivalency of form and function in TEC and English. TEC and English share

many forms, both lexical and syntactic. However, many of these forms do not function in the same way in both languages. For example, Winer notes that "does" is a marker of habitual aspect in TEC in the sentence "He does go there." However, in the same sentence in English, "does" indicates emphasis.[2]

Indeed it seems that learners' perception of the distance between the L1 and L2 takes on additional importance in a creole/standard language learning situation. This may be because there are more instances of "faux amis" in such a learning situation. It is likely that the sharing of many linguistic features by a creole and its standard language gives rise to a superficial closeness between the two languages. As learners' perception of language distance is partly based on formal linguistic distance, creole learners, being aware of the many similarities in the two languages, fail to notice significant differences and hence perceive that their creole L1 and English are much closer than they are in reality. The point being made could be illustrated with the findings of researchers such as Schachter (1974), Schumann (1979), and Zobl (1980b). Schachter (1974) reports, with respect to the transfer of resumptive pronouns by Arabic and Persian learners of English, that these learners perceived the more obvious similarity of the postnominal position of the relative clause in English and their L1s. They overlooked the fact that unlike their L1s English does not make use of resumptive pronouns, and they directly transferred their L1

forms to English. Schumann (1979), as mentioned earlier, observes that the superficial similarity of the phonetic form of the negator "no" in English and that of Spanish ("no") and Italian ("non"), together with the similarity of the position of the negator (preverbal) in these languages and an early developmental form of English account for the extensive and persistent use of preverbal negation by Spanish and Italian learners of English. Like Schumann, Zobl (1980b) also believes that the structural compatibility of the Spanish preverbal system of negation and an English developmental stage gives rise to the persistent use of preverbal negation by Spanish-speaking ESL learners. In Zobl's view this compatibility triggers the L1 transfer process, and also inhibits the restructuring necessary to move the learner along the developmental continuum to native-like use.

It is my view that the tendency of ESL learners to assume greater similarity than actually exists is more pervasive in a creole/ standard learning situation as there are more superficial similarities available on which learners can base their perception of the target language.

NOTES

1. Language-specific items include proverbs, catch-phrases, slang expressions, idioms, and inflectional morphology.

   Language-neutral items include internationalisms, Latin expressions, borrowings from other modern languages and writing conventions.

2. Problems similar to those reported by Winer (1982) have also been observed in the English of speakers of Black American English and have been used in the debate over the relationship between standard English and Black American English, and whether the latter should be used as a medium of instruction for Black American children (see d'Eloria, 1975; Fasold, 1969; Labov, 1979).

Chapter Two

A Review of the Literature on ESL Learners' Acquisition and Use of the English Tense/Aspect System

The acquisition and use of English tense and aspect by L2 learners is one of many areas which researchers have explored in their attempt to understand the complex process of non-native language acquisition. What follows is a review of the literature in this area of ESL acquisition. This review is aimed at bringing out both (a) research findings on the kinds of tense/aspect forms ESL learners produce, together with the functions they ascribe to these forms, and (b) inferences researchers make about the source of errors learners make when using the English tense/aspect system.

Studies on L2 learners' acquisition of grammatical morphemes have provided a good deal of information about ESL learners' acquisition and use of the formal morphological markers of the English tense/aspect system. Studies such as those by Andersen (1978), Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974), Dulay and Burt (1974), Fathman (1975), Krashen (1977), Larsen-Freeman (1975), Mace-Matluck (1979), Rosansky (1976) and Wagner-Gough (1975) have primarily examined the relative accuracy of a number of English grammatical morphemes by L2 learners of different age groups, L1 background and learning situation. From these comparisons of accuracy, some researchers have inferred that there is a predictable order of acquisition of these morphemes for L2 learners. With

respect to the acquisition of verb morphemes necessary for the expression of tense and aspect in English, these studies in general show that the morphemes in this group are acquired at different stages in the development of the learners' interlanguage (IL). Table 2/1 shows the relative order of acquisition of verb morphemes in this group found by Andersen (1978) and Krashen (1977).

TABLE 2/1

The order of acquisition of verb morphemes used to indicate tense and aspect in English

Andersen 1978	Krashen 1977
[cop]	ing cop
aux ing	[aux]
past irreg. past reg.	[past irreg.]
3rd person sing. pres. tense	past reg. 3rd person
aux have	
[past participle perfect]	

cop	The man is fat.
aux	The boy is playing.
ing	The boy is playing.
past irregular	The boy fell.
past regular	He arrived safely.
3rd person sing. pres. tense	He lives here.
aux have	I have lived in London.
past participle perfect	I have lived in London.

The morpheme studies have also been of value in revealing the kinds of tense/aspect forms learners produce as they try to acquire the full English forms. An example

of this is Chamot's (1978) study on the acquisition of English in an untutored situation by a Spanish-French bilingual child. One of her findings was that her subject failed to provide inflectional endings for verbs, and therefore used the base-form of verbs to express, among other things, the present progressive, 3rd person singular present tense, and the past participle. This finding is not at all new or unusual as there is ample evidence which suggests that ESL learners, regardless of L1 background, very often fail to mark verbs for tense (see Dulay and Burt, 1974; Bailey, Madden and Krashen, 1974; White, 1977; and Wolfram, 1985). The unmarking of tense has also been found to be common in L1 acquisition of English (see Brown, 1973; de Villiers and de Villiers, 1973).

Findings in morpheme studies also show that ESL learners produce such tense/aspect forms as double marking of the past and present tenses, for example: "losted"; "I didn't went"; "He doesn't knows my name" (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982, p. 159). Another common non-target form L2 learners produce is regularization of irregular past, such as "seed," "putted" and "telled." It has also been found that ESL learners at times provide inflectional endings such as "-ing" but omit obligatory auxiliaries. This leads to the production of sentences such as "He sleeping" (Frith, 1977) and "Donald Duck wearing pyjamas" (Olshtain, 1979).

Few morpheme studies, however, examine the functions learners ascribe to verbal morphemes used to express tense and aspect in English. A number of studies on L1

acquisition of English have examined the functions learners ascribe to certain grammatical morphemes, and have, for instance, indicated that in the development of the tense/aspect system, children's use of verbal inflectional forms is first guided by aspectual notions rather than tense. Bloom, Lifter and Hafitz (1980), for instance, report that children learning English as a first language use certain inflectional forms almost exclusively with certain verbs. They found that verbs which share a specific inflectional form share certain aspectual values. They note, for example, that action verbs that occur with -ing such as "play," "ride," "write" and "hold" all tend to be durative events extending over time and are non-completive in nature, in that there is no immediate clear result (see p. 397). They also found that those verbs that the children produce in past tense forms, regular and irregular, named non-durative, momentary events that tend to be completive. Examples of such verbs are "find," "fall" and "break."

Few studies of this nature have been done in L2 acquisition of English (see Andersen, 1984). One study, nevertheless, which investigates whether L2 learners have a system in using verbal morphemes to indicate tense and aspect is Kumpf's (1984) analysis of a Japanese ESL learner's temporal system in English. Kumpf found that her subject used the base form of verbs (unmarked verbs) to indicate completed action in the foreground (the basic story line) of her narratives. The background of the subject's

narratives, i.e. elaboration on the story line, was characterized by marked forms of verbs. In general, Kumpf notes that stative verbs in the background were marked for tense whereas active verbs were marked for habitual and continuous aspect.

Other researchers such as Bartelt (1983), Meziani (1978), Olshtain (1979) and Reyes (1969) have found that even when ESL learners have acquired the correct full forms of English tense and aspect, they still encounter difficulties in determining the appropriate functions of the forms.

Meziani (1978) and Setian (1974) report that Arabic-speaking learners of English have difficulty in choosing between the simple past and the perfective, and the simple present and the progressive. According to Meziani, such difficulty may lead to the production of sentences such as the following: "I write a letter to my parents now." " I am writing a letter to my parents every Friday" (Meziani; p. 66). Olshtain (1979) observes a similar problem with her Hebrew-speaking ESL learner. She reports that at a stage at which her subject had acquired the full form of the progressive, she still had difficulty in choosing between the simple and progressive tenses. This gave rise to the production of sentences such as: "Every morning we are standing in line before we walk to class" (p. 91). Reyes (1969) reports a similar phenomenon in her study of Tagalog speakers of English in the Phillipines. She found that

Tagalog speakers of English tend to use the forms of the simple past and perfective inappropriately as the following examples show: "I did not eat yet" (I have not eaten); "I ate already (I have eaten)" (p. 94). Reyes (1969) also found that in using the perfective or progressive aspect in English, Tagalog speakers tend not to differentiate between past and present forms of the auxiliary. Furthermore, she notes that Tagalog speakers are often inconsistent in their use of tense sequencing in English. The following is an example of such inconsistency: "Not all who pray obtain what they wanted" (p. 96). Inconsistency in tense sequencing is also observed in studies of ESL learners from other L1 backgrounds. Bartelt (1983) reports that Navajo and Western Apache speakers of English shift between past and present forms of verbs in an unnative-like manner when describing past events. The result of such shifting is exemplified in the following: "The lightning was making a harmful noise and when the rain stop for a little while everything is so silent" (p. 108). The vacillation between present and past tenses is also reported by Edwards (1979) in his study of the written English of West Indian creole-speaking children in Britain.

Apart from reporting their findings, many researchers have attempted to infer possible sources for the deviant ways their subjects use the English tense/aspect system. Some researchers point to the L1 of their subjects as possible source. Bartelt (1983), for instance, considers

that the shifting between present and past tenses by Navajo and Apache speakers of English is evidence of negative transfer. In Bartelt's view, Navajo and Apache speakers of English tend to equate English tense and aspect with mode and aspect in their L1s. He states, for instance, that the shifting from past to present tense in the example, "The lightning was making...," given above, was due to the fact that

> ...the Navajo speaker is not restricting himself to a particular time when referring to the silence after the rainfall. This is a habitual event...therefore, the use of the English present tense in this case must be an extension or transfer of the Navajo usitive mode (p.108).

Reyes (1969) also considers her subjects' L1, Tagalog, as source of their tense/aspect errors in English. She believes that her subjects' failure to distinguish between the present and past forms of the perfective tense in English, or between simple tense and progressive and perfective forms, is due to the absence of such distinctions in Tagalog, a language which only distinguishes between perfective and imperfective aspect.

The L1 is also used by Setian (1974) to account for tense/aspect errors Egyptian-Arabic learners make. Setian considers the inappropriate use of simple and perfective forms of verbs in English by his subjects to be due to the lack of distinction between these forms in colloquial Arabic.

One cannot help but notice a high degree of commonality of the errors of learners reported in studies discussed so far. Inconsistency in tense sequencing is reported in studies on the English of learners whose native languages are so diverse (English-based creole, Tagalog, Navajo and Apache). Similarly, L2 learners of English with first languages such as Arabic, Hebrew and Tagalog also experience confusion in choosing between tense and aspect forms. Although some researchers, such as those discussed above, attribute errors of these kinds to the learners' L1, it is sometimes argued that errors which are common to speakers of different L1s should be regarded as "intralingual" errors, reflective of general creative strategies and characteristics of acquiring a specific target language rather than transfer of L1 rules (see Richards, 1971).

Kumpf (1984) adds a new dimension to this idea that learners' errors reflect language creative strategies by suggesting that L2 learners' interlanguage (IL) tense/aspect systems reflect the same language creating capacity which led to the development of natural languages of the world. In her view, L2 learners' IL tense/aspect systems correspond closely to the tense/aspect systems of other languages and conform to universal tendencies in languages of the world. According to Kumpf, her Japanese subject's systematic use of the unmarked, untensed form of verbs to indicate completed action in the foreground of the discourse, and the emphasis in the background on aspectual notions (i.e., completive vs.

incompletive action) rather than tense are reflective of a universal tendency of languages to make a distinction based on aspect rather than tense. This tendency surfaces in some languages of the world such as Yoruba and Igbo of the Niger-Congo language group.

Kumpf's view that learners' IL temporal systems reflect the primacy of aspect over tense is implicitly supported by studies in first language acquisition such as that of Bloom, Lifter and Hafitz (1980), which found that the L1 verb marking system of children learning English first developed to express aspectual notions rather than time.

It is interesting to note that the tense/aspect system of some of the L1s of subjects in studies reported in this discussion, like the systems of learners reported by Kumpf (1984) and Bloom, et al. (1980) for instance, conform closely to what is believed to be a universal tendency of languages to make a distinction based on aspect rather than tense. Bartelt (1983), for instance, notes that in Navajo and Western Apache mode and aspect are used as a vehicle for the expression of time. The past, he states, is generally expressed by the perfective aspect, and the present by the imperfective or progressive aspect. Reyes (1969) also notes that Tagalog makes distinctions based on aspectual notions, not time. Tagalog perfective aspect, for example, is equivalent to English simple past, and present and past perfect. The imperfective form in Tagalog corresponds to the English simple present and progressive forms.

Bearing in mind the hypothesis that the temporal systems of some languages, such as those mentioned above, are close to certain universal tendencies, such as the primacy of aspect over tense, one may also consider certain kinds of errors, though common among L2 learners of English with different first languages, as influenced by the subjects' L1 when the L1 is closer than the L2 to these "universal tendencies." On the other hand, could it be said that the closeness of the learners' L1 to such tendencies bears no influence on the errors such learners produce, and that such a learner, like all acquirers of English, is drawing on the universal tendencies in a way which results in the production of errors which just happen to resemble the learners' L1 system? The present study has been undertaken in the context of this question.

Teachers of Krio-speaking ESL learners observe that these learners produce tense/aspect errors in English which they believe are due to the influence of the Krio verb structure and tense/aspect system. However, these errors such as tense unmarking, inconsistency in tense sequencing, use of inappropriate tense/aspect forms have been observed in the English of ESL learners with different native languages as has been shown in the discussion so far. One may argue, thus, that Krio-speaking ESL learners' tense/aspect errors are intralingual, reflecting the general strategies and characteristics of the acquisition of the

English tense/aspect system. In the study to be reported, I examined the tense/aspect forms Krio-speaking ESL learners produce and the functions they ascribe to these forms, as well as their sequencing of tenses in English sentences, in my investigations of learners' use of the English tense-aspect system and the possible influence Krio might have on this use. As previously mentioned, this examination focuses on a widely investigated but still controversial issue in the field of second language aquisition: the respective roles of first language transfer and creative or developmental strategies in second language acquisition. Examining this issue within the framework of the acquisition of English by speakers of a related creole in a non-host environment raises many questions such as the following: Does the nature of the relationship between Krio (the native language) and English (the target language), being a creole-standard language situation, bear any influence on the processes that give rise to the production of deviant tense-aspect forms by these learners? Do the linguistic characteristics of the native language, a creole language, play a part in the Krio-speaking learners' production of English tense and aspect?

Research Questions

In order to examine the issues raised in a systematic manner, the following research questions are addressed:

(a) What are the most common approximations of the learners' interlanguage tense/aspect system to the system of the target language, English? How frequent are these approximations in relation to the correct use of the target language system?[1]

(b) Are these approximations different according to level of proficiency in English? Do they decrease or increase in frequency according to level of proficiency, or are there different types of approximations at different levels?

(c) Do these approximations evidence transfer from Krio? If so, how?

NOTES

1. The term "approximation" is used instead of "error" to describe Krio speaking ESL learners' deviant forms and usage of English tense and aspect. The former term is used because there are instances of learners' production which are not errors per se but neither are they native-like in use. The tense form in the example, "He is working at the Standard Bank" is well-formed and appears clear in meaning. However, the learner uses "is working" to mean a permanent state. In this context, the native speaker of English will likely use the simple present form "works."

Chapter Three

Research Design and Procedures

Subjects

The compositions of 100 students were used in this study. These students were drawn from 4 primary schools and 3 secondary schools in Freetown, the area in Sierra Leone in which Krio is most widely spoken. The primary school students were taken from Class 7, the final year of primary school. Their average age was 11 years. The secondary school students were drawn from Form 5, the final year of secondary school. The average age of the students was 17 years.

The schools used in the study were chosen for two reasons. First, the students in these schools form, in the researcher's view, a representative group of the students in schools in Freetown with respect to socio-economic background, ethnic composition, exposure to English, and educational orientation. (Some of these factors will be discussed later.) Second, these were schools in which the researcher had access to teachers who were willing to participate in the study. Table 3/1 shows the number of subjects in each group.

All Class 7 (primary) subjects have had at least six years of instruction in and through English because English is a compulsory school subject as well as the medium of instruction in all educational institutions in Sierra Leone.

TABLE 3/1

Number of subjects according to proficiency level

Group	No. of subjects
Group (P) (primary)	47
Group (S) (secondary	53

All literacy skills are taught in English. Though the subjects are from different schools they follow a similar syllabus and use the same text books, usually recommended by the country's Ministry of Education, because they are all preparing for the Selective Entrance Examination for Secondary Schools. This exam is conducted by the West African Examination Council. Scores in the exam determine placement of candidates into secondary schools. Those with high scores will go into academic-oriented schools and those with low scores or those that fail will go into vocational or technical schools or repeat the exam. Because of the great importance of this exam to the students' future education, much emphasis is placed on grooming students for it. In fact, work in Class 7 is almost exclusively preparation of candidates for the Selective Entrance Exam. A key subject in this exam is English (grammar, comprehension and composition). Teachers spend considerable time preparing their students in this area by having the

students regularly practice how to write a composition, doing reading comprehension exercises and discrete point tests on English grammar.

The formal education of secondary school students, as with that of the primary school students, is through the medium of English. These students also take English as a compulsory school subject. They have therefore had a minimum of eleven years of instruction in and through English. Like their primary school counterparts, secondary school subjects are preparing for a public school leaving examination. Irrespective of the type of school -- vocational, technical or academic-oriented -- or the stream in which a subject belongs, all subjects are likely to attempt the English language component of the School Certificate/GCE 'O' Level examination conducted by the West African Examinations Council. All subjects therefore follow the syllabus for this exam which consists basically of essay writing, reading comprehension and English grammar tests.

In both primary and secondary schools, promotion from one level to another is not automatic. Promotion is based on, and meant to reflect, students' academic performance as determined by school examinations, periodical assessment throughout the year and teachers' evaluation.

The group of students of which the subjects of this study are a part rarely uses English outside the school walls. Although subjects were not directly questioned on this matter, from discussions between the researcher and both primary and secondary school teachers, as well as the

researcher's own knowledge and observations, the researcher concluded that it was very unlikely that the subjects in the schools selected use English at home or in informal interaction with friends. The language spoken in most homes in Freetown is Krio. In some cases, an ethnic language other than Krio is spoken in the home with parents or members of the extended family or among friends of the same ethnic group for group identity. However, Krio is used with the most frequency in informal interaction in the social milieu. The subjects' use (or rather non-use) of English outside of school is therefore reflective of the population of students in general in Freetown.

The use of English in the community in general, especially by children, is basically limited to receptive functions, such as listening to the radio, watching TV and movies, and reading comics and novels. However, it is very difficult to say how much extra-curricular reading is done, especially by the primary school subjects, who generally prefer to spend their leisure hours engaged in other kinds of activities.

The most extensive exposure these subjects get to English is within the school walls, particularly through interaction with their teachers who, although they speak English with students, are themselves native speakers of Krio. Apart from the usual teacher-pupil interaction, students also use English during meetings and gatherings of school organizations such as the Literary and Debating Society, the United Nations Students Association, and the

Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. Outside these contexts, in informal settings such as the school playground, English is rarely heard except in the presence of a teacher or school prefect.

These subjects, also like the majority of students in Freetown, rarely have direct exposure to the speech of native speakers of English. The little exposure they have is from movies, television and textbooks.

The motivation of students for learning English is basically instrumental. Students, knowing that English is both the official language of the country and a world language, realize that in order to get a "decent" job or to further their education, they have to be proficient in English.

A final significant point which must be made pertains to the researcher's use of the term "native speaker of Krio." The subjects in this study, as well as other speakers referred to as native speakers of Krio, do not all belong to the ethnic group of Creoles whose native language is Krio. Some belong to other ethnic groups of Sierra Leone. However, all of the non-Creole speakers of Krio who participated in this study acquired Krio in early childhood, either simultaneously with the family ethnic language, or shortly after acquiring the ethnic language. They are therefore presumed to be as proficient in Krio as those speakers who are members of the Creole ethnic group. Furthermore, Krio is used by all subjects in daily communication more than any other language(s) the subjects

may know. For these reasons the researcher makes no distinction between those subjects who acquired Krio as a true native language or those who acquired it as a second, or maybe third, language. They are all considered in this study to be native speakers of Krio.

Elicitation Procedures

Teachers from the schools selected were approached individually and asked to allow students in their classes to write compositions for this study. The teachers were asked to conduct the task as a normal class test. This was done primarily to eliminate any outside help or the use of any resource materials. Although the teachers were informed that the compositions would be used in a study, they were not informed about the nature of the study. This was to prevent them from influencing the performance of the students by, for example, giving the students a quick revision lesson on the use of English tense/aspect system. The teachers were also asked not to disclose to the students that the work was for a research study. The researcher felt that this would help minimize on-stage effects, and therefore give a fairer indication of students' true ability.

The researcher further requested that the students write a narrative. (Some teachers provided topics for the students to write on, while others allowed the students to come up with their own topics.) This particular discourse function, i.e., narration, was chosen for several reasons. First, all students are familiar with this function, for

they have had much practice writing stories, recounting events and experiences throughout their schooling. Second, it gives the students the opportunity to demonstrate their expressive skill in informal writing. The researcher hoped that the students would get involved in expressing themselves and communicating their message rather than concentrating on language forms and grammar points taught to them in class.

There were no restrictions in length of compositions or the truth of stories. The length of time taken by the students to write the compositions is not known, but it could not have been more than one class period, which is approximately 40-50 minutes.

The compositions were collected and sent to the researcher who was not in Sierra Leone when the task was administered. The number of compositions from each class and school varied, ranging from five to twenty-two. The researcher was informed that more than the number sent were written and in some cases the whole class of approximately twenty-five to thirty students participated. The compositions sent were selected by the teachers. The basis on which this selection was made is not known by the researcher. However, the range of competence in English demonstrated in these compositions does not suggest that the best or worst compositions, in terms of English proficiency, were sent to the researcher. Some of the primary school compositions received by the researchers were rejected mainly because of their inadequate number of words. The

average length of the compositions of the primary school subjects used in the study is approximately 150 words. That of secondary school subjects is approximately 400 words.

Data Analysis

The compositions which were accepted for the study were entered into an IBM Personal Computer. This was done basically to provide multiple copies of texts and to eliminate interference from the subjects' handwriting on the evaluation of the texts. After this procedure was completed, all typewritten texts were proofread by the researcher.

The criteria according to which the texts were scored are outlined later in the chapter. A small randomly selected sample of the texts, in typewritten form, (N=10: 5 primary and 5 secondary) was scored by four native speakers of English who were also ESL teachers. This was done to establish inter-rater reliability. The remaining texts were scored by the researcher only. However, in cases where she was uncertain about the linguisitic acceptability of an item in English, the item in question was checked by native speakers of English.

The basic unit of analysis in this study was the sentence, which is regarded as a structure made up of a subject and a predicate, which contains one or more clauses and begins with a capital letter and ends with a final punctuation mark, usually a full stop (see Quirk, et al., 1972).

The sentence was the linguistic framework within which the subjects' tense/aspect forms were isolated and examined. However, the discourse context was also taken into consideration in the analysis. It was found that although there were many cases in which the learners' tense/aspect use could be determined on the sentence level, e.g. "Your cousin has gone to West Germany last week," there were other cases in which learners' uses were linguistically correct, i.e. well formed and acceptable on the sentence level, but were incorrect on the discourse level. Consider the following example.

> Every Saturday afternoon we gathered in a field...In the evening we have our dinner watch TV or read...On Sunday morning we all get ready for the Church. The way they held the service was very nice and I enjoyed their songs.

It is apparent from this example that one cannot determine the overall linguistic correctness of a structure without taking into account both its appropriateness in context and its wellformedness. As will become apparent later in the outlining of categories of error description, this study examines both appropriateness (functions) and wellformedness.

Also in this study, the activities of error description and error attribution were kept separate. The lack of separation of these two activities is often cited as a major weakness in error analysis studies (see Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982). In this study errors were first described and then categorized according to possible sources.

Description of subjects' production

Subjects' production was first classified according to some observable surface characteristics which showed, where applicable, the nature of deviation of their forms from the corresponding forms in the target language, English. The categories are as follows:

(a) Omission of inflectional endings

e.g. "The stage has already been fix for this occasion."

(b) Omission of auxilliary verb(s)

e.g. "There is a Scripture Union which trying to educate us about the Bible."

(c) Double-marking of tense/aspect forms

e.g. "I didn't wanted." "He started to announced."

(d) Wrong form of inflectional ending

e.g. "The vote of thanks was giving by..."

(e) Wrong form of auxilliary verb(s), the copula and 'have'

e.g. "I was been trapped." "When everybody has settled down the ceremony began." "That is how I spent my...vacation." "I has breakfast...and went to..."

(f) Regularization of irregular form

e.g. "We were showed our forms."

The number of occurrences of forms in each of these categories was tallied. The number of correct forms used by each subject was also tallied.

Learners' use of tense/aspect forms was also scored. This was done to show the level of appropriateness of forms in context. The criteria used are as follows:

(g) Correct use: Use of correct form in appropriate or obligatory context.

(h) Incorrect use: Use of form in inappropriate context or outside obligatory context. E.g. "Your cousin has gone to West Germany last week."

(i) Non use: Form not supplied in appropriate or obligatory context. E.g. "Could you guess the clothes I wear [to the wedding last week]?"

(j) The total number of each tense/aspect form used by each learner was also tallied in order to permit comparison of the frequency of correct and incorrect use.

Subjects' sequencing of tenses within a sentence was also examined. This was done in the following terms:

(a)Correct sequencing i.e., use of appropriate tense sequencing within a sentence. E.g. "They spent the night at home and then they went to Freetown."

(b)Incorrect sequencing i.e., inappropriate sequencing of tenses within a sentence. E.g. "I usually take it and some bullets and went into the bush to hunt."

(c)Correct but inappropriate sequencing i.e. sequencing is correct within a sentence but in inappropriate in the discourse context, as the following example shows.

> The journey was too long. I saw lot of things in my way...When we reach the place to stop we come down from the bus.

By tallying the number of occurrences in each of these categories for each member of each group, the learners' approximative tense/aspect system became evident.

Attribution of source to approximations

This activity was done in response to the third question asked in this study which was whether the learners' approximations evidence transfer from Krio. The categories of error attribution used in the study were as follows:

English. This category includes deviant forms or errors which appear to be due to the nature of the English tense/aspect system. They are errors which are similar to those observed in the use of English tense and aspect by L1 learners of English and L2 learners from different first language backgrounds. These types of errors have been characterized by researchers as developmental and intralingual (see Dulay and Burt, 1974; Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982; Richards, 1971), and intrinsic (see Barkman and Winer, 1983). The following are examples of errors attributed to English.

"I didn't went." "We were showed our forms."

Transfer from Krio. Deviant forms so classified appear to be due to negative transfer, i.e., the use of Krio tense/aspect forms and/or functions which do not coincide with the English tense/aspect forms and functions. A feature is said to be a possible transfer error when it corresponds exactly to tense/aspect forms or functions in Krio. The following is an example of errors attributed to transfer from Krio.

"When I was coming" [we ɔ bin de kɔ̀m] (Meaning: "When I was (about) to come")

English and Krio. Not all errors can be confidently placed in one category. Some appear to have more than one source or origin. In such cases, errors are attributed to both sources combined, that is, English and Krio. Errors that are put into this category are similar to errors made by learners of English from different L1 backgrounds and/or children learning English as a native language, and at the same time correspond to Krio forms and/or function or are influenced by Krio form and/or function.

> "The English dept. stage a play which was entitled..."

Others. Apparently non-systematic errors which could not be attributed to any of the sources stated above were placed in this category.

The scores of the two groups on the different criteria stated were compared in order to investigate whether there were differences in the use of English tense/aspect system according to level of proficiency.

Specifications of Study

The examination of subjects' production of tense and aspect in English was restricted in certain ways in order to narrow the scope, and thus sharpen the focus of the investigation. Not considered in this study is the expression of future time. This is mainly because English does not have a future tense in the same way that it has the past and present tense. Unlike past and present time, the future has no specific inflectional form to indicate it.

Also, this study is limited to the examination of constructions with finite verbs. The reason for this is that finite verbs, unlike non-finite verbs, have tense distinctions. This is brought out in the following examples:

Finite verb constructions	Non-finite verb constructions
He takes the train	To take the train would be wise
He took the train last night	Having taken the train
He has taken the train before	Taking the train is a wise move
He is taking the train	

Modal auxiliaries are also excluded from this examination. There are two main reasons for this. First, modals not used to indicate action, states, events, etc. that can be located in the past or present time were excluded. Such modals were those with inherent future reference, e.g. "will" and "shall" and modals with conditional or hypothetical meanings as in "It can be very enjoyable" and "He could perform magic." Secondly, it was found, upon careful examination, that subjects' misuse of modals in relation to tense was inextricably linked to their lack of total understanding of the complex usage and nuances of meaning of English modal auxiliaries. The following example brings this out.

> ...the principal appeared and gave the welcoming address ,-- welcoming the ladies and gentlemen and wished that they would enjoy the ceremony....Then we would have the school choir...they would render songs. After that the French department also would give contributions...the ones that are singing would dress in their uniforms...

In the preceding example, with the exception of the first occurrence of "would" the subject seems to be using "would" as the sole past tense marker. The first use of "would" seems to show that this subject might have been taught that, "would" is the past tense form of "will," and that it is used in backshifting a reported speech. He however seems to have retained only the fact that "would" is a past tense form. The result is that his use of "would" solely as a past tense form, without taking into consideration its meaning, has the effect of describing specific activities as if they were characteristic activities.

The use of modal auxiliaries is indeed a complex area of verb usage in English which would require a separate study. Although the modal system is closely linked to tense/aspect in English, an analysis of subjects' use of such a complex area of verb use would extend this investigation beyond its scope.

Last but not least, the construction "used to" is also excluded from study. This construction, which is used only with reference to the past, seems to have been acquired as an unanalyzed chunk, like a lexical item, by these subjects. They therefore have no problem with its meaning, but it would be inappropriate to treat it as a finite or analyzed verb form.

Chapter Four

Results

Inter-rater reliability was established as follows: the well-formedness of verb forms 93.3%; the appropriateness of grammatical functions of verb forms 94.8%; and the sequencing of tenses within the sentence 95.7% (see Chapter Three).

Table 4/1 brings out some surface characteristics of the verb forms used by both primary (P) and secondary (S) school subjects to express tense and aspect in English.

TABLE 4/1

Subjects' production of verb morphemes

Verb forms	Omission		Wrong Forms		Correct Forms	
	(P)	(S)	(P)	(S)	(P)	(S)
(a)Form required						
past irreg	114	103	6	7	172	684
-ed	105	152	2	10	174	568
-s	10	7	2	54	16	22
-ing	--	1	1	5	35	116
-en	--	1	--	--	7	54
Ø			229	264	96	87
(b)Auxiliaries	--	--	16	47	48	204
(c)Irregular main verbs						
copula (pres.)	--	--	4	49	84	134
copula (past)	--	--	1	12	102	513
have (pres.)	--	--	8	26	8	22
had	--	--	--	--	16	57

The table, in general, shows that these verbs were mostly well-formed. Ill-formedness consisted mainly of the omission of certain inflectional endings and the past irregular morpheme. The endings most affected by this were the -ed and -s morphemes. Neither the -ing nor the -en endings were omitted by primary school subjects (P). Only one instance each of omission of these endings was recorded for secondary school subjects (S).

Although omission of inflectional endings was basically limited to the same morphemes in the productions of both primary and secondary school subjects, the frequency of omission was much higher in the production of (P) subjects than that of (S) subjects.

Table 4/1 also shows that neither auxiliary forms nor the copula nor 'have', when used as a main verb, were omitted by any of these subjects. Hence subjects never produced forms such as: "When I five years old"; "They trying to tackle the thief"; or "I taken to the hospital." The ill-formedness of auxiliaries, the copula and 'have' consisted of the use of a form outside its required context such as in the following examples: "My last holiday is at Rotifunk"; "When we have finished we went"; and "I told my aunt that I am going home."

Wrong use of these morphemes generally consisted of the use of the present forms instead of the past. The preceding examples illustrate this kind of ill-formedness. Wrong forms of this nature -- i.e., use of present instead of past form -- accounted, for example, for 13 out of 16 instances

of wrong auxiliary forms used by (P) subjects and 45 out of 47 of those used by (S) subjects.

It can also be seen from Table 4/1 that when the past forms of the copula and 'have' were produced they were rarely used wrongly. This is also the case with both (P) and (S) subjects' production of the past irregular and inflectional endings -ed, -ing and -en. The reverse, however, holds true with respect to subjects' production of the -s and Ø morphemes, both of which are used in expressing the present tense in English. With respect to the Ø morpheme, 70.5% of the Ø morphemes produced by (P) subjects and 75.2% of those produced by (S) subjects were used wrongly. It is also evident from Table 4/1 that the morphemes used to express past tense such as the past irregular, -ed, copula (past) and 'had' either have the highest frequency of use in the corpus or are used more frequently than the corresponding present form. The reason for this is the choice of discourse function -- i.e., narration. The majority of subjects recounted events which took place prior to the time of writing, hence past tense forms were frequently used.

In sum, with respect to the syntactic well-formedness of verbs used to express tense and aspect in English, it was found that, with the exception of the -s and Ø morphemes, there were more instances of syntactic well-formed forms than ill-formed forms produced by subjects. The ill-formed forms were not, however, negligible in number as Table 4/1 shows. Ill-formedness consisted primarily of unmarking of

some verb forms which require grammatical morphemes -ed, past irregular and -s, and secondly, of the use of present forms of morphemes when past forms are required. It was also found that although the percentage of omission of inflectional endings, in relation to total use of these endings, was lower in the production of (S) subjects and (P) subjects, omission was still a prominent surface characteristic of these subjects' production of tense and aspect in English. Also, (P) subjects have a relatively much higher percentage of omission of -s morpheme than (S) subjects. However, (S) subjects have a higher percentage of wrong use of -s morpheme than (P) subjects. Another finding worthy of note is the absence of omission of auxiliaries and of the main verbs 'have' and copula.

Table 4/2 presents findings with regard to the appropriateness of functions ascribed to English tense and aspect forms by these subjects. The table shows that when these subjects supplied forms which included the past tense -- i.e., simple past, past progressive, past perfect and past perfect progressive -- they, for the most part, ascribed functions to the past tense which the native speaker would ascribe (see Table 1/2). On the other hand, when they supplied the present tense forms -- i.e., simple present, present progressive, present perfect and present perfect progressive -- they often ascribed nonnative-like functions to the present tense forms as the following examples show.

When she saw me she is very happy because it takes a long time since we have seen... (P)

That event takes a long time...we were not told who was the winner. (S)

When the bell rings we all assembled... (S)

TABLE 4/2

Functional appropriateness of English tense/aspect forms: Number and percentage of incorrect and correct use, per total use of tense/aspects forms

Tense/aspect Forms	Incorrect				Correct				Total Use		Non-use	
	P		S		P		S		P	S	P	S
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	No.	No.
Simple past	10	1.5	30	1.8	654	98.7	1628	98.2	662	1658	216	393
Simple pres.	219	52.0	351	57.4	202	47.9	260	42.5	421	611	15	31
Pres. prog.	11	64.7	18	69.2	6	35.3	8	30.8	17	26	--	--
Pres. perf.	7	36.8	30	53.6	12	63.2	26	46.4	19	56	--	--
Past prog.	3	16.7	29	30.9	15	83.3	65	69.1	18	94	3	12
Past perf.	--	0	1	1.5	4	100	64	98.5	4	65	5	26
Pres. perf. prog.	3	100	3	100	--	0	--	0	3	3	--	--
Past perf. prog.	--	0	1	50	1	100	1	50	1	2	3	3

Consequently, the percentage of correct use of past tense forms was higher than the percentage of correct use of present tense forms. The simple past, for example, was used appropriately 98.7% in terms of total use by (P) subjects, and 98.2% by (S) subjects. The simple present, on the other

hand, was used appropriately 47.9% in terms of total use by (P) subjects and 42.5% by (S) subjects.

A concomitant result of the lower percentage of correct use of present tense forms was a higher percentage of incorrect use of these tense forms in relation to past tense forms. This can be seen in Table 4/2.

One significant finding which is not evident in Table 4/2, however, is that both (P) and (S) subjects used tense forms marked for aspect (e.g., present progressive) when simple tenses (e.g., simple present) were required or would have been more appropriate. They produced the following, for example:

(1)My father is the head of the family. He is working at the Standard Bank. (works') (P)

(2)We also tell about the gifts that the King has brought. (brought) (P)

(3)She prefer to go and buy biscuits they were selling one cent. (sold) (S)

(4)It seemed he had been giving them a lift. (was) (S)

(5)My first day at school was a very unpleasant one. I was crying a lot in school. (cried) (S)

Inappropriate use of this nature accounted for 52.4% of all incorrect use of auxiliary forms by (P) subjects and 51.2% of those by (S) subjects. In many instances such inappropriate use was accompanied by the use of the wrong form of the auxiliary. The remainder of incorrect use of auxiliaries by subjects consisted mainly of the use of the present form of the auxiliary instead of the past form. For

example, "One woman I knew was coming from where I am heading for" (was) (S).

Table 4/3 shows results with respect to sequencing of tenses within sentences. It was found that 52% (P) and 58% (S) of subjects' sentences were subject to tense sequencing as there was a large number of sentences which contained just one main verb. Of the sentences that contained sequences of tense, 74.9% (P) and 73.7% (S) showed correct sequencing.

TABLE 4/3

Number and percentage of correct and incorrect sequencing, etc. per total number of sentences

Level of Subjects	Incorrect Sequencing		Correct Sequencing		Correct but Inappropriate		Not Applicable		Total No. of Sentences
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
P	84	13	251	39.0	41	16.3	307	47.8	642
S	203	15.4	569	43.2	54	9.4	544	41.3	1316

However, a small proportion of these correctly sequenced sentences -- 16.3% (P) and 9.4% (S) -- were inappropriate in the discourse context. With respect to incorrect sequencing, the major characteristic was the nonnative-like use of past and present tenses within a sentence as the following examples show.

(1)I went and visit my grandmother. (P)

(2)When I come to Freetown they began to... (P)

(3)We gathered in a field and do..., (P)

(4)I just say hello...and asked for... (S)

(5)The school choir came and present a very nice song.(S)

(6)As soon as I was promoted...I transfer to the YWCA. (S)

Table 4/4 is a summary of findings with respect to sources of attribution of subjects' non target production -- approximations.

TABLE 4/4

Attribution by source of subjects' non-target production

Level of Subjects	English		Krio		English + Krio		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
P	8	2.9	4	1.1	257	95.5	--	0
S	45	8.8	--	0	462	90.7	2	0.4

As can be seen from the table, the majority of learners' approximations has been attributed to two sources combined -- i.e., English and Krio. 95.5% of all approximations produced by (P) subjects and 90.7% of those produced by (S) subjects were classified as due to both English and Krio. The proportion of approximations due to either English or Krio was small in comparison. In fact, there were no approximations produced by (S) subjects that could be classified as due to Krio only, and it can be argued by some

that those of (P) subjects attributed to Krio can be due to English also. Approximations that were due to English only were relatively higher for (S) subjects than for (P) subjects: 8.8% (S) and 2.9% (P). The surface characteristics of most of these approximations are: 'double-marking' (e.g., "I did not reached"); regularization of the irregular (e.g., "I waked"); and the use of past tense forms for the present (e.g., "There are farmers... they plant...and the farmers wife took the things to the market to sell").

It is apparent from the results that (P) and (S) subjects' production differ significantly in absolute frequency on most of the features examined. This difference is largely the outcome of a difference in proficiency level. (P) subjects were less proficient and therefore produced less language. As noted in Chapter Three, the average length of the compositions of (P) subjects was 150 words, whereas that of (S) subjects was 400 words.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The discussion of the results of this study is divided into two sections in order to keep separate the descriptive aspect of the study -- i.e., the product level -- from the explanatory level -- i.e., the process level. In the first section, a description of subjects' production is given, while the second section centres around the determination of sources of subjects' non-target language approximations.

Description of Subjects' Production

Several significant findings emerge from this study. With respect to subjects' production of verb forms used to express tense and aspect in English, it was found that there was generally a higher frequency of well-formed target language forms than non-target language approximations (see table 4/1). This suggests that these subjects in general possess a high level of competency in producing English tense/aspect verb forms. It was also found, however, that the subjects' production was characterized by a high frequency of omission of the -ed, past irregular and -s verb morphemes. This feature occurred more frequently, in terms of percentage of total use, in the production of (P) subjects than (S) subjects, and this suggests that this feature abates with increased proficiency in English. However, the presence in significant numbers at both levels of proficiency makes it a common approximation in these

subjects' production and indicates that this approximation is slow to restructure and therefore a persistant error. (See Selinker, 1972; Schumann, 1979; Zobl, 1980b for discussions on the relationship between slow restructuring of interlanguage forms and the tendency of these forms to fossilize.) The results also indicate a definite pattern of use of -s morphemes: (S) subjects omitted this morpheme less often but overused it more than their (P) counterparts. The performance by (S) subjects is indicative of their higher proficiency in English. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) note that omission errors are more frequent during early stages of L2 acquisition. As the learner is exposed to more of the target language, they state, errors such as overuse of grammatical morphemes are likely to occur.

The findings concerning these subjects' use -- i.e., appropriateness of functions -- of English tense/aspect forms are no less significant or interesting. The results reveal that both (P) and (S) subjects, for the most part, ascribe functions to past tense forms that the native speaker would ascribe. However, their use of present tense was characterized by the inappropriateness of functions ascribed to those forms. Thus, inappropriateness of functions resulted from the substitution of the present tense for the past. The use of the present tense for the past is manifested not only in the use of the Ø morpheme in place of past tense inflections, but also in the use of present tense forms of the copula and 'have', and in the case of (S) subjects the use of the -s morpheme instead of

past tense inflections. This finding, concerning the appropriateness of functions ascribed to past and present tense forms by these subjects, indicates that when they mark verbs explicitly for past tense, these verbs are indicative of past time. When present tense forms are used -- i.e., Ø and -s morphemes, the copula and 'have' (pres.) -- these verbs may be indicative of either present time or past time.

Also concerning the appropriateness of functions acribed to forms is the finding that subjects used aspectual tenses -- i.e., [Aux. + V] -- in some contexts where simple tenses -- i.e., [V] -- were needed. The frequency of this use was not as high as those of the other two common approximations already mentioned. However, it was an observable tendency in these subjects' production.

Finally, the results show a remarkable similarity in the production of approximations by (P) and (S) subjects (see tables 4/1 and 4/2). The difference between these subjects' production of approximations is essentially one of degree rather than of kind. In other words, there was a difference in frequency and proportion of deviant forms rather than a difference of the type of deviation produced. This similarity is also brought out in subjects' sequencing of tenses within the sentence. Although the number of sentences produced by (P) and (S) subjects differed greatly, the proportion of correct, incorrect, and even sentences that did not contain more than one main verb, were remarkably similar (see table 4/3). The nature of the approximations in tense sequencing at both levels of

proficiency was the vacillation between present and past tense forms. In most cases the Ø morpheme and other present tense forms were used in place of the past.

Determination of Sources of Subjects' Approximations

The most common types of approximations of the subjects used in this study, which make up over 90% of the subjects' approximations (see table 4/4), have all been recorded in research studies investigating the production of ESL learners from different L1 backgrounds, and studies in the production of L1 learners of English. In their study on the acquisition of grammatical morphemes by L1 learners of English, both Brown (1973) and de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) found that children used the Ø morpheme as approximation of verb forms which they had not yet acquired. In second language acquisition studies, Richards (1971) for example, observed that ESL learners from many different L1 backgrounds made errors which involved the use of Ø morpheme instead of inflections such as -ed and -s. His investigation also revealed that L2 learners of English used aspectual tenses in place of simple tenses as in:

"She is coming from Canada." (comes)

"I am having my hair cut on Thursdays." (have)(p.111)

As is brought out in Chapter Two, other researchers such as Meziani (1978); Olshtain (1979); Reyes (1969); and Setian (1974), have made similar findings in this regard.

As is also stated in Chapter Two of this study, researchers such as Bartelt (1983); Edwards (1979) and Reyes (1969) all found inconsistency of tense sequencing in the production of their subjects from different L1 backgrounds. Some of the errors noted that gave rise to inconsistency were the use of present tense instead of the past. Coulter (1968), reported in Selinker (1972), recorded constructions with errors in tense sequencing made by Russian ESL learners, which he believed to be examples of L2 learners' substituting the present tense for the past.

Research findings such as these lend support to the view that the common approximations of these Krio-speaking subjects are similar to those of other ESL learners of different L1 backgrounds. For this reason, the approximations of these subjects can be considered to have their source in the target language -- English -- and could be termed 'developmental', 'intralingual' (Richards, 1971) or intrinsic (Barkman and Winer, 1983).

From the fact that these subjects' approximations are similar to those of other ESL learners, some may argue that the language acquisition processes and strategies which give rise to these subjects' approximations must be similar (cf. Sheen, 1980). Thus, the omission of the -ed, past irregular, and -s verb morphemes by these subjects may be explained in terms of the process of simplification by reduction, a process that is usually inferred from the omission of grammatical morphemes by both ESL learners and L1 learners of English (see Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982;

Richards, 1971). The process of simplification by reduction is a process by which learners simplify the target language system being acquired by removing what they consider to be redundant features of little value to getting their meaning across. This simplification, it is thought, helps the learner to cope with the target-language system (see Littlewood, 1984).

Simplification, though of another kind, can be claimed to be the process underlying these subjects' use of present tense instead of the past. It can be claimed that these subjects, like other ESL learners, are simplifying the target language tense/aspect system by using the present tense as an archi-form, i.e., the use of one member of a class to represent others in the class (see Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982). The present tense may have been chosen instead of the past because, among other things, it is the unmarked form of the two in the sense that it is the form that is acquired earlier by ESL learners (see table 2/1).

It can also be claimed that the process which underlies the use of aspectual tenses, and the -s morpheme in the case of (S) subjects, is that of overgeneralization, for these subjects extend these elements beyond the contexts in which they are required.

Simplification, be it redundancy reduction or use of archi-forms, and overgeneralization are generally considered to be language developmental processes, that is, processes which are used by anyone acquiring a language (see Corder, 1967; Dulay and Burt, 1974; Littlewood, 1984; Richards,

1971). In sum, then, the three major types of approximations found in this study can be considered to be developmental, or intrinsic errors, and this makes their source the target language itself, and makes them reflective of language developmental processes.

There is also evidence, however, that these approximations can very well be the result of the influence of Krio tense/aspect system. First, it was observed that subjects' omission of verb morphemes was selective, in the sense that only certain morphemes were omitted while others were not or were rarely omitted. Though this selectivity can be explained in terms of the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes -- morphemes observed to be acquired early by ESL learners were not omitted by these subjects, while those acquired later were omitted -- a more plausible explanation is L1 transfer. The past tense verb morphemes that were omitted correspond in function to the Ø morpheme perfective aspect which is also a frequently used marker of past time in Krio (see table 1/2). The present tense -s morpheme in English, together with its Ø counterpart, is equivalent in function to the Krio perfective Ø with a certain kind of verbs (see table 1/3). The present tense Ø morpheme form in English and the perfective form in Krio, as can be seen, are identical. It is likely, therefore, that the similarity of forms, and of some functions, triggered the transfer of Krio Ø morpheme form to English. In contexts where there is a correspondence of form and function, positive transfer is evident as production is

error-free. In contexts where there is no correspondence of form even though there may be a correspondence of function, negative transfer is evident as errors, or approximations, are produced. An example of this is the unmarking of the -ed, past irregular and -s morphemes.

A finding of this study which lends support to this explanation is that morphemes which were never or rarely omitted were parts of verb forms that have correspondent forms in Krio. Auxiliaries, for instance, were not omitted probably because auxiliaries are free morphemes, and as such, they are acquired earlier than bound inflectional morphemes (see Wode, 1981). Auxiliaries are also verbal particles in both languages, and are a part of the aspectual tense structure (see table 2/1). There is therefore a structural correspondence which may have led to the transfer of the L1 structure to English. Because of the similarity of the Krio and English structure, the transfer is positive. It is possible that the -en and -ing inflections were rarely omitted because they are syllabic and therefore salient. Another possible reason is that these morphemes, unlike the -ed, past irregular and -s morphemes, are always part of the structure of aspectual tenses and may therefore be regarded as bound in this sense (cf. Zobl, 1980a, for instance, for a discussion on the immunity of the -ing morphemes to L1 transfer).

The production of aspectual tenses in place of simple tenses may also be due to Krio. It is possible that the structural similarity between English and Krio aspectual

tenses, together with the similarity of certain functions of these forms (see tables 1/4 to 1/6), led these subjects to believe that English and Krio aspectual tenses correspond in form and functions. Consequently they transferred the Krio form to English.

The sharing of the unmarked form of verbs by Krio and English, and the similarity of certain functions of this form may also account for the substitution of present tense forms for past tense forms. These similarities might have led the subjects in this study to hypothesize that the present tense forms in English are used to indicate both present and past time as the perfective is used in Krio (see pp. 22 & 23, also tables 1/2 and 1/3). This hypothesis could give rise to the transfer not only of the unmarked forms but also of other present tense forms such as the copula and 'have' (present). This explanation may also partly account for the overuse of the -s morpheme by (S) subjects. It is likely that the hypothesis just mentioned led these subjects to use the present tense -s morpheme in place of past tense morphemes.

Findings of other research studies lend support to the view that L1 transfer is a plausible explanation for the production of major approximations observed in this study. Zobl (1980a), for instance, in examining the selectivity of L1 transfer on L2 acquisition, notes that studies he reviewed indicate that structural transfer from L1 arises only when a learner perceives a structural similarity between the L1 and L2. Gass (1979), based on her research,

suggests that one of the characteristics which will predict when L1 transfer is likely to occur is the distance between the relevant structure of the target language and the transferred pattern. In her view, if there is a small distance, transfer is likely to occur. Both Zobl (1980a) and Gass (1979) therefore consider actual cross-linguistic ties to be a factor in learners' decision to transfer or not to transfer L1 features to the L2. As is evident in the preceding discussion, the transfer of Krio tense/aspect features to English by the subjects in this study seems to have been triggered by actual cross-linguistic ties -- i.e., formal similarities -- that exist between the two languages.

Kellerman (1977, 1979, 1983) provides a theory which best explains what Zobl and Gass have observed, and the high proportion of these subjects' approximations that can be attributed to Krio. According to his theory of perceived language distance, discussed at some length in Chapter One, L2 learners' decision to transfer or not to transfer L1 features to the L2 is based on their <u>perception</u> of the distance between L1 and L2. This perception is partly built upon the presence and frequency of actual cross-linguistic ties between the two languages, and learners' perception of the uniqueness of a particular L1 structure. Kellerman (1977) states that in a situation where the L1 and L2 are perceived to be very close, due to both the existence of many cross-linguistic ties and the hypothesis that an L1 feature is common to both languages, there will be more instances of L1 transfer than in a situation in which the L1

and L2 are perceived to be different. In the case of Krio and English, an example of a creole/standard language acquisiton setting, there is a high level of cross-linguistic ties in the different areas of language (see Introductory chapter). These ties bring out the typological closeness of English and Krio. Because of this close typological relationship and the presence of shared features in the tense/aspect systems of both languages, as has been brought out, the subjects in this study may have mistakenly perceived that the tense/aspect systems of Krio and English are closer than they actually are and therefore transferred all or most L1 tense/aspect features to English. This results in a high frequency of positive transfer where the systems of the two languages coincide, and negative transfer where they do not. Winer (1982), in her study of the use of English by Trinidadian English Creole (TEC) learners of English, suggests that the high degree of similarity between TEC and English creates a deceptive similarity between the two languages which obscures their significant differences and produces special problems for these learners. One problem she found in her study was a high level of negative transfer in the production of her subjects.

Two additional factors may have partly influenced these subjects' production of the English tense/aspect system: the target language input these subjects receive, and language universals. The most extensive exposure these subjects get to English, as was noted in Chapter Three, is through interaction with their teachers who are themselves

native speakers of Krio. The teachers are therefore these subjects' main models and judges with respect to the use of English. There is a possibility that the teachers, being Krio speakers, may not perceive some of the nonnative-like approximations, such as the tendency to use tense forms marked for aspect instead of simple tenses. If this is the case, these subjects may not have received the necessary feedback, such as overt correction, which may have alerted them to such nonnative-like use. It is not appropriate to elaborate on the possible influence of this factor as the knowledge of the teachers whose pupils were used in this study was never elicited.

The production of certain errors by the subjects could have been influenced by their drawing upon certain universal tendencies. The overuse of tenses marked for aspect can be considered to be reflective of the alleged primacy of aspect over tense. Cited in Chapter Two of this study were the studies of Kumpf (1984) and Bloom, et al. (1980) which indicate that the interlanguage temporal system of both L1 and L2 learners of English are reflective of a universal tendency of languages to make a distinction based on aspect rather than tense. This tendency does not surface in English but, as these studies show, surfaces in the interlanguage systems of learners of English. It is therefore possible that the observed overuses of aspectual forms by these subjects is partly due to this universal tendency, or, more likely, this tendency and Krio, as Krio also conforms to this tendency.

The explanations which have been given to account for the major approximations of the subjects in this study indicate the problem of determining the sources of ESL learners' errors. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide in this study whether L1 transfer or language developmental processes account best for particular approximations. For this reason the majority of these subjects' approximations, as can be seen from table 4/4, are classified as due to both English and Krio.

It is, however, possible that in a creole/standard language acquisition situation neither source is predominant. In other words, the inability to tease apart the sources in the majority of these subjects' approximations reflects the mutual interaction of L2 developmental process and L1 transfer in the Krio/English acquisition setting. The only clear evidence of L1 transfer seems to be the persistent (relative to other ESL learners) nature of certain errors.

Both Schumann (1979) and Zobl (1980a & b) have observed and commented upon the effects of errors which are produced when L1 transfer errors correspond to developmental errors. Both Schumann and Zobl note that the use of preverbal negation by Spanish-speaking and Italian-speaking ESL learners is due to the correspondence of L1 transfer errors and errors due to L2 developmental processes (see p. 33). In the views of these researchers the structural correspondence between preverbal negation as an interlanguage form used by both L1 and L2 learners of

English, and as a terminal stage form in Spanish and Italian, gives rise to errors which are persistent in the speech of these learners, and in some cases fossilize. This effect, described by both Schumann (1979) and Zobl (1980a & b), seems evident in the production of approximations by the subjects of this study. As noted earlier (see pp. 97-98) the omission of certain inflections by (S) subjects suggests that this type of error was persistent and slow to restructure. It is also likely that the similarity of proportion found between (P) and (S) subjects' common approximations is indicative of the slow pace of elimination of errors that reflect the interaction of L1 transfer and language developmental processes.

In sum, this study shows that the production of subjects is reflective of L1 transfer (both negative and postive), and L2 developmental processes. More significantly, the findings suggest that in a creole/ standard language acquisition setting, a setting in which the L1 and L2 are closely related, the instances available for L1 transfer to the L2 are many. Also in this setting, there is a high level of mutual interaction between L1 transfer and L2 developmental processes because the errors caused by the former correspond to those which are given rise to by the latter-mentioned processes. This mutual interaction tends to slow down the restructuring of the errors it affects, which makes them persistent in the speech of creole-speaking ESL learners. In this study, this

persistent nature is suggested by the similarity of types and proportions of the major approximations of both (P) and (S) subjects.

The persistent nature of errors found in the use of the English tense/aspect system by the subjects in this study is suggestive of a special problem which creole speakers confront when learning English: their proficiency in English in certain areas will likely be slow to develop as certain errors are difficult to eradicate from their speech. A longitudinal study examining different areas of English language use by creole speakers may illuminate further the relationship between persistence of errors and slow development of English proficiency. However, the present study clearly suggests that a high level of interaction of L1 transfer errors and L2 developmental errors can lead to persistence of those errors influenced by such interaction. It is very likely that such persistence can retard development of English proficiency in the areas of the language involved. Put within the framework of the problem which this study addresses, it is likely that the low standard of English of students in Sierra Leone is <u>partly</u> the outcome of the retarding influence of the high level of interaction of the two central processes of <u>second</u> language acquisition.

I believe that in order to improve the standard of English in schools in Sierra Leone, one of many steps that should be taken is to adopt an approach to teaching English to Krio speakers that would take cognizance of the problem

mentioned above. Teaching English as a native language does not, in my view, take cognizance of the problem, a problem which shows that Krio speakers are not operating the same linguistic system as standard English speakers, and that their L1, because of its closeness to the L2, exerts a strong influence on the acquistion process.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusions

Summary of Research

This study was undertaken to address the following questions:

(a) What are the most common approximations of the learners' interlanguage tense/aspect system to the system of the target language, English? How frequent are these approximations in relation to the correct use of the target language system?

(b) Are these approximations different according to level of proficiency in English? Do they decrease or increase in frequency according to level of proficiency, or are there different types of approximations at different levels?

(c) Do these approximations evidence transfer from Krio? If so, how?

The results of the study reveal that the most common approximations of both (P) and (S) subjects are the following: the omission of the -ed, past irregular, and -s grammatical morphemes; the substitution of present tense forms for past tense forms; and the tendency to use aspectual tenses in place of simple tenses. The results also show that, with the exception of the substitution of present for past tense forms, subjects' approximations were less frequent and of a lower proportion than the correct use of the English tense/aspect system.

With respect to the second question addressed in this study, it was found that (P) and (S) subjects produced the same types of approximations, though the frequency, and at times the proportion in terms of total use, differed.

Finally, there was found to be definite evidence of L1 transfer which shows that Krio does influence these subjects' production of the English tense/aspect system. However, it was also found that the same approximations which evidence L1 influence could also be interpreted as evidence of language developmental processes such as simplification and overgeneralization.

Conclusion

I have in the present study taken cognizance of Hatch's (1978) words of caution, that the only question a researcher should answer is the one he (or she) asks. The research questions raised in this study have been answered. However, the study would be incomplete without my discussing some implications and making some suggestions for further research.

Application of Research Findings to Second Language Teaching

A question which might be asked is "What relevance do the findings of this study have to second language teaching?" The answer to this question is twofold. First, this study will have little or no relevance to the ESL teacher who seeks answers to pedagogical questions, such as how to teach the different English tense/aspect forms to

Krio-speaking ESL learners. However, it can be of relevance to the ESL teacher who seeks knowledge on what Krio-speaking learners of English do when they use tense and aspect in English. The study indicates to the teacher, for example, the type of errors these learners are most likely to produce in using the English system, and the influences which give rise to these errors. The study also reveals to the teacher and other educators that the problems Krio-speaking learners encounter in using English tense and aspect are associated with these learners' perception of a close relationship between English and Krio. This perception leads these learners to transfer Krio features to English. These learners' problems also reflect language developmental processes which underlie the errors of all language learners. This study therefore provides evidence to educators that the errors of Krio-speaking ESL learners, in using the English tense/aspect system reflect the two central processes which underlie second language acquisition, a fact which teachers of Krio speakers overlook.

Recommendations for Further Research

My recommendations are with respect to the improvement on the methodology used in the study, and ways in which the findings of this study can be complemented.

Replication of this study is needed in order to further explore the issues raised. However, in any replication, there should be a variety of tasks used to reflect learners'

use of English tense and aspect. In this study, only one task was used. The use of a variety of tasks, such as grammaticality judgment tasks, cloze tests, and compositions with different discourse functions, is more likely to give a clearer indication of subjects' knowledge of the English system.

I would also suggest that a larger-scale study be done, using more subjects, as this would widen the population from which subjects are drawn, and in turn would extend the generalizability of the findings.

Longitudinal studies should also be done. These studies could, for instance, confirm the pattern of use of the -s morpheme observed in this study, which is that with more proficiency in English, subjects omit this morpheme less often but overuse it more. They could also show whether the approximations found to be persistent actually fossilize in the speech of these learners, and shed more light on the relationship between persistent errors and slow development of English proficiency in a creole/standard language acquisitional setting.

Further research can be done in many areas which can complement this study. The investigation of Krio-speaking ESL learners' use of prepositions, articles, inversion in question formation, for instance, can throw more light on the complex interaction of L1 transfer and L2 developmental processes in a creole/standard language acquisition setting.

Another fertile ground for investigation is the role of target language input from teachers in the English proficiency of Krio speakers.

An area of Krio-speakers' use of the English tense/aspect system which especially needs further research is the use of aspectual forms. Further research is needed to investigate the role of universal language tendencies in the production of aspect in English by Krio ESL learners.

Finally, this study should be replicated in a host-language environment in order to show whether the approximations, and the processes which give rise to them, are similar to those in a non-host-language acquisition setting. It would also be interesting to find out if one source of learners' errors can be seen to predominate in a host-language acquistional setting.

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Appendix I

(P)07

I Spent my Christmas day beautifully. In the morning at 9. am I went to the divine Service at the Samaria West Africa Methodist Church and I robbed in the stall. After service I undress and went home. Then we went to our friends to talk aoout the bath of Jesus. Then I went home.

Then I went to my uncle at Wilkinson road to Spent the rest of the day. when I go there my uncle took my cousins and myself to the beach. Then me sister met us playing in the water. Then she told us to get away from there. There we wear our clothes and got into the car.

There my uncle drove away. Then when we went home at 5 o'clock. He gave me some food to eat. when I have finished eating, I told him that I am coming home to my grandmother, but my grandmother did not believe that I came from my uncle's house. Then my uncle came and told her that I was with him.

(P)40

I Started My holiday on the 15th of July 1985 after the Closing of school. I spent my Holiday in freetow with my aunty. I have been promoted to class 7 so my aunty make a nice party for me when school close at that time. We have a nice birthday Farty in our house so I Stay in freetown till schools open. on Holiday We usually go to Church on Sunday morning at Trinity. Sometimes after church I take my breakfast after breakfast I Wash plate and clean birthroom and toilet. during the Holiday my mother and my father Come and visit me but She did not Come for long - before She goes She giveme a nice gift for my birthday party.

My Last Holiday is at Rotifunk I went and visit my Grand mother. when She saw me She is very Happy because it takes a long tome sines We have seen. before I Came back to freetown She make ricebread and rice Karry for us in our family.

(S)01

When I was a little girl my Mother always live me to one lady living in the same apartment because she goes to work, but before going to work she made lunch for me and live it with the woman.

One day when she finish making my lunch she took my dress off and say that she is going to wash me and I started cry. She washed me and dry my skin with a towel and dress me up. when she finished she took me to the woman that I usually go and stay to her. when am angry and I went to her for my lunch and she refuse to give it to me she prefer to go and buy those biscuit they were selling one cent and give it to me she keep on doing it every day and at that time I was five year old but when an five year old that time I was talking very well, although I was five year old she was still doing it so one day I told my mother. She did not belive. one day she court her redhanded but my mother did not say a word. some of the people in the yard heard my mother talking about this attitudes that the woman was doing so they went and told her that my mother was a grumble, so when the woman came she stated insulting my mother and both of than quarrel and they even fight and the lady wounded my mother, and my mother also wounded the lady. but of them were taken to the police station.

After every thing has finish the next day the woman called me to go and take something as soon as I went to her. she told me that she is going to kill me and she prepare a bread for me with some egg and give it to me but as soon as I wanted to put it inside my mouth the bread fell down and I went and told my mother., so some of the age group told my mother that the lady poison the bread so as from now any body who gives me something and she fell down I will not pick it or eat

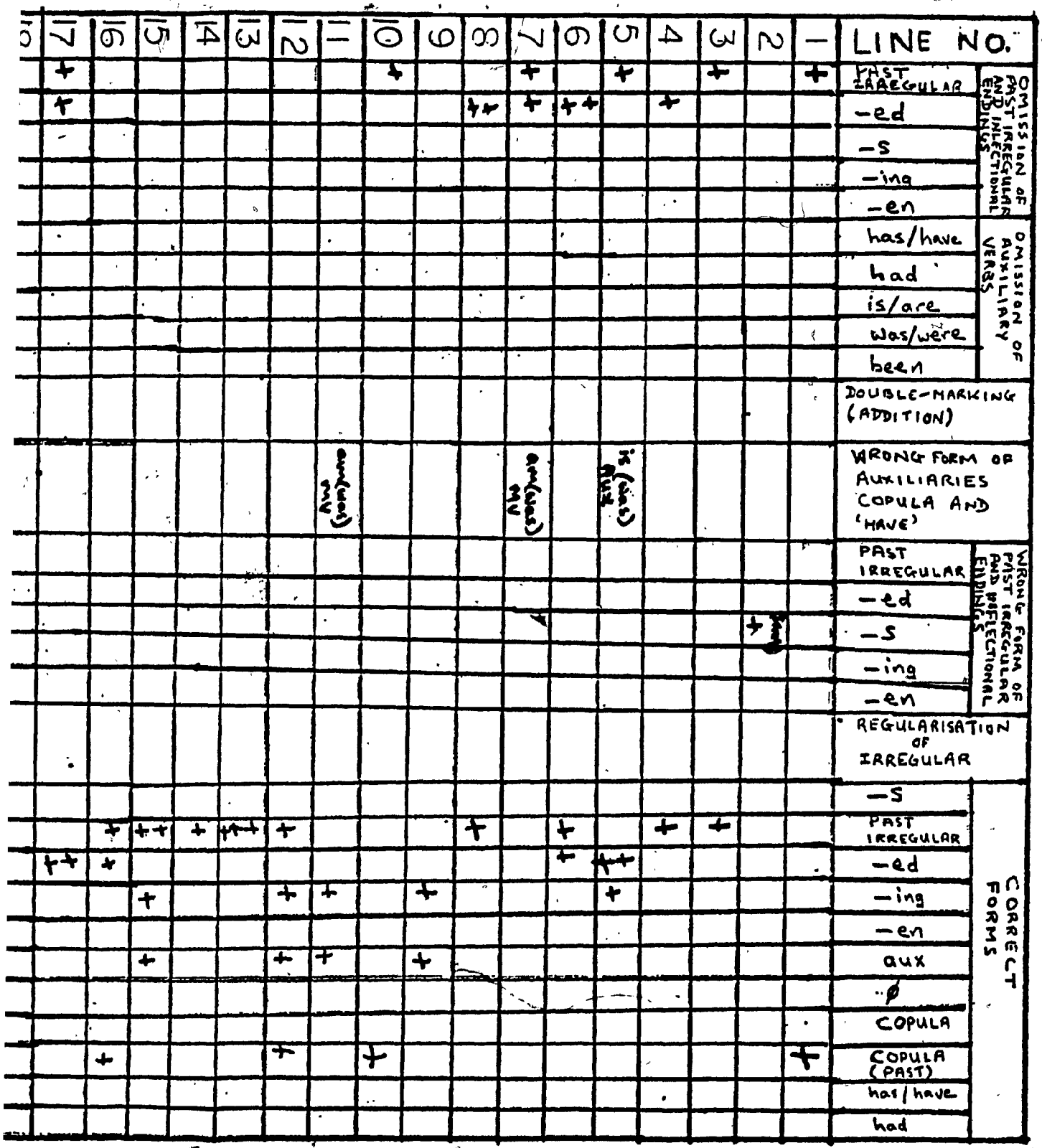
(S)13

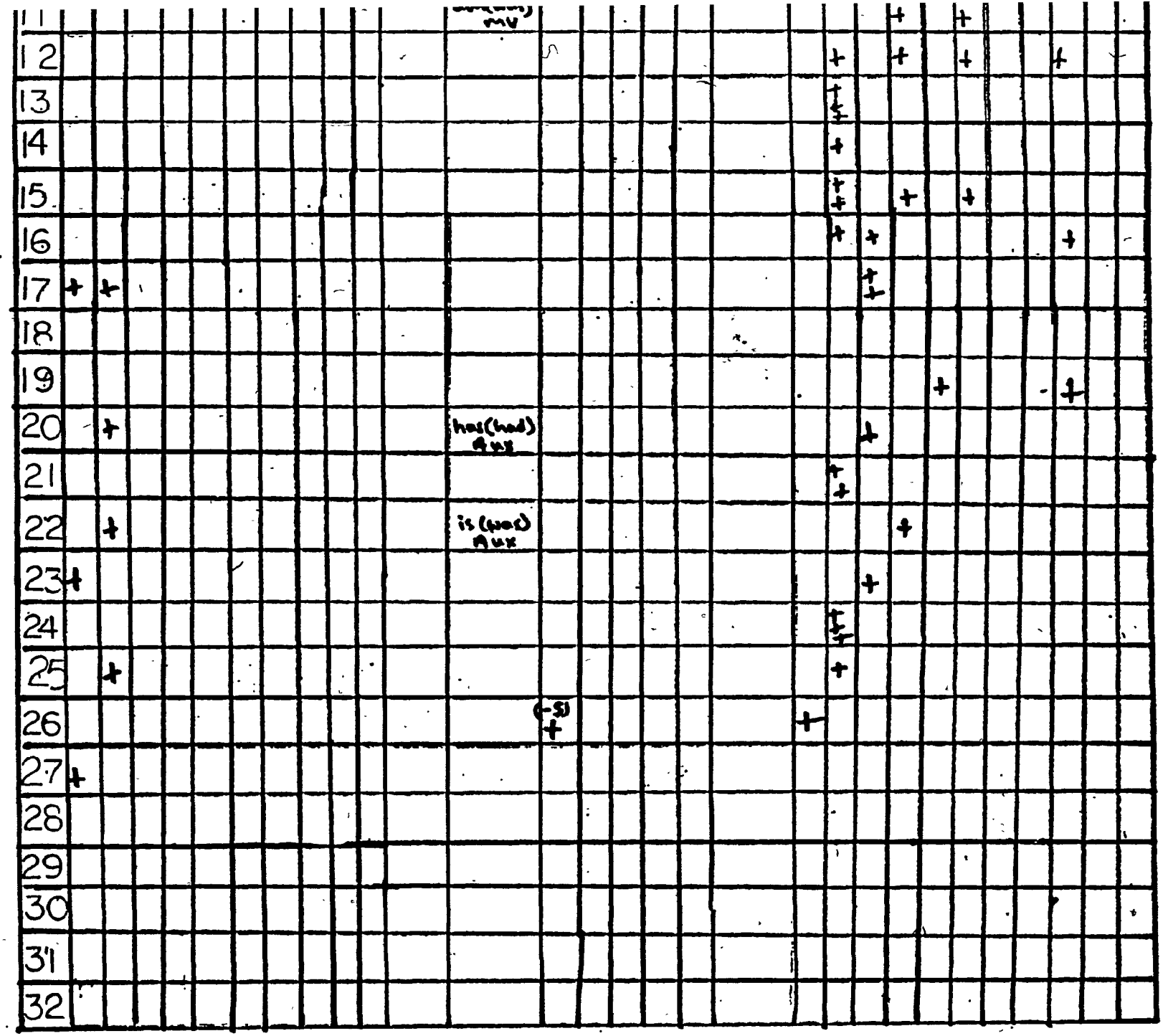
I started school in September 1972, when I was 7 years old. I should confessed that I was quite a big girl, and I think that my parents were not to be blamed, because it was due to financial purposes that prevented me not to attend school at an earlier stage. Children now a days do not feel comfortable to attend school on the day school reopened. they cried and give all sorts of trouble. but in my own case I was not like them. instead I was the one helping teachers to comfort the crying children and as a result I was chosen to be the prefect for my class.

What makes me to appreciate school very much are my cousins who used to tell me stories that they have been told in school and they showed me pictures that they have been given and most of all is because I admired them so much when they are pointing to pictures and what has been written against the pictures. so that urged me to forced my parents to let me attend school. The periods I enjoyed best in my primary school are crafting time and music time, I enjoyed making differents shapes of things with clays and most of all I like sirging and when I sing I make all necessary actions.

I entered secondary school in 1978/1979 school year. There I was offering Arts subjects, but I find Arts subjects to difficult so I started doing commercial subjects at Y.W.C.A. vocational Institute, where I am offering 3 years couse I have already finished my course. I gained discipled and I learned how to interact with people of different groups.

Appendix II


LINE NO.
OMISSION OF PAST IRREGULAR AND INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS
PAST IRREGULAR
-ed
-s
-ing
-en
OMISSION OF AUXILIARY VERBS
has/have
had
is/are
was/were
been
DOUBLE-MARKING (ADDITION)
WRONG FORM OF AUXILIARIES COPULA AND 'HAVE'
WRONG FORM OF PAST IRREGULAR AND INFLECTIONAL ENDINGS
PAST IRREGULAR
-ed
-s
-ing
-en
REGULARISATION OF IRREGULAR
-s
PAST IRREGULAR
-ed
-ing
-en
aux
ø
COPULA
COPULA (PAST)
has/have
had
CORRECT FORMS


mv
has(had)
aux
is(was)
aux
(-s)

17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	LINE NUMBER	
																	SIMPLE PAST	INCORRECT USE
++						+	+		++	+++	++	+	+	+	+	+	SIMPLE PRESENT	
												+					PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	
																	PRESENT PERFECT	
								+									PAST PROGRESSIVE	
																	PAST PERFECT	
																	PRESENT PERFECT PROGRESSIVE	
																	PAST PERFECT PROGRESSIVE	
++						+	+	+	++	+++	++	+	+	+	+	+	SIMPLE PAST	NON-USE
																	SIMPLE PRESENT	
																	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	
																	PRESENT PERFECT	
												+					PAST PROGRESSIVE	
																	PAST PERFECT	
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+	++	++	+	++	++		+		+		++	++	+	+		+	SIMPLE PAST	CORRECT USE
																	SIMPLE PRESENT	
																	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	
																	PRESENT PERFECT	
		+			+	+											PAST PROGRESSIVE	
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																	SIMPLE PAST	TOTAL USE
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																	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE	
																	PRESENT PERFECT	
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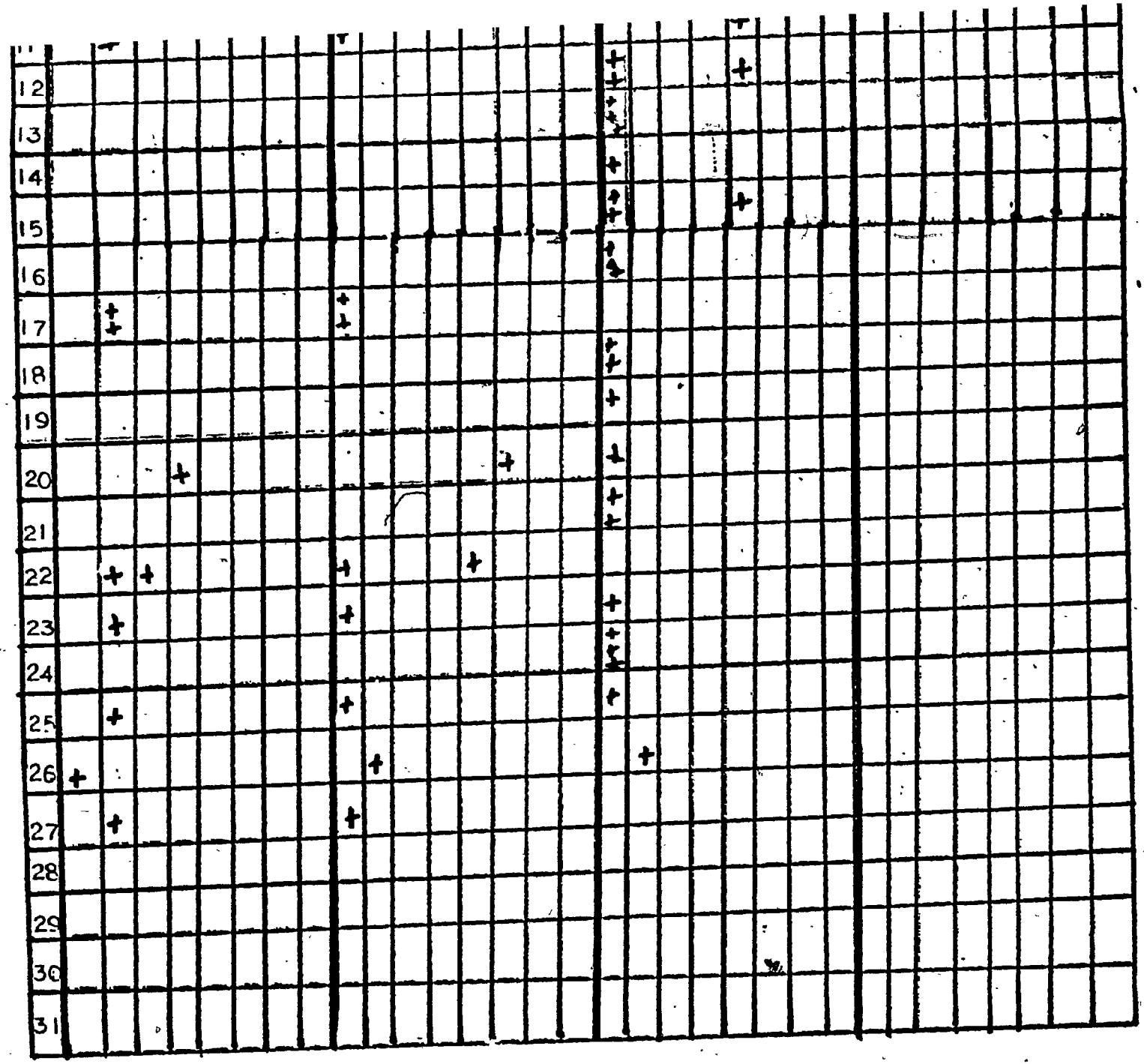
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SENTENCE NUMBER	CORRECT SEQUENCING	INAPPROPRIATE	INCORRECT SEQUENCING	EXAMPLES OF INCORRECT SEQUENCING
1			Sp + Spr + Spr	when I was a little girl my mother always live me to ... because she goes to work
2			Sp + Spr	She made lunch and live it with the woman
3			Sp + Spr + pr. pg	She took my dress off and say that she is going to wash me ...
4			Sp + Spr + Spr	She washed me and dry my skin... and dress me up
5			Sp + Spr + Spr	... she took me to the woman I usually go and stayed ...
6			Spr + Sp	when I am angry and I went...
7			Spr + P. pg	She prefer to ... buy those biscuit they were selling
8			Spr + Sp	She keep on doing it everyday ... I was five year..
9			Spr + P. pg	... when am five year old that time I was talking very well
10	Sp + Sp + Sp			
11	N/A			
12	Sp + Sp			
13	Sp + P.pg + Sp + P.pg			
14			Sp + Sp + Spr + Spr...	... woman come ... started insulting ... both of them quarrel
15	N/A			
16			Pr. pt + Sp	everything has finished ... called me ....
17			Sp + Sp + Pr pg + Spr	I went... she told... she is going... she prepare ....
18	Sp + Sp + Sp + Sp			
19			Sp + Spr	... told her that the woman poison the bread

11	N/A			
12	Sp + Sp			
13	Sp + P.pg + Sp + P.pg			
14			Sp + Sp + Spr + Spr...	... woman come ... started insulting ... both of them quarrel
15	N/A			
16			Pr. pt + Sp	everything has finished ... called me ....
17			Sp + Sp + pr pg + Spr	I want... she told... she is going ... she prepare ....
18	Sp + Sp + Sp + Sp			
19			Sp + Spr	... told her that the woman poison the bread
20			Spr + Sp	gives me ... and it falls...
21	N/A			
22				
23				
24				
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31				
32				

LINE NUMBER	ENGLISH	KRIO	ENGLISH + KRIO	OTHERS
1			live (left)	
2			goes (went)	
3			live (left)	
4			finish (-ed)	
5			say (said) is (was) Aux	
6			dry (-ed) dress (-ed)	
7			go (went) am (was) MV stay (-ed)	
8			refuse (-ed) prefer (-ed)	
9			were selling (sold)	
10			keep (kept)	
11			am (was) MV	
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17			quarrel (-ed) fight (fought)	
18				
19				
			has (had) Aux	

11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17			quarrel (-ed) fight (fought)	
18				
19				
20			has (had) Aux	
21				
22			is (was) aux prepare (-ed)	
23			give (gave)	
24				
25			poison (-ed)	
26	fell (falls)			
27			teach (taught)	
28				
29				
30				
31				
32				