THE SCHOOL OF APPLIED LANGUAGES

THE POTENTIAL FOR ARABIC TRANSFER IN THE ORAL INTERLANGUAGE OF ENGLISH

Ph D IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS
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*I hereby declare that both the critical
survey and the empirical research put
forward in this dissertation are based
upon my own work
G El-Marzouk*

To my parents

And

To Basima and Al-Harith

I dedicate this work

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ABSTRACT

This is an attempted scrutiny into various aspects of Arabic-transfer effects upon the English interlanguages of a group of Syrian-Arab adult learners (intermediate to advanced), who are postgraduate students reading for higher degrees in engineering at several universities in Dublin. A multitude of interlingual identifications *orally* produced by these learners have been collected during a period of eighteen months, and are put forward as the principal focus of this study. By having recourse to both the Standard and Colloquial varieties of Arabic, the areas of language transfer are specified in terms of three linguistic subcomponents: phonology, syntax and semantics (i.e. lexical selection), each categorized within its own taxonomy. Yet, the complexity of the task lies in the tremendous variations Arabic offers between the Standard Variety and the Colloquial Variety at one end, and between the regional dialects of the latter at another. For this reason, such regional dialects are classified into four main dialects constituting **Syrian Colloquial Arabic** in the sociolinguistic sense. The higher complexity of the task, however, stems from the attempted analysis of specific interlingual identifications which, along the levels of **language process** and **language product**, are said to reflect transfer effects from either variety, or from an overlapping existing between the two, or even from a mixture of two or more regional dialects of **Syrian Colloquial Arabic**.

The attested errors made in the domains of phonology and syntax are allocated in terms of two major categories. First, *Interlingual Errors* are those attested identifications whose analyses seek to establish the potential for Arabic transfer to be the chief source of learning difficulty. Under this category comes a particular type of errors (termed **first-language-error negative transfer**) which brings to light the learner's inherent reliance on typical deviation from the Standard Norm of Arabic. Second, *Inter-intralingual Errors* are those attested identifications which proceed from either an **overt** combination of Arabic-based transfer (interlingual solution) and English-based transfer (intralingual solution) or a **covert** interaction between the two sorts of linguistic solution as there is considerable paucity of research into this category. Since most data from transfer-based empirical research, especially those reported from Arab learners of English, concentrate on the negative effects detrimental to the positive effects of first-language influence, this study — besides the investigation of the **negative effects** of Arabic influence as evidenced by the two major categories of errors — highlights the **positive effects** which are mostly discernible in the semantic domain of lexical selection. Such polarity is considered by reference to the complementary alliance of *contrastive analysis* and *error analysis*, and to current thinking about learner *interlanguage* and *crosslinguistic influence* on second-language learning/acquisition. Hence, for each of the three linguistic subcomponents, a provisional hypothesis, in relation to one or both varieties of Arabic, is enunciated to elucidate to what extent the potential for Arabic transfer triggers **inhibition** and/or **facilitation** in the learning of English.

Throughout the discussion of all the interlingual identifications (**actual** and **predicted**) made in a *proactive* direction as well as some others in a *retroactive* direction, various tentative suggestions concerning the psycholinguistic processes which incorporate into the transfer mechanism are also adduced to excavate several 'invisible' areas of Arabic transfer. These underlying processes, which inextricably co-exist in the immanent organization of the human mind, are dealt with in a rather detailed and modified configuration to provide newly endeavoured information on the linguistic behaviour of the Syrian-Arab learner specifically. Therefore, given both the learner's first language (within its not easily tractable nature) and the key issues connected with language transfer, it is believed that these information are significant on two different but related accounts. First, they raise to the **researcher** virtually untouched questions of Arabic transfer for more sophisticated theorization about the Arab learner's entire system in general. Second, they help the **teacher**, the Arabic-speaking teacher in particular, to utilize his knowledge of Arabic for tackling those transferable spots, and to supplement his teaching plans with more crystallized objectives. This study claims to extrapolate from rather vague schemes a number of interesting, though highly intricate, parameters concerning Arabic transfer, and seems to be one which may contribute to a rewarding exigency for further research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	*Actual Error*	NP	*Noun Phrase*
APS	*Approximative System*	NSA	*Native Speaker of Arabic*
AU	*Actual Utterance*	NSE	*Native Speaker of English*
CA	*Contrastive Analysis*	NT	*Negative Transfer,* Interference or Inhibition
CC	*Creative Construction*		
CLI	*Cross-Linguistic Influence*	PE	*Predicted Error* or *Potential Error*
EA	*Error Analysis*		
ECD·	*Eastern Colloquial Dialect of SCA*	PP	*Prepositional Phrase*
		PT	*Positive Transfer,* Non-Interference or Facilitation
GS	*Generative Semantics*		
IL	*Inter-Language*		
ISD	*Idiosyncratic Dialect*	PU	*Predicted Utterance* or *Potential Utterance*
ISU	*Idiosyncratic Utterance*		
L1	*First Language,* Home Language, Mother Tongue, Native Language or Source Language	QP	*Question Particle* in MSA
		RED	*Rural Eastern Dialect of ECD*
L1-U	*L1-Utterance*	RP	*Received Pronunciation*
L2	*Second Language,* First Foreign Language or Target Language	SBE	*Standard British English*
		SCA	*Syrian Colloquial Arabic,* Non-Standard Arabic or the Spoken Variety
L2-U	*L2-Utterance*		
L3	*Third Language* or Second Foreign Language	SCD	*Southern Colloquial Dialect of SCA*
LAD	*Language Acquisition Device*	S-R	*Stimulus-Response*
LAS	*Language Acquisition System*	TC	*Teritium Comparationis*
LLS	*Latent Language Structure*	TE	*Translation Equivalence*
LPS	*Latent Psychological Structure*	TGG	*Transformational-Generative Grammar*
MSA	*Modern Standard Arabic,* Classical Arabic or the Written Variety		
		UED	*Urban Eastern Dialect of ECD*
NC	*Noun Clause* in MSA or SCA	VC	*Verbal Clause* in MSA or SCA
NCD	*Northern Colloquial Dialect of SCA*	VP	*Verb Phrase*
		WCD	*Western Colloquial Dialect of SCA*

KEY TO PHONETIC SYMBOLS

N.B.: *In this study, the square brackets [ ] will be used for both the Arabic and learner-interlanguage pronunciation, whereas the oblique dashes / / will be specific for the English and any other Indo-European pronunciation*

Vowels and Diphthongs

ARABIC CHARACTER	SHORT VOWELS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
⸻	[a]	[fat'ha] 'sign of accusative' a front or back-open-neutral vowel as in [al-ba ba] 'the door' as a definite object in MSA or when preceding the nasal [n] of [tanwi n nasb] 'nunnation of accusative' as in [ba ban] 'a door' as an indefinite object in MSA or when connecting a pair of consonants as in [hasaba] 'counted (he)' in MSA and [bahar] 'sea' in SCA	the short vowel /ʌ/ as in /kʌp/ 'cup' in English
⸻	[u]	[damma] 'sign of nominative' a back-close-rounded vowel as in [al-ba bu] 'the door' as a definite subject in MSA or when connecting a pair of consonants as in [hasuba] 'became deemed (he)' in MSA and [kubuz] 'bread' in ECD	the short vowel /ʊ/ as in /pʊt/ 'put' in English
⸻	[o]	a monophthongal variant of [u] (cf above) occurs in a mid-back-half-open-rounded articulation when preceding the nasal [n] of the case [tanwi n raf'ʔ] 'nunnation of nominative' as in [ba bon] 'a door' as an indefinite subject in MSA or when following a doubled consonant strengthened by [šadda] as in [saffo] 'his class', [hatto] 'put (he) it', etc in any grammatical case in SCA	the weak form of the quite short diphthong /əʊ/ as in /telɪf ə ʊ n/ 'telephone' in Hiberno-English

ARABIC CHARACTER	SHORT VOWELS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
⎯⎯	[i]	[kasra] *'sign of genitive'* a front-close-spread vowel as in [al-ba bɪ] *'the door'* as a definite noun governed by a genitive construction or by a preposition in MSA or when connecting a pair of consonants as in [hasɪba] *'deemed* (he)' in MSA and [hibɪr] *'ink'* in ECD/NCD	the short vowel /ɪ/ as in /sɪt/ *'sit'* in English
⎯⎯	[e]	a monophthongal variant of [ɪ] (*cf* above) occurs in a mid-front-half-open-spread articulation when preceding the nasal [n] of [tanwɪ n jarr] *'nunnation of genitive'* as in [ba ben] *'a door'* as an indefinite noun governed by a genitive construction or by a preposition in MSA or when connecting a pair of consonants as in [kebez] *'bread'* in NCD/SCD/WCD (*cf* [kubuz] above) or when following a doubled consonant strengthened by [šadda] as in [himme] *'zeal'*, [hɪmme] *'fever'*, etc in SCA	the weak form of the short vowel [e] as in /ten/ *'ten'* in Hiberno-English

ARABIC CHARACTER	LONG VOWELS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
آ	[a]	a back-open-neutral vowel particularly occurring after emphatic consonants such as [s], [d], [t], [Th] and [z] (*cf.* below) or after the doubled dark [l] as in [alla h] *'God'* in MSA/SCA or after the one-glide [r] as in [ra ya] *'flaque'* in MSA	the long vowel [a] as in /la st/ *'last'* in English and /pa / *'pas'* in French
ا	[a]	a front-open-neutral vowel as in [a la·m] *'pains'*, [masa ʔil] *'problems'*, etc in MSA/ECD/SCD	the long vowel /æ/ as in /hæt/ *'hat'* in English

ARABIC CHARACTER	LONG VOWELS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
أُو	[u]	a back-close-rounded vowel as in [su r] 'fence' in MSA/SCA	the long vowel /u / as in /fu d/ 'food' in English
أُو	[o]	a mid-back-half-open-rounded vowel as in [ho n] 'here', [lo:n] 'colour', etc. in ECD (UED)/NCD/SCD	the long diphthong /əʊ/ as in /bəʊld/ 'bold' in Hiberno-English
إِيْ	[i]	a front-close-spread vowel as in [bari d] 'post/mail' in MSA/SCA	the long vowel /ı / 'as in /si / 'see' in English
اِي	[e]	a mid-front-half-open-spread vowel as in [be·t] 'house' in ECD (UED)/NCD/SCD	the long vowel /e / as in /ge hin/ 'gehen' in German

ARABIC CHARACTER	SHORT DIPHTHONGS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
أُوْ	[aw]	a diphthong gliding from [a] to [w] as in [lawn] 'colour' in MSA/WCD	the diphthong /əʊ/ as in /ləʊn/ 'loan' in RP
أَوَ	[uwa]	a diphthong gliding from [u] to [a] and passing through [w] as in [suwar] 'photos /pictures' in MSA/SCA or [luwan] 'colour' in ECD (RED)	the diphthong /ʊə/ as in /ʃʊə(r)/ 'sure' in RP
أَيْ	[ay]	a didphthong gliding from [a] to [y] as in [bayt] 'house' in MSA/WCD	the diphthong /eɪ/ as in /beɪt/ 'bate' in RP
إِيَ	[iya]	a diphthong gliding from [i] to [a] and passing through [y] as in [hiya] 'she' in MSA or [biyat] 'house' in ECD (RED)	the diphthong /ɪə/ as in /hɪə(r)/ 'here' in RP

ARABIC CHARACTER	LONG DIPHTHONGS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
أَّيْ	[a y]	a diphthong gliding from [a] to [y] as in [ra ya] 'flague' in MSA or as in [ra y] 'going', [tsa y] 'tea', etc in NCD	the diphthong /aɪ/ as in /raɪt/ 'right' in RP

ARABIC CHARACTER	LONG DIPHTHONGS	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
آيْ	[a y]	a diphthong gliding from [a] to [y] as in [na y] 'flute' in MSA or as in [tša y] 'tea' in ECD, [ja y] 'coming' in SCD, etc	the diphthong /aɪ/ as in /skaɪ/ 'sky' in Hiberno-English
آوْ	[a w]	a diphthong gliding from [a.] to [w] as in [bada wa] ' 'Bedouin life' in MSA or [sa.wa] 'made/did/let (he)' in SCD	the diphthong /aʊ/ as in /haʊ/ 'how' in English

Consonants and Phonemes

ARABIC CHARACTER	ROMAN CHARACTER	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
ع	[ʔ]	glottal stop, not to be trans–literated initially as in [asʔal]' 'ask (I)' in MSA/SCA	the glottal stop /ʔ/ as in [boʔl] 'bottle' in Cockney English
ب	[b]	voiced bilabial stop as in [ba b] 'door' in MSA/SCA	the sound /b/ in English
ت	[t]	voiceless dento-alveolar plosive as in [tarak] 'left (he)' in MSA/SCA	the sound /t/ in English
ث	[th]	voiceless dental non-sulcal fricative as in [tha lith] 'third' in MSA/ECD	the sound /θ/ in English
ج	[ḻ]	voiced palato-alveolar affricate as [jama l] 'beauty' in MSA/ECD	the sound /dʒ/ in English
جٜ	[j]	voiced palato-alveolar fricative as in [jama l] 'beauty' in SCD	the sound /ʒ/ in English
ح	[ẖ]	voiceless pharyngeal fricative as in [aẖmar] 'red' in MSA/SCA	——
خ	[ḵ]	voiceless uvular fricative as in [ḵari f] 'autumn' in MSA/SCA	the sound /x/ as in 'Tochter' in German and 'Loch' in Scottish

ARABIC CHARACTER	ROMAN CHARACTER	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
د	[d]	voiced dento-alveolar plosive as in [dam] 'blood' in MSA/SCA	the sound /d/ in English
ذ	[th]	voiced dental non-sulcal fricative as in [thamm] 'dispraise/censure' in MSA/ECD	the sound of /ʒ/ in English
ر	[r]	voiced velarized dento-alveolar with one-glide articulation as in [bahr] 'sea' in MSA, but often with more-than-one-glide articulation as in [bahar] 'sea' in SCA	the sound /r/ when preceding a vowel in RP for the MSA-variant the linguo-alveolar roll /r/ occurring in Scottish or Italian for the SCA-variant
ز	[z]	voiced dento-alveolar fricative as in [zaman] 'time/tense' in MSA/SCA	the sound /z/ in English
ظ	[z̲]	voiced dento-alveolar emphatic fricative occurring as a substitute for [Th] in NCD/SCD/WCD as in [z̲a·lem] 'tyrant' and [hafaz̲] 'learned by heart (he)' (cf [Th] below)	▬
س	[s]	voiceless dento-alveoral fricative as in [sabab] 'reason' in MSA/SCA	the sound /s/ in English
ش	[š]	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative as in [šams]/[šamis] 'sun' in MSA/SCA respectively	the sound /ʃ/ in English
تش/چ	[tš]	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate occurring in ECD as a substitute for [k] (cf below) as in [tšintu] 'was (I)'	the sound /tʃ/ in English
ص	[s̲]	voiceless dento-alveolar and sulcal emphatic fricative as in [s̲a bir] 'patient' in MSA/ECD	the emphatic sound /s/ when preceding /a / in RP
ض	[d̲]	voiced dental and non-sulcal emphatic plosive as in [bayd̲] 'eggs' in MSA/WCD and [be d̲] 'eggs' in NCD/SCD	the emphatic sound /d/ when preceding /a / in RP

ARABIC CHARACTER	ROMAN CHARACTER	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
ط	[ṯ]	voiceless dento alveolar and emphatic plosive as in [ṯa lib] '*student*' in MSA/SCA	the emphatic sound /t/ as in '*tie*' in Russian
ظ	[Ṯh]	voiced dental non-sulcal emphatic fricative as in [Ṯha.lim] '*tyrant*' in MSA/ECD and [hafiṮha]/[hafaṮh] '*learned by heart* (he)' in MSA/ECD respectively	———
ع	[ʔ̱]	voiced pharyngeal fricative as in [maʔ̱mal] '*factory*' in MSA/SCA	———
غ	[g̱]	voiced uvular fricative as in [g̱aym] '*clouds*' in MSA/WCD and [g̱e m] '*clouds*' in ECD/NCD/SCD	the uvular roll /r/ in French and German
ف	[f]	voiceless labio-dental fricative as in [fari·d] '*unique*' in MSA/SCA	the sound /f/ in English
ق	[q]	voiceless uvular plosive as in [qalam] '*pen*' in MSA/ECD	———
ك	[k]	voiceless velar stop as in [kuntu] '*was (I)*' in MSA and [kinet] (SCD)/[kint] (NCD/WCD)	the sound /k/ in English
گ	[g]	voiced velar stop occurring in RED as a substitute for [q] (*cf* above) as in [galam] '*pen*' or in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic as a substitute for [ʝ]/[ʒ] (*cf* above) as in [gama l] '*beauty*'	the sound /g/ in English
ل	[l]	voiced palatalized and dento-alveolar lateral occurring in two allophonic variants dark [l] as in [alla h] '*God*' in MSA/SCA and [tamallus̱] '*escape*' in SCA· clear [l] as in [la zim] '*necessary*' in MSA/ECD and [la.zem] in NCD	the dark and clear /l/ in English
م	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal as in [sali m] '*sound* (adj)' in MSA/SCA	the sound /m/ in English

ARABIC CHARACTER	ROMAN CHARACTER	ARABIC REPRESENTATION	EUROPEAN APPROXIMATION
ن	[n]	occurring in two allophonic variants· voiced dento-alveolar nasal as in [rani n] 'ring/echo' in MSA/SCA and voiced velar nasal in the form of [gunna] 'nasalization' in MSA as in [miŋka] 'of/from you (sing. mas.)'	the sounds /n/ and /ŋ/ in English
ه/ه	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative as in [ih'da ʔ] 'dedication' in MSA/SCA	the sound /h/ in English
و	[w]	voiced bilabial or labio-velar semi-vowel as in [wahi d] 'alone/single' in MSA/SCA	the sound /w/ in English
ي	[y]	voiced palatal semi-vowel as in [yuri·d] 'want (he)' in MSA and [tahiyya.t] 'regards' in MSA/SCA	the sound /j/ in English

INTRODUCTION

Among the myriad of unsolved problems in applied linguistics and teaching
methodology, the challenging question of *language transfer* seems to
occupy a central position   In its general sense, the term *language
transfer* is used to indicate the effects that the learner's already
existing L1-knowledge may, to some extent, exert upon his perception and
attempted utilization of the rules or items of the L2 he is learning or
acquiring   Therefore, as one of the inevitable   mechanisms   underlying
L2-learning/acquisition,   the   importance   of   *language   transfer* is
universally acknowledged, and, since the mid 1970s, investigations into
this mechanism have been propagating both on a theoretical and empirical
level

    In the early studies of language transfer, particularly during the
1940s and 1950s when the structural-behavioural model was paramount (and
its repercussions could be easily discerned up to the late 1960s), the
proponents of the *Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis* such as Fries (1945),
Lado (1957,   1964) and Banathy *et al*   (1966), among others, sought to
test the influence-values of a previous task (L1-acquisition) on the
learning of a subsequent and similar task (L2-learning/acquisition)
Within the general principle of transfer,   these scholars believed that
where there were differences between the two tasks, the influence-values
of transfer would be negative   Hence, the research was primarily devoted
to comparing and contrasting the L1 with the L2 in order to *predict*
learning difficulties on the basis of the formal differences between the
two languages in question   From a pedagogical perspective, language
teachers were encouraged to focus their teaching plans on these

differences to help the L2-learner 'skip over' the obstacles that would be created by L1-influence as a result of negative transfer   Therefore, the theory of transfer was first associated with a particular view of language learning as a series of *habits* which were assumed to be developed only through imitation, repetition and reinforcement

With the emergence of the generative-cognitive framework, on the other hand, the intimate relationship between *Contrastive Analysis* and the structural-behavioural model was demolished, and the theoretical constructs of *habit formation* were relinquished   In effect, the claim that learning difficulties could be predicted on the basis of linguistic differences appeared increasingly vulnerable, since it was made under the aegis of two schools of linguistics and psychology no longer in favour In order to refute such a claim it was necessary, therefore, to demonstrate that *Contrastive Analysis* was in many respects a weak predictor of potential errors, and to assert that L1-influence, even if it might lead to errors, could not be viewed solely as an obstacle to L2-learning In the late 1960s and early 1970s various reactions emerged, some of which were relatively verifiable, and others which went to extremes due to a misinterpretation of the first proposals introduced by traditional contrastivists   As a result, *Contrastive Analysis* — and, subsequently, its notion of language transfer— was, as James (1980) puts it, 'in the doldrums', and there were several researchers like Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974a) who tried to deterioriate the role of the L1 in L2-learning/acquisition

However, within the accommodation of language transfer by cognitive paradigms, the stress on the role of the L1 (which constitutes a fundamental component of the learner's past experience) appears to have been willingly reversed   The turning-point,   marked by Schachter's (1974) experimental findings in the fortunes of language transfer, attached relative credence to *Contrastive Analysis*, and gave rise to serious exploration of far deeper aspects related to the transfer mechanism   Since then, the concept of language transfer has been regaining ground, and, as one significant phenomenon characterizing learner language, has undergone multiplex schemes of revitalization   The awe-inspiring volume of research into this phenomenon can be seen from the comprehensive bibliography and world-wide conferences, as recorded by Ringbom (1987 1)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

— Dechert, Bruggemeier and Futterer's (1984) extensive compilation of *Transfer and Interference in Language   A Selected Bibliography*

CONFERENCES

1   Ann Arbor Conference on "Language Transfer in Language Learning" (1981), with its comprehensive conference volume edited by Gass and Selinker (1983)

2   The Singapore Regional Seminar on "Interlanguage Transfer Processes in Language Learning and Communication" (1982)

3   The Kassel Workshop on "Transfer in Production" (1982)

4   The BAAL Annual Meeting on "Language Description, Language Contact and Language Acquisition Direction and Influences" (1984)

5   The Nordic Summer School (Nordisk Forskarkurs) on "Transfer in Language Learning" (1986)

From the above documentation, it appears that a conglomeration of great efforts have been, and are in the process of being, made to ascertain the linguistic as well as the non-linguistic causes of language transfer Several researchers have recently suggested that, in order to illustrate how the quality and quantity of language transfer effects vary from one L2-learning context to another, groups of learners having different L1s and learning a common L2 need to be examined (*cf* Ard and Homburg, 1983) In such a case, it is argued, the differences in transfer effects between these language groups are largely determined by background variables such as L1-experience, culture, and education in the first place (*cf* Ringbom, 1987 2) Further, there exist other variables, or sets of variables, that are said to characterize the differences in transfer effects These can be recognized along at least three intervening strands   individual variation, situational variation, and developmental variation (*cf* Wode, 1986   174) Clearly, therefore, the intricate and widespread ramifications of transfer-based research arise from a countless number of inter-related factors that play a significant role, merger, many of these factors are still not fully understood in current thinking about L2-learning/acquisition

The aim of this thesis is to present a schematized overview of transfer-related issues, and to apply the relevant findings to a learning context where Arabic is the L1 and English is the L2 By generalizing across several lines of research in applied linguistics, it will trace, what Singleton (1987) calls, "the fall and rise of language transfer", and will illuminate some of the complexities that are typical of this field of endeavour The thesis falls into two central parts Part One, which comprises the first four chapters, is mainly concerned with the theoretical and practical extrapolation of various assumptions underlying the concept of language transfer, and Part Two, which covers the remaining three chapters, pursues some empirical research by a detailed psycholinguistic analysis of the concrete data and touches on some implications for language teaching

In **Part One** of this thesis, the first chapter opens the discussion with the history of *Contrastive Analysis* and how its advocates perceived transfer in the heyday of behaviourism and structuralism An account of this historical background entails the arguments for and against the legitimate link between *Contrastive Analysis* and *Bilingualism* at one end, and the identification of the 'new' phase of the former at another The discussion moves onto the psychological basis of *Contrastive Analysis* by introducing exemplified outlines of transfer paradigms, habit formation, and potential errors Within the linguistic basis of *Contrastive Analysis*, the concept of *interlingual level shift* is clarified, and, along Lado's original parameters, the cultural variable is reconsidered from the viewpoint of *speech acts* Further, the validity of how both surface structure and deep structure seek to determine the magnitude of transfer effects is intentionally questioned through the constant *tertium comparationis* Finally, referring to the changing climates across history and the appearance of the generative-cognitive model, the discussion illustrates that the theoretical criticisms voiced against the behavioural-structural model led, in fact, to a severe devaluation of *Contrastive Analysis* and, subsequently, of its notion of language transfer

The second chapter gives a brief account of *Error Analysis* in its conventional sense and mentions some of the criticisms forwarded against its limitations Following this, the resurgence of *Error Analysis*, whose ultimate rationale has been buttressed by the generative-cognitive model, is approached in terms of Corder's valuable insights into the learner's

errors and the distinction between 'errors' and 'mistakes' As a continuation of the theoretical criticisms launched against *Contrastive Analysis*, the chapter reviews some of the practical research which, under the guise of *Error Analysis*, proved that many of the attested errors could not be predicted on the basis of linguistic difference In its claim to account for such errors, *Error Analysis* caused several researchers (*e g* Dulay and Burt) to adopt extremely negative attitudes towards *Contrastive Analysis* and to minimize the role of the L1 in L2-learning Thus, attempts were made to identify different types of errors and these will be chronologically schematized However, the discussion shows that, despite the contradictory relationship between *Contrastive Analysis* and *Error Analysis*, a combination of the two is necessary for more reasonable analyses of language transfer Hence, as a vindication of *Contrastive Analysis*, Schachter's argument is outlined and, in refutation of some constructs implemented by *Error Analysis*, Richards' approach to intralingual errors is re-examined by an attempted analysis of several interlingual identifications Next, for more precise judgement in the study of interlingual identifications, the re-oriented position of the constant *Translation Equivalence* discussed by James is highlighted The chapter finishes with a reconsideration of the major categories of errors and identifies those which are the main concern of this thesis

The insights put forward into the study of errors have given rise to an exciting line of research, collectively known as *Interlanguage* Chapter Three explains this development in detail by reference to four designations (i) Corder's notion of *idiosyncratic dialect*, (ii) Nemser's concept of *approximative system*, (iii) Selinker's hypothesis of *interlanguage system*, and (iv) Dulay and Burt's theory of *creative construction* These designations are considered from two different but related perspectives Firstly, from a L2-perspective where *idiosyncratic dialect* and *approximative system* are reviewed by illustrating the similarities and differences between their characteristics and sub-systems Then, the approach adopted by both Corder and Nemser to the analysis of language transfer is clarified and exemplified Secondly, from a learner-perspective in which *interlanguage system* and *creative construction* are dealt with in a rather detailed and modified configuration Hence, the chapter investigates in detail and by exemplification the potential for language transfer in the light of both Selinker's views and the counter-criticisms levelled at Dulay and Burt's

approach to the study of transfer 'goofs' In a series of gradual revitalization that the transfer mechanism has undergone, the chapter concludes with the reaffirmation of such a mechanism as one significant issue in interlanguage research

Chapter Four draws on the earlier works from which the notion of *crosslinguistic influence* has grown, and traces its development in current thinking about language transfer Hence, three aspects of language loss are maintained in this scheme (i) Newmark's *ignorance* hypothesis and its revival by Krashen in terms of the monitor model, (ii) Schachter's *avoidance* hypothesis and the empirical corroboration by Kleinmann and others to account for some of the 'invisible' areas of language transfer, and (iii) the concept of *psychotypology* which is associated with the work of Kellerman and supported by researchers like Wode and Zobl among others The discussion moves onto the treatment of *crosslinguistic influence* in terms of language process By reference to Ringbom's most recent contributions, various aspects of *crosslinguistic influence* are considered both in production and in comprehension Further, for a deeper understanding of the internal mechanisms incorporating into the 'transfer load', the interaction between comprehension and production is described in relation to the important questions of transfer which concern the magnitude of *crosslinguistic influence* on L2-learning Finally, the chapter finishes with an enunciation of three provisional hypotheses for testing the value of Arabic transfer at the three linguistic levels phonology, syntax and semantics (lexical choice) Throughout the discussion of all the interlingual identifications cited in Part One (actual, as selected from the concrete data, and predicted, where appropriate), various tentative proposals are put forward to provide new information on the linguistic behaviour of the Syrian-Arab learner specifically

In Part Two which forms the empirical research of this thesis, the fifth chapter begins with a brief historical account of Arabic, the L1 of the learners under discussion, and the relationship between its two varieties the Classical and the Colloquial Since Syrian Colloquial Arabic constitutes a sub-variety of the latter, the regional dialects of Syria are classified into four main dialects representing the home dialects of the learners Again, the learners' educational background and the method of data collection are clarified To avoid possible confusion, the linguistic terms as intended in the present study are

defined in relation to the three hypotheses introduced at the end of Part
One Finally, the chapter makes some preliminary remarks on these
hypotheses in order to explore them within a particular approach to the
analysis of Arabic transfer

Chapter Six discusses in detail a selection of the spoken
interlanguage data collected from a group of Syrian-Arab adult learners
of English in Dublin By recourse to most of the transfer-related issues
reviewed in Part One, the potential for Arabic-influence (Standard
Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, or a mixture of both) is scrutinized in terms
of the three linguistic subcomponents defined in Chapter Five Each of
these linguistic subcomponents is classified according to its own
taxonomy, which relates to the specific nature of the selected
interlanguage data Various manifestations of Arabic transfer (negative
and positive) are, then, demonstrated along two distinct dimensions
language process and language product In addition, the analysis
explores some attested identifications which shed light on what is termed
Ll-error transfer, and some others which are said to be a reflection of
both Arabic-based transfer (*interlingual solution*) and English-based
transfer (*intralingual solution*) since Arabic transfer does not always
operate on its own Therefore, given the unique nature of the learners'
Ll, it is believed that this kind of analysis contributes to virtually
untouched questions about the Arab learner's entire linguistic system in
general

In Chapter Seven, the final chapter, the three provisional
hypotheses stated at the end of Chapter Four and taken into preliminary
account in Chapter Five, are reconsidered by reference to the conclusions
drawn from the discussion of the selected interlanguage data   By
focusing on the development of receptive competence in listening and
reading as a good basis for productive skils (particularly speaking),
several implications are, then, suggested for teaching English to Arab
learners specifically In conclusion, the view that Ll-experience
constitutes one of the pivotal strategies underlying L2-learning (and,
thus, cannot be looked upon as an inhibiting factor) will entail some
pedagogical remarks on Ll-utilization from two interdependent
perspectives a learning perspective and a teaching one Chapter Seven
is followed by the appendix in which the possible L2-equivalents, or sets
of equivalents, of all the interlingual identifications (cited and
analysed in Chapter Six) are listed consecutively within the same
numbers

PART ONE

The Theory of Transfer

1

TRANSFER AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Generally speaking, the theory of transfer assumes that the learning of a previous task will influence the learning of a subsequent and similar task This assumption was derived from the general learning theory of behaviourism and adopted by the proponents of *Contrastive Analysis* (CA), who regarded language transfer as a natural phenomenon in L2-learning

The first section of this chapter will consider the history of CA under which its reliability in applied linguistics will be approached In addition, the relationship between CA and bilingualism, and the arguments for and against the historical link between the two approaches will be outlined Next, the 'new' direction of CA, which started in the mid 1950s, will be clarified

The second section will be taken up by a consideration of the psychological basis of CA From a behavioural standpoint, such a psychological basis is formulated by the general principles of transfer Hence, Osgood's layout of transfer paradigms will be charted In addition, the two central issues habit **formation** and potential errors will be discussed

The third section will specifically probe the linguistic aspects of CA From a structural standpoint, the three linguistic levels phonology, syntax and lexis will be considered within the concept of *interlingual level shift* Then, the cultural level, which has not received much attention, will be emphasized along the line of Lado's original parameters, and maintained in terms of *speech acts* Next, the validity of the two levels surface structure and deep structure will be checked for determining the magnitude of transfer effects through the constant *tertium comparationis* (TC)

The fourth and final section will touch on the theoretical criticisms levelled at the behavioural-structural model within the L1-acquisition literature and trace the subsequent criticisms forwarded against the CA-constructs, which have resulted in a devaluation of transfer within the L2-acquisition literature A multitude of examples from Arabic and English along the line of both actual/predicted errors and actual/predicted utterances will be cited and analysed elsewhere

1.1 The History of CA–Research

Contrastive Linguistics or *Contrastive Analysis* (CA) dates back to the 1940s when structural linguistics and behavioural psychology were strongly influential in the United States specifically It is said to have been developed as one of the three major types of comparative studies — the other two being *Comparative Historical Linguistics* and *Comparative Typological Linguistics* — in order to determine the differences and similarities between two or more languages (Fisiak, 1981b 1) Three topics are put forward in this section the place of CA in linguistics, the relationship between CA and bilingual studies, and the 'new' direction of the CA-Hypothesis

1.1.1 CA's Reliability in Linguistics

It has been argued that CA is a 'hybrid' linguistic enterprise, that is, the product of the two schools structuralism and behaviourism To begin with, a consideration might be taken up with the provisional definition of CA introduced by Carl James as follows

> CA is a linguistic enterprise aimed at producing inverted (i e contrastive, not comparative) two-valued typologies (a CA is always concerned with a *pair* of languages), and founded on the assumption that languages can be compared
>
> (James, 1980 3, original emphasis)

Here, the term 'two-valued typologies' specifies the main procedure of CA Such an enterprise involves two language systems (typically L1 and L2) to be contrasted rather than compared because, as the term *contrastive* implies, CA is more interested in the differences between L1 and L2 than in their similarities James has allocated the

above definition in terms of three criteria Along the first criterion,
the writer restates Sampson (1975 4) by making a distinction between
two broad approaches to linguistics firstly, the *generalist* approach
which considers the general phenomenon of human language and is intended
to increase our knowledge of what this phenomenon is   Secondly,   the
particularist approach which deals with individual languages as examples
representing that general phenomenon in particular forms   In this
context, James argues that CA is neither generalist nor particularist,
but rather it sways in an intermediate position between the two extremes
(James, 1980 2)

The second criterion is that in modern linguistics,   there
are two methods of study comparative and non-comparative As James
restates Ellis (1966), *comparative linguistics* is generally taken up
with the analysis of the structural correspondences between languages in
order to classify them into general types This approach is called
typological linguistics whose ultimate aim is to study the universal
aspects of human language In other words, all languages converge at
certain common points which then allow linguists to state a degree of
comparability, regardless of the individuality of any language On the
other hand, *Non-comparative linguistics* studies one, or each, language in
isolation   It tends to specify the idiosyncratic properties of the
language in question and to explore its inherent 'genius' which might
help the investigator to scrutinize how the speakers of such a language
are endowed with mental and cognitive uniqueness   In this respect,
James points out that CA is as concerned with the comparability of
languages as it is with the immanent genius of the language under its
purview (James, 1980 1-2) However, CA does not address itself to
classification with which typological linguistics is concerned Rather,
CA is interested in differences as well as in similarities between a
'pair' of languages, which, in most cases, constitutes a given L1 and a
given L2

The third criterion refers to De Saussure's dichotomy of *synchronic*
and *diachronic* He expounded the distinction as follows "Everything
that relates to the *static* side of our science is synchronic, everything
that has to do with *evolution* is diachronic" (De Saussure, 1959 81,
quoted by James, 1980 2, emphasis added) Here, synchronic linguistics
coincides with typological linguistics in that both approaches study
living languages and classify them into general types, regardless of
their history In other words, languages are classified according to

their present-day features   It follows that **CA** is not theoretically committed to synchronic linguistics because, as the term *synchrony* implies, languages are compared in terms of their *static* phenomena   On the contrary, **CA** is to be viewed as diachronic, since both approaches (**CA** and diachrony) deal with the evolutionary and *dynamic* status of language While diachrony refers to language change in the *phylogenetic* sense (that is,   it pertains to span generations and centuries), **CA** is a type of diachronic interlingual linguistics in the *ontogenetic* sense in that **CA** investigates language transition within the individual (the L2-learner) James mentions three branches of interlingual linguistics of which **CA** is one   The other two branches are *Translation Theory* which deals with text conversion,   and *Error Analysis* (**EA**) which has been adduced to examine the language transition of a monolingual learning to be bilingual (James, 1980 4)   It appears that both **CA** and **EA** belong to the same type of diachronic interlingual study (*cf*   chapter 2) In addition,   the question of language transition,   or language instability, has been profoundly theorized by the proponents of *Interlanguage* (IL) research (*cf* chapter 3)

     The purpose of **CA** is, therefore, twofold theoretical and applied Theoretical **CA**-based research undertakes an exhaustive account of semantico-syntactic and phonological aspects of pairs of languages to "determine how and which elements are comparable", and to define "such notions as congruence, equivalence, correspondence, etc " (Fisiak, 1981b 2)   Applied or practical **CA**-studies concern a selective comparison drawn from the theoretical research to show how a given universal category of the L1 is realized in the L2, and to serve specific purposes such as pedagogy, bilingual analysis, translation, and so on (Fisiak, 1981b 2, Sharwood-Smith, 1981 13, Sajavaara, 1981 39)

     It has been pointed out that the idea of **CA** is not very recent   In fact, **CA** has roots which date further back than even the 1940s   This can be seen from the first published works which were predominantly theoretical For instance, Grandgent (1892), Vietor (1894), Passy (1912),   Baudouin De Courtenay (1912), Bojorodickij (1915), and so on (Fisiak, 1981b 3) All the above works, however, did not seriously investigate the question of a type of **CA** whose ultimate concern is to predict the areas where L2-learning is influenced to a certain extent by the previous knowledge of the L1   Thus, as Nickel states, the problem of L1-influence was traditionally recognized to a large extent in terms of individual words or idioms (Nickel, 1971b 2) Furthermore, Singleton

(1981 2, 1987 28) quotes from Postgate to demonstrate that such individual items, when transferred from one language onto another, may cause different psychological impacts upon the receiver Postgate wrote

> [   ] on one occasion the mild expression *demander une explication* used in the French diplomatic note gave dire offence to the Government of the United States because it looked like '*to demand* an explanation', while the official English Translation of the Allied Note answering Germany's first offer of peace in January 1917, renders *prétendu* as 'pretended' where it clearly means, as generally, 'alleged' [   ] A few years before the war a German contributed to the daily press a series of articles, written on the whole in excellent English, in the course of which he had occasion to observe that *Germany* was a formidable enemy (Ger   *Fiend*). What he wrote and the newspaper published was the German was a dangerous *fiend* [   ] It is commonly reported that in the Great War an Anglican prelate concluded an address to French soldiers with the prayer 'Que Dieu vous blesse'
> (Postgate, 1922 48f, original emphasis)

Moreover, Singleton points out that " the grammar and vocabulary of the learner's L1 will have a bearing on the *difficulties* posed when he encounters a different language" (Singleton, 1981 1, emphasis added) Here, he refers to another purpose of CA, that is, the identificaiton of possible difficulties created by the L1 when the L2 is being performed The ultimate tenet put forward by the early contrastivists was, therefore, to determine ease and difficulty "Those structures that are similar will be *easy*[   ] Those structures that are different will be *difficult*" (Lado, 1957 59, emphasis added) Put more clearly, those L2-structures which coincide with corresponding L1-structures are assimilated by the learner with great ease as a result of positive transfer, whereas contrasting structures create considerable difficulties and cause *errors* as a result of negative transfer or 'interference' between two contrasting languages (*cf* Ellis, 1985   22, Klein, 1986   25) Therefore, the role of the L1 was first seen in terms of the theory of transfer which was derived from the general learning theory of behaviourism (*cf* section 1 2 below) CA, then, started seriously in the 1940s, and Charles Christopher Fries was one of the first researchers who adopted the more systematic study of the notion of transfer in order to assert language teaching materials based upon the procedures of CA He pointed out in an oft-quoted excerpt:

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

So, it can be seen that this 'scientific description'was demanded by the rigorous tradition of both behavioural psychology and structural linguistics for the investigation of the relevance of the 'new' approach to foreign language teaching at the time The incentive to such a description was pedagogic, and the two slogans "language is a set of habits" and "languages are different" were set up by traditional contrastivists to surmount the difficulties created by negative transfer (Moulton, 1961 24f) The reason for setting up these two slogans was that, in the United States, there were urgent needs for language programmes to be inaugurated due to military requirements at the time of the Second World War (Moulton, 1961 32) Thus, the 'new' approach needed both scientifically and descriptively a relatively well-established analysis of a given pair of languages

1.1.2 CA's Relation to Bilingualism

In the course of bilingual studies in the 1950s, especially those of Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953, 1956), there seems to have been a historical link between CA and bilingualism Although Weinreich and Haugen had worked on the linguistic integration of immigrants to the United States, Lado, who is one of the first proponents of CA, pointed out that their studies supported to a large extent the experimental findings concerning the notion of transfer Lado wrote

> A practical confirmation of the validity of our assumption has come
> from the work of linguists who study the effect of close contact
> between languages in *bilingual situations* They report that many
> linguistic distortions heard among bilinguals correspond to describe
> differences in the languages involved
>
> (Lado, 1957 1, emphasis added)

However, researchers like Dulay and Burt were sceptical about the truth of such a link between CA and bilingualism In a critical account of CA, Dulay and Burt raised the questions of directionality and familiarity in both types As far as directionality is concerned, they claimed that bilingualism, unlike CA, studied interference effects of

the L2 upon the production of the L1   In other words, bilingualism is
concerned with the direction (L2----->L1), whereas CA works the other
way round within the opposite direction (L1----->L2)   Dulay and Burt
supported their caveat by quoting from Haugen who, they claimed, had
determined the direction of bilingualism in the following way   " *it is*
the language of the learner that is influenced,   not the language he
learns" (Haugen, 1956 370, quoted by Dulay and Burt, 1974 a   102,
re-emphasized by Dulay *et al* , 1982 99)

With regard to familiarity, Dulay and Burt referred to
Weinreich   "   those instances of deviation from the norms of either
language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their
familiarity with more than one language" (Weinreich, 1953 1, quoted by
Dulay and Burt, 1974 a 102, re-emphasized by Dulay *et al* , 1982 99)
By analogy, they linked their objection to the fact that bilingualism is
concerned with interference due to 'familiarity' with both languages,
so that interference, according to them, is a sociolinguistic phenomenon
which refers to language interaction such as *linguistic borrowing* and
code switching The former is by definition " the attempt by a speaker
to reproduce in one language, patterns which he has learned in another"
(Haugen, 1956 363), and the latter " involves the rapid and
momentary shifting from one language into another" (Dulay *et al* , 1982
114f)   On the other hand, CA, Dulay and Burt argued, is concerned with
interference due to 'unfamiliarity' with the L2, thus interference is a
psycholinguistic phenomenon which refers to the effects of the old habits
of the L1 upon the learning of the new habits of a subsequent L2 (Dulay
and Burt, 1974 a 102, Dulay *et al* , 1982   98f)   After a detailed
argument against the link between CA and bilingualism, the authors
concluded

> The CA notion of interference [as opposed to the bilingual notion of
> interference] applies to quite different circumstances   the less
> bilingual speakers are, the more interference there will be when
> they attempt to communicate with speakers of the target language
> (Dulay *et al* , 1982 100)

On the question of directionality, James has strongly asserted
that neither CA nor bilingualism conceive of interference in one
direction only   As for CA, he argues that it has the right to emphasize
interference in the direction (L1----->L2) to be the principal concern
because CA, in its pedagogical applications, is interested in
L2-teaching not L1-teaching (James, 1971, reprint 95)   Further, the

other direction of interference (L2----->L1), James adds, is not hard to find in the CA-based literature For instance, Jakobovits, in an analysis of the general principles of transfer, described this direction by coining the term *backlash interference*, that is, backward interference where a subsequent L2-knowledge influences the learner's L1-production Thus backlash interference is " expected to be stronger at later stages of L2-learning and to be minimal at the beginning" (Jakobovits, 1969 70, 1970 203, quoted by James, 1971, reprint 95) Recently Py's contribution has demonstrated some of the effects of L2 on L1 in terms of an *ad hoc* description of attrition in L1-competence caused by the L2 He points out that L1-competence " remains subject to alteration through the effects of *positive retroaction*" (Py, 1986 166, emphasis added) The term *retroaction* will be mentioned within transfer paradigms (*cf.* section 1 2 1)

As for bilingualism, James, in an argument against Dulay and Burt, has also denied that bilingualism comprises interference in the direction (L2----->L1) only The author restates Weinreich who made no distinct issue of either direction " deviation from the norms of *either language*" (Weinreich, 1953 1, re-quoted by James, 1980 9, emphasis added) In other words, Weinreich was referring to interference effects in both directions (L1<----->L2) Moreover, Weinreich was conscious of the fact that, in bilingual situations, the magnitude of interference is greatest in the direction (L1----->L2) which is the main concern of CA In this context, Weinreich stated " . the language which has been learned first, or the mother-tongue, is in a privileged position to resist interference" (Weinreich, 1953 88, quoted by James, 1980 9) So, it becomes clear that both CA and bilingualism treat interference effects in the two directions (L1----->L2) and (L1<-----L2) As a consequence, the historical link between the two approaches appears to be legitimate, since they apparently have something in common as far as language transfer is concerned

With respect to the question of familiarity, it seems misleading to make a global paradox between a bilingual as familiar and a L2-learner as unfamiliar with the L2 To begin with, Crystal points out that "Definitions of bilingualism reflect assumptions about the degree of proficiency people must achieve before they qualify as bilingual" (Crystal, 1985 33) Here, the writer refers to the *perfect* type of bilingualism which is extremely rare (this term will be discussed

presently) As it is possible to find different levels of L1-knowledge possessed by different monolinguals who all know their L1 **internally**, it is also possible to find different degrees of L2-proficiency achieved by different bilinguals who know the L2 **externally**, that is, they have acquired the L2-system after their internalizing the basics of the L1-system In this sense, a L2-learner is bilingual as well, since he speaks two languages but with a certain degree of L2-knowledge Similarly, the learner's knowledge of the L2 is by definition external The distinction between internal and external knowledge is similar to the distinction between *pure* and *non-pure* knowledge respectively (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2 3) Above all, 'familiarity with a language' implies that the language in question is more known externally than it is internally as is the case of a monolingual It seems, therefore, a L2-learner and a bilingual are distinct from the monolingual in that both of the former share this characteristic of external knowledge Consequently, both the L2-learner and the bilingual can be viewed as ostensibly familiar with the L2-system even if the degree of L2-proficiency may differ between the two

Furthermore, Dulay and Burt pointed to the fact that Weinreich and Haugen were describing "the languages and dialects of communities" By quoting Nemser, they asserted that the CA-Hypothesis, on the contrary, ". refers to the speech of individuals 'who do not usually form speech communities' (Nemser, 1971 b, reprint 59)" (Dulay and Burt, 1974a 103) In reply, Singleton has strongly criticized their misinterpretation of Nemser's statement Singleton reports "Immigrant dialects were seen by Nemser as *closely related* to the systems developed by individual learners [that is, the approximative systems (APSs) (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 1 2)], indeed as *evidence* for such systems (Nemser, 1971 b, reprint 57)" (Singleton, 1981 17f, original emphasis)

It follows from the above that there are two types of bilingualism *societal* bilingualism which addresses itself to the study of the possession of two languages by one community, *and individual* bilingualism which forms the major concern of CA since it refers to the individual's competence in two languages However, the central difference between bilingualism and CA is that the former draws on the synchronic or static possession of two languages by either a community or an individual, whereas CA, as discussed in the previous section, studies the dynamic process whereby a monolingual becomes bilingual In

other words, **CA**, being a form of diachronic interlingual study, is concerned with what James calls an individual's *bilingualization* in order to indicate such a dynamic process (James, 1980 8) The same writer uses Diebold's (1961) terms to mark the difference between the two approaches: *extant* bilingualism and *incipient* bilingualism While the former refers to the main concern of bilingualism, the latter represents another alternative for the concern of **CA** (James, 1980 51)

Dulay and Burt, then, when making a radical distinction between **CA** and bilingualism, insinuated that the *perfect* type of the latter was in question At the outset of their paper, they made the distinction explicit by **L2-acquisition** (which is, according to them, the *only* concern of **CA**) they meant "the acquisition of another language *after* having acquired the basics of the L1, whereas **bilingual acquisition is** the acquisition of two languages *simultaneously*" (Dulay and Burt, 1974 a 95, emphasis added) Implicit in their distinction is that, like a monolingual's L1-knowledge, but unlike a L2-learner's L2-knowledge, the bilingual's L2-knowledge is characterized by an internal nature In this context, James mentions Krzeszowski's term of *ideal* bilingualism which indicates that the bilingual's competence in two languages is balanced or equal (Krzeszowski, 1976 59f) In such a case, James argues, interference would not exist and the problems of L1-L2 mismatch would have been solved Therefore, ideal bilingualism has nothing to do with CA because the latter addresses itself to such problems as well as to the inbalanced output resulting from the dominance of one of the two languages over the other (James, 1980 51) It follows that Krzeszowski's assumption remains a theoretical ideal, since *ideal* bilingualism or, as Lyons states, *"perfect* bilingualism, if it exists at all, is extremely rare" (Lyons, 1981b 282, emphasis added). Ideally, this indicates that Dulay and Burt's radical distinction is not at all absurd, but in practice it is refutable because perfect bilingualism hardly exists

Apart from the 'idealized' concept of bilingualism, the two languages in question are likely to form a logical dichotomy one will frequently be *dominant*, typically referred to as the L1, and the other tends to be *subordinate*, suggesting a subsequent L2 The performance of the latter, as Lyons points out, involves a process of translation from the former " at a fairly superficial, though not necessarily conscious, level of the psychological programming of utterances" (Lyons, 1981 b 282) As a consequence, the interaction between domination and

subordination constitutes part of **CA**'s concern   After all, **CA** has to do with at least one sector of bilingualism, namely, the dynamic side of individual bilingualism which leads to emphasize the legitimacy of the historical link between the two approaches

1.1.3 The New Phase of CA

Whatever the arguments   about   **CA**'s   relationship   to   bilingual studies, especially those of Weinreich and Haugen, they seem to have given a considerable impetus to Lado whose book *Linguistics Across Cultures* was published in 1957   This work, in fact, has constituted a turning-point in the history of **CA** and, according to James, the 'new' direction of **CA** started with Lado (James, 1980   8)   Along the constructs of **CA**, Lado treated the problem of language transfer both in production and in comprehension, and encouraged foreign language teachers to focus their teaching strategies upon the areas of difficulty that would be created by negative transfer or interference from the L1 Lado developed Fries' suggestion (*cf*   section 1 1 1) " . by comparing systematically the language and *culture* to be learned with the native language and *culture* of the student" (Lado, 1957   vii, emphasis added) Here, the writer, by including the cultural variable, extended the comparison of the L1-L2 corpus which was first suggested to be made solely at purely linguistic levels (*cf*   section 1 3 2 below)   The fundamental assumption of Lado's book was that

> [   ] individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the
> distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and
> *culture* to the foreign language and *culture*— both *productively* when
> attempting to speak the language and to act in the *culture*, and
> *receptively* when attempting to grasp and understand the language and
> the *culture* as practiced by natives
>
> (Lado, 1957 2, emphasis added)

Therefore, Lado, as well as his followers, looked upon language transfer as a natural phenomenon, and included culture as an indispensable variable within the whole systematic comparison   He seems to have accepted the behaviouristic paradigms of transfer theory, since he viewed the forms and meanings of the native language (L1) and culture as old habits which would get in the way of both producing and receiving the new habits of the foreign language (L2) and culture   As noted above,

the purpose of such a detailed comparison was required to initially identify the structural similarities and differences between L1 and L2 Similarities, it was proposed, will lead to ease of transfer and thus transfer functions positively, whereas differences will create learning difficulty because, in this case, transfer functions negatively in L2-learning (*cf* Lado, 1957 59, section 1 1 1) It is, therefore, the structural differences which Lado wanted language teachers to focus attention upon, since these differences would constitute " the *chief sources* of difficulty in learning a second language" (Lado, 1964 21, emphasis added) Lado's proposal, in fact, gained approval from researchers such as Banathy *et al* who claimed that the language teacher should be prepared to teach L2-learners " the sum of the differences established by the **CA**" They expounded their statement as follows

> The change that has to take place in the language behaviour of a foreign language student can be equated with the differences between the structure of the student's native language and culture and that of the target language and culture
>
> (Banathy *et al* , 1966 37)

It follows from the above that language teaching materials were, in the heyday of the structural-behavioural model, designed on the basis of **CA**-procedures which, according to Whitman, were classified into four different types

(i) **Description** which was recommended within the framework of formal grammar in that the opposing systematic structures of the L1 and L2 should be explicitly described by the linguist or the teacher who is highly competent in the two languages

(ii) **Selection** which entailed selecting particular linguistic items, rules and subsystems for contrast, since it is impossible to draw a comparison between the whole systems of the L1 and L2

(iii) **Contrast** which, by describing one category of the L1 and its linguistic distribution in the L2, relied on the validity of the reference points made by the linguist or language teacher

(iv) **Prediction** which, on the basis of the three procedures, concerned the anticipation of the L2-errors learners would make or the difficulty they would have in L2-learning (Whitman, 1970 193f)

There were other researchers such as Stockwell *et al* (1965) and Prator (1967) who formulated a set of paradigms known as a *hierarchy of difficulty* for arriving at possible predictions about potential errors (*cf* section 1 2 3 below) These researchers constructed a hierarchy of

difficulty for phonological systems, grammatical structures and
functional/semantic dimensions by reference to the three types of
language transfer: positive transfer, negative transfer, and neutral
transfer (*cf.* Brown 1980: 149f). Selinker (1969), based on Selinker
(1966), defined these three types as follows:

> **Positive language transfer** is identified as a process which occurs
> whenever there is a statistically significant predominance in the L1
> of one of two alternative linguistic entities, which is then
> paralleled by such predominance in an analysis of the attempted
> production of a L2, the predominant entity being a *nonerror* since it
> concurs with an experimentally established norm of that L2.
> **Negative language transfer** is identified as a process which occurs
> whenever there is a statistically significant predominance in the L1
> of one of two alternative linguistic entities, which is then
> paralleled by such predominance in an analysis of the attempted
> production of a L2, the predominant entity being an *error* since it
> deviates from an experimentally established norm of that L2.
> **Neutral language transfer** is identified as a process which occurs
> whenever there is *no* statistically significant predominance in the
> L1 of either of two alternative linguistic entities, which is then
> paralleled by a *lack* of predominance in an analysis of the attempted
> production of a L2, one alternative linguistic entity being a
> *nonerror* since it concurs with an experimentally established norm of
> that L2 and the other being an *error* since it deviates from that
> norm.
>
> (Selinker, 1969; reprint: 50-51; emphasis added)

These are, therefore, the basic notions of the transfer of
linguistic entities from one language to another, which, as mentioned in
the preceding sections, were central to discussion in the literature of
two fields of endeavour: bilingual studies (Weireich and Haugen) and
applied linguistics/teaching methodology (Lado and his followers). Such
notions were essentially derived from the behaviourists' general concept
of transfer which was, in fact, the psychological basis of CA. The next
section will describe such a basis by reference to Osgood's transfer
paradigms and Skinner's views on habit formation.

1.2 The Psychological Basis of CA

As noted above, Lado accepted the behaviouristic paradigms of the
theory of transfer, since he believed that learners tended to transfer
the formal features of their L1 onto their L2-utterances. Clearly,
therefore, the theory of transfer, which forms part of the general
learning theory of behaviourism, can be conceived to essentially

formulate the psychological basis of CA This approach was exploited by some educationalists to supply a methodology for education in general. In this section, three issues are to be considered Osgood's transfer paradigms, Skinner's views on habit formation, and the notion of potential errors

1.2.1 Transfer Paradigms

In the literature of behavioural psychology, several definitions of the term *transfer* were introduced to indicate fundamentally the same concept

(i) "the effect of a *preceding* activity upon the learning of a given task" (Osgood, 1953 520, original emphasis),

(ii) "the impact of prior experience upon current learning" (Ausubel, 1963 28, quoted by Selinker, 1969, reprint 34), and

(iii) "the hypothesis that the learning of task A will affect the subsequent learning of task B" (Ellis, 1965, Jakobovitz, 1970. 188, quoted by James, 1980 11)

It seems, therefore, that the undefined nature of transfer in linguistic terms led traditional contrastivists and psycholinguists to adapt their views on language transfer from this general concept Thus 'preceding activity', or 'prior experience' (task A), was presumably identified with the L1, whereas 'given task' or 'current learning' (task B), was said to be the L2 Essentially, in order to learn a certain task, two entities are to be associated from the point of view of behaviourists these are a stimulus (S) and a response (R) The above definitions of transfer were, in fact, derived from Osgood's (1949) insights into human learning He illustrated the phenomenon of transfer within three paradigms as visualized in Figure 1

As Figure 1 illustrates, there is a sequential series of three learning tasks, and each of the three paradigms (A, B, C) denotes that Task 1 and Task 3 are identical There appear two concepts involved in this scheme firstly, *proaction* within which the effects of Task 1 upon Task 2 are to be treated It is argued that proaction, in this sense, is the central concern of CA, since Task 1 and Task 2, as mentioned

Paradigm	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	T-Value
A	S1 — R1	S2 — R1	S1 — R1	+T
B	S1 — R1	S1 — R2	S1 — R1	-T
C	S1 — R1	S2 — R2	S1 — R1	T

RETROACTION

PROACTION

Figure 1 *Osgood's transfer paradigms*

above, were looked upon as the acquisition of the Ll and the learning, or acquisition, of the L2 respectively Clearly, therefore, proaction is interested in transfer effects within the direction (Ll----->L2). Secondly, *retroaction*, on the other hand, indicates the effects of an interpolated task upon a previously learned task. Here, CA, when being used for pedagogic purposes, is not concerned with the retroactive effects of transfer Thus, as the term implies, *retroaction* "could handle effects of L2 upon performance in Ll" (James, 1980 15) In other words, retroaction addresses itself to bilingual studies which deal with transfer effects in the direction (Ll<-----L2) as discussed above (*cf* section 1 1 2) By T-value Osgood means 'transfer value' in the sense that each paradigm has a certain transfer value, that is, either positive transfer (+T) or negative transfer (-T) Thus, a consideration of each paradigm might be useful within its applicability to the situation where Arabic is the Ll and English is the L2

PARADIGM A

Ll	L2	
S1 — R1	S2 — R1	+T

Paradigm A is concerned with the formal similarities, where there are similarities, between Ll and L2 Although the stimulus (S1) in the Ll is different from the stimulus (S2) in the L2, they share the same response (R1) in both languages The stimulus (S), here, represents the intended communicative need, or function, of the utterance in question, while the response (R) refers to its syntactic realization in both languages Therefore, the hypothesis of paradigm A runs as follows

The value of transfer will be positive, if the Ll and L2 employ a pair

of structurally similar utterances though they may serve different communicative functions

For instance, unlike the case in English, the formation of questions in Arabic does not normally demand subject-verb inversion However, if a WH-question in English, for example, *'What does he want?'* is preceded by a phrase such as *'I know'* or *'that is'*, then this question does not require subject-verb inversion and the resultant utterance. *'I know what he wants'* would mark an indirect statement about a question In this case, both English and Arabic coincide in the structural properties of non-inverted questions, since the Arabic question, whether it is preceded by a phrase such as verbal clause (VC), or not, does not involve inversion While the English resultant utterance suggests an indirect statement about a question, the Arabic resultant utterance may still be realized as a question For example

(1) a [a?rifu ma tha yuri d]   (MSA)
     b [ba?rif šu biddo]   (SCD)
     c [ba?rif iš biri d]   (NCD)
     d [a?rif šku n yri d]   (ECD)
        (Lit   know (I) what want (he))

Thus, the order of this question type is [verbal clause (VC1) + question particle (QP) + verbal clause (VC2)] It appears that, in production, the Arabic L1-speaker is familiar with the formal device of the English utterance *'I know what he wants'* Therefore, CA would suggest that he can tranfer the Arabic formal device of (1 a-d) and the value would be positive transfer What the Arabic L1-speaker wants to do is associate such a device with the new function in English. In this context, James points out that the magnitude of the resultant association " reduces as the functional or semantic discrepancy between identical formal devices in L1 and L2 decreases" (James, 1980 16) In comprehension, on the other hand, the Arabic L1-speaker may, upon listening to *'I know what he wants'* as a stimulus produced by a native speaker of English, respond to such an utterance as signalling a question, not an indirect statement If this is the case, then his attention would be more focused on the subordinate clause *'What he wants'* than on the main clause *'I know'*

Another example of structural similarity refers to the English WH-questions with (*who, what* or *which*) which do not require DO-insertion, particularly when these pronouns function as the subject of a sentence, for example, *'who came?'*, *'what happened?'* Therefore,

questions such as these would be more familiar to the Arabic L1-speaker, since the L1-equivalents do not involve inversion and would always imply direct questions This indicates that if he happens to transfer the formal device of the L1-equivalent, the resultant value would be completely positive transfer in that both L1 and L2-questions are structurally similar and signal direct questions Consequently, like the order of the L2-question type, the order of the L1-question type is [question particle (QP) + verbal clause (VC)] For example

(2) a [man ja ?a] / [ma tha hadath]   (*MSA*)
    b [mi n ija] / [šu sa r]   (*SCD*)
    c [minu aja] / [šku n sa r]   (*ECD*)
       (*Lit who came (he)?) / (What happened (it)?)*

PARADIGM B

        L1   L2

    S1 —— R1   S1 —— R2   - T

Paradoxically, paradigm B is concerned with syntactic differences accompanied by semantic similarities, that is, while the stimulus (S) represents the same communicative function intended by the L1-L2 pair of utterances, the response (R) refers to their different syntactic realizations as (R1) in the L1 and (R2) in the L2 Thus, the hypothesis of paradigm B is as follows
The value of transfer will be negative, if the L1 and L2 employ a pair of structurally different utterances though they convey the same intended meaning within the same communicative function

For instance, as noted above, Arabic and English employ different structural devices for direct questions In English the direct WH-question demands DO-insertion and subject-verb inversion when the affirmative sentence has no auxiliary as in '*what does he want?*' and only subject-verb inversion when the affirmative sentence has an auxiliary as in '*what can he do?*' In Arabic, on the other hand, the equivalent direct question is formulated simply by using the interrogative particle [ma tha] (MSA), or its SCA-equivalents, followed by the verb inflected according to the pronoun in question Therefore, like the question type of (2 a-c) above, the order of this question type is [question particle (QP) + verbal clause (VC)] For example

(3)   a   [ma <u>tha</u> yuri d] / [ma tha yaqdiru an yaf'?al]   (MSA)
      b. [šu biddo] / [šu bi?dir bisa wi]   (SCD)
      c   [iš biri d] / [iš bi?dir bya?mil]   (NCD)
      d   [šku n yri d] / [šku n yiqdar yi?mal]   (ECD)
          (Lit · what want (he)?) / (what can (he) do (he)?)

According   to   CA,   then,   the   Arabic   L1-speaker   may   face   a
considerable   problem   in producing the structure of the   English   direct
question,   since DO-insertion and subject-verb inversion exist neither in
MSA   nor   in   SCA   due to the syntactic realization, that   is   the   verb
inflection,   in   both   varieties   In comprehension,   however,   the
magnitude of such a problem may decrease because the Arabic L1-speaker is
able to   directly   recognize   the   interrogative   particle   which   occurs
initially both in English in the form of 'what' and in Arabic in the form
of [ma <u>tha</u>] (MSA) or its SCA-equivalents   Consequently, he will realize
the   interrogative   quality   of   the   English   utterance   and   respond
accordingly

Paradigm   B   also   applies   to   YES/NO   questions   in   English   and
their   counterparts   in   Arabic   The   former   involve   DO-insertion   and
subject-verb inversion when the   affirmative sentence does not contain an
auxiliary   as   in 'does he want to go?' and only   subject-verb   inversion
when the affirmative sentence   contains   an auxiliary as in 'can he go?',
whereas   the   latter,   the   Arabic counterparts,   are formulated   by   using
either of   the   question   particles   [hal]   and   [a]   in MSA — which are
usually dropped in SCA — followed by the verb inflected according to the
pronoun in question   Therefore,   by   looking   at the MSA-equivalents in
(4a)   and (5a) below,   the order of this question type appears to   follow
the same general order   [QP([hal]/[a])+VC]   For example

(4)   a   [*hal/a* uri du an ya<u>th</u>'hab]   (MSA)
          (Lit   QP want (he) to go (he)?)
      b   [---- biddo ---- yru <u>h</u>]   (NCD/SCD)
      c   [---- yri d ---- yru <u>h</u>]   (ECD)
          (Lit   ---- want (he) ---- go (he)?)

(5)   a   [*hal/a* yastati ?u an ya<u>th</u>'hab]   (MSA)
          (Lit   QP can (he) to go (he)?)
      b   [---- byi?dir ---- yru <u>h</u>]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
      c   [---- yiqdar ---- yru <u>h</u>]   (ECD)
          (Lit   ---- can (he) ---- go (he)?)

Again, CA would suggest that   the   Arabic   L1-speaker may experience
some difficulty   in learning L2-questions   such as 'does he want to go?'
and 'can he go?' due to their application of structural devices different

from those of the Ll-counterparts   It is believed, however, that such difficulty seems to be less discernible than the difficulty which would be experienced over the structure of the WH-questions cited above This may be due to the fact that the co-occurrence of the WH-particle with the remainder of the question makes the distinction between *'what does he want?'* as a direct question and ' *what he wants* ' as an indirect statement about a question (when preceded or followed by an embedded sentence) **more** difficult than the distinction between *'does he want to go?'* as a direct question and *'he wants to go'* as a declarative statement

PARADIGM C

	L1	L2	
	S1——R1	S2——R2	T

As paradigm C illustrates, the realization of both the stimulus (S1) and the response (R1) in the Ll is different from — and therefore cannot be identified with — the L2-counterparts (S2) and (R2) respectively In such a case, **CA** does not seem to be sufficiently committed to paradigm **C** because, as James puts it, " there is *no* constant, only variables, there are no grounds for comparison" (James, 1980   18, original emphasis)   Thus, the relatively slight degree of contrast between the two languages would submit a neutral value (neither positive nor negative) to transfer from one linguistic entity in the Ll to another in the **L2**

It appears that, following Selinker's definitions of the three types of transfer (*cf*   section 1 1 3), positive language transfer and negative language transfer were extrapolated from paradigm **A** and paradigm **B** respectively, whereas neutral language transfer was established in terms of paradigm **C**   Therefore, it is the paradigms **A** and **B** which concern the structural similarities and differences between a given pair of   languages   Given that there are potential similarities and differences between Arabic and English question types, **CA** would, on the basis of such paradigms, predict that the former would lead to ease and the latter to difficulty in learning the English question types   **Figure** **2** tabulates the structural similarities and differences of question types in Arabic and English as cited under the paradigms **A** and **B**

Type No	ARABIC (MSA)	ENGLISH
Type 1 WH-question preceded by a phrase	(VC1) + QP + (VC2) [a?rifu ma tha yuri d] (NO INVERSION)	(S1 + V1) + HW + (S2 + V2) *I know what he wants* (NO INVERSION)
Type 2 WH-pronoun functioning as a subject	QP + (VC) [man ja ?a] (NO INVERSION)	WH + (VP) *Who came?* (NO INVERSION)
Type 3 Direct WH-questions with DO and AUX	QP + (VC) [ma tha yuri d] QP + (VC) [ma tha yaqdiru an yaf'?al] (NO INVERSION)	WH + DO + (S + V) *What does he want?* WH + AUX + (S + V) *What can he do?* (INVERSION)
Type 4 YES/NO questions with DO and AUX	QP ([hal]/[a]) + (VC) [hal yuri du an yath'hab] QP([hal]/[a]) + (VC) [hal yastati ?u an yath'hab] (NO INVERSION)	DO + (S + V) *Does he want to go?* AUX + (S + V) *Can he go?* (INVERSION)

Figure 2   *The similarities and differences of question-types in Arabic and English*

As **Figure** 2 illustrates, all question types in Arabic are of the general order [QP + (VC)] whether it is preceded by another verbal clause (VC) or not   In Arabic, VC involves at least a verb and its subject If, at a surface-structure level,   no mention is made of the subject, then the pronoun which stands for the subject is usually implied in the deep structure   Therefore, if the subject of the verb [yuri d] '*want* (he)' is not mentioned, then the pronoun [huwa] '*he*' would be implied as the *latent subject* because this   verb is already inflected accordingly This indicates that whether the subject appears or not question formation in Arabic does not   requier subject-verb inversion   Thus, in order to

function as the subject of a verb like [yuri·d] 'want (he)', a given noun like [zaydon] 'Zaid' (or the implied pronoun [huwa] 'he' standing for it) should follow that verb as in (6 a-b) below However, if the noun in question precedes the verb, then the former no longer functions as the subject of the verb in question, but rather as the beginning, or subject, of the noun clause (NC) as in (6 c-d) below

(6) a [yur du zaydon]   (declarative)   (MSA)
        (Lit   want (he) Zaid)
        'Zaid wants'
     b [hal yuri du zaydon] (interrogative)   (MSA)
        (Lit   QP want (he) Zaid?)
        'Does Zaid want?'
     c [zaydon yuri du]   (declarative)   (MSA)
        (Lit   Zaid want (he))
        'It is Zaid who wants'
     d [hal zaydon yuri du] (interrogative)   (MSA)
        (Lit   QP Zaid want (he)?)
        'Is it Zaid who wants?'

Given   that the question formation of VC in Arabic does not employ inversion, it appears that, in terms of paradigm A, the first two types (Type 1 and Type 2) listed in Figure 2 are said to assign the structural similarity between Arabic and English, whereas, along paradigm B, the second two types (Type 3 and Type 4) constitute the structural difference as far as inversion is concerned

As noted in the preceding sections, CA is more committed to the structural differences (paradigm B) between L1 and L2 than to their similarities, since the former were looked upon as the major source of learning difficulty where the potential for errors could be detected This was based on the belief that the old habits of the L1 would obstruct the learning of the new and different habits of the L2   The following sections will consider the two issues   habit formation and potential errors which were central to discussion in behaviouristic thinking about language learning and acquisition

1.2.2 Habit Formation

Up to the 1960s, behaviouristic views   on language and linguistics were predominant   In this context, Lyons summarizes four recognizable principles or tendencies which gave behaviourism its particular impetus at the time (cf Lyons, 1977 121f)

(i)   **The rejection of mentalism** This rejection was adopted by J B
        Watson (1924) and, in effect, led to the belief that habits could
        only be scrutinized through observable events This was applied
        to the study of language in terms of the rejection of
        introspection, that is, even internal mental processes such as
        'thought' were regarded as instances of *inaudible* speech
        behaviour Consequently, "observable and recordable utterances"
        were emphasized as well as "their relationship with the immediate
        situation in which they were produced"

(ii)   **The essential similarity between human and animal behaviour** Such
        a belief linked behaviourism with evolutionary biology and was
        supported by scholars such as Morris (1946) "to construct a
        general theory of semiotics applicable to all natural
        "signalling-systems" (Lyons, 1977 121)

(iii)   **The tendency to minimize the role of instinct and other innate
        faculties** This led to stress the acquisition of 'behavioural
        patterns' within the general process of learning In other words,
        "to stress nurture rather than nature" (Lyons, 1977 122)

(iv)   **The tendency towards mechanism or determinism** This tendency was
        based on the belief that every event "in the universe is
        casually determined according to the same physical laws" Such a
        view caused behaviourists to lay special emphasis upon
        predictability as "the principal criterion for the evaluation of
        any behaviour" (Lyons, 1977 122)

        It follows from the above that three significant characteristics
of habits were identified First, habits, are *observable* in Watson's
sense of observable events Second, habits, according to Skinner, can
be *automatized* and self-activated by means of imitation Third, habits,
within the principle of probability, are *predictable* in that "the
presence of a given stimulus raises the probability of occurrence of a
given form of response" (Skinner, 1957 82)

        Skinner's speculation on habit formation was, in fact, one of the
serious attempts to construct a 'neo-behaviouristic' model of linguistic
behaviour His theory of *verbal behaviour* was an extention of his
general theory of learning by *operant conditioning*, that is, a verbal
operant "in which the response is reinforced by a characteristic
consequence and is therefore under the functional control of the relevant

conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation" (Skinner, 1957. 35f).
In other words, an operant suggests the "activities which operate upon
the environment" as contrasted with the activities "which are primarily
concerned with internal economy of the organism" (Skinner, 1957   20).
Operant conditioning,   therefore, dictates that the organism (that is,
the human being) produces a verbal operant or response (for example, a
word or an utterance) without necessarily observable stimuli   Such an
operant is sustained by reinforcement and conditioned over repeated
instances   Thus, verbal behaviour,   like any other behaviour, is
determined by its consequences, that is, behaviour is maintained when
consequences are in the   form   of   *reward*,   whereas   it   is blocked when
consequences are in the form of *punishment*   For instance, in   order   to
learn '*fox*' as a word-form, it   has   to   be associated with the animal in
question and established upon its occurrence in utterances that have
already been "reinforced by seeing a fox" (Skinner, 1957   88)

There   are   three major entities which co-exist in the formation   of
habits   These are the *stimulus* (S),   the *response* (R) and *reinforcement*.
The   relationship   between   stimulus and response is casual,   and their
association represents a 'S-R reflex',   since the entity (S) represents a
'cause' and the entity (R) its 'effect'   Reinforcement is determined   by
the environment in which the (S)   occurs   Verbal behaviour,   then,   was
assumed to be learned through a series of S-R reflexes, as illustrated by
the following formula

(S1---->R1)   ----->   (S2---->R2)   ----->   (S3---->R3)   ----->

As   Lyons re-states, "The first   word   of   an utterance is   produced
as the response (R1) to some   external   stimulus (S1),   the production of
(R1) then serves   as   a   stimulus   (S2)   to which   the   second word is a
response (R2), and so on"   To reinforce the association between a   given
word   and its possible successors depends solely upon   "   the   frequency
with which they have   been   associated   in the past" (Lyons,   1977   124).
Therefore, frequency enables the organism to produce the same (R) and (S)
on future occasions

Up to the 1960s, specifically before Chomsky's   (1959) criticism of
Skinner's   views   had   its own effects (*cf.*   section   1 4 1   below),   the
theory of habit formation was   central   to the discussion which dominated
the research into both L1-acquisition and L2-acquisition   With regard to
L1-acquisition   research,   behaviourists   looked   upon   the child as an

organism born with, what Brown calls, a mental 'clean slate', that is, the child is born with no notions about the world or about language. Then, he is shaped by environment and gradually conditioned through various schemes of reinforcement   Behaviourists examined Ll-acquisition as an essential part of human behaviour and considered language to be the production of correct responses to stimuli (*cf* Brown, 1980 18f).

In the course of L2-acquisition research, the applied linguists who were dominated by the behaviouristic constructs of Ll-acquisition assumed that L2-learning involved the same constructs   Consequently, researchers tried to draw direct global analogies between Ll-acquisition and L2-acquisition For instance, Stern summarizes the behaviouristic accounts of L2-acquisition He records some of the common assumptions which were made to justify a L2-teaching method on the basis of the behaviouristic approach to Ll-acquisition   Stern writes

1   In language teaching, we must practise and practise, again and again   Just watch a small child learning his Ll   He repeats things over and over again   During the language-learning stage he practises all the time   This is what we must also do when we learn a L2

2   Language learning is mainly a matter of imitation   You must be a mimic   Just like a small child   He imitates everything.

3   First, we practise the separate sounds,   then words,   then sentences   That is the natural order and is therefore right for learning a L2

4   Watch a small child's speech development   First he listens, then he speaks   Understanding always precedes speaking Therefore, this must be the right order of presenting the skills in a L2

5   A small child listens and speaks and no one would dream of making him read and write   Reading and writing are advanced stages of language development   The natural order for Ll and L2-learning is listening, speaking, reading, writing

6   You did not have to translate when you were small   If you were able to learn your Ll without translation, you should be able to learn a L2 in the same way

7   A small child simply uses language   he does not learn formal grammar   You don't tell him about verbs and nouns   Yet he learns the language perfectly   It is equally unnecessary to use grammatical conceptualization in teaching a L2
                                  (Stern, 1970 57f, quoted by Brown, 1980 42)

It should be noted, however, that the so-called behaviourist applied linguists were not the only ones who drew direct analogies between Ll and L2-acquisition   There were other researchers such as Dulay and Burt (1974a) who, along the generative-cognitive model, tried to do so in their theory known as the L2=Ll Hypothesis This matter will

be discussed later (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 2)

These are, therefore, the most significant aspects of habit formation theory within the behaviouristic approach to L1-acquisition and their applicability to the process of L2-acquisition The following section will consider the notion of 'potential errors' which is mainly based on these behaviouristic aspects

1.2.3 *Potential Errors*

Following the three general definitions of transfer recorded above (*cf* section 1 2 1), Corder expounded the term with reference to the L2-learning process " learners transfer what they already know about performing one task to performing another and similar task" (Corder, 1973 132) It now becomes clear that the question of L1-influence was encapsulated in the notion of transfer in that L2-learners tend to apply the old habits, or behavioural patterns, of their L1 where new habits are needed in L2-performance According to paradigm **A**, if both old and new rules coincide, then L2-patterns are easily assimilated as a result of positive transfer or *facilitation* and therefore *errors* will not occur According to paradigm **B**, on the other hand, if these rules do not coincide, then errors will appear as a result of negative transfer or *proactive inhibition*, so that "making errors in [the L2] can, in part, be explained by the notion of transfer" (Corder, 1973 132) Therefore, since it was believed that the potential areas of learning difficulty could be explored in terms of paradigm B, **CA** was taken as a necessary component for the prediction of the *potential errors* (*cf*. Hamp, 1968, James, 1971, reprint 90) which were assumed to emerge from the conflict between two different systems (*cf* Stockwell, 1968 19)

It seems the case that the global analogies recorded by Stern (1970) in the preceding section dissuade the L2-learner from the process of 'translation' drawn upon his L1 (*cf* item 6) In other words, to eradicate the negative effects of the L1, the old habits, which might constitute the potential for error making, should be 'forgotten' during L2-learning This is, of course, far from reality since it is virtually impossible to completely ignore the already existing knowledge of the L1 when a given L2 is being learnt (*cf* Baddeley, 1972 41)

From a behaviouristic perspective, some applied linguists warned language teachers against the danger of tolerating errors because in such

a way errors would be established as *habits*   For instance, Brooks stated
that "like sin, error is to be avoided and its influence overcome, *but
its presence is to be expected* (Brooks, 1960 56, emphasis added)
Therefore, CA was, at the time, the only possible procedure which
enabled both language teachers to direct classroom practice on the basis
of transfer paradigms and L2-learners to overcome the areas of potential
errors   The presence of errors should, then, be expected and, according
to CA, this could be guarded against through predicting interference or
interlingual errors (*cf*   chapter 2, section 2 4 1)   It is, therefore,
the *psychological* paradigms of CA which were proposed to account for the
conditions and circumstances of these errors   This is because a mere
linguistic description is insufficient to identify which errors are due
to transfer from the L1 and which others are not   Naturally, not all
L1-categories will cause errors (*cf*   Corder, 1973 284), since there are
other types of errors known as intralingual errors which do not correlate
with L1-influence (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 4 2)

    The theory of habit formation   provided   a theoretical account of
how the old habits of the L1 would intrude into L2-learning/acquisition
and the errors, that would appear as a result of this intrusion, where
attributed to the structural differences between L1 and L2   Therefore,
within the procedures of CA (*cf*   Whitman, section 1 1 3), a comparison
of the two languages could be made to identify their structural
differences and to predict areas of potential errors

    From a cognitive perspective, potential errors are likely to
emerge because the *grammatical apparatus* of the L1 — which is programmed
in the learner's mind — would interfere with the process of L2-learning
(*cf*   Bright and McGregor, 1970   236)   Ellis calls this apparatus a
realization device of the L1 (the generative-cognitive model will be
discussed in more detail throughout the next chapters)   For instance, in
the domain of syntax, a French learner of English may express the idea of
being cold as **'I have cold'*   Such an error may occur due to the
syntactic realization of the structural device governing the equivalent
French utterance *'J'ai froid'* (*cf*   Ellis, 1985 22)

    In the domain of phonology, Lehn and Slager pointed out that
Egyptian learners of English might find it difficult to produce some
English contrasts such as *'thistle - this'll'*, *'ether - either'*, *'think-
sink'* and *'breathe - breeze'*   One possible interpretation is that the
English phonemes /θ/ and /ð/ do not usually occur in the colloquial
dialects of Upper Egypt, though they occur in the forms of [th] and [t̲h̲]

in Classical Arabic The result is that the English phonemes are usually substituted by the consonants /s/ and /z/ respectively (*cf* Lehn and Slager, 1959 reprint 34) This is ascribable to the colloquial production of [s] and [z] in place of the classical counterparts [th] and [th] resectively Similarly, the articulation of /θ/ and /ð/ creates considerable difficulty for the Syrian learners whose dialects are NCD, SCD and WCD specifically (for detailed analyses *cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 1, sub-section (C))

The final point to be made here is that, besides the psycholinguistic variables discussed above, there are non-linguistic variables which may add information on how and when transfer from the L1 takes place These variables are the **setting** of L2-learning/acquisition and the **development** of the individual learner (*cf* Ellis, 1985 24) With regard to the first variable, it has been argued that the extent of interference — and therefore the number of interlingual errors — in formal settings (classroom settings) is much larger than it is in informal settings (naturalistic settings) In formal settings L2-learners tend to use their L1 which augments proactive inhibition, whereas in informal settings they are much more exposed to the L2 and thus the magnitude of proactive inhibition decreases

Concerning the second variable, there seem to be rather contradictory opinions about the learner's stage of development Taylor (1975), for instance, pointed out that the elementary learners were more liable to make interlingual errors than intermediates who showed larger scope of *overgeneralization* from L2-rules (intralingual errors) In other words, according to Taylor, the possibilities of language transfer decrease as the learner's knowledge of the L2 increases On the other hand, researchers like Anderson suggest that the possibilities of language transfer increase as the learner's knowledge of the L2 increases though, in this case, he may be more susceptible to recognize interlingual errors (*cf* Anderson, 1983 181f) This matter will be discussed later (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 4 1)

These are, therefore, the psychological aspects of **CA** which have been considered in terms of Osgood's transfer paradigms, Skinners theory of habit formation, and the notion of potential errors The next section will draw on the linguistic aspects of **CA** and trace their development through structuralism and generativism.

1.3 The Linguistic Basis of CA

In the opening section of this chapter it has been noted that **CA** is a *hybrid* linguistic enterprise (*cf* section 1 1 1) As one of its concerns, CA is said to examine L1-influence on L2-learning along with the behaviouristic paradigms of transfer As another, the 'scientific description' proposed by Fries (1945) was undertaken in the heyday of structural linguistics In this respect, Bloomfield was the well-known figure who developed the 'scientific study' of language in terms of *inductive categorization*, that is, "the establishment of a set of classificatory units or properties used in the description of language, which have the same basic distribution, and [ ] occur as a structural unit" (Crystal, 1985 43f) It has been suggested that Bloomfield, too, was, more than anyone else, "responsible for introducing the behaviourist point of view into linguistics" (Lyons, 1977 125) This can be seen in Bloomfield's definition of an utterance meaning in terms of S-R associations "the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer" (Bloomfield, 1935 26). Further, it was Bloomfield "who set for linguistics, especially in America, the ideal of being truly scientific" with reference to "empiricism and positivism" (Lyons, 1981b 42) Bloomfield also emphasized the 'differences' between languages, which might hinder the researcher from setting up a systematic classification applicable to all languages (*cf* Ellis, 1985 25) Therefore, the comparison between languages was believed to be far from utility This assumption was supported by other structuralists like Sapir and Whorf as will be discussed presently

In this section four topics are to be dealt with (i) the linguistic levels which **CA** draws on by reference to Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and the concept of *interlingual level shifts*, (ii) the cultural level as suggested by Lado within his original parameters, (iii) the surface-structure level from the structuralist point of view, and (iv) the deep-structure level within Chomsky's approach to generative linguistics Both the surface-structure and the deep-structure levels will be considered through the constant *tertium comparationis* (TC) to see to what extent the magnitude of language transfer can be *determined*

1.3.1 *The Linguistic Levels of CA*

Following Bloomfieldian descriptivism, a particularly American version of structuralism, the approach advocated by Sapir and Whorf also stressed the fact that languages are different   Within a descriptive model, their approach aimed at what is called 'language-specific' featuers which **CA** focused upon for its models of analysis   Language-specific features were explicitly expressed in their hypothesis in terms of 'uniqueness' of categories and distinctions   Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, as put by Lyons in its most extreme version, states

> (a) We are, in all our thinking and forever, "at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression of [our] society", because we cannot but "see and hear and otherwise experience" in terms of the categories and distinctions encoded in language, (b) the categories and distinctions encoded in one language-system are unique to that system and incommensurable with those of other systems
>
> (Lyons, 1981b 304-305)

From this perspective, **CA** held the position that L2-learners tend to employ the categories and distinctions encoded in their L1 and transfer them onto the L2   Errors will consequently occur simply because the categories and distinctions of the L1 are 'incommensurable' with those of the L2   It appears that traditional contrastivists such as Fries,   Lado,   Banathy *et al* , and Stockwell *et al*   were indebted to Bloomfieldian descriptivism and Sapir-Whorf structuralism   Despite the belief that languages are incomparable, contrastivists set up their research on the assumption that, by means of language-specific features, a comparison of L1 and L2 is utilizable for determining their structural differences

    As it is traditionally conceived, the procedural orientation of **CA** dictated that the descriptive comparison of L1 and L2 should be ordered into, at least three manageable linguistic levels phonology, syntax and lexis James argues that this order was a logical injunction in the sense that these levels should not be mixed   This is because the sound-system of any language is more amenable to complete description than its syntactic system   The latter, in turn, demands less exhaustive description than the lexical system does and so on (James, 1980   29) However, mixing of linguistic levels is permitted these days and, depending on the intention of a particular description,   is sometimes necessary to show how a given communicative function is realized in terms

of *one* linguistic level in the **L1** and distributed along with *another* linguistic level in the **L2** In such a case, **CA** involves two procedural stages *description* and *juxtaposition* While the former determines whether the **L1**-utterance or the **L2**-utterance is to be described on the appropriate linguistic level, the latter refers to the *interlingual level shifts* which help the contrastivist measure the degree of interlingual contrast between **L1** and **L2** (James, 1980 30) Some examples may make this notion of level shifts clear

(7) a [*a?a ra* al-kita b]   (*MSA*)
        'He *lent* the book'
     b [*ista?a ra* al-kita b]   (*MSA*)
        'He *borrowed* the book'

(8) a [*zaydon*]a ?ani]   (*MSA*)
        '*Zaid* came to me'
     b []*a ?ani* Zaydon]   (*MSA*)
        'Zaid *came* to me'

(9) a [?ali y'ri d y'sa fir] (↘)   (*ECD*)
        '*Ali wants to travel*' (↘)
     b [?ali y'ri d y'sa fir] (↗)   (*ECD*)
        '*Does Ali want to travel?*' (↗)
  or '*Ali wants to travel?*' (↗)

As the above examples illustrate, while in the **L2**-equivalents of (7a-b) the two **L2**-verbs '*lent*' and '*borrowed*' are distinct lexical items, the **L1**-verbs [*a?a ra*] and [*ista?a ra*] are expressed through morphological contrast within **MSA**, that is, both **L1**-verbs are derived from the same root or triliteral verb [?-y-r] The morpheme [*ist*] is prefixed into the **L1**-verb [*a?a ra*] '*lent (he)*', which belongs to one verb group, to form the **L1**-verb [*ista?a ra*] as belonging to another verb group Thus, the **L1**-utterances (7 a-b) and their **L2**-counterparts represent an interlingual level shift from syntax (morphology) in the **L1** to lexis in the **L2**

In the **L1**-utterances (8 a-b), semantic variation is configurated through word-order contrast within **MSA**, whereas in the **L2**-counterparts this variation is expressed by the use of stress-pattern Therefore, there appears an interlingual level shift from syntax (word-order) in the **L1** to phonology in the **L2**

With regard to the **L1**-examples (9 a-b), the distinction between a declarative and an interrogative statement in **SCA** is usually expressed by a falling tone (↘) in (9a) and a rising tone (↗) in (9b) respectively, though in **MSA** interrogation is marked by the use of the question particle

[hal] (*cf* Figure 2 above)   In the L2-equivalents of (9b) interrogation
is represented by either the use of the structural device 'DO-insertion'
associated with a rising tone or simply a rising tone without a syntactic
change   Therefore,   concerning   the   L1-utterance   (9b)   and   its
L2-counterparts,   there is an   interlingual level shift from phonology in
the L1 to either syntax accompanied by phonology or just phonology in the
L2

It   has   been   mentioned   earlier that   Whitman   (1970)   classified
four distinct procedures   under   CA-constructs   (i)   description,   (ii)
selection,   (iii) contrast, and (iv) prediction (*cf*   section 1 1 3)   It
is the third procedure whose task is   to draw a comparison between L1 and
L2   and   to identify their differences and similarities along   the   three
linguitic levels discussed above   Such a procedure may, therefore,   help
the   contrastivist   to   test the value of transfer   from   one   linguistic
entity to another   The   following   are   some of the possible comparative
parameters   adopted by CA   Ellis, for instance, mentions six   parameters
with examples from different L1s   (Ellis, 1985   26)   In this study, they
have been extended to seven by including parameter (iv) specifically.   In
addition,   Arabic examples will be   substituted for those of the L1s used
in Ellis' original ones (*cf*   also Brown, 1980   152f)

(i) No difference between an item of L1 and L2
This   parameter concerns the degree of similarity between L1 and L2   (*cf*.
section 1 2 1, paradigm **A**)   The   learner,   in   this   case,   can simply
transfer   a sound, structure, or lexical item from the L1 to   his   interim
knowledge of the L2, and the   resultant   utterance would signify positive
language   transfer   For example, both the particle [an] in **MSA**   and   the
preposition '*to*' in English coincide   in that the verb that follows marks
infinitiveness

(10)   a   [yuri du *an* ya*th*'haba] / [al-*thaha* b]   (*MSA*)
           'he wants *to go*' / '*going*'

       b   [ya<u>j</u>ibu (*?*alayhi) *an* ya*th*'haba]/[al-*thaha* b]   (*MSA*)
           'he has *to go*'/'*going*'

       c   [mina-*ddaru* riyyi *an* ya*th*'haba]/[al-*thaha* b]   (*MSA*)
           'it is necessary for him *to go*/'*going*'

It follows that since the particle [an] is usually dropped in SCA, infinitiveness would still be marked by the second verb while the first verb is recognized as a modal auxiliary in the L2-equivalent For example

(11) a   [yastati̱ ?u an yat̲h'haba]   (MSA)
      b   [yı?dir y'ru h̲]   (NCD/SCD)
          'he can go'

(12) a   [la budda (mın) an tat̲h'haba]   (MSA)
      b   [bıddak tru h̲]   (SCA)
      c   [liza man/la zımon ?alayka an tat̲h'haba] (MSA)
      d   [la zım tru h̲]   (SCA)
          'You (sıng masc) must/should go'

(ii) No similarity between an item of L1 and L2

This parameter is traditionally identified with the level of *overdifferentiation* Therefore, according to CA, the new L2-item in question should be learned For example, in the case of negation in Arabic, the negation particle usually stands on its own and only governs the verb that follows (pre-verbal) In English, on the other hand, it is the auxiliary, or 'DO' if the affirmative sentence has no auxiliary, which is governed by the negation particle that follows (post-verbal)

(13) a   [*lam* yastati? an yat̲h'haba]   (MSA)
      b   [*ma* -stat̲a ?a an yat̲h'haba]   (MSA)
      c   [*ma* ?ıdir/h̲ısın y'ru h̲]   (NCD/SCD)
          (*Lit* not could (he) go (he))
          'he could *not* go'

(14) a   [*la* yuri du an yat̲h'haba]   (MSA)
      b   [*ma* biddo y'ru h̲]   (NCD/SCD)
      c   [*ma* y'ri d y'ru h̲]   (ECD)
          (*Lit* not want (he) go (he))
          'he does *not* want to go'

(iii) An item in the L1 is absent in the L2

Within traditional CA, this parameter is normally recognized as the level of *underdifferentiation* within a proactive direction Thus, the learner, upon producing the L2-utterance, should exclude the item in question For example, in both varieties of Arabic, the resumptive pronoun (that is, the object of the relative clause) usually appears particularly when it is prefixed to the preposition of a phrasal verb as in (15b), whereas in English it is obligatorily deleted (*cf* example (41) below)

(15) a   [ɪrrɪsa l ɪllɪ katabt*a*]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lɪt*   the letter which/that wrote (I) *ɪt*)
          '*the letter (whɪch/that) I wrote----*'

      b   [al-mawdu ʔu al-la*thɪ*· tahaddathna. ʔan*hu*]   (*MSA*)
          (*Lɪt*   the matter which/that talked (we) about *ɪt*)
          '*the matter (whɪch/that) we talked about ----*'

(iv) An item in the L2 is absent in the L1

Similarly,   this   parameter   can   be   identified   with   the   level   of
underdifferentiation but within a retroactive direction   In such a case,
CA would suggest that the item in question must be learnt   For example,
the grammatical device of the perfective aspect of the verb in English is
normally expressed by the simple past form of the verb in Arabic,   though
the particle [qad] in **MSA** is used to   denote   both the   completion and
nearness   of   a   past action (for further information, *cf.*   chapter   6,
section 6 2 3)

(16) a   [*lam arahu* min qabl]   (*MSA*)
      b   [ma   ra*ʔaytuhu* mɪn qabl]   (*MSA*)
      c   [ma *šɪfto* mɪn ʔabɪl]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lɪt*   not *saw* (I) hɪm before)
          '*I haven't seen hɪm before*'

(17) a   [*qad thahaba* zaydon mun*thu* ga dart]   (*MSA*)
      b   [---- *ra h* zeɪ d mɪn (waʔɪt ma) tarakɪt]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lɪt*   *went* (he) Zaid sɪnce (the time) left (you))
          '*Zaɪd has gone* since you left'

(v) An item in the L1 has a different distribution from that of the L2

This parameter is traditionally known as the level of *reinterpretation*
Although this parameter is difficult to distinguish from any   other,   it
has been argued that a given L2-item may sometimes be perceived as a
reinterpreted form of the L1-counterpart   For example, while in Arabic
the   indefinite   noun   is   represented   by   the   omission of the definite
article [al] and, particularly in **MSA**,   the insertion of the phonological
device *nunnation* [on] finally, in English it is determined by the
indefinite   article (for a detailed analysis of articles, *cf* chapter   6,
section 6 2 2)

(18) a   [---- walad*on*---- ɟamɪ l*on*]   (*MSA*)
      b   [---- walad ---- ɟamɪ.l]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lɪt*   ---- boy ---- beautiful)
          '*a beautiful boy*'

(vi) Two items in the L1 coalesce into one item in the L2

This parameter is known as the level of *coalescence* and identified in terms of *convergent phenomena* For instance, both [?am] '*the father's brother*' and [ka l] '*the mother's brother*' in Arabic become coalesced into '*uncle*' in English, both [kusu f] '*eclipse of the sun*' and [kusu f] '*eclipse of the moon*' in Arabic become coalesced into '*eclipse*' in English, and so on

(vii) One item in the L1 becomes two items in the L2

Paradoxically, this parameter is known as the level of *split* and identified in terms of *divergent phenomena* For instance, the word [tawi·l] in Arabic splits into '*long*' and '*tall*' in English; the word [isba?] in Arabic splits into '*finger*' and '*toe*' in English, the word [kabi r] in Arabic splits into '*big*' and '*old*' in English'; and so on

As noted earlier, the hierarchy of difficulty formulated by Stockwell *et al* (1965) and Prator (1967) are largely based on the above comparative parameters (*cf* section 1 1 3) Therefore, along with such a hierarchy, these parameters would follow the order of learning difficulty as illustrated in Table 1

Level of Difficulty	The Corresponding Parameter
Level 0 - *Positive Transfer*	Parameter (i)
Level 1 - *Coalescence*	Parameter (vi)
Level 2 - *Underdifferentiation*	Paremeters (iii), (iv)
Level 3 - *Reinterpretation*	Paremeter (v)
Level 4 - *Overdifferentiation*	Parameter (ii)
Level 5 - *Split*	Parameter (vii)

Table 1 *The hierarchical order of learning difficulty*

This table indicates that, according to Stockwell *et al* and Prator, the first level, or parameter (i), represents the smallest degree of difficulty since it concerns the one-to-one correspondence between L1 and L2, whereas the last level, or parameter (vii), is assumed to be the height of learning difficulty as the largest scope for negative transfer would be anticipated Thus, within a selective comparison between L1

and **L2**, such a hierarchy is said to be applicable to any pair of languages for the prediction stage of **CA**-procedures However, the comparison between L1 and L2 was predominantly descriptive (that is, along the three linguistic levels phonology, syntax and lexis) and the cultural level, which refers to the socio-cultural context of a given utterance, has been overlooked for a long time The next section will deal with the cultural level by recourse to Lado's original parameters

1.3.2 *The Cultural-Behaviour Level*

Implicit in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis quoted at the outset of the previous section is the cultural variable added by Lado to the **CA**-based project The statement that "the particular language which has become the medium of expression for [our] society" implies the language-specific features which are characteristic of the language in question, especially when expressing the socio-cultural context The key-word here is 'society' in the sense that a natural interaction between language and society is inevitable This interaction would subsequently result in a kind of sociolinguistic representation which consists of unique cultural features specific to that society In effect, any other language is incapable of expressing or understanding such cultural features

Within the rigorous tradition of linguistic **CA**, Lado included the cultural variable as a factor of special significance in L2-learning Besides the structural comparison of the L1 and L2, he suggested that the 'cultural' commparison would also enable the analyst to determine the differences as well as the similarities between the two cultures, and thus to predict trouble spots in L2-culture learning This cultural analysis was based on the assumption that L2-learners might tend to transfer the habits of their native culture onto the foreign culture Lado wrote

> [ ] When the individual of Culture **A** trying to learn Culture **B** observes a *form* in Culture **B** in a particular *distribution* spot, he grasps the same complex of *meaning* as in his own culture And when he in turn engages actively in a unit of behaviour in Culture **B** he chooses the form which he would choose in his own culture to achieve that complex of meaning
>
> (Lado, 1957 114, emphasis added)

According to Lado, "cultural behaviour is patterned", a statement already made by Sapir (1949 546) Therefore, every unit of patterned behaviour has a particular *form*, bears aspects of a particular *meaning*, and is represented by a particular *distribution* Hence, Lado's example 'eating breakfast' is a behavioural unit whose *form* may be identified as 'the morning meal' in culture A, or 'the evening meal' in culture B The *meaning* of this behavioural unit may simply be modified "to provide food and drink for the body" in culture A, or to establish social, moral or religious identifications in culture B Depending on the culture of the society in which such a unit is performed, 'eating breakfast' may also show *time distribution*, for example, on a daily cycle, or *space distribution*, for example, in a kitchen (Lado, 1957 113)

It seems, however, that Lado is describing the functions or needs that are actually *done* on special occasions such as birth, marriage, death and so on Therefore, upon producing their formal realizations, these functions are emphasized to arrive at a structural description as a criterion for cultural analysis By extension of Lado's examples in the current study, the utterances that are actually *said* on these occasions are to be stressed, since they represent two complementary dimensions a *linguistic dimension*, that is, the linguistic realization of the utterance in question, and a *socio-cultural dimension* which refers to the communicative purpose or purposes of that utterance Recently, Riley has called this latter dimension the 'social patterning of discourse' to indicate both the pragmalinguistic aspects of utterances such as language functions and the communicative acts in context (Riley, 1981 121)

The term *utterance*, throughout the analysis of both actual and predicted interlingual identifications, will be focused upon as it refers to a stretch of speech whose assumptions are no longer expressed in terms of linguistic theory Therefore, unlike a sentence, an utterance can be looked upon as a unique speech event resulting in a particular behaviour when two persons are engaged in interpersonal communication Lyons, for instance, makes a clear distinction between *sentence meaning* and *utterance meaning* The former is directly predictable by the grammatical and lexical interrelationships between the words of a sentence, whereas the latter, which is the concern here, includes all the possible types of meaning that imply communicative needs or purposes (Lyons, 1977 643) The types of meaning of an utterance will be discussed later (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3)

It follows from the above that Lado's conception of a behavioural

unit is by no means interpretable in terms of sentence meaning, but rather it lies at the heart of utterance meaning for *utterance* itself is by definition a 'behavioural unit' as well (*cf* Crystal, 1985 322) Therefore, with reference to the notion of *speech acts* introduced by Austin (1962) and developed by Searl (1969), a behavioural unit can be re-defined as a speech act in that the utterance in question entails a communicative activity or a *locutionary act*, that is, the act of saying something for a particular purpose A speech act also involves both an *illlocutionary force* and a *perlocutionary effect* While the former causes the speaker to perform the act upon making the utterance in question (for example, commanding, promising, requesting, and so on), the latter, the perlocutionary effect, refers to the effect that the utterance and its performance achieve on the behaviour and/or feelings of the hearer or the interlocutor such as utterances which are used for apologizing, frightening, sympathizing, and so on (*cf* Palmer, 1981 162f, Lyons, 1981a 175f) Furthermore, there are at least five recognizable categories of speech acts (i) *commissives* for example, guaranteeing, promising; (ii) *declaratives* for example, christening, marrying, resigning, (iii) *directives* for example, begging, commanding, requesting, (iv) *expressives* for example, apologizing, sympathizing, welcoming, and (v) *representatives* for example, asserting, hypothesizing and so on The verbs which are used to convey speech acts are known as *performative verbs*, and the criteria for the success of their effects are identified as *felicity conditions* (*cf* Crystal, 1985 285)

Therefore, in the light of the above argument, Lado's suggestion may be re-stated in this way every speech act has a given *form*, bears aspects of a particular *meaning*, and is represented by a particular *distribution* Within the three parameters proposed by Lado, some utterances, or speech acts, produced both in Arabic and in English can be exemplified (*cf* Lado, 1957 114f) In this context, Riley discusses two parameters (i) same form, different functions and (ii) same function, different forms (Riley, 1981 125) These correspond to Lado's first two parameters as will be explained presently To avoid terminological confusion, Lado's original terms will be used here

(i) Same form, different meaning

This parameter is concerned with a given L1-utterance and its L2-counterpart whose linguistic (that is, syntactic and lexical) shapes are similar but serve different communicative functions For example:

(19) a [kalli ni afarji k il-ba b]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
     b [kalli ni ašawfak il-ba b]   (*ECD*)
     c *Let me show you the door*   (*PU*)

In **SCA** the L1-utterances (19 a-b) are sometimes said to a visitor when he/she wants to leave the host Thus, as a matter of courtesy, the host is willing to accompany the visitor until the latter goes out through the door, though, depending on the context, these L1-utterances may imply that the host indirectly requires the visitor to leave It appears that when these L1-utterances are transferred onto English by means of a word-for-word translation, the resultant utterances (19c) will *always* have unfortunate effects upon the addressee because '*showing someone the door*' in English suggests throwing someone out or getting rid of someone The equivalent L2-utterances to be made on the same occasion are '*to walk or conduct someone to the door*' in British English and '*to leave someone to the door*' in Hiberno-English, though the L1-utterance [kalli ni awaslak lil-ba b] is possible in **SCA** and thus can be included in parameter (iv) below (*cf* example (33))

(20) a [farji na ʔurd kta fak]   (*NCD/SCD*)
     b [šawwifna ʔard tšta fak]   (*ECD*)
     c *Show us the breadth of your shoulders* (*PU*)

In **SCA** the L1-utterances (20 a-b) suggest that the addressee is to be thrown out, a similar meaning intended by '*to show someone the door*' as discussed above Thus, upon transferring these L1-utterances onto English, the resultant utterance (20c) will no longer convey the same intended meaning, but rather '*to have broad shoulders*' in English indicates either *literally* being able to bear much weight or *figuratively* being able to bear much responsibility In **SCA** the L1-utterance [farji na kta fak liʔra d] '*show us your broad shoulders*' (PU) may also indicate but only the literal meaning intended by '*to have broad shoulders*'

(21) a   [ma?ak ?al k̲a̲t̲]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit*   (I) with you *on the line*)
      b   [ana ?al k̲a̲t̲ ma?ak]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit*   I *on the line* with you)
      c.   *I am on the line*   (*AU*)

A further example is the situational context where two native
speakers of Arabic are engaged in an argument over some problem   The
speaker wants to ensure that the listener is following what is going on
This refers to the process of *feedback* whereby the speaker is looking for
a reaction (or response) from the listener to check on the efficiency of
communication   The speaker, then, pauses for a while and produces an
utterance like [?am tif'ham ?alay] '*do you understand me?*' as a stimulus
Therefore, if the listener has indeed understood what the speaker is
talking about, then the former would in turn produce either of the
L1-utterances (21 a-b) as a response to assure the latter that the
argument has been followed   Since these L1-utterances seem to have been
transferred onto English to convey the meaning intended in Arabic, the
resultant actual utterance (21c) does not appear to imply such a meaning
Rather, '*to be on the line*' in English is usually used as a general
statement about spatial arrangements of objects or persons   The
corresponding though outmoded L2-utterances might be '*I'm on the beam*' or
'*I'm on your track*', which indicate the same meaning intended by (21
a-b)

(ii) Same meaning, different form
As opposed to parameter (i), this parameter is concerned with a given
L1-utterance and its L2-counterpart whose linguistic (that is, syntactic
and lexical) shapes are different but serve the same communicative
function   For example

(22) a   ['l-ba?iyye b'h̲aya tak]   (*NCD/SCD*)
      b   ['l-baqiyye b'h̲aya tak]   (*ECD*)
      c   (*May) the rest be in your life*   (*PU*)

(23) a   [atamanna   al-baqiyyata (baqiyyata
           h̲aya ti il-faqi d) fi h̲aya tik]   (*MSA*)
      b   I wish *the rest* (the rest of the dead
           person's life) to *be* (included) *in your life*   (*PU*)

In SCA the L1-utterances (22 a-b)   are usually said to console
someone on a death occasion in the sense that the speaker wishes the
remainder of the dead person's life to be 'added' to the addressee's

life, so that the former wishes the latter a longer life than the dead person's Therefore, upon transferring the L1-utterances (22 a-b), which seem to be the surface structure of (23a), onto English by means of a word-for-word translation, the resultant utterance (22c) or its deep structure (23b) may serve the same communicative function intended by each of the following L2-utterances

(24)   a   *I am sorry for your bereavement*
       b   *I am with you in your sorrow*
       c   *I offer you my sympathy on your great loss*
       d   *I offer you my condolences*

Similarly, if any of these L2-utterances happens to be retroactively transferred onto Arabic by means of a verbatim translation, then the resultant utterance would serve the same communicative function conveyed by any possible L1-utterance produced in either variety It seems, however, the difference between the L1-based utterances (22c), (23b) and their L2-counterparts (24 a-d) is linguistic, that is, syntactic and/or lexical Further, while the L1-based L2-utterances (22c), (23b) are statements indicating a *subjunctive* mode, the L2-counterparts, (24 a-d) are statements indicating a *declarative* mode

(25)   a   [ḥuṯ rijle k b'may ba rde]   (*SCA*)
       b   *Put your feet in cold water*   (*AU*)

In SCA the L1-utterance (25a) is usually said to a person, the addressee, who is advised to relax and take it easy Given that this L1-utterance has been transferred onto English, it has been attested that the resultant actual utterance (25b) did really serve its communicative function as intended by the L1-counterpart Further, since, depending on the context, the L1-lexical item [rijil] in SCA means either a '*leg*' or a '*foot*', the learner seems to have correctly realized the deep structure of [rijle k] in (25a) as rendered into '*your feet*' in (25b) (for further information, *cf* chapter 6, section 6 3 1, example (2)) Again, the difference between the L1-based utterance (25b) and its L2-counterpart '*put your feet up*' is only linguistic While the former employs a verb '*put*' to which a prepositional phrase '*in cold water*' is related, the latter involves a phrasal verb '*put up*' only

(26)   a.   [ʔe.nak faj'ʔa ne]   (*SCD*)
       b   [ʔe nak fa r'ge]   (*ECD*)
       c   *Your eye is empty*   (*PU*)

(27) a   [?e nak mu šab'?a ne]   (SCA)
      b   Your eye is not full   (PU)

Particularly, in SCA the L1-utterances (26 a-b) and (27a) are usually said to a temporarily gluttonous person, the addressee, who has a ravenous appetite assuming that the food, which is still being prepared, is not enough for his/her hunger Thus, upon transferring these L1-utterances onto English, the resultant utterances (26c) and (27b) may convey the same meaning intended by the L2-counterpart 'Your eye is bigger than your belly' which is usually said in colloquial English as well However, both 'eyes', in this context, can be figuratively modified by L2-lexical adjectives such as 'greedy', 'ravenous', 'voracious', and so on Such modification is also possible in Arabic, that is, the L1-equivalents of these L2-lexical adjectives such as [šariha] and [nahima] in MSA can figuratively modify the eye (singular), the two eyes (dual), or more than two pairs of eyes (plural). Concerning the linguistic difference between the L1-based utterances (26c), (27b) and the L2-counterpart cited above, either of the former involves a coular verb 'is' and a complement 'empty'/'not full' whereas the latter employs a comparative-degree device 'bigger than'

(iii) Same form, same meaning, different distribution
This parameter is concerned with a given L1-utterance and its L2-counterpart whose syntactic shapes and communicative functions are similar but employ different lexical items For example

(28) a   [ma bi?dir ištiri samak bil-bahar]   (NCD/SCD)
      b   I can't buy fish in the sea   (AU)
      c   I can't buy a pig in a poke   (L2-U)

In SCA the L1-utterance (28a) is usually said by a person, the speaker, who refuses to buy something unknown to him/her Given that this L1-utterance has been transferred onto English, the resultant actual utterance (28b) seems to employ the same syntactic structure of the equivalent L2-utterance (28c) and to convey the same meaning, albeit the difference in lexical selection between the two utterances is apparent It may be the case that this difference is attributable to religious differences between the Arab communities where Islam is the predominant religion and the English communities where Christianity is pervasive Thus, unlike in Christianity and therefore unlike the case in English, the prohibition of pork in Islam might extremely lessen the

use of the L1-lexical item [ḵanzi r] 'a *pig*' (which indicates either the animal or its flesh) in the socio-cultural sense discussed here except perhaps some derogatory uses in SCA though they are very rare in MSA

(29) a [tišrab mith'l il-*ʔuqruqqa*]   (*ECD*)
      b She drinks like a *frog*   (*PU*)
      c She drinks like a *fish*   (*L2-U*)

Particularly, in ECD the L1-utterance (29a) is sometimes said to indicate that the person in question drinks far too much but normally *water*   Thus,   upon transferring this L1-utterance onto English,   the resultant utterance (29b) appears to involve the same syntactic structure of the L2-counterpart (29c),   albeit the lexical difference between '*frog*' and '*fish*' is considerable   However,   although either of the two utterances (29b) and (29c) implies the same meaning,   that is,   drinking a lot,   the difference seems to be identified with the type of liquid for drinking in language-specific terms   While the L1-based identification '*drinking like a frog*',   within the idiosyncratic meaning of (29a) in ECD,   is normally associated with excessive amounts of *water*,   the L2-identification '*drinking like a fish*' is always associated with excessive amounts of *alcohol*   As analogous with the previous example (28),   such a difference may be ascribed to the religious differences between the Arab communities and the English communities   Thus,   unlike in Christianity,   the prohibition of alcohol in Islam might extricate its figurative implication from the collocational use of the L1-based lexical items '*drinks*' and '*frog*'   However,   like the case in English,   if no mention is made of [ʔuqruqqa](ECD) / [ḏifdaʔa](MSA) 'a *frog*', L1-expressions such as [b'yišrab (kti r)] (NCD/SCD) '*he drinks (a lot)*' and [šarri b] (SCA) '*he is a (heavy) drinker*' can imply alcoholic liquors   This indicates that,   depending on the context of the L2-utterance (29c) which always implies alcohol,   the L1-based utterance (29b) may serve the same communicative function in English

(30) a [maktu bon *ʔala a-rraml*]   (*MSA*)
      b It is written *on sand*   (*PU*)
      c It is written *in water*   (*L2-U*)

In MSA and in some dialects of SCA, the L1-utterance (30a) is sometimes produced to indicate that something will be soon forgotten Thus,   upon transferring this L1-utterance onto English,   the resultant utterance (30b) seems to employ the same syntactic structure of the

L2-counterpart (30c), that is, both utterances involve a prepositional phrase related to the *nomen patientis* or passive participle '*written*' Again, the difference in lexical selection between '*on sand*' and '*in water*' might be attributed to the geographical variation between the Arab environment and the English environment The existence of deserts in the former may result in many figurative as well as literal uses of [raml] '*sand*' in Arabic due to the abundance of this element, whereas, on the other hand, the non-existence of deserts in the latter may lead to an extremely rare use of '*sand*' in the socio-cultural sense

(31) a [ḥibir ʔal waraʔ/waraq]   (*SCA*)
     b It's (only) *ink on paper*   (*PU*)
     c It's only *a piece of paper*   (*L2-U*)

In SCA the L1-utterance (31a) is usually said to indicate that something is unimportant or unworthy Therefore, if such an utterance is transferred onto English, the resultant utterance (31b) would employ the same syntactic structure of the L2-counterpart (31c), that is, both utterances involve a copular verb 'BE' and a complement '*ink on paper*'/'*a piece of paper*' However, although the difference in lexical selection is clear, the two utterances (31 b-c) seem to combine lexical items (such as '*ink*', '*paper*' and '*a piece of paper*') which are inherently associated with '*writing*', since the L2-utterances '*it's not worth the paper it's written on*' and '*Paper won't refuse ink*' can also be used to indicate the same underlying meaning

(32) a [ši?'fit waraʔa]   (*NCD/SCD*)
     b [šiq'fat waraqa]   (*ECD*)
     c [wiṣ'lat waraqa]   (*ECD*)
        (*Lit piece of* (a sheet of) *paper*)

Moreover, if the L2-utterance (31c) happens to be retroactively transferred onto Arabic, the resultant L1-utterances (32 a-c), which are possible though less often than (31a) in SCA, would, within such a context, imply the same underlying meaning

It appears that Lado's three parameters can go some way towards determining the degrees of difference (either in form, or in meaning or in distribution) between certain L1-utterances and their L2-counterparts in relation to their socio-cultural backgrounds or contexts Thus, the analysis enables the contrastivist to test the value of language transfer, where there is actual transfer from one speech act in the L1 to

the   equivalent one in the L2, by recourse to such degrees of difference
On the other hand, the degrees of similarity can also be identified in
terms   of these three parameters since a pair of utterances,   as
illustrated, may differ in form but *resemble* each other in meaning and/or
distribution and vice versa   Hence, with regard to the complete
similarity between a given pair of utterances, a fourth parameter may be
included to test the value of completely positive transfer

(iv) Same form, same meaning, same distribution
This   parameter is clearly concerned with a given L1-utterance   and   its
L2-counterpart whose syntactic   shapes   and   communicative functions are
similar and employ more or less the same lexical items   For example:

    (33)   a   [ka̱lli·ni *awas̱*lak lil-ba b]   *(SCA)*
              (*Lit   Let me guide/lead (I) you to the door*)
          b   Let me *conduct* you to the door   *(L2-U)*

    (34)   a   [atamanna   laka a-šší̱fa.ʔa al-̱ʔa ʝil]   *(MSA)*
              (*Lit   wish (I) to you the recovery the quick*)
          b   I wish you a *speedy* recovery   *(L2-U)*

    (35)   a   [ka̱lli na n'šu f *wiššak/wiʝ'hak*]   *(SCA)*
              (*Lit   let us see (we) your face*)
          b   [far'ʝi na *witšak/wiššak*]   *(NCD/SCD)*
          c   [šawwif'na *wiʝhak*]   *(ECD)*
              (*Lit   show us your face*)
          d   Show *your face*.   *(L2-U)*

Clearly,   therefore,   the above analysis, within the   domain   of
lexical selection, addresses itself very closely to the study of the
underlying level which will be identified with the term *semantics* in Part
Two (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 2) Contrastivists still admit that there
is little, if any, attention paid to the investigation of the lexical
level, since the problematic nature of CA is fraught with controversy on
a large scale   The paucity in the study of lexis may result from the
researchers' preoccupation with phonology and syntax and, in effect,
Lado's suggestion of the cultural variable has not received remarkable
contributions which may help CA to some extent stabilize its significance
(*cf*   Ellis,   1985   27, Huxley, 1986   71) Eventually, most of the
CA-based research was conducted on the study of surface-structure
categories (that is, along the phonological and syntactic levels) which
were undertaken within the descriptive procedures of structuralism This
might be a natural consequence of the assumption that "   speakers equate
items in one language with items in another because of their similarities

in *shape, distribution, or both*" (Haugen, 1956 67, emphasized by James, 1980 170)   Such an assumption led contrastivists to compare the phonological systems of a given pair of languages due to the observable influence of the L1 manifested in 'foreign accents' on the one hand, and to the systematic nature of phonology in that it is possible to arrive at a finite description of the phonological systems of the two languages in question on the other (*cf* Stockwell and Bowen, 1965, Agard and Di Pietro, 1965a)   This was followed by full-length studies carried out in the United States into the syntactic systems of English as a L2 and some other Indo-European languages as L1s (*cf* Stockwell *et al* , 1965, Agard and Di Pietro, 1965b)   In Europe, especially in the 1970s onward, CA-based research seems to have gained much more momentum than in any other continent James, for instance, lists some of the CA-projects that have been conducted on English with a wide range of Indo-European languages (*cf* James, 1980 205)

However, despite the relative paucity of studies into lexis, several researchers have attempted to examine the semantic features of lexical items Among them are Hadlich (1968), Rodgers (1969), Kalisz (1976), Roos (1976), Lehmann (1977), Nowakowski (1977), Kellerman (1978a, 1982), and Ringbom (1978a, 1983, 1987)   For example, Kellerman has pointed out that, within the notion of *transferability* in lexis, Dutch learners of English "   would react to picturesque Dutch idioms if they were translated into English" (Kellerman, 1982 198) This is due to the fact that L2-idioms are very often 'semantically intractable' for the learner though they may reveal 'syntactic idiosyncracies' Like many language-specific items, such L2-idioms, too, may constitute special 'neurological status' (Kellerman, 1982. 198-199)   The same writer has taken up the various contextual meanings, or the 'sorts of senses', subsumed under one lexical item Apart from the concepts of *homonymy* and *polysemy*, he has tried to establish a possible criterion whereby the value of his investigation can be measured   He has made a CA between the various contextual meanings of both '*breken*' in Dutch and '*break*' in English to discuss such notions as 'language-distance' (*cf*   chapter 4, section 4 1 3), 'specificity', 'neutrality', 'transferability' and 'markedness' within the two languages (Kellerman, 1982 200)   Such an attempt, in fact, signals a serious contribution to fill the gap of contrastive semanticity between languages

As far as L1-Arabic and L2-English are concerned, most of the CA-based studies also seem to have followed the same lines of the traditional approach, that is, they compared the surface-structure categories of both Arabic and English on the basis of the phonological systems and/or the syntactic systems of the two languages with very little interest in the research into contrastive semanticity This, perhaps, might be due to three possible reasons

(i)   The possibility of assigning a finite description of the *phonological* system of Arabic, as contrasted with that of English, regardless of "the bewildering chain of regional dialects" constituting the Colloquial variety of Arabic over the vast area from Morocco to the Persian Gulf (*cf* Ferguson, 1970 359)

(ii)   The possibility, again, of arriving at a sufficient contrastive description of the *syntactic* systems of Arabic and English Such a description is primarily based on Classical Arabic (**MSA**) since most, if not all, grammatical structures of Colloquial Arabic —and SCA is one regional dialect— have derived their syntactic representations from Classical Arabic In this context, there are a considerable number of books on the Arabic grammar written in English such as Kapliwatsky (1940-1946), Cowan (1958), Scott (1962), Bulos (1965), Wright (1967), Nasr (1967), Beeston (1968) among others

(iii) The exhausting complexity imposed by the *semantic* systems of any pair of languages as Corder put it "Where systems are semantically equivalent but not superficially so in form, the matter becomes more complicated There is no utility in such comparisons where the realization of a semantic property is formally very different" (Corder, 1973 288) Particularly, therefore, the highly exhausting complexity arising from the intricate overlap between the semantic system of Classical Arabic and that of Colloquial Arabic makes it almost impossible to provide an adequate description of the semantic system of Arabic by reference to its two main varieties In effect, an examination of the contrastive semanticity of Arabic and English has been attentuated except for a few projects such as Huxley (1972, 1986)

Hence, the evidence for the consequences of the above three reasons (that is, pre-occupation with phonology and/or syntax and subsequent neglect of lexis) can be seen in Table 2 which is merely a chronological list of the available CA-based research of L1-Arabic and L2-English undertaken on both theoretical and empirical grounds This table shows the varieties of Arabic (that is, colloquial Arabic within its regional dialects and/or Classical Arabic) as contrasted with English in addition to the linguistic levels investigated

AUTHOR(S)	VARIETY	LINGUISTIC LEVEL(S)	DOCUMENT
Nasr (1955)	Lebanese	Phonetics/Phonology	Ph D
Malick (1956-1957)	Iraqi	Consonant Clusters	Article
Lehn & Slager (1959)	Egyptian	Segmental Phonemes	Article
Satterthwaith (1962)	MSA	Sentence Constructions	Ph D
Greis (1963)	Cairene	Grammar/Phonology	Ph D
Nasr (1963)	MSA/Lebanese	Phonology/Syntax	Book
Erickso (1965)	MSA	Verbal Morphology	Ph D
Bratton (1967)	MSA	Structures/Messages	Ph D
Fox (1970)	MSA	Relative Clauses	Article
Dannan (1971)	MSA/Kuwaiti	Yes/No Questions	M A
Huxley (1972)	Lebanese	Semantic Structures	M A
Ibrahim (1973)	MSA	Relative Clauses	Article
Dannan (1973)	Kuwaiti	Modal Auxiliaries	Ph D
Aziz (1974)	Iraqi	Diphthongs	Article
Hanania (1974)	MSA	Syntactic Structures	Ph D
Henkes (1974)	Saudi	Syntax/Compular Verbs	Ph D.
Scott & Tucker (1974)	MSA	Syntax	Article
Mukattash (1977)	MSA/Jordanian	Syntax	Book
Tadros (1979)	Sudanese	Relative Clauses	Article
El-Wedyani (1982)	MSA	Syntax/Morphology	Ph D
Broselow (1983)	Egyptian/Iraqi	Epenthetic phenomena	Article
Kharma (1983)	MSA/Kuwaiti	Verb Forms	Book
Meziani (1983)	Moroccan	Modality	Article
Holes (1984)	MSA	Textual Approximation	Article
Huxley (1986)	Lebanese	Semantic Structures	Article
Kharma (1987)	MSA	Relative Clauses	Article
Sammander (1987)	MSA	Syntax/Cohesive Ties	Ph D
Ostler (1987)	MSA	Rhetoric Syntax	Ph D
El-Hassan (1987)	MSA	Grammar/Aspect	Article
Anani (1988)	MSA/Jordanian	Imperative Structures	Article
Anani (1989)	MSA	Stress Placement	Article
Sa'Adeddin (1989)	MSA	Text Development	Article

Table 2   *Some CA-based research on L1-Arabic and L2-English*

As **Table 2** illustrates, there appear to be relatively few works which, on the semantic or the underlying level of language, have dealt with lexical selection, a domain already emphasized along with Lado's comparative parameters   Huxley (1972,   1986),   for instance,   has conducted his research on Lebanese Colloquial Arabic which can be equated with some sub-dialects of WCD in Syria   Within the study of the 'common feature' of synonyms such as *'wrath'*, *'ire'* and *'anger*, Huxley argues that it is possible to analyse sets of contrasting features in order to detect   transfer   effects   in   the   erroneous   L2-utterances   previously collected (Huxley, 1986 72)   The notion of *common feature*, here, is similar   to   Kellerman's   notion of *core meaning* in that "a polysemous lexical item will have a field of meaning in which the 'core' meaning may be   more   likely   to   be   transferred than   more   idiomatic   or   figurative meanings" (Kellerman, 1978a 59)

On   the   other   hand,   a   significantly large number   of   the   works listed   in   **Table 2**   seem   to   have   concentrated   on   surface-structure categories   in   order   to   identify   the   differences   as   well   as   the similarities of *either* phonological aspects such as diphthongs, segmental phonemes,   epenthetic   phenomena and consonant   clusters,   *or*   syntactic aspects like verb   forms,   copular   verbs,   Yes/No   questions,   sentence constructions, and so on   In **CA**-terminology, the differences are   called *variables* and the similarities are abstracted as 'sameness' for which the term   *constant*   is used   Such a constant is known in traditional   **CA**   as *tertium comparationis* (**TC**)   It has been argued that **TC** can be applied to two   linguistic   levels   Firstly,   the   phonological   level   whereby 'language-specific'   features   are   determinable,   for   example,   the consonants   [t],   [d],   [s],   [z],   [n],   [1]   and   [r]   in Arabic are dento-alveolars, whereas in   English   they   are only alveolars (*cf*   Lehn and   Slager,   1959,   reprint   35)   Secondly,   the   **semantic level**   where 'non-language-specific'   (*cf*   Sridhar,   1981   213),   or   'language- neutral' (*cf*   Kellerman,   1982   198),   or   'language-universal'   aspects   can   be contrasted   For instance,   as noted   above,   the common feature, or core meaning,   of   the English lexical items 'anger',   'indignation',   'ire', and 'wrath' can be compared with the common feature of the Arabic lexical items [ga*d*ab],   [su*kt*],   [gay*Th*] and [*h*anaq] in **MSA**

Concerning   the   syntactic   level,   it   has   been argued that contrastivists   have   almost   entirely failed to arrive   at   obvious   **TCs** between languages,   especially   those   belonging   to   completely different families   where language relatedness such as cognate elements is   absent

In order to solve such a problem, James discusses three *candidates* which have been proposed in this respect These are *surface structure*, *deep structure*, and *translation equivalence* (James, 1980· 169f) The first two candidates will be considered here specifically whereas the third candidate will be discussed later (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3)

1.3.3 *The Surface-Structure Level*

As noted at the end of the preceding section, most contrastivists focused on the description of surface-structure categories, since it was believed that learners tended to equate the 'shapes' and/or 'distributions' of their L1-structures with those of the L2-counterparts because of the superficial similarity between the two (*cf* Haugen, 1956 67) Therefore, in the case of difference, on the other hand, the errors that learners made were also reflected in the surface structures of the L2-utterances they produced It follows that it is the surface structures of L2-utterances which, being different from those of the L1-counterparts, were assumed to be taught to the learner This belief was supported by Jakobovits who pointed out that, in relation to transfer effects, the study of surface structures might be more relevant than the study of deep structures (Jakobovits, 1969 73)

From a structuralist perspective, traditional contrastivists looked upon surface structure as "the devices of *form* and *arrangement*" (Fries, 1952 6, quoted by James, 1980 39, emphasis added) It appears that Fries' terms *form* and *arrangement* coincide with Haugen's terms *shape* and *distribution* respectively Further, Fries' definition of surface structure seems to have been re-stated by Lado as " the systematic *formal devices* [which] convey certain *meanings* and *relationships*" (Lado, 1957 52, emphasis added) Therefore, any structure, according to Lado, consists of *form* and *meaning* The former refers to such 'relationships', 'distributions' or 'arrangements' which constitute a unit or a pattern called a *structure* (for example, a word or a sentence), whereas the latter indicates the 'grammatical meaning', as opposed to the lexical meaning, which is carried by that structure For instance, the meaning of '*book*' is contrasted with that of '*books*'; that is, singular versus plural It follows that the formal devices of one structure may signal a variety of grammatical meanings which must be accounted for as they were assumed to be the source of 'many learning

problems', and " the use of different devices by two languages will [also] constitute a problem" (Lado, 1957 53)

Moreover, for surface-structure description, Lado identified seven formal devices word order, inflection (bound morphemes), correlation of forms, function words, intonation, stress, and pause (Lado, 1957 53). Stockwell *et al* condensed them into four devices word order, affixation, function words, and intonation (Stockwell *et al* 1965 2) Similarly, within Fries' classification, his definition of surface structure refers to four devices word order (that is, the devices of arrangement), morphological markers, function words, and suprasegmentals (*cf* James, 1980 39) These four devices seem to correspond to those identified by Stockwell *et al* In the current study, they can be regarded as derived from two linguistic levels, that is, the **phonological level** and the **syntactic level** This leads to conclude that, in the light of the above argument, surface structure is only interpretable in terms of these two levels (*cf* Chomsky, 1965 16) To make it clear, **Figure 3** illustrates the classification of formal devices as identified by the above contrastivists This will be followed by a brief definition of each device with some examples from Arabic and English

It is, therefore, the task of **CA** to probe the way the L1 and L2 employ these formal devices, and to determine the degree of contrast when both languages use the same device for a given pair of utterances For instance, both in [man ja ?a] (MSA) and '*who came?*' (*cf* section 1 2 1, example (2)), the same *word order* is employed, and the learner, in this case, needs only to " learn the new items to be fitted into the pattern with which he is already familiar in his L1" (James, 1980 41) Given that contrast results or negative transfer effects disappear, a pair of utterances such as these can be viewed as examples of Paradigm A of Osgood's transfer paradigms Paradoxically, along with Paradigm B, Arabic employs *suprasegmental* features such as intonation to mark another type of questions [ma tha yuri d] (*cf* example (2), Figure 2),whereas, in addition to such features, the English equivalent '*what does he want?*' requires DO-insertion and subject-verb inversion This also refers to the notion of *interlingual level shift* discussed earlier (*cf* section 1 3 1) Thus, the magnitude of contrast is greater and the learner, in this case, finds it more difficult to learn or acquire the structure in question
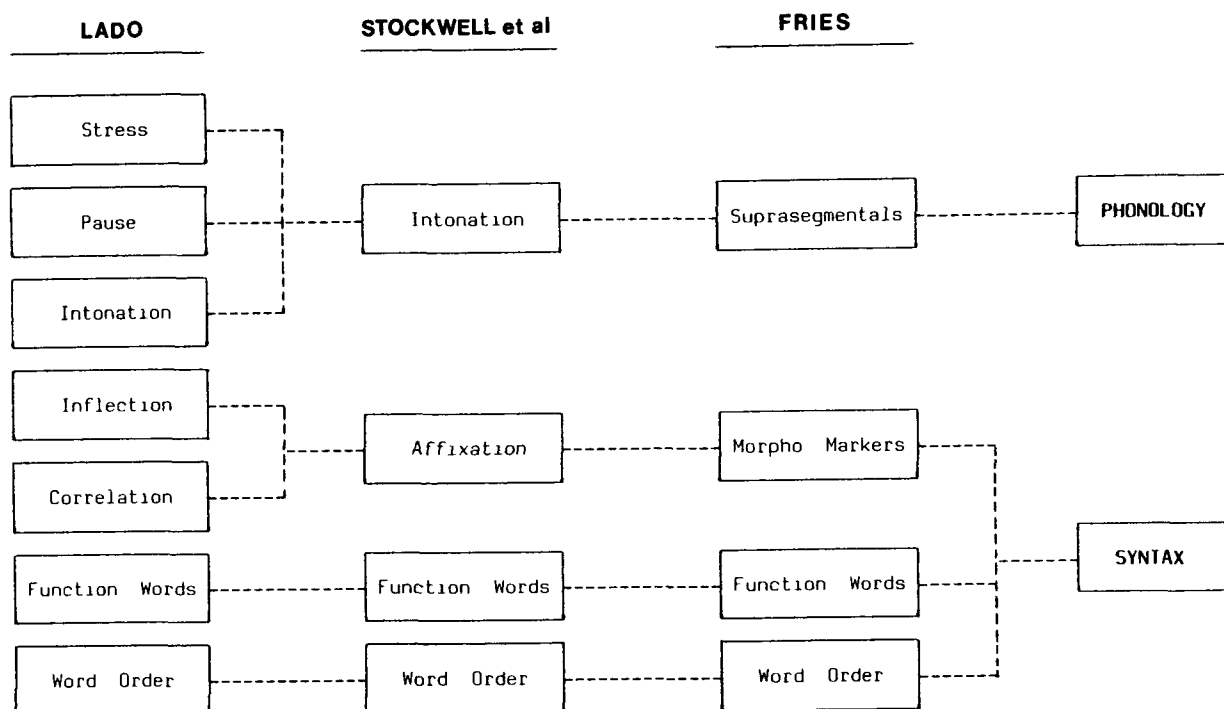
Figure 3   *The formal devices which determine the description of surface structure*

Suprasegmentals·   are elements indicating to the hearer whether the structure is an *utterance* such as a question, a statement and so on (*cf* section 1 3 1, example (9)) or a *word* such as the distinction between a verb and a noun having the same root, for example, [*sajj*al] '*recorded (he)*' and [*sijil*] '*a record*' in Arabic (SCA) and /rïkɔ d/ and /'rekɔ d/ in English

Morpho Markers: are the smallest distinctive units of grammar functioning in the composition of words   While in English morphological interrelationships are represented by means of *affixation* (that is, the morphological marker is recognizable as either a *prefix* or a *suffix*), in Arabic they are distributed in terms of *infixation* which indicates that an *affix* is sometimes inserted into the root or stem (*cf* Crystal, 1985 157)   For example, in [*tadši* n] in Arabic and '*inauguration*' in English both affixes [ta-ı -] and '-*tion*' mark nouns

Function Words   are grammatical words, as opposed to lexical words, which signal what classes of elements are likely to precede or follow, for example, [al], [wa] and [aw] in Arabic, and '*the*', '*and*' and '*or*' in English respectively

Word Order·   refers to the interrelationships between the elements of a structure   For example, [bahṟon jami lon] (*Lıt sea beautiful*) in Arabic (M̄SA) and '*a beautiful sea*' in English

, described by the linguist (Stockwell *et al* , 1965 3). For instance, within the surface-structure level, TC says little, if anything, about how the Arab learner equates the following pairs of structures.

(36) a [*futiha al-ba bu*]   *(MSA)*
      b The door *was opened*

(37) a [*infataha* al-ba bu]   *(MSA)*
      b The door *opened*

On the one hand, the L1-passive structure [futiha] in (36a) is rarely used in SCA except on very special occasions where MSA is required On the other, English imposes on the Arab learner the acquisition of the L2-passive structure 'was opened' in (36b) which calls for an 'abstract' grammatical structure in MSA Thus, TC implies, at a surface-structure level, the equations (36) and (37) with reference to MSA, whereas in the 'actual' use of SCA the structure [infatah], which is derived from [infataha] in (37a), is usually maintained for both cases, albeit if the 'unknown' agent is emphasized, the active L1-structure [wa hid fatah il-ba b] (SCA) 'someone opened the door' is sometimes used instead of (36a) (for further information about the 'unknown', *cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3)

Naturally, the failure of surface-structure TCs led to a subsequent need for a more satisfactory account of the constant TC It has been suggested by Di Pietro (1968), James (1969), Wagner (1970) among others that such an account would be the Chomskyan concept of *deep structure*, as will be discussed in the next section, and research gained considerable momentum on the part of other scholars such as Krzeszowski (1971), Denison (1973), and Widdowson (1974) In addition, several projects had already been carried out on some aspects of the Arabic syntax as contrasted with their English equivalents on theoretical grounds For instance, Snow (1965), Killean (1966) and Lewkowicz (1967) were among those who conducted their research on the application of some transformational rules to MSA (*cf* Kharma, 1983 31)

1.3.4 The Deep-Structure Level

Chomsky (1957), the proponent of *Transformational Generative Grammar* (TGG), coined the terms *surface structure* and *deep structure* to distinguish between 'language-specific' features and 'language-universal'

aspects respectively. The theory of TGG was in fact the result of mounting controversies in structuralism In Chomsky (1965), the author expanded the theory from a broader perspective and, although it was exposed to some criticisms, TGG received considerable corroboration at the time According to Chomsky, the principal notion of deep structure is to determine the 'logical' subject and object of the verb in *ambiguous* sentences such as (38a)

(38) a The man was good to leave.
      b *It was good of the man to leave*
      c *It was good to leave the man*

Therefore, it is the deep-structure configuration which upholds this type of interpretation in that '*the man*' is the logical subject of the verb '*leave*', as in (38b), and the logical object of the same verb as in (38c) More explicitly, deep structure accounts for the logical subject in pairs of *passive/active* sentences such as the following

(39) a *The door* was opened by him
      b *He* opened the door

While surface-structure representation marks *two* different surface subjects in (39a) and (39b), deep-structure configuration identifies only *one* logical subject for both sentences, that is, the person who opened the door Hence, the notion of logical subject is traditionally recognized as the 'doer of the action' or the 'experiencer of the state' (*cf* Smith and Wilson, 1979 101f) It seems, therefore, unlike surface structure, deep structure " is interpreted by the *semantic* component" (Chomsky, 1965 16, emphasis added) As far as language transfer is concerned, CA looks at pairs of sentences such as (39 a-b) as *intralingual* paraphrases within the L2, since " they convey the same *ideational content* [that is] they [.] share the same deep structure" (James, 1980 171, emphasis added) It follows that a given L1-sentence and its L2-counterpart could be regarded as *interlingual* paraphrases if they are said to hold the same ideational content Chomsky, within the conept of language universals, stated that " the underlying deep structures vary slightly, at most, from language to language" (Chomsky, 1987· 80) In other words, interlingual paraphrases, as opposed to intralingual paraphrases which are assumed to imply language-specific features, have something to do with 'language-independent' aspects or language universals As noted above,

the *constant* TC stands for the similarities between L1 and L2, and the *variables* refer to the differences   Therefore, it is presumed that deep structure, if it is indeed universal, would serve as the constant TC shared between L1 and L2, while, on the other hand, interlingual surface structures, where they differ, are the variables   Hence, Whitman (1970   40) and Di Pietro (1971·   26)   argued that such variables should converge at 'intermediate structures' or, in Krzeszowski's (1971 38f) terms, 'congruent deep structures'   By recourse to the transformational rules extrapolated from the theory of TGG, contrastivists tried to compare pairs of L1-L2 sentences   sharing   common intermediate structures and to identify the degrees of difference in rule application (*cf* James, 1980 45f)   Several transformational rules were applied in this context Two types of these rules will be considered here with some examples   from Arabic and English

(i) The L1 applies rule X, the L2 does not (or vice versa)

(40)   a   [*al*-kila bu wafiyya]   (*MSA*)
            (*Lit*   *the* dogs ---- faithful)

       b   ---- Dogs *are* faithful   (*L2-U*)

As noted above, while Arabic in (40a) applies the rule of retaining the definite article [al] to denote a generic noun, English is characterized by the non-use of '*the*' in the L2-equivalent (40b) Conversely, Arabic does not maintain the use of 'BE' as a copular ˉverb, whereas English does

(ii) In the L1, rule X is obligatory, in the L2 it is optional
     (or vice versa)

(41)   a   [arsaltu ar-risa lata *al-lati* katabtu (*ha*)]   (*MSA*)
            (*Lit*   sent (I) the letter *which/that* wrote (I)   (*it*))

       b   I sent the letter (*which/that*) I wrote ----

From   the   viewpoint   of   MSA, if the antecedent of the   main clause is definite as is the case   of [ar-risa lata] in (41a),   then the relative   pronoun [al-lati.] that follows is *obligatory*,   whereas in   the L2-equivalent (41b) the relative   pronoun   '*which/that*' is optional since it   stands   for the object of the relative clause   Further, in   MSA   the resumptive   pronoun [ha]   (the   object   of   the   relative   clause)   is

optionally inserted, and in SCA it is *usually inserted* in the form of [a] as is the case of example (15a) above (*cf* section 1 3 1, parameter (iii)), while in English the L2-equivalent 'it' is *obligatorily deleted* (for a detailed analysis of relative-clause formation, *cf.* chapter 6, section 6 2 4)

In such a way, transformational rules may be thought of as determining the difference in rule application between L1-surface structures and their L2-counterparts, regardless of the common intermediate structures they share Transformational rules were, on the other hand, employed to determine the similarity in rule application For example

(42)	a	[arbahani *ar-riha nu* nuqu dan kathi ratan]	(*MSA*)
	b	[*ar-riha nu* arbahani nuqu dan kathi ratan]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* the bet won (he/it) me money much)	
	c	*The bet* won *me* much money	(*L2-U*)
(43)	a	[rabihtu nuqu dan kathi ratan *bi-rriha ni*]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* won (I) money much with the bet)	
	b	*I* won much money *with the bet*	(*L2-U*)
(44)	a	[rabihtu *bi-rriha ni* nuqu dan kathi ratan]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* won (I) with the bet money much)	
	b.	*I* won *with the bet* much money	(*L2-U*)
(45)	a	[*bi-rriha ni* rabihtu nuqu dan kathi ratan]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* with the bet won (I) money much)	
	b	*With the bet I* won much money	(*L2-U*)

As the above L1-L2 structures illustrate, the word [ar-riha n] '*the bet*' functions as the *instrument* and the pronouns [ni] '*me*' in (42) and [u] '*I*' in (43-45) stand for the logical subject or the *experiencer* of the state whatever transformational rules can be applied to both Arabic and English (for a similar analysis of German/English structures, *cf* Konig, 1970 45, 1972 57)

Within traditional TGG, some researchers such as Klima (1962) represented a straightforward procedure to check for the degrees of rule applicability and inapplicability in a given German/English pair of structures (*cf* James, 1980 172f) Such a procedure can also be exemplified through the transformation of the Arabic counterpart

(46)	a	[yaf'?aluha du·na an yarawhu]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* does (he) it without to see (they) him)	
	b	He does it without their seeing him	(*L2-U*)

Arabic Rules   *English Rules*

(1) S -----> [yaf'?aluha du na]+[Comp]   S -----> *(he does it without)*+(Comp)

(2) Comp -----> [yarawnahu]   Comp -----> *(they see him)*

(3) Embed (2) in (1) ----->   Embed (2) in (1) ----->
        [yaf'?aluha du na]+[yarawnahu]   *(he does it without)*+*(they see him)*

(4) Convert Verb into Accusative governed   N/A
     by Particle of Infinitiveness [an]
        [yarawnahu] -----> [*an* yaraw----hu]

(5) N/A   Replace Tense by Gerund Marker (-ING)
                                                    (they see him)----->*(they seeing him)*

(6) N/A   Convert Subject Pronoun of embedded
                                                 sentence into (OBJ/POSS) form
                                                    (they seeing)----->*(their seeing him)*

Therefore, transformational rules such as (1) to (6) are assumed
to be examined within the deep structures of a given pair of L1-L2
sentences until the ultimate surface structures as in (46 a-b) are
reached   These rules show that the L1-sentence (46a) and the L2-sentence
(46b) converge in the application of the first three rules (1) to (3),
whereas the former begins to diverge in rule (4) which is not applicable
(N/A) to the latter   Again the L2-sentence (46b) continues its
divergence through rules (5) to (6) which, in turn, are not applicable
to the L1-sentence (45a)   With regard to the German/English examples
cited by Klima, the transformation rules illustrate exactly the same
degrees of convergence and divergence, that is, both sentences converge
in rules (1) to (3) and diverge in rules (4) to (6)   It may be the case
that in German there is only one syntactic option as an equivalent to the
English sentence (46b) '*Er tut es, ohne dass sie ihn sehen*'
Surprisingly, the flexibility of the Arabic syntax permits another
option which by far assigns a greater degree of convergence through all
the above six rules, albeit both Arabic and English are totally unrelated
languages   For example

    (47) a [yaf'?aluha du na *ru?yatihim lahu*]   (*MSA*)
                (*Lit · does (he) it wihout their seeing (of) him*)
          b He does it without *their seeing him*   (*L2-U*)

This indicates that both [an yarawhu] '*to see him*' in (46a) and [ru?yatihim lahu] '*their seeing him*' in (47a) share the same deep structure, that is, the *infinitiveness* of the verb [yarawhu] which is governed by the particle [an] (*cf* rule (4)) or the *infinitiveness* of the noun [ru?yat-] which is traditionally known as [al-maṣdar] *the verbal noun* (*cf* Kharma, 1983 46) Consequently, the deep structures shared between pairs of L1-surface structures such as these can be equated with those of the L2-counterparts where verbs (for example, '*hate*', '*like*', '*prefer*' and so on) can be followed by either 'To + Infinitive' as in '*I like to see him*' [uḥibbu an ara hu] or a gerund with no change of meaning as in '*I like seeing him*' [uḥibbu ru?yatahu]

It now becomes clear that the difference and similarity in rule application can be taken at various levels of linguistic realization within deep structure, thus enabling the analyst to determine the degrees of divergence and convergence in a given pair of L1-L2 surface structures In other words, the earlier the transformational rules applied to a pair of L1-L2 sentences diverge, the greater the difference there will be, the later the greater the similarity (*cf* James, 1980 172) Deep structure was, therefore, said to be a more convenient TC than surface structure as the universal aspects of the L1 and L2 were deemed to be the contrastive issue at hand, regardless of the interlingually divergent surface structures the two languages have Hence, investigation of deep structure would, in such a view, yield better insights into transfer effects, since some empirical research, for example Ferguson (1971), was endorsed by the evidence "that learners, at least those left to their own devices to pick up an L2 in a natural way, instinctively return to *deep structure*" (James, 1980 174, emphasis added) These instinctive tendencies were observed in the learner's misuse of formal devices such as articles, conjunctions, inflections which, as seen in the preceding section, are characteristic of surface-structure description (*cf* Figure 2) It appears that a certain utterance produced by the learner in the L2 may sometimes reflect the deep structure of the L2-equivalent due to his falling back on the surface structure of the L1-counterpart In this context, the following actual utterance produced by an Arab learner can be exemplified

(48) * I shall see him *like* this day *the next* week   *(AE)*

Following the two types of transformational rules discussed above, Arabic transfer effects are detectable by recourse to the possible L1-utterances (49 a-b) as compared with the L2-equivalent (49c) below

(49)   a   [b'šu fo *mitl* hal-yo m il-ʔisbu ʔ *il-ja y]*   (*NCD/SCD*)
       b   [ra h̲ ašu:fo *mithil* hal-yo m il-ʔisbu ʔ *il-qa dim*] (*ECD*)
           (*Lit*   shall see (I) him *like* this the day the week
                  the next)
       c   I shall see him ---- this day ---- (next) week   (*L2-U*)

Although the actual utterance (48) deviates superficially from the syntactic system of English, it may be looked upon as the deep structure, or as derived from the deep structure, of the L2-utterance (49c), whilst at the same time reflecting many of the surface-structure constituents of the L1-counterparts (49 a-b) This assumption might be justified on two accounts First, the redundant use of the conjunction '*like*' and the article '*the*' in (48) is ascribable to the use of [mitl]/[mithil] and [il] in (49 a-b) the rules of which are applicable in the L1 and inapplicable in the L2 (*cf* type (i) of transformational rules) Second, the use of the adjective '*next*' in (48) reflects the learner's resort to [ja y]/[qa dim] in (49 a-b) the rule of which is obligatory in the L1 and optional in the L2 (*cf* type (ii) of transformational rules) It appears, therefore, that if (48) is not indeed the deep structure of (49c), both identifications would at least be regarded as interlingual paraphrases due to the common deep structure they share, that is, the one which is responsible for all possible interpretations of the two However, in addition to Corder's (1973 234) caution about the comparison of L1-L2 surface structures as mentioned in the previous section, it is felt that one must also be wary of relying on deep-structure identity in that a pair of interlingual surface structures with a common deep structure may imply different communicative purposes (*cf* section 1 3 2, parameter (i)) Hence, from a pedagogical perspective, it has been emphasized that the relevance of deep structure in CA is limited, since interlingual errors are *superficially* observable in the surface structures of the utterances produced by the learner This *means* that, where transfer effects are attested, it is the surface structure which triggers negative transfer as a result of the structural discrepancies between L1 and L2, whereas deep structure has to do with positive transfer From such a conclusion, surface structure, not deep structure, is said to be taught to the learner as he would eventually recognize the latter if it is indeed

universal (*cf*   James, 1980 175)   Although deep-structure identity may
contribute to how transfer operates in the learner's mind, the limitation
of its relevance in **CA** may well be   due to, as Halliday (1970) pointed
out, its concern with only one kind of meaning, that is the abstract or
ideational content, and neglect of others (for further information, *cf*
chapter 2, section 2 3 3)

Finally, **CA**, like any other theory in applied linguistics, was
not without its critics   This is because **CA**, in its inextricable
association with behaviourism, did not provide an adequate framework for
the processes underlying L2-learning and, therefore, the mechanisms of
transfer were not scrutinized from a deeper perspective The next section
will consider the theoretical criticism of **CA**

1.4 The Theoretical Criticism of CA

As discussed earlier,   **CA** was the   product   of two schools
behaviourism and structuralism   While the former looked upon language as
'a set of habits', the latter emphasized 'the diversity of languages'.
These are the two tenets which were set up by traditional contrastivists
(*cf* *section* 1 1 1)   In the field of L1-acquisition research, Chomsky,
more   than   anyone   else,   demonstrated   the   sterility   of   the
behavioural-structural model   His own writings, mainly within his theory
of **TGG**, also pioneered a far more profound approach to psycholinguistics
known as *cognitivism*   In effect,   **TGG** was re-examined from a rather
complex perspective to formulate the theoretical basis of *Generative*
Semantics (**GS**) and to consider the acquisition of meaning an essential
part of the child's cognitive abilities to process his L1.   Such
speculations soon spread into the field of L2-acquisition research and,
accordingly, the rejection of the behavioural-structural model resulted
in a severe attack on **CA** which, in turn, led the notion of transfer to
fall into disfavour

In this section, the strictures of the behavioural-structural model
will be considered by reference to both fields   L1-acquisition and
L2-acquisition to show that the devaluation of **CA** —and therefore of
language transfer— was merely a devaluation of the theoretical basis
drawn upon such a model

1.4.1 L1-Acquisition Research

Chomsky (1959), in his articulate denunciation of Skinner's *Verbal Behaviour*, substantially argued that language, not languages, could not be scrutinized solely in terms of S-R associations "because all the information for the processing of speech is not present in observable behaviour" (Slobin, 1979: 25). Thus, according to Chomsky, every utterance one produces is novel and has never been heard or uttered before; nor will it ever be repeated exactly the same on future occasions. This is the basic concept of *generativism* in the sense that the organism, or the human being, always generates novel utterances in his L1. As opposed to behaviourism, the child, here, is no longer deemed to be born with the 'clean slate' mentioned earlier (*cf.* section 1.2.2), but rather with a 'built-in' device which predisposes him to language acquisition resulting in the construction of an internalized system of languages. Chomsky termed this device *Language Acquisition Device* (**LAD**) or, as others called it, *Language Acquisition System* (**LAS**) (for other alternatives, *cf.* chapter 3, sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). In this context, McNeill provided a full account of **LAD**, as discussed by Chomsky (1961; 1965) and Katz (1966), and represented it schematically as follows:

Primary Linguistic Data ---->| **LAD** |----> Grammatical Competence

Thus, the internal structure of **LAD**, that is the content of the box, is characterized by four innate properties: (i) the ability to distinguish speech sounds from other sounds; (ii) the ability to organize linguistic events into classes; (iii) the ability to know the linguistic system; and (iv) the ability to develop linguistic data constantly (*cf.* McNeill, 1966: 38f). It follows that the behaviouristic principles of *imitation* and *reinforcement* were rejected because "what the child learns is not a set of utterances, but a set of rules for processing utterances" (Slobin, 1979: 25). Hence, Chomsky claimed that these principles could not account for the *creativity* of language, nor for the child's mastery of his L1 in such a short time despite the highly abstract nature of linguistic rules. Child language is, therefore, creative and 'free from stimulus control'; it is also 'rule-governed'; that is, the utterances the child makes have a certain grammatical structure (*cf.* Lyons, 1981b: 230). This indicates that

language is, at any stage, *systematic*, and the child is constantly forming hypotheses on the basis of the input he receives and testing them in his speech Testing hypotheses develops as the underlying and unobservable linguistic structures develop in the child's mind (cf Brown, 1980 22f) Clearly, therefore, linguistic theory has witnessed a turning-point in search for a formal set of rules to constitute a generative grammar

As noted above, one of the tendencies which gave behaviourism its particular impetus was 'the rejection of mentalism' (*cf.* section 1 2 2) In the light of what precedes, Chomsky underlined the fact that linguistic theory, too, has an important role to play in the examination of the human mind His contention was to restore under consideration the previously rejected mentalist approach in that the internal mental processes are by no means regarded as 'inaudible' speech behaviour, but rather the study of language would help the researcher to investigate such mental processes Chomsky stated

> There are any number of questions that might lead one to understand a study of language Personally, I am primarily intrigued by the possibility of learning something, from *the study of language*, that *will bring to light inherent properties of the human mind*
> (Chomsky, 1975 103, emphasis added)

The study of language, therefore, may very well " provide a remarkably favourable perspective for the study of human mental processes" (Chomsky, 1975 98) It follows that the main distinction between Bloomfieldian structuralism and Chomskyan generativism is that the former stressed the structural diversity of languages or *language specifics*, whereas the latter had to do with the attitudes towards *language universals*, that is, generativists, unlike structuralists, were concerned with what languages have in common It has been argued, however, that the American structuralists Sapir and Whorf, who emphasized language specifics (*cf* section 1 3 1), foreshadowed the study of language universals which, recently, has imposed a new phase of exhausting complexity on the task of CA (*cf* Sajavaara, 1981 40) As noted above, traditional CAs were conducted on the surface-structure categories of the L1 and L2, and, within the descriptive procedures of structuralism, these CAs failed to establish surface structures as TCs (*cf* section 1 3.3). Further, the theoretical schemes of CA were parallelled with the conspicuous change of linguistic theory in that contrastivists moved their research onto the application of the

deep-structure principle which, being more convincing though still unsatisfactory, looks upon the language universals of the L1 and L2 as examples of the constant TC for CA (*cf* section 1 3 4)

It follows from the above that the two predominant schools structuralism and behaviourism were superseded by generativism and mentalism respectively Within the notions of *competence* and *innateness*, Chomsky and his followers explicitly outlined the theoretical parameters of mentalism which, as mentioned above, gave rise to a more complex approach referred to as *cognitivism*, a seemingly supplementary version of the former Hence, cognitivists realized that language was difficult to consider separately from the cognitive and affective framework They tried to probe " the very deepest level [   ] where memory, perception, thought, meaning and emotion are all interdependently organized in the superstructure of the human mind" (Brown, 1980 25) In TGG, on the other hand, the syntactic component was taken as central to all linguistic components of utterances " syntax is prior to both semantics and phonology prior in the sense that there are phonological and semantic processes which depend for their statement on syntactic facts" (Smith and Wilson, 1979 66) The same writers pointed to the fact that syntactic priority has nothing to do with the order of events which occur in actual speech production or comprehension This priority lies in the abstract level of the linguistic realization of utterances, whereas, in actual speech processing, it would be absurd to state that the syntactic representation of utterances had to be realized by the speaker before deciding the intended *choices of message* (Smith and Wilson, 1979 66, a footnote) However, in actual utterances "The complexities of syntax remain, but it may be possible to trace them back to the underlying mental configurations" (Slobin, 1979 27) It seems, therefore, that such configurations forced researchers like Lakoff (1968, 1970), McCawley (1971) and Dowty (1972) to develop a deeper and more complex approach known as *Generative Semantics* (GS) Thus, unlike TGG, GS puts aspects of meaning in the foreground In Slobin's words

> Because [GS] breaks sentences down into underlying propositions and
> primitive meaning components, it has become a useful tool for
> *cognitive psychologists* [e g Norman *et al* (1975)] and invest-
> igators of child language development
>
> (Slobin, 1979 27, emphasis added)

It should be noted, however, that Chomsky in recent writings still emphasizes the *autonomy* of syntax, that is, in speech processing syntax maintains its independence from semantics (*cf* Chomsky, 1977 36f) Although both TGG and GS converge at stressing *language universals*, the main distinction between the two approaches is that TGG describes the ideational content in terms of grammatical notions such as NP, VP and PP within their syntactic relationships (*cf* section 1 3 4); whereas GS often uses 'idea-like' terms borrowed from logic such as those discussed by Fillmore (1968, 1971a, 1971b) in his theory of *Case Grammar* Among these terms are *predicate-argument* notations and the common *dimensions* or *features* of meaning which are used to describe the semantic structures of language It is worth mentioning here that, within the CA-based studies of lexis, the *core meaning* and the *common feature* analysed by Kellerman (1978a) and Huxley (1986) respectively are examples of investigating the L1-L2 semantic structures (*cf* section 1 3 2) Therefore, cognitive psychologists "have used such structures to represent thought patterns which underlie speech and comprehension" (Slobin, 1979 28)

As a consequence, the learning of meanings, in all languages, is assumed to depend on cognitive development whose sequences (that is, the *choices of message* referred to above) are determined more by semantic than syntactic complexity Such an assumption was also adopted by Piaget (1951, 1955) who described overall development as a result of the child's interaction with his environment This interaction, it is believed, acts as a complementary interface between the child's cognitive capacities —which are always developing— and his linguistic experience Hence, what the child learns about language is usually determined by what he already knows about the world in general (*cf* Slobin, 1979 81, Brown, 1980 26)

So far the criticisms levelled against behaviourism and structuralism have been put forward with reference to L1-acquisition research The next section will consider the results of such criticisms with reference to L2-acquisition research

1.4.2 L2-Acquisition Research

As mentioned earlier, the applied linguists who were influenced by the behaviouristic constructs of L1-acquisition assumed that L2-acquisition involved the same constructs (*cf* Stern (1970), section

1.2 2)   It appears that these constructs, together with the impact of structuralism, strongly buttressed the *audio-lingual* approach to L2-teaching during the 1940s and the 1950s   Thus, within the belief that language is a set of habits, the audio-lingual approach was based on "mimicry, memorization, and over-learning of sets of phrases and patterns" (Celce-Murcia, 1984 3)   Following Chomsky's (1959) criticism of the behavioural-structural model as discussed in the preceding section, there appeared pioneering attempts by more *cognitively-oriented* psycholinguists like Miller (1967) who "foreshadowed the decline in popularity of the audio-lingual approach" (Celce-Murcia, 1984 3)

Accordingly, the applied linguists who were strongly influenced by the *new* generative-cognitive model recognized the pitfalls of drawing direct global analogies between L1 and L2-acquisition (*cf* Brown, 1980. 43)   For instance, Ausubel was one of the first psycholinguists who, from a cognitive perespective, warned language teachers of the limitations of the audio-lingual approach   In a critical account of this approach, Ausubel outlined five characteristics as being incompatible with the effective learning process in adults   These are (i) rote learning, (ii) the inductive learning of grammar, (iii) the neglect of the mediational role of the L1,   (iv) the presentation of spoken before written forms, and (v) an insistence on exposing the beginner to the natural speed rendition of spoken production (Ausubel, 1964 420) Clearly, therefore, the third characteristic is reminiscent of one of the behaviouristic global analogies which inherently supersedes any role of the L1 (*cf* Stern (1970), section 1 2 2, item 6)   This seems to have been a logical consequence of traditional CA's concern with mainly the *inhibiting* effects of the L1 to avoid the risk of potential errors (*cf* section 1 2 3)   On the contrary, Ausubel emphasized the *facilitating* factor of the L1 which only adults are capable of utilizing in L2-learning compared with children acquiring their L1   In other words, adults, unlike children, enjoy a larger range of potential L1-vocabulary which could help them produce particularly abstract concepts in the L2 Furthermore, adults are more efficient at conscious grammatical generalizations than children, so that the former can make use of the structural patterns which are identical or nearly identical in the two languages because the L1-patterns, in this case, are *directly transferable* onto the L2 (Ausubel, 1964 422)   According to this view, if both adults and children share the same L1 and happen to learn a given L2, then the former would achieve a better degree of L2-proficiency than

the latter   By focusing on the   facilitative role of the L1,   Ausubel seems   to have   foreshadowed the   re-orientated position   adopted   by researchers of today   for   the   re-affirming   of   language   transfer (*cf* chapter 3)

Following Ausubel's speculations,   there were other researchers such as   Corder   (1967), Jakobovits (1968),   Cook (1969) and Macnamara   (1975) who,   from a generative perspective,   also criticized the behaviouristic global   analogies between L1 and L2-acquisition,   whilst at the same time recognizing that a comparison   of   the   two proceses could throw light on the   legitimate similarities which may help to conceive of the underlying processes of L2-learning   For instance,   Corder   pointed out that the *differences*   between   the   two   processes are obvious   but   not   easy   to explain   L1-acquisition is   inevitable and constitutes part of the whole maturational   process   of   the   child,   whereas L2-acquisition is not inevitable as it normally begins after the completion of the maturational process   Further,   it is often unknown when L1-acquisition starts   with *overt* language behaviour,   while   in   the   case of L2-acquisition such behaviour exists   However,   these differences, Corder argued,   do   not convey   information   about   the   underlying   processes   of   L1   and L2-acquisition (Corder,   1967,   reprint   6f) With regard to the *similarities* in internal   mechanisms,   on the other hand,   Corder suggested that both the L1-acquirer and the L2-learner might adopt fundamentally the same procedures or strategies   Hence,   if L1-L2 utterances differed,   as clearly they did,   the "differences could be accounted for by differences in maturational development,   motivation for learning and the circumstances of learning" (Corder, 1975 62).

Moreover, Macnamara discussed three central issues which had been raised as objections against the direct global analogies drawn by the behaviourists   First,   the age constant which, unlike the belief that children are faster at learning than adults, was investigated through experimental research to prove that adults are much better than children, especially at deciphering instructions given in the L2   Second,   the attitudes which correlate with success in L2-learning   Thus,   an *integrative* attitude is said to be more fruitful in L2-learning than   an *instrumental* or a *utilitarian* one   (*cf*   also Dulay *et al* , 1982   47f). Third,   the time spent on L2-learning constitutes the major difference between formal (classroom) and informal (naturalistic) settings (Macnamara, 1975 75f)

It follows from the above that the facilitative role of the L1

stressed by Ausubel appears to be extrapolated from the language universals which address themselves to the linguistic similarity between L1 and L2 Further, the internal mechanisms referred to by Corder and the ability to decipher instructions discussed by Macnamara imply that the process of language learning is mainly a possession of linguistic knowledge (linguistic competence), that is, the organism acquires or learns a language via a set of cognitive structures (*cf* Corder, 1975: 62) This brings to light the two general tenets aimed at within the *new* generative-cognitive framework first, *language universals*, and second, *language is a set of cognitive structures* It now becomes clear that the attack made against CA was essentially against the two slogans *language specifics* and *language is a set of habits* which were set up by traditional contrastivists at the time of the Second World War (*cf* section 1 1 1) Such an attack was in fact a result of sceptical attitudes towards the validity of CA's global parameters as postulated under the impact of the structural-behavioural model These can be classified into three major paramters

(i) The correlation of difference with difficulty

The term *difference* is a linguistic term borrowed from structuralism, whereas *difficulty* is a psychological term derived from the general learning theory of behavaiourism In opposition to this parameter, it has been argued that the degree of difference between L1 and L2 does not necessarily correspond to the magnitude of difficulty in L2-learning (*cf* Ellis, 1985 30f) For instance, the morphological system of the past, or perfect, form of the verb in MSA is considerably different from that of the English equivalent While the former is inflected by a different infix for each personal pronoun, the latter, in the case of a regular verb, is simply marked by the morpheme -*ed* suffixed to it for all pronouns as in the following examples

(50) a [la?ibtu]   'I played'
      b [la?ibna]   'we played'

(51) a [la?ibta]   'you played' (singular, masculine)
      b [la?ibti]   'you played' (singular, feminine)
      c [la?ibtuma]   'you played' (dual, masculine/feminine)
      d [la?ibtum]   'you played' (plural, masculine)
      e [la?ibtunna]   'you played' (plural feminine)

```
(52)  a   [la?iba]        'he played'
      b   [la?ibat]       'she played'
      c   [la?iba ]       'they played'  (dual, masculine)
      d   [la?ibata ]     'they played'  (dual, feminine)
      e   [la?ibu ]       'they played'  (plural, masculine)
      f   [la?ibna]       'they played'  (plural, feminine)
```

As the above examples illustrate, the significant difference between the two verb forms cannot be viewed as a source of difficulty in learning the morphological endings of the L2-verb which simply involves the suffixing of the morpheme -*ed* for all pronouns

(ii) The correlation of similarity with ease

Again, this is not always the case as it is quite possible to find L1-L2 pairs of superficially similar utterances which, however, perform different communicative functions. For example

```
(53)  a   Don't be cool                                        (PU)
      b   [la t'ku n ba rid]/[la  titba rad]                   (SCA)
          (Lit   not be (you, sing , masc ) cool)
```

Although these two utterances resemble each other in lexical selections, the predictively L1-based L2-word '*cool*' in (53a) suggests that the person, that is the addressee, is *calm, unexcited* or *does not get agitated*, whereas the L1-equivalent [ba rid] in (53b) is usually said in SCA to indicate that the person in question is *silly* or *obnoxious*

```
(54)  a   The food is on the fire                              (AU)
      b   [l'?akil ?anna r]                                    (SCA)
          (Lit   the food on the fire)
```

Given that the utterance (54a) was actually produced by an Arab learner, it seems that the meaning intended, as it has been attested, is evidence of his resort to the L1-utterance (54b) by means of a verbatim translation strategy In English, the utterance '*the food is on fire*' —notice the nonuse of the definite article— indicates that the food is *burning*, whereas, upon producing (54a), the context suggests that the food in quesetion *was being cooked* which refers to the same meaning intended by (54b) in SCA As a consequence, the superficial similarity of L1-L2 pairs of utterances such as (53 a-b) and (54 a-b) may be the key to ease of learning but the surface structures of utterances However, ignoring the difference in the intended meaning may very well lead to miscommunication (for further examples, *cf* section 1 3.2,

parameter (i)) Moreover, the term *similarity* as proposed in its simplified sense seems to be misleading since the magnitude and type of similarity between L1 and L2 were not clearly identified Recently, the term has received much attention in that the scope of similarity is looked upon as one of the strongest preconditions for language transfer to occur (for detailed information, *cf* chapter 4)

(iii) The prediction of errors and nonerrors on the basis of difficulty and ease respectively

The criticisms levelled against this parameter arose from the empirical research conducted during the late 1960s and the early 1970s The research demonstrated that certain L2-structures which had been predicted as difficult did not in fact produce errors Paradoxically, several *erroneous* examples were actually produced more easily than those which had been predicted as easy (*cf*. Elllis, 1985 31) For example·

| (55) | a | He *prescribed* some medicines for me | (*L2-U*) |
| | b | [wa<u>s</u>afa li ba<u>?'</u>da al-adwiya] | (*MSA*) |

| (56) | a | He *wrote* some medicines for me | (*AU*) |
| | b | [*katab li šwayyet adwiye*] | (*SCA*) |

Since both the L1-noun [wa<u>s</u>fa] in Arabic and the L2-noun '*prescription*' in English can be verbalized as [wa<u>s</u>afa] in (55b) and '*prescribed*' in (55a), CA would suggest that [wa<u>s</u>afa] is directly transferable to '*prescribed*' due to the syntactic and lexical correspondence between the two Therefore, the L2-utterance (55a) would be predicted as easy for the Arab learner because it resembles the L1-utterance (55b) in the verbal and lexical use of the item in question This prediction might not be absurd if the L1-verb [wa<u>s</u>afa] was the only lexical item used in such a context However, the domination of SCA results in a much more frequent use of the L1-verb [katab] in (56b) than [wa<u>s</u>afa] in (55b), though both verbs are possible in SCA and MSA This does not necessarily mean that, within the use of Arabic as a L1, the verb [katab] is easier than the verb [wa<u>s</u>afa], but rather, in the case of English as a L2, the transferability of the former as '*wrote*' in the actual utterance (56a) is much easier than that of the latter as '*prescribed*' in (55a) It may be the case that the L1-based L2-verb '*wrote*' demands less phonological efforts than does '*prescribed*' in the first place as it has been attested that the learner, that is the producer of (56a), knows the latter as a lexical item Consequently, the

actual utterance (56a) clearly indicates an easier attempt at producing
'wrote' than 'prescribed'; albeit the former does not usually occur in
such a context in English, and the latter would be predicted as easy
because it coincides with [wasafa] both in syntactic and lexical
representations (for further analysis, cf chapter 6, section 6 3 1,
example (18))

To conclude, the CA-Hypothesis, in its association with the
behavioural-structural model, was vulnerable to criticism before
empirical research proved many of the logical flaws in its theoretical
constructs The 'crisis' of the CA-Hypothesis was also augmented by the
practical investigations which showed that a large number of learners'
actual errors were not traceable to L1-influence, nor could they be
predicted or explained by CA On the other hand, many of the errors
which were predicted on the basis of difference did not, in fact, appear
in actual production As a result of such investigations, the
CA-Hypothesis was almost demolished and researchers such as Dulay and
Burt (1973, 1974a) tried to minimize the role of the L1 In a plea for a
more feasible procedure to study and analyse learners' errors, the
theory of Error Analysis (EA) emerged as an alternative to CA when
linguistic theory was still in a state of flux The next chapter will
consider the theory of EA and the attitudes struck by its proponents
towards language transfer

2

TRANSFER AND ERROR ANALYSIS

Like the CA-Hypothesis, the theory of *Error Analysis* (EA) has had a long tradition in L2-learning/teaching research. It dates back to the 1940s when interest in EA-based techniques was little more than an impressionistic collection of 'common' errors or mistakes and their mere structural classification to meet the requirements of both the teacher to monitor his students, and the learner to help him correct his errors (*cf* for example, French, 1956, Fitikides, 1963).

The first section of this chapter (section 2 1) will consider briefly the procedures of EA in its conventional sense. It will open the discussion about the aims and methodology of such procedures. The section will finish with a review of some of the criticisms voiced against the limitations of conventional EA

The second section (section 2 2) will approach the resurgence of EA whose ultimate rationale was essentially formulated by the constructs of the generative-cognitive model. It will draw on Corder's pioneering insights into the significance of errors and the distinction between errors and mistakes. The discussion will move onto the practical research (for example, Dulay and Burt) which, under the guises of EA was mainly a dire reaction against the shackles of CA, a seemingly logical continuation of its theoretical criticisms outlined in the previous chapter. Hence, the 'crisis' of CA during the late 1960s and early 1970s and the playing down of the role of the L1 will be traced In addition, the identification of errors by several researchers will be chronologically schematized

The third section (section 2 3) will be taken up by a consideration of the relationship between CA and EA. By reference to

both a contrastive and a non-contrastive approach to **EA**, the complementary link between the two will be emphasized as a more fruitful criterion for the analysis of language transfer Within the contrastive approach to **EA**, Wardhaugh's critical account of the CA-Hypothesis (the strong version versus the weak version) as well as the counter-criticism spelled out by Schachter to vindicate **CA** will be outlined Within the non-contrastive approach to **EA**, reference will be made to Richards' identification of intralingual errors which exclude any connection with L1-transfer Conversely, an attempted analysis of some deviant utterances produced by Arab learners will bring to light a particular type of errors which can be viewed as examples of L1-error transfer In addition, the *Translation Equivalence* (TE) discussed by James as the best available candidate for the constant TC will be highlighted

The fourth and final section (section 2 4) will carefully identify the major categories of errors interlingual errors and intralingual errors Since there is considerable paucity of research into the interaction between these two categories, an attempt will be made to identify inter-intralingual errors as such in the current study These will be explored throughout the discussion of the data in Part Two

2.1   The Conventional Schemes of EA

As noted in the preceding chapter, from a behaviouristic perspective, researchers such as Brooks (1960) warned against the danger of establishing errors as habits This indicates that, up to the mid 1960s, specifically when behaviourism was still pervasive, research rested on the elimination rather than on the study and analysis of errors The prevention of errors was the central concern of CA which claimed the ability to predict potential errors on the basis of the difference between L1 and L2 (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 2 3) Therefore, most errors were ascribed to L1-interference and, in effect, 'appropriate' steps were taken to minimize the learning problems caused by such errors However, there were no serious attempts to provide an adequate definition for *error* in either linguistic or psychological terms as the remedy was more precautionary than explanatory at the time Three issues are put forward in this section the pedagogic aims of **EA**, the methodology of **EA**, and some of the criticisms of **EA**

2.1.1 The Pedagogic Aims of EA

EA was conventionally conceived of for its long-term value in designing and organizing teaching materials. The aims of error collection were, therefore, purely pragmatic taken on the assumption that actual errors may elucidate the difficulties the learner experiences over certain aspects of the L2 (*cf.* Sridhar, 1981: 221). Hence, researchers like Corder suggested that "if learning were efficient, errors would not occur" (Corder, 1975: 60). As noted above, learning difficulties, according to CA, could be described by the persistence of the old habits of the L1 and their interference with the new habits of the L2. From the viewpoint of EA, it is the learning difficulties which, after close observation, were looked upon "...as a basis for planning the time and emphasis to be placed on particular teaching points, as well as their sequencing" (Robinett and Schachter, 1983: 145). For instance, Lee advocated the term *mistake analysis* which, within both systematic and global collections, was proposed to excavate the most troublesome areas and to help the learner skip over the mistakes such areas created. Lee's underlying assumptions, however, seem to have been drawn upon CA's parameters. He pointed out that certain features of the L2 (English in this case) might be a 'mountain' for speakers of some L1s and a 'molehill' for speakers of other L1s; that is, difficulty and ease have their varying degrees in accordance with the learner's L1 (Lee, 1957; reprint: 149). Yet the author did not recommend a comparison between L1 and L2 for analysing the learners' language, but rather he suggested a mutual co-operation between the English-speaking teacher and, what he called, the 'local' teacher; that is, sharing the same L1 of the learners he teaches. While the former, Lee argued, is qualified to list and describe the mistakes linguistically, the latter is better qualified to identify the causes underlying such mistakes, particularly those which are traceable to L1-influence. This mutual co-operation was regarded as an essential component for obtaining a maximum benefit in language teaching. Therefore, every mistake, according to Lee, can be seen from two angles: the English-speaking teacher and the 'local' teacher in that "...the resulting account of major types of mistakes will show clearly ...what is most difficult in English for the learners and what in the home language

[L1] for the teachers" (Lee, 1957;reprint 156)

It now becomes obvious that the approach to conventional **EA** had had its own practical implications even before the generative-cognitive model was influential   By identifying the difficult spots that the learner would encounter in L2-learning, it was believed that such an approach, as Sridhar has put it, could enable both the researcher and the teacher to achieve four distinct goals

1   Determining the sequence of presentation of target items in textbook and classroom, with the difficult items following the easier ones
2   Deciding the relative degree of emphasis, explanation and practice required in putting across various items in the target language.
3   Devising remedial lessons and exercises
4   Selecting items for testing the learner's proficiency

(Sridhar, 1981   221-222)

2.1.2   The Methodology of EA

Together with **EA** in its 'modern' sense as will be discussed presently (*cf*   section 2 2 below),   conventional **EA** is said to have followed a uniform methodology   In order to investigate the learner's language referred to by Lee in the previous section, a study and analysis of the learner's speech —as the only available source of data collection— should be carried out   It has been argued that the 'correct' utterances the learner produces convey little information about the 'new' language system he has developed at a given stage because these utterances "do not necessarily give evidence of the rules the learner is using or the hypothesis he is testing" (Richards, 1974. 1)   A similar point had already been made by Corder (1967) as will be discussed presently (*cf*   section 2 2 1 below)   It seems, therefore, that the study of the learner's speech is largely determined by the examination of the actual errors he makes, that is, the errors manifested in the production mode of his 'new' language   It follows that a number of researchers realized that these errors needed to be observed, analysed and classified as they may bring to light some of the keys to a better understanding of the processes and strategies underlying L2-learning/acquisition Therefore, with regard to EA in its conventional sense, Sridhar has

mentioned six steps which are said to constitute the uniform methodology of EA (*cf* also Ellis, 1985 53f) These, in fact, had been previously spelled out in Corder (1971a, 1971b, 1973, 1974)

1 Collection of data (either from a 'free' composition by students on a given theme or from examination answers)
2 Identification of errors (labelling, with varying degrees of precision depending on the linguistic sophistication brought to bear on the task, with respect to the exact nature of the deviation, e g. dangling preposition, anomalous sequence of tenses, etc).
3 Classification into error types (e g errors of agreement, articles, verb forms, etc)
4 Statement of relative *frequency* of error types
5 Identification of the areas of *difficulty* in the target language.
6 Therapy (remedial drills, lessons, etc)
                                  (Sridhar, 1981 222, emphasis added)

The same writer refers to the more sophisticated empirical research as conducted by Duškova (1969) and Rossipal (1971) Within the study of the errors made by learners of English, these researchers went further to include one or both of the following steps

1 Analysis of the source of errors (e g *mother tongue inter-ference*, over-generalization, inconsistencies in the spelling system of the target language, etc)

2 Determination of the degree of disturbance caused by the error (or the seriousness of the error in terms of communication, norm, etc)
                                  (Sridhar, 1981· 222, emphasis added)

It appears the case that all the above mentioned steps were established on the assumption that error making is a natural phenonemon. Thus, the possibility of error making exists whether the errors are attributable to L1-influence or not Such a possibility has, in fact, forced several applied linguists to broaden, though recently, the theoretical basis of EA

2.1.3 *Some Criticisms of EA*

Three important issues have been emphasized in the methodological steps of EA (i) frequency of L2-errors, (ii) difficulty in L2-learning; and (iii) interlingual errors These issues, in fact, have been mostly vulnerable to the criticisms levelled against conventional EA

Along the first issue, it has been argued that the frequency of
L2-errors correlates with learning difficulty, that is, the more
frequent an error is, the more difficult its pattern will be in the
production of the L2   Indubitably, the making of errors brings to light
a certain degree of inherent difficulty in L2-learning, but conventional
EA on its own is insufficient to provide an adequate explanation for the
correlation between frequency and learning difficulty Hence, in an
analysis of the errors made by Czech learners of English, Duškova
pointed to the fact that the "lower frequency of an error need not
necessarily mean that the point in question is less difficult" (Duškova,
1969, reprint 218) This indicates that conventional EA on its own
conveys little information, if any, about how and why certain types of
errors are more, or less, frequent than others (cf also Ringbom, 1987
69f)

With respect to the second issue, EA, as noted above, laid special
emphasis on learning difficulty in order to plan the time needed for
particular teaching points and their sequencing (cf section 2 1 1) In
opposition to this, empirical research has shown that EA on its own also
provides inadequate explanation of what the learner is incapable of
handling For instance, in an exploration of the phenomenon of
avoidance, Schachter (1974) and subsequently Hakuta (1976) and Kleinmann
(1977, 1978) found out that the learner tended to avoid producing certain
L2-structures simply because they were difficult, and thus the learner is
said to have " at least some very faint idea of what the target
L2-structure is like" (Kellerman, 1983 128) Schachter concluded that
EA alone could not account for the learning difficulty leading to
avoidance (for detailed information, cf chapter 4, section 4 1 2)
Further, Ringbom re-states Palmberg (1985 35f) by citing another
criticism cast against EA's inadequacy in explaining learning difficulty
Ringbom argues that considerable problems are likely to arise for
researchers when they involve in the identification of learning
difficulty In his words "There seem to be no safe ways of measuring
difficulty The time taken to learn might be chosen as one way of
measuring, but very often we cannot determine exactly when learning
starts" (Ringbom, 1987 70)

The third issue concerns the errors which have connection with
L1-influence, that is, interlingual errors (cf section 2 4 1 below) As
noted at the outset of this chapter, most errors were, in the heyday of
CA, ascribed to L1-interference and the research was primarily devoted to

comparing L1 and L2, and, therefore, predicting the potential areas of difficulty that would lead to such errors However, although these errors were described in terms of linguistic difference, the issue rested on their eradication rather than on their explanation Thus, the augmentation of enthusiasm for CA up to the mid 1960s had led to the relative neglect of EA due to its lack of both a theoretical and a psychological framework for explaining the role of errors in L2-learning/acquisition (*cf* Ellis, 1985 51) Hence, in a discussion of the limitations of conventional EA, Ringbom emphasizes its one-sided and incomplete approach to the errors which are said to reflect L1-influence He confirms the validity of his statement by reference to the notion of *Crosslinguistic Influence*, a relatively new concept in current thinking about language transfer (*cf* chapter 4) Ringbom states

> [   ] description and analysis of errors entail the risk of giving a
> distorted picture of the role of L1-influence   L1-influence does
> not manifest itself exclusively, probably not even primarily, in
> errors   Not all errors in learner language are due to transfer, and
> not all instances of transfer lead to errors
>
> (Ringbom, 1987 69)

However, although EA has its limitations, it is still considered an indispensable tool for a better understanding of the processes underlying L2-learning/acquisition, particularly when it is supplemented by other types of analysis such as frequency counts, CA and so on (*cf* Ringbom, 1987 71) It seems, therefore, that these limitations have impelled several applied linguists to extend the theoretical basis of EA from a deeper and more complex perspective Among them, probably the most prominent, is S Pit Corder whose series of articles (for example, 1967, 1971a, 1971b, 1974, 1975) have initiated the revival of EA within the framework of the generative-cognitive model The next section will approach such a revival and trace the position of transfer in the new direction of EA

2.2 The Impending Resurgence of EA

As mentioned above, up to the mid 1960s, a preoccupation with CA resulted in the subsequent neglect of EA (*cf* section 2 1 3) On the other hand, Chomsky's attack on the structural-behavioural model led to,

at the very least, a rejection of the two slogans, which were set up by traditional contrastivists,   and their substitution by the new slogans under the guises of the generative-cognitive model (*cf.*   chapter 1, section 1.4). As a consequence, **EA** came back into existence with its new measures to meet the exigencies of the L2-errors that could not be accounted for by **CA**. Therefore, the theoretical climate of the 1960s seems to have provided the ultimate rationale for **EA**, albeit linguistic theory was still in a state of flux (*cf.* Dulay *et al.*, 1982: 140f).   In this context, Corder's series of articles referred to above as well as those of Selinker (1969), Strevens (1970) and Richards (1971a; 1971b; 1972) did in fact revolutionize the whole concept of **EA**. By generalizing across various but related aspects, this section will present a schematized overview of such a concept. Four issues will be considered: (i) the significance of errors; (ii) the distinction between errors and mistakes; (iii) the fall of transfer in the new direction of **EA**; and (iv) the identification of errors.

2.2.1 *The Significance of Errors*

Corder emphasized the significance of the errors observed in the learner's speech in that their study and analysis are central to the investigation of the linguistic data on which the learner has reconstructed his L2-knowledge; that is, his linguistic competence. Thus, the insights obtained from the study of errors might help to devise a teaching methodology and to facilitate the learning process.   Corder clarifies the significance of errors to the teacher, the researcher and the learner as follows:

> A learner's errors [...] are significant in three different ways.
> First *to the teacher*, in that they tell him [...] how far towards
> the goal the learner has progressed and, consequently, what remains
> for him to learn. Second, 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.   Thirdly
> [...] they are indispensable *to the learner* himself, because we can
> regard the making of errors as a device the learner uses in order to
> learn.
>
> (Corder, 1967; reprint: 10f; emphasis added)

The making of errors, therefore, is not only inevitable but also necessary for the process of L2-learning/acquisition Within the generative-cognitive model, the learner is assumed to possess a set of cognitive structures rather than a set of habits Hence, unlike the behavioural belief that language is learnt by means of habit formation, cognitive structures are said to be internalized by means of data processing and hypothesis formation The making of errors is, therefore, evidence of the learner's testing his hypotheses about the 'new' language he is learning (*cf* Corder, 1967, reprint 11, 1975 62) Furthermore, the learner's errors, or hypotheses, are significant in that correct utterances " cannot be taken as proof that the learner has learnt the systems which would generate [these utterances] in a native speaker" (Corder, 1967, reprint 12) Mention has already been made of Richards (1974) who adopted a similar point (*cf* section 2 1 2) Correct utterances, therefore, do not necessarily elucidate the nature of learner language, since he may merely be repeating or imitating an utterance heard from a native speaker of the L2 Repeating or imitating a correct utterance may constitute, as Corder used Spolsky's (1966) term, 'language-like' behaviour rather than language, unless otherwise the utterance in question is processed and formed as a hypothesis to be tested

Moreover, Corder underlined the fact that the *superficially* well-formed utterances produced by the learner do not necessarily indicate his mastery of the 'new' language system This seems to be verifiable in relation to the underlying meaning intended by the learner in a particular situational context For example

(1) *I want to know the English*

The learner may produce this well-formed utterance to express the wish to know the English language, whereas the native speaker of English would receive it as implying the learner's sentimental wish to know the English people (Corder, 1967, reprint 12) In the light of the above example, the author made a distinction between *overt* errors and *covert* errors While the former are ostensibly observable deviations from the standard norm of the L2, the latter " are not appropriate in the context in which they occur" (Corder, 1973 272f) As a consequence, the example (1) is perfectly acceptable if it is interpreted independently of

its context, that is, *the wish to know the English people*; whereas it constitutes a covert error so long as it implies *the wish to know the English language*

In fact, Corder put forth such an argument to justify his speculations on the significance of the learner's errors   It appears that these speculations were fundamentally based upon the 'substantial similarities' between the internal strategies or procedures employed by the L1-acquirer and those employed by the L2-learner, regardless of the conspicuous differences between the two (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 4 2) Clearly, therefore, Corder's influential writings on EA have, to a large extent, contributed to the new techniques of EA adopted by researchers of today   Apart from the conventional approach to EA, he looked at the learner's errors from a generative-cognitive perspective   Most of Corder's proposals were centered upon the relationship between *what is taught* and *what is learnt* on the one hand, and between *what to correct* and *how to correct* on the other   Such relationships can be studied more systematically through scrutinizing the entity of *error* both in linguistic and psychological terms   The next section will consider this entity from a deeper perspective

2.2.2 *Insights into Errors vs. Mistakes*

Following his argument about the significance of the learner's errors, Corder also claimed that the learner, at any stage of development (learning), uses a definite system of language, and the errors he makes " are evidence of this system and are themselves *systematic*" (Corder, 1967, reprint 10, emphasis added)   Here, the writer emphasizes the uniqueness of this system,   that is,   being incomplete, it represents neither the adult system nor that of the L2, a point that has received special attention in the study of learner language (*cf*   chapter 3, section 3 1 1)   As the term *systematic* indicates, the learner's errors are, at any stage of development, systematic as long as they convey information about the system of language the learner uses   This means that if there are other kinds of errors which cannot be evidence of such a system, then these errors are non-systematic or random

The notion of *systematicity* is, in fact, derived from Chomsky's speculations on child language which is characterized by *rule-governedness* at any stage of acquisition (*cf*   chapter 1, section

1.4.1). Thus, the errors that the adult continually commits in his **L1** do not normally reflect a defect in his *competence*; that is, the underlying knowlege of his **L1**. Rather, these errors are due to such conditions as memory lapses, fatigue, and distractions which are said to be accidental in actual use (*cf*. Chomsky, 1965: 3). In the case of L2-acquisition, the learner is not expected to be void of such 'errors' as he is exposed to more or less the same conditions upon performing in the L2.   Hence, Corder made a careful distinction between the "errors which are the product of such chance circumstances and those which reveal [the learner's] underlying knowledge of the language to date" (Corder, 1967; reprint: 10). Therefore, the author reserved the term *error* to refer to the systematic errors which reflect the learner's underlying kowledge of the L2, and used the term *mistake* to refer to errors of performance.

It follows that *errors* are by definition the consistent deviations which are evidence of the learner's still developing knowledge of the L2 or, as Corder called it, his *transitional competence*. In other words, systematic errors are symptomatic in that they enable the researcher to reconstruct what the learner has internalized at a given stage of learning. Therefore, errors cannot be corrected by the learner because they are a reflection of **the only rules known** to him in his transitional competence.

Mistakes, on the other hand, are inconsistent deviations due to the performance conditions referred to above. These may result in instances such as the failure to observe the sequence of tenses and to maintain spelling pronunciation or agreement in long sentences as demanded by the rules of the L2. Mistakes are typically random and adventitious, and do not represent a defect in the learner's underlying knowledge of the L2, since they are "causes of *failure* (for whatever reason) to follow a *known* rule" (Corder, 1971a; reprint: 18; original emphasis). In such a view, mistakes are readily corrected or correctable by the learner himself if attention is drawn to them. Because they suggest temporal or ephemeral deviations from presumably known L2-rules, mistakes are said to be of no significance to L2-learning/acquisition as the learner is "immediately aware of them when they occur" (Corder, 1967; reprint: 10).

Consequently, it is the systematic errors, not mistakes, which are central to the investigation of learner language. As mentioned in the preceding section, the study of errors has both theoretical and practical relevance for L2-teaching; that is, it is beneficial to the researcher at

one end and to the teacher and the learner at another It should be noted, however, that to determine what is an *error* and what is a *mistake* constitutes a problem of some difficulty, since research into the underlying processes of L2-learning/acquisition has not yet provided an adequate framework Such a problem involves, perhaps in the first place, much more sophisticated theorizatıaon of the learner's linguistic competence and performance in the L2

Another lıne of thınkıng was endeavoured by Dulay and Burt who referred to errors as *goofs*, a term adopted from Burt and Kıparsky (1972) In an investigation of the languages of children learning a L2, Dulay and Burt defıned the term as signifying "deviatıon from syntactic structures which natıve adult speakers consıder grammatically correct" (Dulay and Burt, 1974a 95) Thus, by reference to many of the facets of the generatıve-cognıtive model, the researchers looked upon goofs as productıve errors made by the child during L2-acquısıtıon They cıted longıtudınal empirical studies from a variety of languages to demonstrate that the goofs the chıld makes ın the L2 ındıcate the same deviations of the goofs made by the chıld acquirıng that L2 as hıs L1 Hence, in a crıtıcal account of CA, Dulay and Burt proposed an alternatıve approach to the predıctıon of goofs known as the L2=L1 Hypothesis or, as others call ıt, the *Identity Hypothesis* (cf Klein, 1986 23) In such a hypothesis, Dulay and Burt almost entırely overlooked the role of the L1 and ascrıbed the majorıty of goofs to other factors operatıng in L2-learnıng (*cf* sections 2 2 3 and 2 2 4 below) Within the assumption that L1 and L2-acquısıtıon are basıcally two sımilar processes governed by the same laws, Dulay and Burt held the position that " chıldren actively organıze the L2-speech they hear and make generalızatıons about ıts structure as children learnıng their L1" (Dulay and Burt, 1983 55). Thıs posıtıon is, of course, different from the behaviourısts' where the dırect global analogies between L1 and L2-acquisition were recommended (*cf* chapter 1, sectıon 1 2 2), even though neither position did fully acknowledge the role of the L1 ın L2-learnıng While the behavıourısts ıgnored L1-ınfluence as a facilitatıng factor in L2-learnıng, Dulay and Burt, who brought with them a cognıtıvely-based theory, reported the least percentage of ınterference goofs assumıng that chıldren (whatever the language they learn or acquıre) follow the same routes of development Thus, the sımilarities between the goofs made by a group of children learning a given L2 and those made by another group acquırıng that L2 as theır L1 were attrıbuted to the identıcal

internal mechanisms operating in L1 and L2-acquisition, that is, the same procedures or strategies discussed by Corder (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 4 2)

It should be noted, however, that despite the considerable influence that the writings of Dulay and Burt had in the field of L2-acquisition research, their sceptical attitudes towards language transfer do not seem to have gained approval from the researchers who, in recent years, have committed themselves to reconsider the theoretical basis of CA and therefore of transfer (for detailed information, *cf* chapter 3) The following section will consider some of the practical EA-based research and those 'extreme' results reported on language transfer

2.2.3   EA and the Controversy on CA

As noted above, the rejection of the behavioural-structural model and the development of the generative-cognitive framework were the theoretical climate which gave a particular impetus to the concept of EA The new direction of EA was remarkably enriched with a tremendous corpus of both theoretical and empirical research into the study of the learner's error   Thus, the two goals of EA, that is theoretical for the researcher and practical for the teacher and the learner, were specified by Corder (*cf*   section 2 2 1)   However, beginning with the late 1960s, EA-based research was almost entirely concerned with the practical objectives such as 'planning remedial syllabuses' and 'devising appropriate techniques of correction'   Hence, Corder pointed out that the exclusively practical concern of EA had long been detrimental to the researcher's prior task of evolving an adequate theory for the description of the learner's *performance* (Corder, 1971b, reprint   28f) This may yield more profound insights into the strategies that the learner adopts during his intermediate functional-communicative system and what he has internalized from the input he receives, that is, his *intake*   The learner's performance in the L2, Corder argued, may constitute a right or wrong system, and a wrong system may be legitimate 'sporadically and by chance' (Corder, 1973 274)   Such occasional legitimacy seems to be resulting from, as Sridhar put it, " holophrastic learning or systematic avoidance of problem structures (Sridhar, 1981 225)

Clearly, therefore, the ultimate objectives of EA were to describe,

in more detail, the nature of what the learner knows about the L2, that
is his transitional competence, and to compare such knowledge with the
standard norm of the L2 he is learning   This is, in fact, one of the
logical reasons which led researchers to consider EA " a brand of
comparative linguistic study" (Corder, 1973 274)   In this respect, both
CA and EA appear to follow the same routes of research since the former,
too, was developed as one of the major branches of comparative
linguistics (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 1), not withstanding that the
techniques of the two approaches are paradoxical   While CA was
postulated as a *pre-procedural* device to compare the learner's L1 with
the L2 he is willing to learn, EA was adopted as a *post-procedural* task
to compare learner language with the L2 he is learning   In the CA-based
literature, such a dichotomy was later spelled out in terms of the
distinction between CA *a priori* and CA *a posteriori* (*cf*   section 2 3 1
below)

        Therefore, the considerable difference in techniques between CA and
EA entailed the emergence of the latter with its new measures as a
logical reaction against the former in the first place   That is, the
initial concern of EA, as discussed, rested on the treatment of the
learner's actual errors which could not be explained by CA   In effect,
there were a number of researchers who, from a pedagogical point of view,
voiced their criticisms against the predictability of traditional CA,
whilst at the same time accepting the indubitable fact of L1-influence
Such practical criticisms seem to have been a chronological continuation
of the theoretical criticisms levelled at the behavioural-structural
model on which CA's parameters were based (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 4)
Eventually, with the rejection of any approach to L2-teaching drawn upon
such a model, there was a subsequent appeal for a change of pedagogical
tactics

        One line of criticism comes from Newmark who demonstrated the
sterility of CA-based teaching tactics in dealing with the linguistic
form to the detriment of its communicative function or functions   He
pointed out that CA " leads to structural drills designed to teach a
set of specific 'habits' for the well-formation of utterances, abstracted
from normal social context" (Newmark, 1966, reprint 162)   The author's
suggestion was that the teaching methodology employing such structural
drills was creating its own problems which were not difficult to discern
in the learning process   Therefore, language teachers, Newmark argued,
should not exert themselves to exclusively combat L1-intrusion, but focus

upon controlling the size of the input displayed for receptive skills, since *interference* might simply be a result of *ignorance* (Newmark, 1966, reprint 164, Newmark and Reibel, 1968 159-160) Recently, within the cognitive re-orientation of language transfer, Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance* hypotheses has been maintained by Krashen (1983) in terms of the monitor model and thus can be viewed as one of the related aspects of language loss (for detailed information, *cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1)

Another line of criticism was voiced by Corder who pointed out that CA's parameters were inadequate to account for the prediction of the learning difficulties actually encountered by the learner According to CA, these difficulties were deemed to be the prime source of errors. In Corder's words

> Teachers have not always been very impressed by this contribution from the linguist for the reason that their *practical experience* has usually already shown them where *these difficulties* lie and they have not felt that the contribution of the linguist has provided them with any significantly new information They noted for example that many of *the errors* with which they were familiar were *not predicted* by the linguist anyway
> (Corder, 1967, reprint 5, emphasis added)

This type of criticism was clearly reported from teachers' practical experience which proved that many of the predictions made by CA were not verifiable From a pedagogical perspective, the doubt cast about CA lied in the changing attitudes towards the role of errors in L2-learning (*cf* Ellis, 1985 32) As discussed above, in the heyday of CA, the attitudes towards errors were *negative,* and the pedagogical issue was merely preventative as most of the errors that the learner *would* make were attributed to L1-influence On the contrary, with the resurgence of **EA**, the attitudes towards errors were *positive,* since the study of actual errors would provide invaluable insights into the nature of learner language (*cf* section 2 2 1)

The 'crisis' of CA was also brought about by the practical research conducted on the study of the learner's errors in the late 1960s and the early 1970s Following Corder's criticism, there appeared other researchers (for example, Baird, 1967, Wilkins, 1968, Lee, 1968, and Duškova, 1969) who made similar points about CA as a weak predictor of errors Wilkins, for instance, restated Upshur's (1962) critical account of CA by raising the following question

> Yet is it true that by listing the areas of differences between
> languages we are listing all the linguistic difficulties that will
> occur? This is surely an over-simplified view   Many errors occur
> when students overgeneralize a new pattern into an area where the
> two languages are, in fact, similar   This cannot be predicted from
> a simple contrastive analysis
>
> (Wilkins, 1968 101)

The same writer noted that most of the learner's errors were ascribable to psychological and pedagogical problems rather than to linguistic aspects   Lee appears to have echoed the same statement by claiming that errors would emanate not only from L1-influence but also from false analogy between newly absorbed L2-items or rules   Such a statement, though carrying veritable conviction, was mainly a reaction against the seemingly 'misinterpreted' belief that " the prime cause, or even the *sole* cause, of difficulty and errors in L2-learning is interference coming from the learner's L1" (Lee, 1968 180, emphasis added)   Hence, Duškova, in her analysis of the grammatical and lexical errors made by Czech learners of English, reported "A large number of errors seem to have little, if any, connection with the L1" (Duškova, 1969, reprint 222)   She listed separately those errors which were attestedly traceable to L1-influence and concluded that "while interference from the L1 plays a role, it is not the only interfering factor" (Duškova, 1969, reprint 228)

It seems, therefore, the above researchers were among many who discounted a great deal of CA's parameters as globally conceived differences will lead to negative transfer and are the sole source of difficulty   Their contention, as James put it, was that "There are other sources, which CA fails to predict   Even the unsophisticated teacher who knows no linguistics is conscious of more errors than CA can predict" (James, 1971, reprint 88)   Consequently, the role of the L1 in L2-learning was played down and, in effect, there was an appeal for a more sophisticated study of the learner's actual errors   However, although it is quite true that there are certain types of errors which do not reflect L1-interference and therefore cannot be predicted by CA, the interpretation of CA's claim about L1-interference as the sole source of errors seems to be misleading   A plain answer to this point was articulated by James who precisely identified what in fact CA claimed·

> [   ] CA has never claimed that L1-interference is the sole source
> of errors   As Lado put it "These differences are the chief source
> of difficulty in learning a second language", and, "The most
> important factor determining ease and difficulty in learning the

patterns of a foreign language is their similarity to or difference
from the patterns of the native language" (Lado 1964, pp 21 and 91)
'Chief source' and 'most important' imply that Ll-interference is
not conceived to be the only source

                                        (James, 1971, reprint 88)

Accordingly, at about the same time, researchers such as Lance
(1969), George (1971) and Brudhiprabha (1972) reported that one third of
the learner's errors could be attributed to Ll-influence (cf   Richards
and Sampson, 1974   5)   This indicates that the supersession of the
behavioural-structural model from which CA derived its psycholinguistic
bases did not entail the rejection of the inevitable fact of language
transfer in L2-learning   Even researchers like Dulay and Burt (1973) who
held rather extreme views in their disparagement of language transfer did
not entirely deny this fact   In an analysis of the producton of syntax
in the speech of Spanish children learning English, Dulay and Burt
calculated the frequency of goof types (cf   section 2 2 4 below) and
recorded the least percentage of interference goofs (3%), whilst at the
same time conceding that the major impact of the Ll on L2-learning may
have to do with phonology   Dulay and Burt's approach will be discussed
in further detail (cf chapter 3, sections 3 2 2 and 3 2 3)

It seems, however, that several researchers did not bear out the
results documented to minimize the role of the Ll, particularly those
reported by Dulay and Burt   Through the analysis of grammar production
specifically, these results showed considerable discrepancy in the
proportions of interference errors   Ellis argues that such discrepancy
is, in fact, due to significant variables like 'the age of the learner',
'the degree of contrast between Ll and L2' and 'the type of data
collected' (Ellis, 1985 28f)   Hence, the same writer mentions the
different percentage of interference errors as listed in Table 3

As Table 3 illustrates, although these projects considerably vary in
their results (notice the lowest rate recorded by Dulay and Burt), the
average percentage of interference errors is almost 33% which is
similar to the proportion reported by Lance (1969), George (1971) and
Brudhiprabha (1972) referred to above   Nevertheless, it is believed that
to reach a final conclusion about an accurate percentage of interference
errors is somewhat abstract,   since the three variables (age, contrast
and data) always play an important role   Given the chance of assigning
what errors are due to Ll-influence, the results listed in Table 3
indicate that, in support of James' answer to the strictures of CA,
Ll-interference, whatever the exact percentage may be, is an inevitable

Study	Percentage of interference errors	Type of learner
Grauberg (1971)	36%	L1: German — adult, advanced
George (1972)	33% (approx)	Mixed L1s — adults, graduate
Dulay and Burt (1973)	3%	L1 Spanish — children, mixed level
Tran-Chi-Chau (1974)	51%	L1 Chinese — mixed level
Mukattash (1977)	23%	L1 Arabic — adult
Flick (1980)	31%	L1 Spanish — adult, mixed level
Lott (1983)	50% (approx)	L1: Italian — adult, university

Table 3· *Percentage of interference errors reported by various studies of L2-English grammar*

factor in L2-learning on the one hand and is *not* the sole source of L2-errors on the other However, to distinguish interference errors from non-interference errors is a task fraught with some difficulty For instance, while Butterworth and Hatch (1978) put down the omission of 'BE' to L1-interference from Spanish, Felix (1980) ascribed such a deviation to developmental factors Further, Jackson (1981) found that non-inverted WH-questions were triggered by L1-interference from Punjabi, whereas recent research has established this deviation as a universal phenomenon (*cf* Ellis, 1985 29) The next section may make this point clear It will consider interference errors as well as those error types which have no connection with L1-interference

2.2.4 The Identification of Errors

As discussed above, there are indeed certain types of errors which could not be predicted or explained by CA and, therefore, **EA** re-emerged with its claim to account for such errors Eventually, the learner's errors were often classified into two major categories errors

which reflect L1-influence and errors which do not reflect L1-influence Under the latter category, several attempts were made to identify other types or sub-categories These were assumed to appear due to pedagogical, psychological, or developmental factors However, this does not indicate that the first category (the errors which reflect L1-influence) has nothing to do with these factors (*cf interlingual errors*, section 2 4 1 below) Thus, in order to trace the development of error identification, a schematized overview will be chronologically presented by reference to those who tried to specify possible causes for the occurrence of errors

One of the first attempts was made by Brooks who, from a behaviouristic perspective, pointed out that the learner's errors were likely to be the result of four distinct causes

(a) The student may make a random response, that is, he may simply *not know* which of many responses is the right one

(b) The student may have encountered the model but *not have practised* it a sufficient number of times

(c) Distortion may have been induced by *dissimilar* patterns in English

(d) The student may have made a response that follows a sound *general rule* but, because of an anomaly in the new language, is incorrect in this instance

(Brooks, 1960 56, emphasis added)

By identifying cause (c), the author refers to those errors which are due to L1-influence, since distortion may be induced by the L1 Paradoxically, the other three causes have to do with the factors mentioned above cause (a) is psychological as it refers to the learner's lack of knowledge of the L2-item or rule, cause (b) is clearly attributable to pedagogical factors, and cause (d) seems to inherently imply the term *overgeneralization* as will be seen presently

In his review of Valdman (1966), Wilkins (1968) reported some of the criticisms launched against CA's claim to predict interference errors as mentioned in the preceding section He, then, concluded that many of the learner's errors were due to three causes

(a) *Overgeneralization* of a new pattern into an area where the L1 and L2 are similar (*cf* Brooks, causes (c) and (d))

(b)   *Interference* between items within the L2; that is, between the forms and functions of the L2   This refers to the term *intralingual interference* coined by Richards as will be discussed presently

(c)   *Confusion* of previously learned correct items with others that the learner has failed to learn   Confusion is, therefore, due to psychological causes or inadequate learning (*cf*   Brooks, causes (a) and (b))

From a generative-cognitive perspective, Corder (1967) identified two major types of errors whether they are due to L1-influence or not (*cf*   section 2 2 2)

(a)   *Linguistic errors* are those systematic errors which reflect a defect in the learner's knowledge of the L2, that is, his *transitional competence*   Systematic errors are also classified into two sub-types. *overt* errors and *covert* errors (*cf*   section 2 2 1, example (1))

(b)   *Psychological mistakes* are those non-systematic errors which occur as a result of performance conditions such as memory lapses, fatigue, distraction and so on

Another attempt was made by Richards who coined the term *intralingual interference* (Richards, 1971a, reprint 174)   Hence, he identified four types of developmental errors (*cf*   *intralingual errors*, section 2 4 2), whilst at the same time acknowledging the fact of interference errors   Developmental errors seem to be an extension of those types reported by Wilkins

(a)   *Overgeneralization* covers instances where L2-items do not carry any obvious contrast for the learner   For example, the '*-ed*' marker may be overgeneralized either *morphologically* into irregular verbs as in * 'go*ed*' and * 'meet*ed*', or *semantically* because it often carries no meaning in the context, since pastness can be indicated lexically as in the use of '*yesterday*' in the following example

(2)   * *Yesterday* I *go* to the university and *meet* my new professor

(b) *Ignorance of rule restriction* is closely related to over-generalization It occurs when certain rules are extended (or generalized) to contexts where such rules do not apply in L2-usage For example

(3) * I made him *to* do it

The learner, here, ignores restriction on the distribution of '*make*' This can result from faulty analogy or the rote learning of rules

(c) *Incomplete application of rules* occurs when deviant structures represent the development of correct rules, but the learner's focus on communication is clear For example

(4) a Teacher   What was she saying?
      Student * *She saying she would ask him*
    b Teacher   *What does she tell him?*
      Student * *She tell him to hurry*

(d) *False concepts hypothesized* refer to errors derived from faulty comprehension of L2-distinctions For example, '*is*' may be treated as a marker of the present tense

(5) * He *is* speaks English

Developmental errors are, therefore, typical errors reflecting the general characteristics of learner language, the strategies he employs, and the rule learning he acquires Clearly, developmental errors can be grouped under the type systematic errors or *competence errors* as identified by Corder

Dulay and Burt set out to investigate error types on empirical grounds In an analysis of the goofs made by children learning English, the researchers identified four distinct types in relation to their psycholinguistic origins (*cf* Dulay and Burt, 1974a 115f, Dulay *et al* , 1982 165f)

(a) *Interference-like* *goofs* reflect L1-structure, and are not found in

L1-acquisition data of the L2, that is, the acquisition of the L2 by

its natives   For example

(6) * *hers pajamas*

produced by a Spanish child reflects Spanish structure and was not

produced by other children acquiring English as their L1

(b) *L1-developmental goofs* do not reflect L1-structure, but are found in

L1-acquisition data of the L2   For example

(7) * *He took her teeths off*

produced by a Spanish child, does not reflect Spanish structure, but

an overgeneralization typically produced by other children acquiring

English as their L1

(c) *Ambiguous goofs* can be categorized as either interference-like or

L1-developmental goofs   For example

(8) * *I no have a car*

produced by a Spanish child, reflects Spanish structure, and is also

characteristic of the speech of children learning English as their

L1

(d) *Unique goofs* do not reflect L1-structure and also are not found in

L1-acquisition data of the L2   For example

(9) * *He name is Victor*

produced by a Spanish child, neither reflects Spanish structure nor

is found in L1-acquisition data of English

So, it can be seen that the study of errors is indispensable to

both assessing the rule learning adopted by the learner and to the degree

of match between the data he receives (his input) and the type of

knowledge he has internalized (his intake)   Hence, two justifications

were proposed for **EA** theoretical in that the study of errors is part of the study of learner language, and practical in that a good comprehension of the entity of error may serve as a feedback to design remedial courses, rather than implementing mere eradication of errors as had been recognized during the domination of the behavioural-structural model However, **EA** on its own still makes no claim of giving a complete explanation of what is happening in the learner's mind In this respect, three central issues have been put forward as evidence of the limitations of **EA** These are frequency of L2-errors, learning difficulty, and interlingual errors (*cf* section 2 1 3) Although **EA** proved to explain many of the errors which could not be accounted for by **CA**, one of the shackles of the former, perhaps the most serious, is that it mainly concentrates on language **production** and leaves unsolved questions about language **comprehension**, particularly concerning language transfer Such a problem was realized in the early 1970s and there was a subsequent entreaty to link **EA** with **CA** for a more reasonable analysis of language transfer despite the contradictory relationship between the two, since research demonstrated that **CA** was indeed able to account for some of the aspects which have to do with language comprehension This appears to be the first serious attempt to vindicate **CA** in the new direction of linguistic theory The next section will consider such an appeal for the complementary link between **CA** and **EA**

2.3   CA and EA: An Interdisciplinary Approach

In this section, three objectives will be discussed First, the contrastive approach to **EA** by reference to Wardhaugh's critical account of the CA-Hypothesis within its two versions the strong version (CA *a priori*) and the weak version (CA *a posteriori*) At one end, the scepticism of the strong version and the relative allegiance to the weak version will be outlined At another, the defence of the former and the criticism of the latter by Schachter will be traced to arrive at the legitimate alliance of the two Second, the **non-contrastive approach to EA** which was advocated by Richards to identify intralingual errors without conducting a prior **CA** An attempt will be made to analyse some errors (already identified as intralingual) and some others actually made by the Syrian learner, and to extrapolate their origins from 'common'

deviations usually occurring in Arabic. Thus, in opposition to Richards' approach, the analysis will show that these errors (which can be viewed as examples of L1-error transfer) do in fact reflect L1-influence though similar deviations had already been identified as intralingual errors Third, the procedure of *Translation Equivalence* (TE) discussed by James as the best available TC for **CA** Hence, the complementary link between **CA** and **EA** within the re-oriented procedure of **TE** will be considered as a possible methodology for the analysis of the data

2.3.1 A Contrastive Approach to EA

As discussed above, the empirical and practical criticisms launched against **CA** rested mostly on its claim to predict errors Therefore, many a researcher seems to have relinquished a prior comparison of the L1 and L2, since the empirical and practical studies reported that a large proportion of the learner's actual errors could not be traced back to L1-influence This was also expressed by Wardhaugh who suggested that the **CA**-Hypothesis existed in two versions a *strong* version and a *weak* version The former, Wardhaugh argued, claims to **predict** the areas that will cause errors by simply identifying the differences between L1 and L2 He held the view that "the strong version is quite unrealistic and impracticable" The weak version, on the other hand, claims to diagnose actual 'interference' errors by recourse to the learner's L1 Therefore, " the weak version does have certain possibilities of usefulness [though] suspect in some linguistic circles" (Wardhaugh, 1970; reprint. 7)

The strong version had already inspired the earlier work of traditional contrastivists such as Fries, Lado, and Banathy *et al* (*cf* chapter 1, sections 1 1 1 and 1 1 3) Thus, the postulation of CA was common before empirical and practical research established that many of the learner's errors could not be predicted by **CA** The strong version, Wardhaugh argued, is highly theoretical in that, besides a theory of contrastive linguistics, it demands of analysts that they should have wide knowledge of generative linguistics such as language universals Therefore, linguistic theory and knowledge were not in a position to meet the ultimate requirements of the strong version, and the writers of CAs were indulging in a 'pseudo-procedure' in linguistics, that is, " a procedure which linguists claim they could follow in order to achieve

definitive results if only there were enough time" (Wardhaugh, 1970; reprint: 8). The author concluded that the strong version could only work for those who were "...prepared to be quite naive in linguistic matters" (Wardhaugh, 1970; reprint: 13).

The weak version of the CA-Hypothesis, on the other hand, was seen as less vulnerable and more realistic. It requires of the analyst only the linguistic knowledge available to him in order to account for learning difficulty. It is, therefore, less demanding than the strong version. Within an opposite direction, the weak version "... starts with the evidence provided by linguistic interference and uses such evidence to explain the similarities and differences between systems "(Wardhaugh, 1970; reprint: 10). Thus, the writer pointed out that the weak version could be used most often and proved to be helpful to language teachers as it explains and attributes actual errors rather than predicts them. In so doing, the weak version, as opposed to the *pre-procedural* device of the strong version, seems to adopt the *post-procedural* task of EA as referred to earlier (*cf.* section 2.2.3). This distinction was plainly allocated by Gradman (1971a) in terms of distinction between CA *a priori* and CA *a posteriori*.

CA *a priori*, or the strong version, is said to be purely linguistic through a one-to-one CA of the phonological, syntactic and lexical sub-systems of the L1 and L2. The investigator could, therefore, discover their differences and similarities and make predictions about what would be the areas of difficulty and ease. However, according to its advocates, the *a priori* form did not claim to account for *all* learning problems, since intervening variables such as previous teaching and motivation always play a role (*cf.* Schachter, 1974; reprint: 354).

CA *a posteriori*, or the weak version, is assumed to be explanatory within a different methodology. By resorting to the techniques of EA, the investigator could compare the deviant structures actually produced in the L2 with their L1-counterparts in order to explain the origins of these errors. Thus, CA *a posteriori*, under the guises of EA, was mainly a reaction against CA *a priori* as this latter focused on "predicting what the learner will do" to the detriment of "the study of what the learner actually does" (Schachter, 1974; reprint: 354). Researchers like Ritchie (1967), Gradman (1971a-b), Whitman and Jackson (1972) were among those who adopted a more extreme attitude towards the CA-Hypothesis. In their observation of the numerous actual errors which could not be predicted by

CA *a priori*, these researchers suggested that the only valid form of the
CA-Hypothesis might be CA *a posteriori*   Therefore, it was necessary to
make explicit the assumptions behind **CA** *a posteriori* as a sub-component
of **EA**. To avoid possible confusion, the abbreviations **CA** and **EA** will be
used in place of **CA** *a priori* and **CA** *a posteriori* respectively   Hence,
Schachter pointed out

> The main assumption is that **EA** will reveal to the investigator just
> what difficulties the learners in fact have, that difficulties in
> the L2 will show up as *errors in production*   The second assumption
> is that the frequency of occurrence of specific errors will give
> evidence of their relative difficulty
>   (Schachter, 1974, reprint. 355, emphasis added)

Schachter believed, however, that both **CA** and **EA** have their own
weaknesses whilst at the same time recognizing their merits   She even
stressed that the weaknesses of **EA** are sometimes more serious than those
of **CA**   In an analysis of the relative clauses produced by different
groups of learners, Schachter observed that certain learners experienced
tenacious difficulty over *processing* the structure in question because of
its radical difference from the Ll-counterpart   The result was that
these learners *avoided* producing the structure   She argued that **EA**,
which only deals with errors in production, could not explain *avoidance*,
a phenemonen lying at the heart of comprehension, whereas the predictive
power of **CA** was able to do so   Thus, neither approach on its own could
give a complete picture of language transfer   Rather, a combination of
the two as well as comprehension testing would be the most fruitful line
of research for scrutinizing learning difficulty both in production and
in comprehension (*cf* Schachter, 1974, reprint 362, Kleinmann, 1977,
reprint 375)

As a consequence, both **CA** and **EA** seem to constitute an inter-
disciplinary approach that may serve as a reliable source of study   It is
believed that the need for such an approach is in fact due to two polar
justifications   First, there are errors which **CA** cannot handle whereas
EA can   This does not necessarily imply that all such errors have
connection with Ll-influence   It is worth reiterating Ringbom's (1987)
statement that Ll-influence does not always cause errors and not all
errors reflect Ll-influence (*cf* section 2 1 3)   Second, there are
certain instances of Ll-influence such as *avoidance* phenomena which **EA**
fails to account for whereas the attested predictive power of **CA** proves
to do so   In current thinking, the notion of *avoidance* is still held in

good esteem for the significant role it has played in the reappraisal of CA and therefore of language transfer (for detailed information, *cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2)

It seems, however, there were several attempts to study and analyse errors without conducting a prior CA One of these attempts, perhaps the most important, is Richards' identification of what he called developmental or intralingual errors which seem to have been overemphasized at the expense of interlingual errors The next section will consider Richards' approach to intralingual errors and trace the mounting controversy about his identification

2.3.2 A Non-Contrastive Approach to EA

'A non-contrastive approach to EA' is the title of Richards'(1971a) article which is based on a paper delivered at the TESOL convention held in San Francisco in 1970 While concurring with the fact of interlingual errors, he identified four strategies associated with developmental or intralingual errors (1) *overgeneralization*, (2) *ignorance of rule restrictions*, (3) *incomplete application of rules*, and (4) *false concepts hypothesized* (*cf* section 2 2 4) Richards distinguished these as being systematic errors from non-systematic errors which would result from the learner's failure to memorize the L2-pattern, or from such occasional conditions as memory lapses, fatigue and the like Thus, systematic errors represent errors in competence, transitional or final, whereas non-systematic errors are mistakes in performance (*cf* Corder, section 2 2 2) Further, Richards looked upon the former category as *universal errors* because they appeared " in numerous case-studies of the English errors of speakers of Japanese, Chinese, Burmese, French, Czech, Polish, Tagalog, Maori, Maltese, and the major Indian and West African languages" (Richards, 1971a, reprint 173) Clearly, therefore, the four types of errors listed exclude any connection with L1-influence

As mentioned earlier, one of the problems of error identification is to determine what errors are due to L1-influence and what others are not (*cf* section 2 2 3) For instance, some researchers regarded the omission of 'BE', the misuse of prepositions, and non-inverted WH-questions as *interlingual* errors, while Richards, among others, seems to have identified such deviations as universal or *intralingual* errors In an argument against Richards' assumptions, James, who is notorious for

his strong allegiance to CA, pointed to the fact that a given error made by speakers of many different L1s does not necessarily signify a non-contrastive or intralingual error In James' words "it is possible that *all* of the languages sampled contrast with English with respect to the particular structure involved" (James, 1980 185f, original emphasis) By qoting French (1956) who had already inspired the distinction 'interlingual/intralingual', James demonstrated that Richards' inference was not new in itself

> [   ] if errors are due, as unmistakeably as the best authorities
> would have us believe, to cross-association (i e L1-interference)
> then the Japanese form of error should be one thing and the Bantu
> form quite another But the plain fact is that Japanese and Bantu
> alike say * *Yes, I didn't* [   ]
>   (French, 1956 6, quoted by James, 1980 186)

Therefore, in accordance with Richards' conclusion, the deviant structure * *Yes, I didn't* suggests an intralingual error On the contrary, James argued that such an apparently 'universal' error (which concerns the answer to questions of negative polarity such as *Didn't you go?*) could be a plausible instance of L1-interference In languages like English, the answer to these questions is expressed by either accepting (*Yes, I did*) or rejecting (*No, I didn't*) the intended fact Whereas in other languages such as Japanese, Swahili, Akan (*cf* Chinebuah, 1975) and Korean (*cf* Bouton 1976) —including Arabic— the answer depends on the form of the interrogative Thus, the particle *'No'* in English may coincide with the superficial L1-equivalent of *'Yes'* in the other language group For this reason, James cited a pair of English/Sudanese answers to the negative question *Doesn't he go to school?*

(10) a [*aywa* ma bimši]   (*Sud*)
        (*Lit* *Yes* not go (he))

     b *No*, he doesn't   (*L2-U*)

Here, James rightly uses the L1-answer (10a) from Sudanese Colloquial Arabic to demonstrate that L1-influence is well detectable in already identified intralingual errors such as * *Yes, I didn't* However, it might be useful to discuss (10a) from a different angle by testing its linguistic value within the exhaustive boundaries of MSA Depending on the form of the interrogative in MSA, there are two typological answer-particles for expressing affirmation or agreement The first type

includes [na?am], [ajal] or [i·] for affirmative interrogatives, and the second type signifies [bala] for negative interrogative With regard to the first type, while [na?am] is better for answering a *question* than [ajal], the latter is better for answering a *request* than the former (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 4)   The particle [i], on the other hand, only precedes an *oath* For example

(11) a   [i *walla* hi]   (*MSA*)
           (*Lit* *Yes by* God)

      b   *Yes* —I swear by God—   (*L2-U*)

In Colloquialism, the answer-particles [e wa] or [aywa] (*cf* 10a)), which seem to descend from [i] and [wa] in (11a) as being diphthongized by a glide, are used in most of the modern dialects of Arabic (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 22)   Thus, in SCA, the particles [na?am], [e wa], [aywa], [e] and [i] stand for the first type (affirmative interrogatives), whereas [mbala], which seems to descend from the MSA-form [bala], stands for the second type (negative interrogatives) as illustrated in Table 4.

Arabic Variety	Answer-particles for Affirmative Interrogatives		Answer-particles for Negative Interrogatives	English Equivalence
MSA	[na?am] [ajal] [i]	(question) (request) (oath)	[bala]	yes
SCA	[na?am] [e wa] [aywa] [e] [i]	(MSA/SCA) (SCD) (NCD/ECD) (NCD/SCD/WCD) (ECD)	[mbala]	yes

Table 4   *The Arabic answer-particles for expressing agreement*

Again, both particles [e] and [i] in SCA descend from the original form [i] in MSA   It seems, therefore, the use of either particle without a following oath, which is very common in SCA,   would

suggest a slight deviation from the norm of MSA   Further, the speaker's realization of either particle as synonymous with [na?am] in **SCA** (*cf* **Table 4**) would lead to a logical error from the viewpoint of MSA when answering quetions of negative polarity   For instance,   by employing [e] or [ı] —or any of the SCA-counterparts such as [aywa] (*cf* (10a))— the answer to the negative question [šu ma rih̲it] '*Didn't you go?*' would be either (12) for agreement or (13) for disagreement

(12) a * [e rih̲it]   (*NCD/SCA*)
     b * [i rih̲'tu]   (*ECD*)
     c * [aywa rih̲it]   (*NCD*)
         (*Lit   Yes* went (I))
     d * *Yes*, I did   (*L2-U*)

(13) a * [e ma rih̲it]   (*NCD/SCD*)
     b * [i ma rih̲'tu]   (*ECD*)
     c * [aywa ma rih̲it]   (*NCD*)
         (*Lit   Yes not* went (I))
     d   *No*, I didn't   (*L2-U*)

The logical errors suggested by the L1-utterances (12a-c) and (13a-c) will be discussed presently   As Table 4 illustrates, the particle [bala] in MSA is *only* used for answering negative interrogatives to express agreement   However, if the particle [na?am] in MSA happens to be used for answering negative interrogatives, then the resultant response would imply disagreement   To begin with, consider the following negative question as produced in MSA

(14) a [a lam tath̲'hab]   (*MSA*)
     b Didn't you go?   (*L2-U*)

The answer to such a question would be either [bala] in (15a) below to imply agreement with '*going*' or [na?am] in (16a) to imply disagreement with '*going*' (or rather, agreement with '*not going*'); even though both answer-particles mean '*yes*' at a surface-structure level

(15) a [bala]   (*MSA*)
         (*Lit   Yes*)
     b *Yes*, I did   (*L2-U*)

(16) a [na?am]   (*MSA*)
         (*Lit   Yes*)
     b *No*, I didn't   (*L2-U*)

It appears the case that [bala:] in (15a) does not mean '*yes*' in the sense of the word, but at a deep-structure level it implies the meaning of '*yes without no*'. In other words, [bala:] is in fact **negating** the negative mode of the question (14a) in order to achieve affirmation; that is, agreement with '*going*'. Thus, it focuses its semantic space upon the negative particle [lam] in (14a), which is the most important constituent of the structure. On the other hand, [na?am] in (16a) implies the meaning of '*yes with no*' at a deep-structure level, rather than being represented as meaning '*yes*' at a surface-structure level. In other words, [na?am] is, in this case, **affirming** the negative mode of the question (14a) and the result is agreement with '*not going*'; that is, disagreement with '*going*'.

By analogy, the uses of [e:], [i:] and [*aywa*] in (12 a-c) and (13 a-c) as synonymous with [na?am] would suggest logical errors on two syntactic levels respectively. First, **deep-structure level** where each answer-particle implies agreement with '*not going*'; that is, disagreement with '*going*' and in both cases the fact of '*going*' is rejected which is paradoxical with its surface-structure representation in (12 a-c). Second, **surface-structure level** where the use of each answer-particle in (13 a-c) obtains what is implied in the deep structure as is the case of the first level. In the surface structure, however, the co-existence of the answer-particle (which expresses affirmation) with the negated remainder of (13 a-c) seems to be logically absurd. Therefore, the meaning of '*not going*' is only implied in the deep structure which refers to the concept of [attaqdi:r] in MSA. The term [attaqdi:r] is by definition *the implication of the intended meaning of a deleted item or items* (*cf.* Al-Busani, 1977: 719 and 904). Thus, the deep structure is interpreted by the semantic component, whereas the surface structure is determined by the phonological component, since the deleted item is not verbally articulated in the surface structure but the speaker is aware of its meaning implied in the deep structure (*cf.* also Chomsky, 1965: 16).

It follows that the surface structure of (12 a-c) should not employ the answer-particles [e:], [i:] or [aywa] which are synonymous with [na?am], but rather [mbala] which, at a deep structure level, implies agreement with '*going*' as is the case of the MSA-form [bala:] in (15a), otherwise all the L1-utterances (12 a-c) would signal a logical error as shown above. With regard to the L1-utterances (13 a-c), the surface structure should only employ the answer-particle [e:] [i:] or [aywa] (*cf.* (10a)) as synonymous with [na?am], since agreement with '*not going*'

is already implied in the deep structure as is the case of (15a). It seems, therefore, the answer-particle does not directly govern the negated remainder, but a deleted syntactic part such as 'I mean that' or 'I agree that' Thus, the deep structures of (10a) and (13 a-c) would be (17a) and (17b) respectively

(17)   a.   Yes, I mean/agree that he doesn't
       b   Yes, I mean/agree that I didn't

Consequently, the use of [na?am], or anyone of its counterparts listed in Table 4, as directly co-occurrent with a negated clause would suggest a logical error as discussed above However, if the speaker's attention was focused on the negated remainder, it would be more reasonable to substitute the answer-particle by [la] 'no' for more emphasis on the negative mode of the remainder Thus, the surface structures of (10a) and (13 a-c) would be (18a) and (19 a-b) respectively

(18)   a   [la ma bimši]   (Sud)
            (Lit   no not go (he))
       b   No, he doesn't   (L2-U)

(19)   a   [la ma rihit]   (NCD/SCD)
       b.   [la ma rih'tu]   (ECD)
            (Lit   no not went (I))
       c   No, I didn't.   (L2-U)

In the light of the above argument, a particular type of language transfer would emerge, if the Arab learner's response to the question *Didn't you go?* happened to be one of the following

(20)   a   Yes, I went.   (PU)
       b   * Yes, I didn't   (PE)

Surprisingly, the predicted acceptable utterance (20a) would suggest what can be called **L1-error positive transfer**, that is, an attestedly established common deviation from the standard norm of the L1 such as (12 a-c) which, upon its transfer onto learner language, results in *positively structural accordance* with the standard norm of the L2 On the other hand, the predicted erroneous utterance (20b) (cf French's example above) would refer to what can be called **L1-error negative transfer**, that is, an attestedly established common deviation from the standard norm of the L1 such as (13 a-c) which, upon its transfer onto

learner language, results in a *negatively structural deviation* from the standard norm of the L2   Therefore, like James, but unlike French and Richards, it is believed that some already identified deviations as intralingual errors such as (20b) could be traced back to L1-influence

Having specified what the term *L1-error transfer* precisely means, an analysis of a few utterances actually produced in English by the Syrian learners will, in opposition to Richards' approach, elucidate this type of language transfer on empirical grounds   Thus, with regard to the two varieties of Arabic, these utterances (erroneous or correct) are said to be a reflection of *either* common L1-errors committed within MSA (that is, in the Arab speaker's attempt to perform MSA) *or* L1-errors commonly made within SCA as so judged from the viewpoint of MSA   To begin with, consider the following example

(20) * I shall *not to* smoke again, never   (*AE*)

The learner, upon producing this utterance, seems to have fallen back to a common deviation usually recurrent in MSA rather than in SCA as the L1-equivalent is often rendered in the former into

(21) a * [*sawfa lan* udakkina   ]   (*MSA*)
             (*Lit   shall not smoke (I)   )

      b   *I shall not/never smoke*   (*L2-U*)

From the viewpoint of MSA, the co-occurrence of the two particles [sawfa] and [lan] as in (21a) marks a common error and it often goes unnoticed not only by ordinary L1-speakers, but also by most of the 'modernized' writers of Arabic   Eventually, this augments the making of such an error in general *situations* where MSA is used as an instructive medium and in particular cases such as translation from foreign languages into MSA, writing personal letters, and the like   It appears that both '*not*' and '*to*' in (20) are realized as [lan] in (21a)   In order to explain why the co-existence of [sawfa] with [lan] signals an error, another utterance actually produced by a Syrian learner will be analysed for testing the linguistic value of [lan] in MSA   For example

(22) * I must *to* go to the Language Centre   (*AE*)

(23) a [yajibu (?alayya) *an* ath'haba   ]   (*MSA*)
             (*Lit   must (I) *to* go (I)   )
      b *I must ---- go to*   (*L2-U*)

By misusing the preposition '*to*' in (22), the learner seems to have resorted to the L1-particle [an] in (23a) and thus such a deviation can be viewed as a reflection of MSA-influence rather than SCA-influence, since [an] is not normally used in SCA In MSA, this particle, which is known as [*an* al-ma**s**dariyya], involves the infinitiveness of the simple present verb [al-mu**d**a ri?] that follows This indicates that both the verb [*an* a**th**'haba] in (23a) and its derived verbal noun [al-**th**aha bu] '*going*' have basically the same grammatical meaning or deep structure, since the latter, too, is referred to as [al-ma**s**dar] '*the infinitive*' (*cf* Kharma, 1983 44f) At first glance, the misuse of the preposition '*to*' in (22) appears to be *overgeneralized* from L2-identifications such as 'I like *to* go' in which '*to*' also denotes infinitiveness However, even in the case of the equivalent L1-identification [u**h**ibbu *an* a**th**'haba] (*cf* (23a)), the particle [an] is rendered into '*to*' as both indicate infinitiveness when preceding a simple present verb (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 4, examples (46) and (47))

Concerning the actual utterance (20), the misuse of '*to*', rather than the use of '*shall*', seems to impose infinitiveness on the verb '*smoke*' as the function of '*to*' was grammatically realized by recourse to [an] as in (23a) but, together with '*not*' , the meaning was lexically realized by recourse to [lan] as in (21a) However, unlike [an], [lan] in MSA does not maintain infinitiveness, but rather it denotes negation and futurity at the same time (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 826) Therefore, to render, for example, the erroneous L1-utterance *[sawfa *lan* a**th**'haba] into the well-formed L2-utterance 'I shall *not* go' (AU) would suggest L1-error positive transfer on two levels First, the L2-verb '*go*' implies infinitiveness since it is governed by '*shall*', whereas the L1-verb [a**th**'haba] which is governed by [lan] has no connection with infinitiveness, even though both '*shall*' and [lan] express futurity Second, as their grammatical meanings indicate, the co-existence of [sawfa] with [lan] marks an error from the logical point of view. While both particles express futurity, [sawfa] implies affirmation as opposed to [lan] which implies negation By analogy, the actual utterance (20) seems to reflect two phases of L1-error negative transfer an *overt* phase and a *covert* one The paradoxical co-occurrence of [sawfa] and [lan] in the L1-equivalent (21a) signifies *overt* L1-error negative transfer when both are realized as * '*shall not to*', and rendering [lan], which does not indicate infinitiveness, into '*not to*' as governing the verb '*smoke*' refers to *covert* L1-error negative transfer

Therefore, in the light of the above analysis, the erroneous actual utterances (20) and (22), which concern the misuse of '*to*' as a marker of infinitiveness, can be safely identified as *interlingual errors*, though Richards had already classified similar deviations such as (24 a-b) below under *intralingual errors*

(24) a * She cannot *to* go   (*cf* (20))
      b * We can *to* see   (*cf* (22))

According to Richards, the misuse of '*to*', or as he put it, the wrong form after modal verb is a result of an *overgeneralization* strategy faultily applied by the learner, whereas in other structural deviations such as *'I made him *to* do it' the learner ignores restrictions on the distribution of '*make*' (*cf* Richards, 1971a, reprint 175 and 183)

Following the argument against Richards' approach, James posed a further problem of conducting EA in isolation from CA by reference to Corder's notion of *covert errors* (*cf* section 2 2 1) James' view runs as follows although one of the tasks of EA is to explain covert errors which, in most cases, could not be predicted by CA, it is quite possible that the former sometimes fails to do so without the expectancies generated by the latter By citing some examples, James argued that a German learner of English, upon producing the well-formed utterance *Will we go for a walk?*, would make a covert error if the invitation, as implied in the L1-counterpart *Wollen wir spazieren gehen?*, was actually intended Hence, the English interlocutor, particularly a native speaker of Hiberno-English, might not receive the utterance as an invitation, but rather as a request for prediction (James, 1980 186) More explicitly, actual utterances such *'I'm on the line'* (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 2, example (21c)) and predicted utterances such as *'Don't be cool'* (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 2, example (53a)) are perfectly acceptable if they are abstracted from the context However, it is CA, not EA, which recognizes them as covert errors, since the initial device of the former rests on contrasting what they mean in English with what their L1-counterparts mean in Arabic In fact, James' contention was not to relinquish EA, but rather he seems to have echoed Schachter's entreaty for a combination of CA and EA as discussed in the preceding section In James' words

> I have no wish to vindicate **CA** at the expense of **EA** each approach
> has its vital role to play in accounting for L2-learning problems
> They should be viewed as complementing each other rather than as
> competitors of some procedural pride of place
>
> (James, 1980 187)

It should be noted, however, that Richards, when devoting himself to the study of *intralingual* errors, made no denial of the existence of *interlingual* errors In a subsequent article, Richards, together with Sampson, considered language transfer one of the several factors which might influence and characterize learner language The other factors are 'intralingual interference', 'sociolinguistic situation', 'modality of exposure to the L2', 'instability of learner language' and 'inherent difficulty in learning L2-items These reflect most of the insights put forward into the study of the learner's system (*cf* chapter 3) Under the factor of **language transfer**, Richards and Sampson also distinguished the methodology of *contrastive analysis* from that of *interference analysis* The former, as discussed in the preceding section, corresponds to the strong version or **CA** *a priori*, and the latter to the weak version or **CA** *a posteriori* (*cf* Richards and Sampson, 1974 5)

It seems, therefore, that, according to Schachter (1974), James (1980) and subsequently Ringbom (1987), any two extremes representing the polarity of **CA** and **EA** should be reconciled with each other for a better account of language transfer, particularly within the two distinct dimensions language process and language product In the current study, such a reconciliation will be adopted for the analysis of a selective number of interlingual identifications actually produced by some Syrian learners in their spoken production of English By resorting to the re-oriented constant *Translation Equivalence*, the analysis will be made to scrutinize the potential for Arabic transfer and how this internal mechanism operates within these two dimensions The next section will consider the procedure of *Translation Equivalence* and its re-oriented position in the literature

2.3.3   *The Translation Equivalence Constant*

In fact, all the Arabic/English pairs of utterances cited throughout this study are basically drawn upon the procedure of *Translation Equivalence* (TE) As discussed in the previous chapter, traditional contrastivists failed to establish surface-structure representations as

satisfactory TCs (*cf* chapter 1, section 1.3.3) In effect, with the emergence of Chomsky's theory of TGG, some other contrastivists moved their research onto the application of the deep-structure principle as a more reliable, though still insufficient, TC for CA (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 4) It seems, therefore, deep-structure identity did not in fact meet the ultimate exigencies of CA even though semantic structures, within the framework of GS, were probed by Fillmore, Lakoff and others from a more profound perspective to include more facts of meaning in deep structure (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 1) Here, both the treatment of deep-structure identity in GS and its inadequacy for CA will be considered

Generally speaking, the term TE is looked upon as being responsible for 'sameness of meaning' From this point of view, the task of CA rests on contrasting pairs of L1-L2 utterances which are said to convey identical meanings though they may differ in structural properties It has been argued, however, that one of the serious problems which arise for contrastivists is to decide whether a given pair of L1-L2 utterances do in fact convey the same meaning. Therefore, contrastivists as well as translation theorists were impelled to look for an appropriate definition of the term TE (*cf.* James, 1980: 175) By reference to Chomsky, James mentions one of the first attempts to provide a possible account of TE, that is, deep structure which was assumed to incorporate "all information relevant to the single interpretation of a particular sentence" (Chomsky, 1965 16) Chomsky's grammatical models were extended by, for instance, Fillmore (1968) whose proposal of *case grammar* was to accommodate additional dimensions of meaning within deep structure Hence, according to Fillmore, there are consistent semantic relationships latent in deep-structure identity which cannot be traced by TGG (*cf* Slobin, 1979. 25) To begin with, a consideration of Fillmore's familiar examples may clarify the point (*cf* Crystal, 1971 237)

> (25) a *He opened the door with the key.*
>   b *He used the key to open the door*

By introducing 'idea-like' terms or semantic roles in place of purely syntactic terms as in TGG, Fillmore underlined the fact that examples such as (25 a-b) share one deep structure due to the common underlying meaning they have He used terms like 'agent', 'instrument' and 'patient' referring to them as cases in order to assign these

semantic roles   Cases are, in such a   perspective,   notions responsible

for   maintaining   the   underlying   meaning of,   for   example,   (25 a-b)

whatever transformational rules can be applied   Fillmore wrote

> The case notions comprise a   set   of   universal,   presumably innate,
> concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are
> capable of making about   the   events   that are going on around them,
> judgements about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, and
> what got changed
>
> (Fillmore, 1968 24, quoted by Slobin, 1979 26)

Therefore,   Fillmore's   proposition   was that if such   case   notions

are   available   for   (25   a-b),   as   they   clearly   are,   then   no

transformational   rule   can affect the common underlying   meaning,   since

He' always performs the case   role   of   the   'agent',   *'key'* is always the

'instrument',   and *'door'* is always the 'patient'   In support of Fillmore,

Lakoff (1968) argued that examples   such   as (25 a-b) share the same deep

structure   because   they undergo the same *selectional   and   co-occurrence*

restrictions   In other   words,   within a   given language,   any pair of

utterances   having a common underlying meaning seem to be,   according   to

the proponents of GS, nothing more than a pair of *paraphrases* (*cf* James,

1980 176)

In   CA-research,   deep-structure identity, within   the   theoretical

schemes of both TGG and GS,   was   applied as a result of the unconvincing

solutions   provided by the application of surface structure   In relation

to TGG, contrastivists looked upon pairs of L2-utterances as *intralingual*

paraphrases if   these   are said to imply the   same   ideational   content

Therefore,   any pair of   L1-L2   utterances,   sharing   the same ideational

content   would   be   regarded as *interlingual paraphrases*   (*cf.* chapter 1,

section 1 3 4)   It follows that, with respect to GS, some contrastivists

appear to have drawn similar analogies by reference to the semantic roles

as discussed above   For instance,   Krzeszowski   suggested that pairs of

L2-utterances such as (25 a-b)   are   special   cases   of   *intralingual*

translation   Thus, the equivalent   pair of L1-utterances (Polish in this

case)   would   be, according to him, the *interlingual* TEs of (25 a-b)   as

both pairs of utterances imply a common deep structure "   even if on the

surface they are markedly different" (Krzeszowski,   1971   38) Following

Lakoff's   argument,   Krzeszowski   claimed   that   the   underlying meaning

shared by these two pairs would not be affected by any   transformational

rule, since they are subject to   the   same   *selectional and co-occurrence*

restrictions referred to above To test this hypothesis, the Arabic
Ll-counterparts of (25 a-b) will be analysed through the same
restrictions applied by Krzeszowski to the Polish Ll-counterparts·

(26) a [fataha al-ba ba bı il-mifta hi]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lıt* opened (he) the door with the key)

     b [ista?mala al-mifta ha lıyaftaha al-ba ba] (*MSA*)
        (*Lit* used (he) the key to open the door)

Accordingly, the English L2-pair (25 a-b) and the Arabic Ll-pair
(26 a-b) would be thought of as derıvıng from a common deep structure as
they undergo the following selectıonal and co-occurrence restrictions

(1) In Arabic and English the verbs [fataha]/[lıyaftaha] in (26a-b) and
    '*opened/to open*' in (25 a-b) must be [+ Active]
(2) The NPs [al-ba ba] and '*the door*' must not be co-referential with the
    NPs [il-mıfta.hı]/[al-mifta ha] and '*the key*'
(3) The questions derived from each pair are equally ambıguous, that is,
    the scope of ınterrogatıon can govern either the instrumental NP or
    the whole predicate For example

(27) a hal (*fataha al-ba ba [bı il-mifta hı]*)?   (*MSA*)

     b. Dıd he (*open the door [wıth the key]*)?   (*L2-U*)

(4) The negatıve versıons of each paır are equally ambıguous, that ıs,
    the scope of negatıon can govern eıther the ınstrumental NP or the
    whole predıcate For example

(28) a ma (*fataha al-ba ba [bı ıl-mıfta hı]*)   (*MSA*)
     or lam (*yaftah ıl-ba ba [bı ıl-mıfta hı]*)   (*MSA*)
     b He dıd not (*open the door [wıth the key]*) (*L2-U*)

Up to this stage, lıke the Polısh/English paırs analysed by
Krzeszowski, the Arabıc/English paırs (26 a-b) and (25 a-b) clearly
ındıcate that they undergo the same selectıonal and co-occurrence
restrictions However, Krzeszowskı's analogıes drawn on the basis of
Lakoff's convıction were vulnerable to crıticısm ın that although the
Polısh/English pairs are sımılarly subject to the above rule restrıctions
(whıch assıgn the degree of convergence between Ll and L2), there ıs
other ınformatıon that can be detected ın the deep structure of the

L1-pairs but is not traceable in that of the L2-pairs or vice versa

This seems to be a result of Chomsky's (1969) argument against Lakoff's assumption that both (25 a-b) derive from a common deep structure   In brief, Chomsky pointed out that the optional use of the preposition 'with' in examples such as (25b) entails another alternative *He used the key to open the door (with)*   The existence of 'with' denotes that both the verb 'use' and the instrumental NP '*the key*' can co-occur in surface structure   Thus, the insertion of adverbs such as '*over and over again*' before the instrumental NP in (25a) and after the instrumental NP in (25b) will mark a considerable difference in meaning between (29a) and (29b) respectively

(29)   a   He opened the door *over and over again* with the key
       b   He used the key *over and over again* to open the door

Consequently, examples such as (25 a-b) cannot be viewed as deriving from a common deep structure (*cf* James, 1980 177)

Moreover, in an argument against Krzeszowski's analogies, James restates Bouton (1976) by pointing to the fact that verbal aspect is an integral part of deep structure identity   Slavonic languages such as Polish (and this also applies to Arabic)   mark verbal aspect, that is, the perfective aspect is implied in deep structure, whereas in Germanic languages such as English the difference between perfective and imperfective is marked morphologically in surface structure (James, 1980 176)   It follows that, with regard to the Arabic L1-utterances cited above, Krzeszowski's assumptions are not applicable for two underlying reasons   First, like the Polish L1-utterances, the Arabic L1-utterances imply perfective aspect forms in that the action of [fat'ḥ] '*opening*' is complete, whereas the English L2-utterances lack this information   Second, which seems by far the more important, in the application of [al-maj̲hu l] and *passive* transformations to the Arabic L1-utterance (26a) and the English L2-utterance (25a) respectively

(30)   a   [futiḥa al-ba bu bi il-mifta ḥi ----]   (*MSA*)
           (*Lit   was opened (it) the door with the key----*)
       b   *The door was opened with the key (by him)*   (*L2-U*)

the agent in MSA is obligatorily deleted, while in English it is optionally inserted   This indicates that the presence of the L2-prepositional phrase '*by him*' in (30b) entails the speaker/hearer's knowledge of the agent even if *passive* transformation is applied in

English   The term [al-majhu·l] in MSA, on the other hand, literally means *the unknown* in the sense that, upon applying [al-majhu l] transformation as in (30a), the agent is unknown to both the speaker and the hearer (*cf* Bulos, 1965 30)   However, some Arabic translations erroneously use the Ll-prepositional phrases [bi wa siṭatihi] or [min qibalihi] as literally translated from 'by *him*' This seems to reflect the phenomenon of *backlash* interference in Jakobovits' terminology (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 1 2)   In such a case, the [al-majhu l] form of the Ll-verb [futiḥa] in (30a) implies the *unknownness* of the agent, whereas the use of either Ll-prepositional phrase as is the case of '*by him*' in (30b) entails the *knownness* of the agent which is absurd

Clearly, therefore, in relation to Chomsky's definition of deep structure, the above two reasons illustrate that *all* the information relevant to the interpretation of the Arabic Ll-pair (26 a-b) are not incorporated into the interpretation of the English L2-pairs (25 a-b) Consequently, these two pairs do not have the same underlying meaning and thus they cannot be taken as deriving from a common deep structure

It seems, however, although deep-structure identity accounts for information relevant to the interpretation of a given pair or pairs of utterances in the sense discussed above, its representation is still considered insufficient to be the constant TE, since the *ideational content* is the semantic issue at hand Hence, James explains the insufficiency of deep structure by reference to Halliday (1970, 1976) and Widdowson (1974, 1978)

According to Halliday, deep structure is concerned with the *propositional* or ideational meaning which underlies isolated utterances There are at least two further types of meaning that may be incorporated into utterances *interpersonal* and *textual* meanings While the interpersonal meaning assigns the kind of speech act it performs for its user such as *apologizing, agreeing, refusing* and so on (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 2), the textual meaning determines the type of information it contributes to the message, that is, how the message maintains *cohesion* and *coherence* (*cf* James, 1980 178)

Cohesion, in Halliday's sense, refers to those surface-structure categories which are labelled as grammatical units in an utterance or text Such units link different parts of utterances or larger units of discourse *Cohesion* features, therefore, maintain formal appropriacy to linguistic context (or context)   For example, the cross-referencing functions of pronouns, articles, and some adverbs as in

(31) a *The* man went to town
      b *However, he* did not stay long

Coherence, on the other hand, has to do with factors postulated to account for the underlying **functional appropriacy** of the text or discourse *Coherence*, therefore, maintains the way in which communication is mediated through the use of **speech acts** (*cf* Crystal, 1985 53f) For instance, as responses to the question (32a) below, the utterances (32b) and (32c) are said to be *incohesive* and *incoherent* respectively (*cf.* James 1980 103)

(32) a Who switched off the lights?
      b *What Mary did was switch off the lights*
      c *There are fairies at the bottom of our garden*

Consequently, in order to arrive at a far more reasonable **L1-TE** of a given **L2**-utterance, both the **L1-L2** utterances should sustain at least the same three types of meaning the *ideational*, the *interpersonal* and the *textual*, one of which deep structure is responsible for Nevertheless, deep structure, though insufficient on its own, still serves as a useful criterion for determining the magnitude of convergence and divergence between **L1-L2** utterances (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 4)

The other attempt made by Widdowson (1974) was to identify two levels of translation the *semantic* level and the *pragmatic* level It appears that the semantic level refers to both the ideational meaning (deep structure) and one part of the textual meaning, that is, cohesion, whereas the pragmatic level seems to comprise both the interpersonal meaning and the other part of the textual meaning, that is, coherence Thus, in order to achieve an objective **TE**, contrastivists, in this sense, should equate **L1-L2** utterances which are both semantically and pragmatically equivalent Further, by making a distinction between *usage* and *use*, Widdowson (1978) seems to have parallelled Halliday's distinction between cohesion and coherence Similarly, while *usage* refers to the formal use or grammaticality of utterances (*cf* cohesion), *use* has to do with the communicative use of utterances and their appropriateness to the context (*cf* coherence) In such a re-oriented perspective, that is incorporating the three possible types of meaning, **TE** can be taken as the best available **TC** for **CA** (*cf.* James, 1980 178) For instance, through this constant, the answer-particle [bala] in **MSA** or [mbala·] in **SCA**, rather than [naʔam] or anyone of its counterparts listed in **Table 4**, ought to be equated with '*yes*' in answering negative interrogatives for

expressing agreement (*cf* section 2 3 2, examples (12f))

Since emphasis has been laid on the legitimate coalition of **CA** and **EA** in the preceding section, it is felt that, by relying on the constant **TE** within its re-oriented position, this coalition serves as a reasonable methodology for the analysis of interlingual errors By recognizing intralingual errors such a methodology is also utilizable for the investigation of any other category that might reflect the interaction between the two The following section will be taken up by a mere identification of the main categories of errors

2.4 The Categorization of Errors

In section 2 2 4 of this chapter, error types have been chronologically schematized according to their identification by several researchers These can be classified under two major categories errors that are traceable back to L1-influence commonly referred to as *interlingual errors*, and errors which have no connection with L1-influence generally known as *intralingual errors* In this final section, these two categories will be briefly re-considered in order to identify a third major category termed *inter-intralingual errors* in the current study

2.4.1 *Interlingual Errors*

Interlingual errors, the main concern here, are by definition those deviant structures produced in the L2, which are attestedly established to be a reflection of L1-influence, these are usually called *interference errors* or *transfer errors* as mentioned elsewhere Errors of this category, therefore, result in one sort of linguistic solutions, which involves hypotheses about " the application of categories, distinctions, rules, or properties of rules by generalization from another familiar language, typically L1" (Hammarberg, 1979 7) It has been argued that, in the early stages of L2-learning, a good deal of interlingual errors appear because the L1, in these stages, is the only already existing knowledge that the learner can draw upon as long as he is not familiar with the L2 This assumption was adopted by researchers

such as Taylor (1975) who pointed out that the predominance of *interlingual transfer* decreases gradually as the learner progresses in the L2 The learner's experience at later stages, Taylor argued, begins to include new items or rules of the L2 and thus *intralingual transfer* would be apparent (*cf* Brown, 1980 173) Other researchers such as Bates *et al* (1982) and Anderson (1983) have shown the reverse the learner tends to apply his L1-strategies even when he is quite familiar with the L2, and in order to recognize interlingual errors, he must generally know a lot about the L2 Thus, according to this view, the possibilities of *interlingual transfer* increase as the learner's knowledge of the L2 increases (*cf* also Klein, 1986 27)

It is believed that language transfer operates at any stage of development but the quantity and quality of transfer vary from one stage to another Hence, it is quite reasonable to assume that the possibilities of *negative transfer* in the early stages are greater than they are at later stages or, put the other way round, the possibilities of *positive transfer* are greater at advanced stages This seems to be well applicable to a learner of a totally unrelated L2 (for example, an Arab learning English) At advanced stages, such a learner possesses the relatively extensive knowledge of the L2 which enables him to make the necessary crosslingual tie-ups between L1 and L2, so that it is the type of L2-knowledge which may determine the occurrence of positive and/or negative transfer (for detailed information, *cf* chapter 4) As there is always a considerable discrepancy between exact percentages of interlingual errors, there is always agreement about the fact of L1-influence on L2-learning/acquisition Such a discrepancy is subject to the three important variables the age of the learner, the degree of contrast between L1 and L2, and the type of data collected (*cf* section 2 2 3, Table 3) Therefore, language transfer is an inevitable internal mechanism as will be discussed in the next chapter, but whether this mechanism facilitates the learning of a L2 seems to be the more important question in current research into L2-learning/acquisition

2.4.2 Intralingual Errors

Conversely, the term *intralingual errors* refers to those deviant L2-structures which are attestedly established by-products to be a reflection of *not* L1-influence, but other factors based on partial

exposure to the L2   Errors of this category, therefore, result in another sort of linguistic solutions, which implies testing hypotheses about rule conditions and rule application by generalization from observation in the L2 (cf   Richards and Sampson, 1974 6, Hammarberg, 1979 7)

Intralingual errors, if they do not in fact reflect L1-influence, are sometimes called *non-contrastive* errors or *universal* errors because they are commonly produced by speakers of a multitude of unrelated L1s (cf   Richards, section 2 3 2)   In such a case, the L2-learner, like the L1-acquirer, attempts to derive the rules behind the *input* he receives and to develop hypotheses on the basis of the *intake* he has internalized (cf Corder, sections 2 2 1 and 2 2 2)   Several researchers such as Cook (1969), Stern (1969), Menyuk (1969) and Richards (1971a) seem to have adopted Corder's views on *systematic errors* in the sense that intralingual errors bring to light some of the general characteristics of learner language and of the strategy or strategies whereby the L2 is learned and taught (cf Richards, 1971a reprint 173)

It is worth noting, here, that the various types of intralingual errors were also identified in terms of the general principle of transfer theory, that is, the learning of task A will affect the subsequent learning of task B (cf   chapter 1, section 1 2 1)   This can be seen in transfer-based terms like *overgeneralization, intralingual interference*, and *intralingual transfer* which were used by different researchers to refer to the same sort of linguistic solutions   Hence, Jakobovits expounded this phenomenon as "the use of previously available strategies in new situations [   ]   In L2-learning [   ] some of these strategies will prove helpful in organizing the facts about the L2,   but others, perhaps due to superficial similarities,   will be misleading and inapplicable" (Jakobovits,   1969   55, quoted by Richards,   1971a, reprint   174)   Clearly, therefore,   the same general principle of transfer theory was applied to the two sorts of linguistic solutions interlingual and intralingual   While in the former task A is regarded as the L1 and task B as the L2, in the latter task A is looked upon as the learner's *intake* and task B as the subsequent *input* he receives from the L2   Thus, intralingual errors, like systematic errors, are evidence of some of the general laws governing L2-learning such as faulty generalization from newly absorbed L2-rules, incomplete application of L2-rules, and failure to learn conditions under which other L2-rules apply   They are also evidence of the learner's attempt to build up

hypotheses about the L2 from his limited experience in formal settings such as classroom or coursebook (cf. Richards, 1971a, reprint 174)

However, as there is always a divergence of opinion about the exact percentages of interlingual errors (cf section 2 2 3, **Table** 3), there is a subsequent divergence of opinion about the exact percentages of intralingual errors Likewise, to determine what errors are intralingual and what others are not seems to be one of the most controversial issues It may be the case that if there is an extremely radical difference between the structure of a given *erroneous* utterance produced in the L2 and the structure or structures of all its possible L1-TEs (particularly in the case of L1-Arabic with its varieties and sub-varieties), then the erroneous L2-utterance in question would most likely be identified as an intralingual error The following are some of the deviant structures which have been found in the data collected from a number of Syrian learners Accordingly, these structures can be viewed as examples of intralingual errors, since, by recourse to their L1-TEs, they could not be traced back to L1-influence

(33)   * There are many *mices* in the house   (*AE*)

(34)   * He *want* to study in England   (*AE*)

(35)   * *Do* you afraid of the window?   (*AE*)

(36)   * Where *are* you *come* from?   (*AE*)

(37)   * Sorry, I *give* you trouble last time   (*AE*)

(38)   NSE   When did Roger call?
       NSA   * Just five minutes after you *go*   (*AE*)
              * Maybe he *call* at nine   (*AE*)

It should be noted, here, that although *mere* intralingual errors are not the concern of the present study, their identification seems, however, to be necessary for the distinction between them and interlingual errors Their identification is also necessary to provide possible analyses of those actually produced erroneous utterances that are said to be a reflection of an overlap between the two sorts of linguistic solutions, for which reason they are called *inter-intralingual* errors in this study

2.4.3 *Inter-Intralingual Errors*

The term *inter-intralingual* errors, as it can be generally defined, refers to those two-dimensional deviant structures produced in the L2, which are attestedly established to be a reflection of both L1-influence and other factors based on partial exposure to the L2. Errors of this category, therefore, result in an interaction between the two sorts of linguistic solutions: interlingual and intralingual. Such an interaction involves testing two-dimensional hypotheses about rule conditions and rule application by generalization from intervening observation in the L1 and L2. It appears the case that, apart from the psychological and pedagogical variables, three linguistic sources may interact and constitute the learner's interim linguistic knowledge which underlies the emanation of inter-intralingual errors. These sources are: (i) the learner's already existing knowledge of the L1; (ii) the learner's transitional competence or his *intake*; and (iii) the 'new' linguistic material of the L2 which the learner still receives as an *input*. Therefore, in relation to the general concept of systematic errors, one part of the deviation of an inter-intralingual error can either overtly or covertly be detected by recourse to the learner's L1, and another part of the deviation is attributable to one of the strategies adopted by the learner during L2-learning since its origin or origins can either overtly or covertly be explained by reference to the standard norm of the L2. Hence, inter-intralingual errors are a reflection of either an overt combination of interlingual and intralingual errors or a covert interaction between the two.

As noted above, there was an urgent need for a reconciliation between CA and EA since they both serve as a far more reliable approach to the extrapolation of the 'invisible' areas of language transfer (*cf.* section 2.3.1). Again, the study and analysis of inter-intralingual errors seem to be another objective reason for such a reconciliation. It has been argued that even in current thinking about language transfer there are no serious attempts to investigate this category of errors. For instance, Ringbom states: "If error causes were dealt with, they were all too frequently divided into 'intralingual' and 'interlingual' categories, *with no possibility given of interaction between the two*" (Ringbom, 1987: 70; emphasis added). In the discussion of the data in Part Two, an attempt will be made to analyse a number of overt and covert inter-intralingual errors. These will be referred to where appropriate.

Such an attempt appears to be a serious contribution to Arabic-English transfer studies specifically, and to provide an interesting area for further research

Having identified the three major categories of errors, two of them will be the concern of this study The first category refers to *interlingual* errors, and this category also includes those errors which are examples of what has been called **L1-error transfer** (*cf* section 2 3 2) The second category refers to *inter-intralingual* errors In corroboration of the hypotheses enunciated at the end of this part (cf chapter 4, section 4 3), interlingual identifications will be scrutinized in terms of the three linguistic subcomponents First, the phonological subcomponent to show to what extent **SCA**-influence rather than MSA-influence interferes with the learner's attempt to utilize the phonological system of English Second, the syntactic subcomponent to explain to what extent L1-influence (**MSA/SCA**) intrudes into the learner's attempt to process the syntactic rules of English Third, the semantic subcomponent to demonstrate to what extent **L1**-influence (**MSA/SCA**) aids the   learner's   attempt   to   test   hypotheses   about   the   semantic representations of English

In conclusion, the theory of **EA** appeared at first mainly as a reaction against traditional CA when linguistic theory was still in a state of flux This was, of course, inevitable as the empirical and practical research, under the guises of **EA**, proved many of the logical shortcomings of **CA** Eventually, the structural-behavioural model together with all the pedagogical tactics based on its theoretical constructs were demolished and thus the 'crisis' of the **CA**-Hypothesis had been brought to a climax, particularly during the late 1960s and the early 1970s However, although the researchers' commitment to the generative-cognitive model was the main cause of the strictures launched against **CA** and subsequently against language transfer, no one made an articulate denial of the unavoidable fact of L1-influence on L2-learning/acquisition Hence, in order to provide a full account of this fact, neither the conventional nor the resurgent schemes of **EA** could serve as the ultimate remedy As it is quite true that many of the production errors could not be predicted by CA, it is equally true that most of the learning difficulties, especially those which lie at the heart of comprehension, could not be explained by **EA**   This indicates

that each approach had its weaknesses but at the same time had its merits Therefore, a combination of the two, though contradictory, for a better account of language transfer was recommended   After all, within the generative-cognitive framework, the invaluable insights put forward into the study of the learner's errors (for example, Corder and subsequently Selinker, Nemser among others) forced the research not only to revolutionize the whole concept of EA,   but also to provide more sophisticated speculations on the entity of learner language, an exciting phenomenon in L2-acquisition collectively referred to as *interlanguage.* The next chapter will explain this phenomenon in detail and approach the new position of language transfer in the literature

3

TRANSFER AND
INTERLANGUAGE RESEARCH

The term *interlanguage* was first introduced by Selinker (1969) and subsequently it appeared as the title of his seminal paper "Interlanguage" in 1972 At about the same time, other researchers coined several alternative terms to refer to somewhat the same phenomenon As a continuation of his speculations on the learner's errors, Corder (1971a) postulated the concept of *idiosyncratic dialect*, and, within a similar perspective, Nemser (1971b) proposed the notion of *approximative system* Further, in their attempt to identify the goofs made by children during L2-learning, Dulay and Burt (1974b) enunciated a theory known as *creative construction* which, in many ways, resembles the theory of interlanguage Within the generative-cognitive framework, the learner was seen as a creative organism processing language via a set of cognitive structures rather than acquiring a set of habits Hence, the above researchers looked upon learner language as "a legitimate system of language in its own right" (Brown, 1980· 162) This positive attitude held the learner in great esteem in that, by means of hypothesis formation and hypothesis testing, he laboriously internalizes his system and gradually moves towards closer and more successive approximations to native mastery of the L2

In this chapter, learner language, by reference to the four designations (*idiosyncratic dialect, approximative system, interlanguage system, and creative construction*) will be scrutinized within a diachronic framework as they all emphasize the dynamic nature of this system While all designations converge at the common assumption that the learner is establishing his own self-contained system, they seem to represent two different but interrelated trends of endeavour Along the

first trend, the two designations (*idiosyncratic dialect* and
approximative system) lean towards the treatment of learner language from
the viewpoint of the L2. Whereas, within the second trend, the other two
designations (*interlanguage system* and *creative construction*) connote
neutrality of emphasis on probing learner language from the viewpoint of
the learner himself For this reason, the discussion will present a
schematized overview of all four designations from these two angles in
order to elucidate the 'new' insights about language transfer in this
interesting line of research

The opening section of this chapter (section 3 1) will be taken up
with a detailed examination of learner language within the first trend
It will draw on Corder's notion of *idiosyncratic dialect* and Nemser's
concept of *approximative system*, and will seek the similarities as well
as the differences in perspective between the two designations In
reference to Corder's distinction between *idiosyncratic dialect* and
idiolect, an example of the latter will be cited from a Syrian context
Further, within Nemser's notion of *immigrant speech* (a class of speech
system representing one of the stable varieties of *approximative system*),
an exemplified utterance produced by a Syrian 'immigrant' in his L1 will
illustrate a retroactively intruded L2-item which can be viewed as an
instance of linguistic stability due to environmentally imposed
intrusion   Next, the approach adopted by both researchers to the
investigation of language transfer effects will be highlighted and
exemplified by an attempted analysis of some utterances actually made by
the Syrian learners in their own L2-system

Following the line of the second trend, the other section (section
3 2) will be a scrutiny of learner language from a much deeper
perspective   At one end, by recourse to Selinker's hypothesis of
interlanguage system, the five central internal processes, of which the
mechanism of language transfer is one, will be carefully discussed in
a modified configuration These central processes, together with some
other minor processes, are said to formulate the linguistic knowledge
which underlies the learner's interlanguage continuum At another, with
reference to Dulay and Burt's theory of *creative construction*, the five
general factors, of which the learner's L1-experience is one, will be
described as these factors are assumed to specify particular
discrepencies between the input and the output The discussion will,
then, show that even researchers such as Dulay and Burt (who considerably
played down the role of the L1 in L2-learning as a result of their severe

criticism of the CA-Hypothesis) made no articulate denial of language transfer as an internal mechanism Hence, the section will finish with a profound and exemplified scrutiny of the potential for such a mechanism with reference to both Selinker's speculations and the counter-criticisms levelled against Dulay and Burt's approach

The final section of this chapter (section 3 3) will touch on the rehabilitation of language transfer as an important issue, among others, in interlanguage studies Mention will be made of some recent researchers who assert that, far from its association with behaviourism, the issue is worth examining from a cognitive perspective to arrive at a better account of learning difficulty. The term *interlanguage* (IL) will sometimes be used as a neutral term to refer to all four designations

3.1 IL in an L2-Centred Perspective

In very much the same approach, Corder and Nemser defined learner language in terms of several aspects such as systematicity/patternedness, instability/transiency, structural uniqueness/structural independence, and so on However, the main distinction between the two is that Corder eschewed considering the utterances produced by the learner erroneous, but rather he stressed their grammaticalness, whereas Nemser regarded them as deviant though they are systematic in *suis generis* terms In a tendency to relinquish the prior predictions claimed by traditional CA, both researchers seem to have parallelled their approaches with CA *a posteriori* for the analysis of interlingual identifications By reference to these issues, three topics are put forward in this section Corder's notion of *idiosyncratic dialect* (ISD), Nemser's concept of *Approximative System* (APS), and transfer effects on both designations

3.1.1 *Idiosyncratic Dialect (ISD)*

In an argument about the control of *input*, Corder suggests that it is the learner who is responsible for this control, since the actual *input* is 'what goes in' (that is, what is internalized as *intake*) not

'what is available for going in' In such a strategy both the L2-learner and the L1-acquirer coincide with each other Several scholars such as Carroll (1955), Mager (1961) and Ferguson (1966) made similar assumptions about the control of *input* in that to determine the 'learner-generated sequence', his *intake*, would be entirely plausible to determine, what Corder calls, the learner's 'built-in syllabus' (Corder, 1967, reprint: 9) In other words, the learner's internal strategies, which affect the structural properties of the utterances he produces, are directly pertinent to his built-in syllabus (*cf*. Selinker, 1972, reprint 39). Thus, as noted earlier, the study of the learner's errors is part of the study of the definite system of language he is using at every stage of development This system represents the learner's underlying knowledge of the L2, that is, his *transitional competence* (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 2)

Corder, in a subsequent paper, assumes that the learner's *transitional competence* can be regarded as 'a special sort of dialect' of the L2 in the linguistic sense as both dialects, that is the learner's system and the standard norm of the L2, share some of the grammatical rules of the L2 Clearly, therefore, the author's conviction is to probe learner language from the standpoint of the L2 His proposal is based on two considerations

> firstly, any spontaneous speech intended by the speaker to communicate is meaningful, in the sense that it is systematic, regular, and consequently is, in principle, describable in terms of a set of rules, 1 e , it has a grammar [   ] Secondly, since a number of sentences of [the learner's] language are isomorphous with some of the sentences of his L2 and have the same interpretation, then *some, at least, of the rules needed to account for the learner's language will be the same as those required to account for the L2*
> (Corder, 1971a, reprint 14, emphasis added)

In this respect, Corder makes a distinction between social dialect which is a social term and refers to a language used by a social group, and non-social dialect which is a linguistic term and does not refer to a language used by a social group Therefore, it is the non-social dialect in terms of which Corder defines learner language as a special sort of dialect coined *idiosyncratic dialect* (ISD) Hence, the author makes another distinction between ISD and *idiolect* While both terms identify forms of personal dialect, *idiolect* is characterizable by the fact that *all* the rules needed to account for it exist somewhere in the set of

rules of one or another social dialect Thus, unlike **ISD**, *idiolect* is said to be a mixture of social dialects in that it may possess rules drawn from two or more overlapping social dialects, but it does not employ rules which do not exist in anyone of these social dialects (Corder, 1971a; reprint 15)

A vivid example of *idiolect* in Corder's sense can be found in an Arabic-speech community such as Syria Although this exemplification may sidetrack the discussion a little, the relevant information that follow would, at least, serve as a preliminary consideration of one of the three hypotheses proposed in the current study (*cf* chapter 5, section 5.3.1, *Hypothesis One*) The example concerns a native of Syria, typically a university student from the city of Dayr azZawr, commencing his studies at, for instance, the University of Aleppo Here, there appear two distinct social dialects. ECD, the student's home dialect and **NCD**, the dialect of the new environment in which he studies (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 1, the **Map of Syria**) These two regional dialects descend from the earlier language through a form of conversational Arabic known as the *koine* This form, as Ferguson puts it, "was not identical with any of the earlier dialects and [ ] differed in many significant respects from Classical Arabic but was used side by side with the Classical language during early centuries of the Muslim era" (Ferguson, 1959a, reprint· 49) It follows that most modern dialects of Colloquial Arabic, and ECD and NCD are instances, are said to be continuations of the *koine* Thus, in order to be communicatively intelligible in the new environment, the student in question tends to fluctuate between ECD, the home dialect, and MSA, the standard dialect of Arabic Such a fluctuation is well observable in the early stages as the student is not yet extemporaneously able to use the rules which are identified with NCD, the host dialect As a result, a form of personal interdialect known as, what Blanc calls, the *middle language* emerges and represents two tendencies The first tendency is classicization whereby the student's interdialect, or by analogy his *idiolect*, is modified in the direction of MSA particularly in the early stages of living in the new environment (*cf* Blanc, 1960· 83) This modification correlates with the student's competence in **MSA** the more competent he is the more modified his *idiolect* will be, and in such a case a form of 'elevated' Colloquial Arabic is recognizable (*cf* Blanc, 1960 152) The second tendency is koineization whereby the student's

idiolect is homogenized at later stages and becomes more stable by the elimination, retention and modification of certain rules or items which are said to be characteristic of the home dialect **ECD** and/or the host dialect **NCD** (*cf.* Blanc, 1960. 84f). This indicates that the student's idiolect would be a mixture of, at least, these two social dialects For example

> (1) a   [ha y šku n qultu lak ma   *biddi* ah'*ki*]   (*Idio   U*)
>   b   [ha y šku n qultu lak ma   *ari d* ah'*tši*]   (*ECD*)
>   c   [iššu ha d ʔiltillak ma   *biddi* ih'*ki*]   (*NCD*)
>   'What's that, I said (to you) I don't want to talk'

As the above examples illustrate, the idiolect utterance (1a) is characterized by three aspects (i) the *elimination* of an item of the home dialect such as [ari d] in (1b) and its substitution by the counterpart of the host dialect [biddi] in (1c), (ii) the *retention* of an item of the home dialect as in [ha·y škun], and (iii) the *modification* of an item of the home dialect [ah'tši] as [ah'ki] in the direction of the counterpart of the host dialect [ih'ki] So, it can be seen that the rules required to account for an idiolect utterance such as (1a) are employed somewhere in the counterparts of two or more social dialects of the L1

On the other hand, the notion of ISD, the main concern here, applies to quite different circumstances It refers to such an exemplified student when he learns a L2 If this is the case, he will then possess an ISD whose linguistic value, according to Corder, is testable in the direction of the L2 itself, that is, although some of the rules needed to account for ISD coincide with those required to account for the L2, other rules needed to account for ISD exist neither in the standard dialect of the L2 nor in any of its social dialects Thus, ISD is peculiar to the learner alone in that some of the utterances he produces cannot be readily interpreted, whereas *all idiolect*-utterances are interpretable since there exist members of the same speech community who internalize the knowledge of the conventions underlying these utterances (Corder, 1971a, reprint 16) Further, unlike *idiolect*, ISD is normally characterized by an unstable or transitional nature due to the learner's communicative intentions for intelligibility Corder argues, however, that learner language is not the only type of ISD to which EA is

applicable   Hence, the author mentions three other types of ISD existing within the same speech community, and thus they can be called *intralingual* ISDs

(i)   The language of poems which sometimes contain linguistic sequences deviant from the standard dialect   As the poet is presumably in possession of the underlying knowledge of the standard dialect, these linguistic sequences are said to be *deliberately deviant*

(ii) The speech of an aphasic who is assumed to be, before his disease, a native speaker of a given social dialect   Thus, the linguistic sequences he produces after his disease, can be looked upon as *pathologically deviant*

(iii)   Child language which is said to create typical problems of interpretation perhaps more acutely than the other two types   In a footnote to the same paper printed in (Richards, 1974   171), Corder points to the surprisingly observable fact that "   three-year-olds can understand each other better than adults understand them or than they can understand adult speech"   Child language is, therefore, intractable for the adult, and, like the learner's ISD, it is *obviously unstable* (Corder, 1971a; reprint 17)

With respect to the third type of *intralingual* ISD, Corder notes, however, that it would be undesirable to refer to the utterances produced by the child as *deviant* or *erroneous*, since this organism has not been yet a normal speaker of a given social dialect   By analogy, the author argues that it would be misleading to consider the idiosyncratic utterances of the learner *deviant* or *erroneous* because the L2-rules, from which such utterances deviate, are not yet known to him   This indicates that the only utterances that can be viewed as deviant are those which proceed from non-systematic errors or *mistakes* of performance (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 2)   It seems the case that the learner's ISD, being a definite system, involves *systematic errors* of which he is unconscious and thus he cannot rectify them because they follow the only rules internalized in his transitional competence   In this sense, the learner's idiosyncratic utterances are 'grammatical' in *suis generis* terms, since superficially ill-formed utterances cannot be accounted for by the L2-rules (Corder, 1971a, reprint 19)

Following his argument about the significance of errors put forward in the preceding chapter, Corder points out that both superficially well-formed utterances —as so judged from the viewpoint of the L2— and

idiosyncratic utterances are significant in that they are evidence of what the learner knows and what he does not know respectively   The significance of the former type lies in the fact that a superficially 'well-formed' utterance might be *covertly* idiosyncratic (*cf* covert *vs* overt errors, chapter 2, section 2 2 1)   Therefore, the task of **EA** is to study and analyse *overt* idiosyncracy and *covert* idiosyncracy, and, as both types convey valuable insights into the learner's ISD, every utterance he produces should in principle be scrutinized (Corder, 1971a, reprint 21)   Clearly, the analysis of the learner's ISD requires a longitudinal study of his development, which is assumed to be possible by relying heavily on EA-techniques, since there is still considerable paucity of sophisticated research into the development of the individual learner in naturalistic settings   For this reason, Corder puts forth three stages of investigation, which **EA** is primarily responsible for

(i)   **Recognizing idiosyncracy·** That is, an utterance is normally considered *idiosyncratic* until evidenced to be otherwise   Thus, by recourse to the context, it would be plausible to recognize both *overt* and *covert* idiosyncracy   For example

> (2) a   *After an hour it was stopped.*   (*ISU*)
>   b   *After an hour it stopped*   (*L2-U*)

This illustrates that the superficially well-formed utterance (2a) could only be recognized as idiosyncratic if the context was referring to, for instance, the '*wind*' upon producing '*it*' (Corder, 1971a, reprint 21)

(ii) **Accounting for ISD** A comparison between the learner's ISD and the L2 he is learning can be drawn by equating a given idiosyncratic utterance with the L2-equivalent which have the same meaning intended within the same context   Thus, if the context of the above example (2a) was indeed suggesting the '*wind*', then this utterance should be equated with the L2-equivalent (2b) for determining the magnitude of idiosyncracy

(iii) **Explanation** This stage constitutes the ultimate objective of **EA** and involves an exhaustive psycholinguistic analysis of the idiosyncratic utterance in question   The first two stages, which demand merely linguistic analyses, serve as an *ad hoc* device for accomplishing this stage, otherwise EA would be useless   Explanation is beneficial for two

interdependent justifications **theoretical** to elucidate what and how the human being learns **L2**; and **practical** to enable him to learn more efficiently by exploiting the insights gained from probing his **ISD** (Corder, 1971a, reprint 24).

It seems, therefore, a scrutiny of the learner's ISD is, according to Corder, attainable by **EA**-techniques in the first place However, bearing in mind the caution mentioned earlier that **EA** deals with language production at the expense of language comprehension, such a scrutiny entails the risk of conducting **CA** *a posteriori* when language transfer effects are to be detected (*cf*. Schachter, chapter 2, section 2.3.1). Hence, Corder views on language transfer, together with those of Nemser, will be discussed later (*cf* section 3 1 3 below) The following section will describe Nemser's concept of *approximative system*

3.1.2 Approximative System (APS)

In almost the same approach, Nemser introduced another line of research into the developmental nature of learner language He postulated the existence of an evolving series which the learner's entire system formulates at successive stages of L2-learning For such an evolving series Nemser advocated the term *approximative systems* (APSs) to stress the closer approximations to native mastery of the **L2**-system driven by the inner dynamism of learner language In 1961 Nemser's experimental findings were first submitted as a Ph D dissertation followed by a slightly revised version (Nemser, 1961a, 1961b) A full decade later, Nemser carried out another project as a continuation of his phonological research conducted on Hungarian learners of English (Nemser, 1971a) In this work, the author provided an extensive critical account of Briere's (1964, 1966, 1968) studies into phonological interference (*cf* Selinker, 1989 269) In a subsequent paper, Nemser allocated an epitome of his theoretical perspective where he defined APS as.

> [ ] the *deviant* linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the **L2** APSs vary in character in accordance with proficiency level, variation is also introduced by learning experience (including exposure to a L2-script system), communication function, personal learning characteristics, etc
>
> (Nemser, 1971b; reprint 55, emphasis added)

Clearly, therefore, in contrast with Corder who is unwilling to consider

the idiosyncratic utterances of the learner *deviant* or *erroneous*, Nemser emphasizes the deviancy of the learner's **APS**; even though both researchers converge in stressing the 'grammaticalness' or 'patternedness' of the learner's spontaneous speech in *suis generis* terms Hence, Nemser states that the assumption underlying the notion of **APS** is threefold

> (i) Learner speech at a given time is the *patterned product* of a linguistic system, an **APS**, distinct from the L1 and the L2 and internally *structured*
> (ii) **APS**s at successive stages of learning form an evolving series [that is] the earliest occurring when a learner first attempts to use the L2, the most advanced at the closest approach of **APS** to the L2 (merger, the achievement of perfect proficiency, is rare for adult learners)
> (iii) In a given contact situation, the **APS**s of learners at the same stage of proficiency roughly coincide, with major variations ascribable to differences in learning experience
> (Nemser, 1971b, reprint. 56, emphasis added)

Implicit in Nemser's statement is that the learner's **APS** is identified with three distinct issues Along the first issue, the learner's speech is characterized by a *systematic* nature, that is, the utterances he makes are 'structurally organized' and manifest the 'order and cohesiveness' of his entire system In such a view, both designations ISD and **APS**, being systematic, connote the structural independence of learner language While ISD implies the uniqueness of the rules employed by the learner, **APS** refers to the 'structural autonomy' of learner language'; that is, the definite system the learner possesses at any stage of development is structurally independent of his L1 and the L2 he is learning (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 57) This structural independence is also characteristic of Selinker's designation of *interlanguage* as will be discussed later (*cf* section 3 2 1 below)

With respect to the second issue, the learner's extemporaneous speech is inherently *transient*, and, through longitudinal investigation, it brings to light the 'evolving' nature of his **APS** towards native-like competence in the L2 Thus, both ISD and **APS** share this characteristic as the former, too, is similarly modified to show evidence of a *transitional* or *unstable* nature, and, by diligent efforts, the learner tends towards better mastery of the L2-rules Further, Nemser refers to the scope of the learner's attempted processing of the L2 and the significant role it plays in determining the level of L2-proficiency, that is, the earlier the learner's **APS** proceeds to utilize the L2, the

more approximations to native mastery of the L2 it will achieve This indicates that the adult learner, whose APS normally starts at later stages, hardly attains to perfect L2-proficiency A similar point was made by Selinker (*cf* section 3 2 1 below)

The third issue concerns the similarity of linguistic aspects which APSs tend to have inherent in them, that is, both the deviant and well-formed utterances produced by learners having the same L1 manifest common features at the same level of L2-proficiency Again, such an assumption was adopted by Corder as will be discussed in the next section Nemser's conclusions derive directly from his empirical research conducted on Hungarian learners of English. Hence, in a critical account of traditional CA, Nemser, in accordance with Corder, points out that ". learner speech should be studied not only by reference to the L1 and the L2, but in its own terms as well" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 56) Therefore, the similar features that APSs reflect are essentially due to the same laws governing learner language, a point that most L2-acquisition researchers seem to concur with. However, if APSs reveal considerable variations in L2-proficiency, as they clearly do, then these are ascribable to pedagogical factors such as differences in learning experience or to other psychological factors such as motivation, intelligence and the like

So, it can be seen that the learner's APS, like any of the designations put forward in this chapter, is a legitimate system in its own right Being a structurally independent system, it is systematic, regular and structurally organized in *suis generis* terms Because APS is transient or unstable, it has a dynamic nature which is eventually manifest in the evolving series formulated at successive stages of L2-learning However, such an evolutionary system, Nemser argues, is not void of stability of linguistic deviations In his words· ". while effective language teaching implies preventing, or postponnig as long as possible, the formation of *permanent intermediate systems or subsystems* (deviant phonological and grammatical structures) [would be anticipated]" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 57, emphasis added) Permanent or stable subsystems, in this sense, are pertinent to the phenomenon of fossilization expounded by Selinker within his hypothesis of *interlanguage* (*cf.* section 3.2 1 below) It is, therefore, these stable subsystems which, according to Nemser, constitute the major source of permanent errors, and the systematic nature of the learner's APS is " abundantly present in the patterning of errors in the perception

and production of a given L2 by learners sharing the same L1" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 57) Thus, like Corder who states that to recognize the idiosyncratic utterances the learner makes is largely to determine his ISD, Nemser argues that patterned errors are significant for the useful information they convey about the stable areas of the learner's APS (*cf* also Corder's argument of systematic errors, chapter 2, section 2 2 2) An apparent example of such stable areas can be taken as the 'foreign accent' which is typical of L2-learners as well as of some bilinguals whose L2-knowledge is normally characterized by a static nature as it pertains to linguistic stability in Nemser's sense Hence, as opposed to Corder's three types of *intralingual* ISD which exist in the same speech community referred to in the previous section, Nemser exemplifies three classes of *interlingual* speech systems in which stable varieties of APS can be found These are *immigrant speech, utility systems* and *learner pidgin*

(i) Immigrant speech
Along the first class, Nemser defines *immigrant speech* as ".. the speech of long-time users of the L2 who, often having attained considerable fluency in this language, have yet obviously reached a plateau in their learning" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 57) Thus, in the speech of European immigrants to the United States, the typical rendition of the English initial cluster /sw/ as /ʃv/ by Germans and the regular omission of the plural marker '-*s*' by Hungarians are among many other observable instances of *proactive* interference (L1----->L2) which are characteristic of immigrant speech This speech system, on the other hand, often reveals examples of *retroactive* interference (L1<-----L2) which can be identified with Haugen's notion of *linguistic borrowing* (*cf*. chapter 1, section 1 1 2) In such a case, English is the dominant language of the environment in which these immigrants settle, so that when they communicate in their L1s (German or Hungarian), their speech tends to reflect 'systematic intrusion' of certain English items and thus both the L1 and L2 interchangeably play a role These socio-linguistic factors interact with other psycholinguistic factors to constitute a natural status for the learner's APS to emerge from the L2 as a new and autonomous speech system To make the point more explicit, an example of this systematic intrusion can be cited from a similar situation where a group of Syrian postgraduate students (who are 'immigrants' in this case) live on a long-term basis in Ireland (*cf* chapter5, section5.1) Thus upon

communicating with each other in the L1-SCA, these students tend to produce certain L2-English items retroactively intruded into their L1-utterances For instance, they tend to produce the non-pure L1-utterance (3a) rather than the pure L1-utterance (3b)

(3) a [kam *šabtar* kalla_s_it la halla?]   (*AU*)
     b [kam *fas̱il* _k_alla_s_it la halla?]   (*SCD*)
     c How many *chapters* have you finished so far? (*L2-U*)

This illustrates the lexical intrusion of the L2-item '*chapters*' in (3c) upon the L1-utterance (3b), and its rendition within the linguistic boundaries of SCD as [šabtar] in the actual utterance (3a)   It appears that the linguistic representation of [šabtar] can be accounted for on two levels   First, phonological whereby the L2-phonemes /tʃ/ and /p/ in /tʃæptəz/ are substituted by the L1-phemes [š] and [b] respectively simply because neither of the former occurs in the phonological system of SCD, the home dialect of the producer of (3a)   In addition, the L2-vowels /æ/ and /ə/ are both modified in the direction of the short L1-vowel [a] and realized within the same articulation of two-syllable L1-words such as [šaftar] '*pouted (he)*', [abkar] '*earlier*, [a̱ḥmar] '*red*' and so on   Second, morphological where the plural marker '*-s*' is omitted due to the fact that in Arabic, unlike the case in English, countable nouns such as [fas̱il] in (3b), when preceded by the interrogation particle [kam] '*how many*', are rendered as singular and indefinite at a surface-structure level, since the speaker, upon asking such a question, does not know which quantitative aspect (singular/dual/plural) is implied   Consequently, the phonological and, perhaps, morphological deviations of [šabtar] as so judged from the viewpoint of the L2 tend to belong as stable interlingual identifications to the Arab learner's APS when he attempts to communicate in the L2 (*cf* example (4) below)

It should be noted, however, that the motives underlying the retroactive intrusion of [šabtar] as in (3a) are different from those which relate to *linguistic borrowing* as identified with immigrant speech in Nemser's terms, albeit both types are instances of cultural diffusion The retroactive intrusion of certain L2-items upon the L1-speech of European immigrants to the United States is generally characterized by the individual's *conscious attempt* to borrow these L2-items due to historical-linguistic factors, perhaps in the first place, such as the existence of cognate elements between related languages (as if a German

immigrant were to say 'Wann kam meine *daughter*' instead of 'Wann kam meine *Tochter*') On the contrary, the retroactive intrusion of some L2-items upon the L1-speech of the Syrian 'immigrant' to Ireland may reflect his *subconscious attempt* to borrow these L2-items by means of temporal code switching within the host environment In other words, when this Syrian 'immigrant' goes back to his home country, he would no longer tend to produce non-pure L1-utterances such as (3a), but rather the pure L1-equivalents such as (3b), particularly in situations where his interlocutor has no knowledge of English' Consequently, the retroactive intrusion of L2-items in the host country is triggered by geographical factors, not historical-linguistic factors, since Arabic and English are totally unrelated languages, and thus the lexical borrowing of [šabtar] in (3a) is an instance of what can be called *environmentally imposed intrusion* It seems, therefore, this type of intrusion is worthy of scrutiny for the important role it plays in determining inherent effects of language transfer, especially when already retroactively intruded L2-items such as '*chapters*' are to be processed within the Syrian learner's **APS** For example

(4)   *   How many [*šabtar*] ----- in the thesis?   (*AE*)

Apart from the omission of 'BE' and '*there*', the deviation of [šabtar] in this actual example can be accounted for by reference to its retroactive intrusion as in (3a) At one end, the *single* borrowing of '*chapters*' is represented as [šabtar] both phonologically and morphologically deviant from the former in order to fit into the grammatical system of SCD as discussed above At another, the *double* borrowing of [šabtar]—that is, the borrowing of '*chapters*' as a pure L2-item through shifting from the L2 to the L1, and the borrowing of [šabtar] as an 'Arabicized' L2-item through processing in the APS— suggests transfer effects already caused by environmentally imposed intrusion

(ii) Utility systems

The second class which Nemser identifies as forming subgroups of stable **APS** refers to what he calls *utility systems* These are by definition " specialized 'little' languages of limited semantic function, and requiring limited grammars and lexicons" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint·57). As the term *utility* indicates, this class of speech systems is used for utilitarian purposes through 'circumscribed' or economized communication

exigencies such as the systems often used by taxi-drivers, hotel-reservation clerks, and bar-tenders, which are beyond the concern of the present study

(iii) Learner pidgin

The third class, Nemser argues, pertains to the stable subsystems " often employed by language students who have attained fluency in the L2 without mastery of its fundamentals, but have arrived at a stage in instruction where attention has largely shifted from form to content" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 58) For *learner pidgin*, Nemser exemplifies a piece of question/answer dialogue between a teacher and an Arab learner of English:

> (5) Student   *Same?*   [ı e Are the two words pronounced in the
>   *same* way?]
>   Teacher   *Same*
>   Teacher   *Short answer* [ı e Use the *short answer* form]
>   *In conversation very good*

As the above dialogue illustrates, even language teachers sometimes tend to participate in the learner's deviations and seem to extemporaneously adopt this variety of **APS** as a means of communication in a classroom setting It appears that, if no transfer effect could be detected, the errors committed by the learner in such a variety correspond to Richards' third type of *intralingual errors*, namely, *incomplete application of rules*, where structural deviancy represents the learner's interest in communication rather than in the rules of question usage, with the exception that the teacher does not seem to participate as a user of learner language (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 4, example (4))

     It now becomes clear that the above three classes are indications of stable deviations from the structure of the L2-system, albeit language transiency and language instability characterize the nature of the learner's **APS** as a whole Such classes, as discussed, have to do with sociolinguistic factors which interact with others to establish the stable areas formulating part of the learner's **APS** Therefore, the entire system of **APS** is not *deliberately deviant* as is the case of the language of poems, nor is it a system of *pathologically deviant* sequences which are typical of the speech of an aphasic as discussed by Corder in the previous section, but rather **APS** is *naturally deviant*

     One final point is that, according to Nemser, the learner's **APS** reflects stable deviations because it is mostly conditioned by two

interacting forces.   First,   communication   requirements which impel the
learner to establish particular linguistic identifications whose function
is to concentrate on the   content   to   the   detriment of the formal rules
governing   such   identifications   Second,   economization   requirements
where the balance and order of the   linguistic   system are imposed by the
elimination   and/or modificatin of certain phonological, syntactical   and
lexical categories   for   the   achievement   of   intelligibility in natural
speed conditions

        So   far,   apart   from Corder and Nemser's speculations   on   language
transfer, a schematized overview of   the two designations ISD and APS has
been   presented   This   is   because,   in   their   critical   accounts   of
traditional CA,   both   researchers   seem   to   suggest   a similar approach
which,   in many   respects,   coincides   with the *a posteriori* form of the
CA-Hypothesis   (*cf*   chapter 2,   section 2.3 1), but with some procedural
variations between the two   Hence,   the   following section will go into
details   about transfer effects on ISD and APS and how Corder and   Nemser
proposed to   tackle   this   problem   Throughout   the   discussion,   some
tentative   proposals   will   be   put   forward   to   maintain   the   logical
succession of the conclusions drawn in the preceding two chapters

3.1.3   Transfer Effects on ISD and APS

        As   noted earlier, Corder, among others, assumes that the strategies
or procedures adopted during L1 and   L2-acquisition are fundamentally the
same (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 4 2)   The main distinction between   the
two   processes,   however,   is   that   the   task   of L2-acquisition   is
comparatively simpler than the task of L1-acquisition, merger, the former
in itself is not a *simple* task,   particularly   for adults, even though it
is   somewhat *simpler* than the latter   While L1-acquisition involves   the
testing of an unlimited   number   of   hypotheses   about   the nature of the
L1-system,   L2-acquisition requires that the only hypotheses to be tested
are   about   the   differencess   and/or   similarities   between   the   'old'
L1-system   and the 'new' L2-system   The differences,   in   CA-literature,
were misleadingly deemed to be   the   sole   source   of learning difficulty
(*cf*   chapter 2, section 2 2 3)   With the emergence of the new linguistic
theory, the learner is looked upon as constructing for himself a definite
system via   a set of cognitive structures,   and the errors he   makes   are
best   regarded   "   as signs   that [he]   is investigating the systems of

the new language" (Corder, 1967, reprint 12)   Hence, the author refers
to Saporta who, from a generative perspective, clarified this point   In
Saporta's words

> The internal structure of the [LAD or LAS], *i e* , the learner, has
> gone relatively unexplored to point out that one of its components
> is the grammar of the learner's L1   It has generally been assumed
> that the effect of this component has been inhibitory rather than
> facilitative
>   (Saporta, 1966, 91, quoted by Corder, 1967, reprint:12)

Here, Saporta alludes to traditional CA which, from a behaviouristic
standpoint, rested on the belief that the old habits of the L1 inhibit
the learning of the new habits of the L2   Paradoxically, within the
generative-cognitive model, the learner's L1 is viewed as formulating a
major sector of his previous knowledge, which may facilitate rather than
inhibit the learning of a subsequent L2   This is reminiscent of Ausubel
(1964) who emphasized the facilitating effects of L1-influence in that
the 'adult' learner can process the structural devices of the L2 which
are identical to those of his L1 because these latter are *directly
transferable* (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 4 2)   Therefore, the errors the
learner makes cannot only be traced back to L1-influence but also to the
strategies or procedures he adopts during L2-learning

As discussed at the outset of this chapter, the learner's
idiosyncratic utterances are 'temporarily' erroneous or deviant since
they derive from the only rules known to him, for which reason they are
'grammatical' in *suis generis* terms   Because the learner's ISD is
characterized by a transitional and unstable nature, his diligent efforts
entail the movement of his idiosyncratic utterances towards acceptability
in relation to the L2-system (*cf*   section 3 1 1)   From this point of
view, Corder suggests that both the language teacher and the researcher
can investigate the learner's IL to check for transfer effects or other
variables associated with the process of L2-learning   As for the
teacher, his task would be carried out

> [   ] on the assumption that a group of learners having the same L1
> and having had the same experience of learning the L2 speak more or
> less the same IL at any point in their learning career, and that
> what differences there are can be ascribed to individual variation
> in intelligence, motivation, and perhaps attitude   This belief is
> inherent in the notion of 'teaching a class' as opposed to an
> 'individual', and indeed, it is difficult to see how one could
> proceed otherwise
>   (Corder, 1971a, reprint 20)

Such an assumption was made by Nemser as discussed in the preceding section It seems, therefore, upon indulging in the study of transfer effects, the teacher should bear in mind the notion that the similar strategies or procedures employed by learners (whatever their L1s) would imply the formulation of fundamentally common underlying L2-knowledge, if such learners possess the same previous knowledge; that is, the L1 In other words, learners sharing the same L1 would apply their strategies within a similar route of development upon learning a given L2. However, this does not necessarily indicate the same structural deviations of the errors committed by such learners This point will be discussed presently

As for the researcher, his task seems by far the more exhaustive of the two By comparing *overtly* idiosyncratic utterances (which are superficially 'ill-formed') with their L2-counterparts, the researcher can determine the degrees of 'ill-formedness' of the former, and by reference to the context, he can also make plausible interpretations of *covertly* idiosyncratic utterances which are only superficially 'well-formed' (*cf* section 3 1 1) If, however, a plausible interpretation of an *overtly* idiosyncratic utterance cannot be readily made, then the researcher's task would be more difficult Corder argues that one possible way to arrive at such an interpretation is by recourse to the learner's L1, that is, the magnitude of overt idiosyncracy is testable by conducting the L1-TE of the idiosyncratic utterance in question. In Corder's words

> If the L1 is not known, then the analysis of that [utterance] may
> have to remin in abeyance until we have learnt more of the ISD of
> the learner. If, however, the L1 is known, we may be able, by a
> process of literal translation, to arrive at a means of interpreting
> the [utterance] plausibly If we can do that, then, by translating
> the L1-sentence back into a well-formed sentence of the L2, we have
> available a reconstructed sentence which once again we can compare
> with the original *overtly* idiosyncratic [utterance] of the learner.
> (Corder, 1971a, reprint 22, emphasis added)

Clearly, therefore, the methodology suggested by Corder for detecting *overtly* idiosyncratic transfer coincides in many respects with that of CA *a posteriori*, since this latter, being a subcomponent of EA, rests on a comparison of the errors actually produced by the learner in his IL and their L1-TEs in order to determine to what extent *overt*

language transfer has operated (*cf*   chapter 2, section 2 3 1)   Hence, a consideration of an *overtly* idiosyncratic utterance actually produced by a Syrian learner may clarify this point

(6) a * I dreamed *with* my father *yesterday*   (*AE*)
     b   [ḥalamtu *bi?*abi *al-ba* riḥah]   (*MSA*)
     c   [ḥ'limt *b'?*abi *mba re* ḥ]   (*SCD*)

Concerning the misuse of the preposition '*with*' (the use of the adverb '*yesterday*' will be discussed presently), the utterance (6a) suggests an effect of *overtly* negative transfer triggered by the learner's reliance on the L1-preposition [bi] in MSA as in (6b), or its colloquial form [b] in SCD, his L1-dialect, as in (6c).   Such a colloquial form is also the same representation used in any other dialect of SCA   In MSA, the L1-preposition [bi] has fourteen grammatical functions or meanings   The first of these is to indicate what is traditionally known as [il'sa q] '*connection/association*' which is by far one of the commonest uses in SCA (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 25)   It seems, therefore, the L1-notion of [ma?iyya] '*withness*', which associates the dreamer (the *agent*) with the dream (the *patient*) in Arabic, signifies an automatized linguistic unit internally conceptualized in the learner's L1-LAD, that is, his previous knowledge of the L1   Upon communicating in English, on the other hand, the learner does not seem to have internalized the L2-notion of '*ofness*' or '*aboutness*', though he may have the L2-prepositions '*of*' and '*about*' at his disposal but as lexical items for other grammatical meanings known to him   This means that it is the grammatical meaning of the L1-preposition [bi], rather than its lexical representation, which caused the learner to rely on the L2-preposition '*with*' in (6a)   Therefore, neither of the L2-prepositions '*of*'/'*about*' would come into the learner's mind as an automatized linguistic unit, if both were not internalized to him within such a grammatical meaning (*cf* also chapter 6, section 6 2 1, sub-section (B), examples (20-23))

However, with the proviso in mind that CA *a posteriori* concentrates on language production to the detriment of language comprehension, certain aspects of *covertly* idiosyncratic transfer will indeed go unnoticed without drawing on the initial expectancies generated by CA *a priori* though, within its traditional schemes, the exclusively structural comparison between L1 and L2 was relinquished (*cf* James, chapter 2, section 2 3 2)   This indicates that instances of *covertly* idiosyncratic transfer (that is, superficially well-formed L2-rules or items such as

'*yesterday*' in (6a), but attestedly processed by resorting to the
L1-counterparts such as [mba·re ḥ] in (6c) above) would not be accounted
for by CA *a posteriori* unless otherwise the pre-procedural devices of CA
a priori together with the underlying processes incorporating in the
realm of comprehension are carefully conducted It appears that the
researcher's task, with indulgence in the analysis of *covertly*
idiosyncratic transfer, would be far more difficult compared with that of
overtly idiosyncratic transfer as discussed above. Therefore, in the
case of Arabic as the L1 in question, a seemingly unique language
offering tremendous variations between the Standard and the Colloquial
(*cf* chapter 5, section 5.1), the analysis of *covertly* idiosyncratic
transfer demands of the researcher that, besides the wide knowledge of
the Standard Variety (MSA), he has available a set of paradigms in terms
of which he is able to elucidate how a given MSA-item is realized within
the highly flexible boundaries of the Colloquial Variety and processed
when being a trigger of *covert* transfer This refers to the learner's
lexical use of the adverb '*yesterday*' in (6a) which will be analysed in
more detail

By looking at the L1-TEs (6b-c) of the idiosyncratic utterance (6a),
it appears that the learner, upon producing the L2-item '*yesterday*' in
(6a) which does not mark a superficial error, had fallen back on the
surface structure of the L1-item [mba re ḥ] in (6c) as usually used in
SCD, albeit the context, at a deeper level, suggests that the adverb
'*last night*' was intended This is because both the L2-adverbs
'*yesterday*' and '*last night*' are often rendered into [mba re ḥ] in SCD or
any of its counterparts in SCA In MSA, however, the L1-item [al-ba rīḥ]
(which is the MSA-form of [mba re ḥ] in (6c)) is syntactically and
semantically different from the L1-item [al-ba:rīḥah] as in (6b), though
both items mean '*last*' While the former [al-ba rīḥ] is a masculine
adjective only modifying the deleted masculine adverb [[al-yawm] '*the
day*', the latter [al-ba rīḥah] is a feminine adjective and thus modifies
the deleted feminine adverb [al-laylah] '*the night*' Hence, the deep
structure of [al-ba rīḥ] would be [*al-yawm* al-ba:rīḥ] '*last day*' which is
synonymous with [al-yawm al-ma dī], and the deep structure of
[al-ba rīḥah] would be [*al-laylah* al-ba·rīḥah] '*last night*' which is
synonymous with [al-laylah al-ma diyah] Therefore, depending on the
context, the SCD-item [mba re ḥ] in (6c), or any of its SCA-counterparts,
implies the meaning of either '*last day*' or '*last night*' At a
surface-structure level, however, the L1-item [mba re ḥ] in SCA usually

refers to the meaning of 'last *day*' including its twenty-four-hour period unless otherwise particular times are indicated by other adverbial phrases such as the following:

(7) a. [mba:re:ḥ *issubuḥ*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *the morning*)
      b. [mba:re:ḥ *idduhur*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *the noon*)
      c. [mba:re:ḥ *il-ʔaser*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *the after noon*)
      d. [mba:re:ḥ *il-masa*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *the evening*)

(8) a. [mba:re:ḥ *bin-naha:r*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *in the day* (time))
      b. [mba:re:ḥ *bil-le:l*]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit.*: the last day *in the night* (time))

It follows from the above that although the L1-word [yo:m] (SCA)/ [yawm] (MSA) '*day*' refers to a twenty-four-hour period, the adverbial phrase [yo:m *mba:re:ḥ*], which is synonymous with [naha:r *mba:re:ḥ*] in SCA, is usually used to imply the meaning of '*the* day *of yesterday*'; that is, the day time of the twenty-four-hour period just past (*cf.* example (8a) above). By analogy, the adverbial phrase [le:lti *mba:re:ḥ*] in SCA implies the meaning of '*the* night *of yesterday*'; that is, the night time of the twenty-four-hour period just past (*cf.* example (8b) above). Consequently, if no mention is made of any particular time associated with [mba:re:ḥ] in SCA, then, at a surface-structure level, this item would very likely refer to the meaning of 'last *day*'; that is, the day just past or the day before today. The evidence for such surface-structure representation is the learner's lexical use of the adverb '*yesterday*' in (6a) though, at a deep-structure level, the context suggests that '*last night*' was the adverb in question. This indicates that, in comprehension, the learner seems to have realized the meaning of the L1-item [mba:re:ḥ] in SCA as if it were [al-ba:riḥ] '*last day*' (rather than [al-ba:riḥah] '*last night*') in MSA; and, in production, he matched such realization with the L2-item '*yesterday*' as visualized in Figure 4.

As Figure 4 illustrates, the mechanism of language transfer is one of the highly complex and intricate processes underlying L2-learning. Behind the production of the L2-item '*yesterday*', there appear two linguistic units: the L1-item [mba:re:ḥ] (SCA) and the L1-based L2-item '*yesterday*'. These are stored in the input for language processing and,
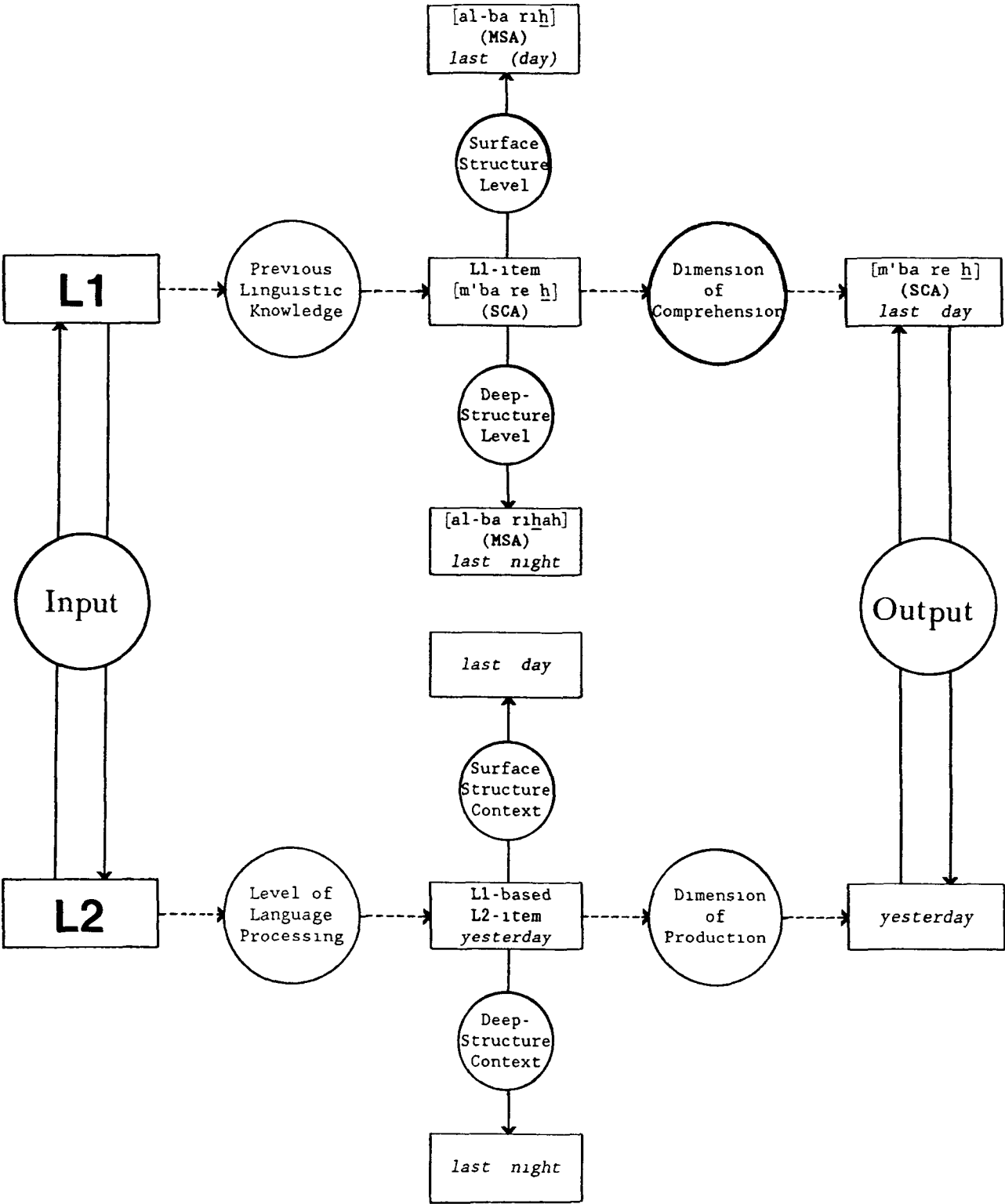
Figure 4: *The linguistic processing of an L1-based L2-item both in L1-comprehension and in L2-production with reference to the surface structure and deep structure of the L1-counterpart*

by recourse to the surface structure of the former, that is [al-ba riḥ] (MSA), perceived as superficially similar as they clearly are In comprehension, however, it is the learner's *intralingual* realization of the surface structure, rather than the deep structure, of [mba re ḥ], which, in the output, causes him to make the *interlingual* tie-up with the L2-item '*yesterday*' though the context refers to '*last night*' at a deep-structure level

In the light of the above analysis, it is believed that although the approach suggested by Corder contributes greatly to the investigation of *overtly* idiosyncratic transfer (*cf* the misuse of '*with*' in (6a)), the researcher's exclusive reliance on EA-techniques entails the risk of overlooking aspects of *covertly* idiosyncratic transfer such as the use of '*yesterday*' in (6a) It appears that such an extensive analysis not only determines the magnitude of idiosyncratic transfer, but also provides useful insights into how a given L1-based L2-item is processed by recourse to the L1-counterpart and its realization both in MSA and SCA Further, within Corder's recommendation, a translation of the L1-TEs (6b-c) of the idiosyncratic utterance (6a) back into their possible well-formed L2-equivalents such as (9a-b)

> (9) a   I dreamed *of/about* my father *last night*
>   b   I had a dream *of/about* my father *last night*

would indicate the fundamental similarity in meaning between the idiosyncratic utterance (6a) and the L2-equivalents (9a-b) That is, by reference to the grammatical meaning of the L1-preposition [b1] in (6b), the L1-based L2-preposition '*with*' in (6a) corresponds to the L2-preposition '*of*' or '*about*' in (9a-b), and, by reference to the deep structure of the L1-adverb [mba re ḥ] in (6c) and to the context underlying the lexical use of the L1-based L2-adverb '*yesterday*' in (6a), this latter coincides with the L2-adverb '*last night*' in (9a-b); albeit the superficial difference between either pair is apparent Therefore, if the learner's L1 (that is, both the Standard variety and the Colloquial one) is well-known to the researcher, a plausible interpretation of particular idiosyncratic utterances can be made because "there is not always in the L2-context any factor which will make one interpretation more plausible than another" (Corder, 1971a, reprint· 22) This means that the researcher's knowledge of the learner's L1, in such an extensive perspective, is indispensable to more sophisticated

analyses of idiosyncratic transfer as there is always a certain number of idiosyncratic utterances which have connection with L1-influence   In Corder's words   "It is a generally agreed observation that   many   —but not necessarily all— the idiosyncratic [utterances] of a L2-learner bear some   sort   of regular relation to the [utterances] of his   L1"   (Corder, 1971a; reprint 24)

It appears that Corder, who was one of the first researchers to criticize CA as a weak predictor (cf. chapter 2, section 2 2 3), has never been in a position to deny the existence of L1-influence   As mentioned at the outset of this section, Corder assumes that speakers of the same L1 learning a given L2 within the same circumstances would possess   roughly   the same IL (cf   Corder, 1971a, reprint 20)   Implicit in such an assumption is the significance of L1-knowledge to the learners themselves though it does not necessarily indicate that they would commit the same interlingual errors and/or would make use of the L1 as a facilitative reference within the same constructs   From this latter point, it is quite possible to suggest that, apart from the individual variations referred to above, a learner who is competent in his L1 (particularly the standard norm) can draw upon his L1-knowledge more facilitatively than another learner who is less competent even if both are at the same level of L2-proficiency. By reference to the examples (6a-c), the learner, upon matching [mba re h̲] (SCA) with 'yesterday', does not seem to have realized the linguistic difference between [al-ba rih̲] and [al-barih̲ah] (MSA) in that the former modifies the deleted masculine adverb [al-yawm] 'the day' and the latter modifies the deleted feminine adverb [al-laylah] 'the night' as shown above   However, in his ordinary L1-speech, such a learner intrinsically knows that [yo m] 'day' is masculine and [le le] 'night' is feminine   This is well observable from the extemporaneous L1-utterances he makes in his home dialect   For example

(10)   a   [ki f ka n hada k il-yo.m]   (SCD)
            (Lit   how was (he) that (he) the day?)
       b   [ki f ka net hadi k il-le le:]   (SCD)
            (Lit   how was (she) that (she) the night?)

The morphological forms of [ka n] 'was (he)'/[hada k] 'that (he)' in (10a) and [ka net] 'was (she)'/[hadi k] 'that (she)' in (10b) are proof

enough that the learner internalizes in his Ll the masculinity of [yo:m]
and the femininity of [le:le·] respectively, leading one to believe that
the Arab learner, when producing 'day' and 'night' in English, already
perceives the former as masculine and the latter as feminine   Therefore,
the learner's lack of knowledge of the difference between [al-ba ri͟h] and
[al-ba·ri͟hah] caused him to resort to [mba·re h͟] in its masculinity
which is evidenced by the use of 'yesterday' in (6a) though the context
suggests that the action of dreaming occurred during the night. Had he
known such a difference or, at least, had he realized the deep structure
of [mba re·h͟], he would have been more likely to produce 'last night' in
place of 'yesterday', that is, he would have resorted to [al-ba ri͟hah] or
its SCA-form ['l-ba rh͟e] as a feminine adjective modifying the deleted
feminine adverb [le·le], since he already conceptualizes 'night' as
feminine Consequently, the significance of the learner's knowledge of
his Ll, in such a view, can be justified on, at least, two accounts
First, to the researcher in that it determines part of the learner's
IL-continuum, and, therefore, possible shortcomings in Ll-competence are
manifest in some of those transfer-based utterances which are a
reflection of Ll-error transfer (cf   chapter 2, section 2.3.2). Second,
to the learner himself for it enables him to perceive the similarities,
where there are complete similarities, between Ll and L2, and, thus, to
make the relevant crosslingual tie-ups (cf chapter 4, section 4.1.3). In
this context, the learner's Ll-competence should not be accounted for in
its own terms as is the case of Ll-teaching programmes and Ll-learning
tests,   but rather in terms of the strategies whereby the learner draws
upon his Ll when employing his IL

     Clearly, therefore, far from the severe criticisms levelled at the
CA-Hypothesis, particularly within its strong version or CA a priori (cf
chapter 1, section 1 4 2,   chapter 2,   section 2 3 1), investigation into
learner language along with the knowledge of his Ll would yield concrete
information on his linguistic behaviour and situate the question of
transfer within a broader context.   In other words, investigation into
the learner's APS, as Nemser points out, is " a prerequisite for the
validation of both the strong and weak claims of the contrastive
approach" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint 60) This generally accepted
statement was made not to forcefully invalidate the CA-Hypothesis, but to
concede that language transfer is an inevitable mechanism underlying
L2-learning and to validate the CA-Hypothesis within the
generative-cognitive model for a better account of this mechanism (cf

section 3 3 below)   Therefore,   since   L1-knowledge is an entity already
existing   in the learner's **LAD**,   transfer effects can be detected at   any
stage of L2-learning   Following his   argument about the stable varieties
of **APS**   reviewed   in   the preceding section,   Nemser   states   that   the
magnitude and type of linguistic   deviation vary systematically   Earlier
stages   are normally characterized by the process of *underdifferentiation*
(or *syncretism*) at the   three   linguistic   levels of the **L2**-system   Here
the   learner, by recourse to his L1, tends to extend the distribution   of
certain **L2**-categories, and   the   semantic   domains   of the limited formal
elements he has already learnt (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1.3 1, parameters
(iii) and (iv))   Later stages,   Nemser argues, are generally identified
with other processes such as the following

(i) *Reinterpretation.*   for example, phonemicizing /dʒ/ as [j]   by   Syrian
speakers of SCD and as approximately   [tš] by Syrian speakers of NCD (*cf*
chapter   1,   section 1 3.1, parameter (v), *cf*   also chapter   6,   section
6.1 1, sub-section (B) for further information)

(ii) *Hypercorrection*: as is the case of the regular substitution of /tʃ/
for approximately [š]   by   Syrian   speakers   of   SCD as discussed in the
examples   (3a) and (4) cited in the previous section (*cf*   also chapter 6,
section 6.1.1, sub-section (A) for further information).

(iii) *Analogy* such   as   any   attestedly   established   intralingual error
comitted   as   a result of *overgeneralization* from   the   L2-rules   already
learned (*cf*   Richards, chapter 2, section 2 2 4).

It   seems,   therefore,   that in   relation   to   the   CA-Hypothesis,
the   structural   comparison   postulated   to   invoke   upon   prediction of
difficulty *prior*   to   the   learning   process   subsumes   **stability** of the
learner's   IL   though   the   ultimate concern of **CA**   seeks   to   study   the
individual's *bilingualization* (*cf*   James, chapter 1, section 1.1 2)   Put
another way, if prediction of negative transfer were globally verified on
the basis of L1-L2 differences, then the *same* previously predicted errors
would   be regularly anticipated to be made by any speaker of the *same*   L1
during the learning of   the   *same* L2   Hence,   Nemser,   like any other
IL-specialists who   emphasize the instability of learner   language,   is
looking   for   an   appropriate   definition   of   the   CA-Hypothesis as the
structural   comparison   on   its   own is in   many   respects   invalid   (*cf*
Selinker's exemplification of   *asymmetrical   fossilization*, section 3 2 3
below)   From   this point, Nemser argues that linguistic   items   in   one
system may have no counterparts in the contrasted system, particularly in

the case of unrelated languages such as L1-Arabic and L2-English. Further, the cultural variable may impose certain linguistic representations (form, meaning and/or distribution) which are specific to one system and, thus, incommensurable with those of the opposing system (*cf*. chapter 1, section 1.3.2). Therefore, although Nemser's approach to the study of transfer effects is somewhat identical with that of Corder, Nemser's entreaty appears to inherently moderate CA's claim to predict and explain learner behaviour rather than to entirely reject the hypothesis. The application of traditional CA, Nemser states:

> [...] often depends on what can be called the 'blinding flash' fallacy —the supposition that L1 and L2 come into total contact— so far as overlap permits— from the outset of learning, with L1-categories fusing with their L2-counterparts throughout the systems. Actually, of course, the learner's exposure to L2 is necessarily gradual. This fact entails a dilemma for CA *which can only be resolved by reference to* APS. At post-initial stages of language learning, the 'prior' learning which conditions 'subsequent' learning includes not only the learner's knowledge of L1 but his own recent experience in language acquisition —*his knowledge* of APS— as well.
>
> (Nemser, 1971b; reprint: 61f; emphasis added)

It is true that learner behaviour cannot be fully accounted for by a merely structural comparison between L1 and L2, since experimental and practical observation proved many of the logical flaws in this recommendation. It is equally true that investigation of the learner's APS (or ISD) yields valuable insights into the linguistic knowledge underlying his behaviour, and, therefore, seeks to crystallize the vague parameters of the CA-Hypothesis, which were globally conceived (*cf*. chapter 2, section 2.2.3). Hence, within an approach similar to CA *a posteriori*, Nemser suggests that the ultimate purpose of L2-acquisition research "...might be the reformulation of L1 and L2-descriptions in terms permitting the accurate projection of APS throughout its successive stages in each contact situation" (Nemser, 1971b; reprint: 63). Projection of APS in this sense, however, seems to coincide, though from a different angle, with Selinker's commitment to the psychological unification of the three systems (L1, IL and L2) as will be discussed presently. Again, although Nemser's assumptions entail procedural reliability in interpreting the *overtly* negative effects of L1-influence, it is hard to believe that instances of *covertly* negative transfer as well as positive transfer could receive equal attention without the initial expectancies of CA *a priori*. After all, in situations where the

L1 is well-known and so tractable to the analyst, there appears to be a
sort of impressionistic and momentary prediction preceding his intent to
set up the projection of the APS-utterance in question. In other words,
how can the analyst choose to investigate a given transfer-based
utterance without such a prediction generated by his knowledge of the
L1-counterpart? Therefore, if the structural deviation of that utterance
is indeed a reflection of *overtly* negative transfer, then it must be in
an automatized position to remind the analyst of the L1-counterpart of
which he is previously well aware (*cf.* the use of *'with'*, example (6a)
above) Consequently, the pre-procedural devices of CA *a priori* cannot
be totally neglected as there is more than an impressionistic prediction
before dealing with *covertly* transfer-based intances (*cf* the use of
'yesterday', example (6a) above)

So far the discussion has been concerned with the principal features
of ISD and APS and the transfer effects on both designations From a L2-
perspective, both designations appear to allocate learner language in
terms of a number of similar characteristics such as systematicity/
patternedness, instability/transiency, structural uniqueness/structural
independence, and so on However, the main distinction between the two
is that ISD is non-deviant, whereas APS is deviant though both systems
are grammatical in *suis generis* terms For the analysis of transfer
effects, Corder and Nemser suggest a methodology similar in many respects
to that of CA *a posteriori* Hence, mention has been made of the
one-sidedness of this approach and the relative utility of CA *a priori*,
particularly for detecting the effects of covert transfer. The next
section will deal with learner language from a learner perspective by
reference to Selinker's hypothesis of *interlanguage system* and Dulay and
Burt's theory of *creative construction*

3.2 IL in a Learner-Centred Perspective

In this section, the two designations —Selinker's hypothesis of
interlanguage system (IL) and Dulay and Burt's theory of *creative
construction* (CC)— will be approached as they both seek to investigate
learner language from a different but related angle As discussed in
section (3.1), Corder and Nemser tend to *linguistically* assess the
learner's errors (idiosyncratic utterances and permanent deviations) by

looking at his self-contained rules from the viewpoint of the L2; whereas, here, Selinker and Dulay and Burt hold a seemingly neutralized position within the purview that **fossilizable structures** and **goofs** respectively are *psychologically* so judged from the viewpoint of the learner himself, albeit all these researchers propose several common qualities by which the learner-language continuum is characterized (*cf.* Figure 7 below) Such speculative dichotomization is significant and can be justified on two interdependent accounts

Firstly, to consider learner language (ISD or APS) from a L2-centred perspective involves a process of comparison in Corder's terms, or projection in Nemser's terms, of the two systems (IL and L2) in order to interpret *intralingual* idiosyncracy/deviancy, and, by recourse to the learner's L1, to check for *interlingual* identifications within an approach similar in many respects to that of CA *a posteriori* Yet, the initial steps are purely linguistic (recognition and comparison/ projection) followed by psycholinguistic analyses (explanation) to be carried out under the guises of EA-techniques The device is, therefore, diagnostic and the results are explanatory in nature

Secondly, to consider learner language (IL or CC) from a learner-centred perspective involves a process of prediction, different from that of CA *a priori*, in order to establish anticipated developmental or *intralingual* fossilizability/goofability (that is, the potential for fossilization in Selinker's terms or the emergence of goofs in Dulay and Burt's terms) due to the *learner's* activation of the "latent psychological structure" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 34) and the "innate mental organization which causes *him* to use a limited class of processing strategies" (Dulay and Burt, 1974a 109, emphasis added) It appears that the initial steps are purely psychological and, by a psycholinguistic unification of the three systems (L1, IL and L2), *interlingual* identifications can be described where possible The device is, therefore, predictive and the results are descriptive (not explanatory) in nature

Given the nature of this speculative dichotomization, learner language will be justifiably scrutinized in terms of the second account It should be noted, however, although both designations (IL and CC) stress the learner's mental organization, they seem to essentially differ in relation to his age While Selinker's proposals were put forward with reference to adult learners (typically over the age of twelve), Dulay and Burt derived their assumptions from empirical studies conducted on

children learning a L2 In addition, the question of prediction which was posited as a substitute for that of CA *a priori* will be examined throughout the discussion of both IL and CC The section concludes with a thorough account of the potential for language transfer with reference to both Selinker's insights into this mechanism and the counter-criticisms levelled against Dulay and Burt's devaluation of L1-influence on L2-learning

3.2.1 Interlanguage System (IL)

In 1972, Selinker introduced the term *interlanguage* to suggest the structurally intermediate status between L1 and L2 proceeding through developmental stages observable in learner language In this remarkable contribution, Selinker makes a distinction between a teaching perspective and a learning one, and focuses on probing learner language from the latter perspective, regardless of the learner's failure or success in L2-learning Selinker assumes that the psychologically relevant data, on which theories of L2-learning should draw, has to do with the learner's real or "attempted meaningful performance" in the L2 This type of communication is distinct from that which occurs in formal settings (classroom) by means of drill-performance, and which, therefore, does not imply meaningful communication (*cf* Selinker, 1972, reprint 31f) Investigation of learner language from a learning perspective constitutes in fact an important line of research, since there is considerable paucity of information about the development of L2-learners outside the classroom (*cf.* Corder, section 3 1 1) Therefore, given the chance to collect a plethora of data from a number of Syrian learners in naturalistic settings, it is felt that the issues raised by Selinker would serve to a large extent for the analysis of these data in Part Two

In order to account for learner language in such a view, Selinker postulates that the adult learner is genetically endowed with an internal and complex ordinance called the *latent psychological structure* (LPS) which is gradually activated whenever he attempts to express instances of meaningful proceeding during the L2-learning process For the majority of L2-learners, such an ordinance, Selinker argues, is different and exists in addition to what Lenneberg has already called the *latent language structure* (LLS) Selinker (1972, reprint 33) re-states Lenneberg who pointed out that the LLS

(a) is an already formulated arrangement in the brain, (b) is the biological counterpart to universal grammar, and (c) is transformed by the infant into the *realized structure* of a particular grammar in accordance with certain maturational stages

(Lenneberg, 1967 374f, original emphasis)

Clearly, therefore, by allocating the main characteristics of the LLS, Lenneberg appears to refer to Chomsky's concept of the LAD or LAS mentioned earlier (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 1) It also refers to the notion of the organizer discussed by Dulay and Burt in their theory of *creative construction* as will be seen in the following section Selinker's argument rests on the assumption that, besides the LLS, there exists the LPS, a highly complex ordinance which cannot be maintained as a direct counterpart to any grammatical abstraction such as *universal grammar* Nor does there seem to be a concrete guarantee that the LPS will be activated or 'realized' in terms of an actual structure to prove that attempted learning will be successful Rather, Selinker proposes that such an ordinance, being psychological, may overlap with other mental and intellectual structures

The crucial point Selinker is making here is that the adult learner who successfully achieves native-like mastery of the L2 has to some extent re-activated the LLS —in Lenneberg's terms— through various psycholinguistic processes which are inherently responsible for such mastery However, as practical and empirical research has reported, this type of 'successful' learner hardly ever exists, merger, even in the case of bilingual situations, perfect bilingualism is extremely rare (*cf.* chapter 1, section 1 1 2) It is argued that, in L1-acquisition research, the 'idealized' L1-acquirer is the one who knows his L1 *perfectly (cf* Chomsky, 1965 3), whereas, in L2-acquisition research, the 'idealized' L2-learner is the one " who will *not* achieve native speaker competence in the L2, whenever he attempts to express meanings, which he may already have, in a L2 he is learning, i e whenever he attempts to produce a L2-norm" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 47) It follows that such an 'idealized' L2-novice represents the vast majority of L2-learners who fail to attain to native-like mastery of the L2, and thus they form the principal concern of Selinker's perspective To him, these learners, when attempting to produce meaningful utterances in the L2, are more likely to activate the LPS referred to above (Selinker, 1972, reprint. 34) So, it can be seen that the state of the issues

Selinker is enunciating puts the learner in the foreground From this standpoint, what the learner comes into possession during his attempted learning of the L2 is said to restrictively formulate *one norm of one dialect* —or *a special sort of dialect* in Corder's sense (*cf* section 3 1 1)— which only exists within his focus of attention Therefore, the utterances produced by the learner in the L2 he is attempting to learn are not identical with the corresponding utterances produced by a native speaker of that L2 to convey the same meaning or meanings Again, a similar point was made by Corder in that the learner's idiosyncratic utterances and their well-formed L2-counterparts are superficially different though they have basically the same meaning (*cf* section 3 1 1) It follows that the utterances, or the output, which are the only data observable in the learner's production mode bring with them inherent characteristics of "a separate linguistic system" proceeding as a unique norm of the L2-system termed *interlanguage* (IL) (Selinker, 1972, reprint 35) It appears that a more explicit notion of the structural independence discussed by both Corder and Nemser can be construed from Selinker's hypothesis, that is, the utterances which are typical of the learner's IL are independent of the equivalent utterances produced by the same learner in his L1 on the one hand, and of those produced by a native speaker of the L2 to express the same meaning or meanings on the other In this context, Selinker refers to Jakobovits (1969) who had already expounded the concept of such a separate linguistic system from a similar perspective (Selinker, 1972, reprint 51, a footnote)

According to Selinker, one of the main themes of the IL-hypothesis is that the utterances made by the learner in his IL are also the only observable data to which theoretical predictions can be related Here, the author does not seem to rule out on the *a priori* form of the CA-Hypothesis (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 1), but rather he suggests that predictions about the learner's *behavioural events* should primarily pertain to the *linguistic shapes* of his utterances as the actual by-products of his IL In Selinker's words "Successful predictions of such behavioural events in meaningful performance situations will add credence to the theoretical constructs related to the LPS" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 35) Therefore, the psycholinguistic processes which establish the underlying knowledge of IL-behaviour could, at best, be investigated by two methods if proper experimental stipulations were available First, setting up the three sets of utterances (L1, IL and L2) within a unified theoretical framework These sets of behavioural

events are the psychologically relevant data of L2-learning, and what predictions concern is the surface structures of IL-utterances; that is, the surface structures employed in the IL are predictable. Second, collecting, so long as the researcher can observe, the utterances which bear in them specific structural properties These structural properties are unique to the IL-system alone, and are related to the structural properties of the L1-L2 counterparts

Clearly, therefore, Selinker postulates a theoretical framework to describe the real operation of the IL in L2-learning, and prediction is one of the main assumptions in this scheme To him, the most crucial fact that any adequate description of the IL should account for is the phenomenon of *fossilization* Selinker defines the term as follows

> [   ] a mechanism which is assumed [   ] to exist in the LPS [   ]
> Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are *linguistic items*, *rules*, *and subsystems* which speakers of a particular L1 will tend to keep in their ILs relative to a particular L2, no matter what the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the L2
>
> (Selinker, 1972; reprint 36, emphasis added)

It seems, therefore, like Corder and Nemser who note that characteristics such as transitionality and transiency essentially specify learner language (ISD and APS), Selinker emphasizes the need for a diachronic model where fossilizable structures can be described as the entire IL-system is also characterized by a dynamic nature (*cf* Figure 7 below) It is worth mentioning that Nemser, when defining the stable varieties of APS as those "permanent intermediate systems and subsystems", seems to implicitly refer to the phenomenon of *fossilization* in the sense discussed here (*cf* section 3 1 2 above) Therefore, both permanent deviations (Nemser) and fossilizable structures (Selinker) are not only observable at a phonological level, but also at syntactic and lexical levels Further, permanent deviations tend to remain as stable identifications in the learner's APS, likewise, " fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, re-emerging in the productive performance of an IL even when seemingly eradicated" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 36) Hence, both permanent deviations and fossilizable structures entail patterned and regular re-emergence respectively (*cf* also Corder's notion of systematic idiosyncratic utterances)

It should be noted, however, that, according to Nemser, there appears to be an inextricable connection between permanent deviations and *errors* (which, according to Corder, are evidenced by idiosyncratic utterances as *temporal* deviations only), whereas in the case of fossilizable structures, Selinker argues· "This connection is not intended since it turns out that 'correct' things can also re-emerge when thought to be eradicated, especially if they are caused by processes other than language transfer" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 51, a footnote) For this reason, Selinker, in a recent paper, underlines the fact that, despite the inherent similarities between APS and IL mentioned above, the two designations differ "in several important respects, a central one being Nemser's emphasis on the learner's language being *deviant*" (Selinker, 1989 269; original emphasis) The writer also makes reference to Tarone *et al* (1976 96) who have already presented other similar points of contrast Therefore, like Corder, but unlike Nemser, Selinker has no tendency to regard IL-utterances as being deviant or erroneous since they derive from a separate linguistic system Because all the structures employed by IL-utterances have the potential to fossilize, their regular re-appearance mirrors the inner systematicity of the entire IL-continuum. Thus, the potential for fossilization and the linguistic knowledge underlying IL-utterances exist side by side within the LPS referred to above Selinker assumes that such a genetically determined structure contains five central processes (and a few minor ones (*cf* section 3 2 3 below)) which are inherently responsible for the systematic re-emergence of fossilizable structures that is, " .each process forces fossilizable material upon surface IL-utterances, controlling to a very large extent the surface structures of these utterances" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 37) These five central processes are

(i) Language transfer

The term refers to *interlingual* transfer, an internal mechanism whereby fossilizable items, rules and subsystems re-emerge regularly in IL-performance due to L1-influence As it is the main concern of the current study, the potential for this mechanism will be explained in detail later (*cf* section 3 2.3 below)

(ii) Overgeneralization of L2-linguistic material

A type of *intralingual* transfer which is related to the notion of developmental or intralingual errors (*cf* Richards, chapter 2, section 2 2 4)

(iii) Transfer of training

Another type of transfer which is quite different from the above two types   It refers to those fossilizable aspects resulting from identifiable items in training procedures (*cf* Selinker, 1969)   Although the reflections are fossilizations seen from a L2-perspective, the effects are not said to be *intralingually* operating within the L2, but rather they are *extralingually* associated with the teaching methods of the L2   Hence, Selinker cites an example from Serbo-Croatian learners of English who, in the case of *animateness*, tend to regularly produce '*he*' for either gender (masculine/feminine), albeit the distinction between '*he*' and '*she*' is identical in the two languages (Serbo-Croatian and English)   Although CA *a priori* would predict such a distinction as easy to learn, practical observations reported that the use of *he/she* animation created difficulty for the learners in question   It may be the case, Selinker suggests, that textbooks and subsequently teachers were relying on a much wider range of drills with '*he*' than with '*she*' (Selinker, 1972, reprint 39)

(iv) Strategies of L2-learning

A class of strategies triggering those fossilizable aspects which are connected with an identifiable approach adopted by the learner to the learning of particular L2-material   By reference to Jain (1969), Selinker argues that, in the ILs of Indian speakers of English, these strategies reflect fossilizations in the domain of syntax specifically For instance, if the learner realized within his own strategy that all verbs are either transitive or intransitive, he might produce fossilizable structures such as (11 a-b) below assuming that the progressive aspect should always be marked by '-*ing*'

        (11) a * I *am* feeling thirsty
           b. * Don't worry, I'*m* hearing him

A further example refers to the strategy adopted by Russian learners   of
English to disregard morphological markers such as '-*ed*' when the past
aspect had already been realized in the use   of prioritized items such as
'*was*' in (12) below (*cf* Coulter, 1968 36, Selinker, 1972, reprint 40):

(12) * I *was* in Frankfurt when I *fill* my application

(v) Strategies of L2-communication
Another class of strategies reflecting fossilizable aspects due to an
identifiable approach applied by the learner to communicating with native
speakers of the L2   In these strategies, learning does not seem to
proceed any further since they dictate to the learner, internally as they
were, that he knows enough of the   L2   in order to communicate (Selinker,
1972, reprint 37)   Strategies of learning and communication are
closely related, though randomly, to the notions of the filter and the
monitor as will be discussed in the following section.


Having identified the five central processes which function as
internal operators in the LPS,   Selinker argues that   "Each of the
analyst's predictions as to the shape of IL-utterances should be
associated with one or more of these,   or other, processes" (Selinker,
1972, reprint 35f)   It seems,   therefore,   the psycholinguistic
unification of the three systems (L1,   IL and L2) referred to above and
the five central processes (which interchangeably interact in the LPS   to
implant and/or enlarge the   psychologically established quantum of
fossilized IL-competence) are all involved in the formulation of   the
linguistic knowledge underlying the   entire IL-continuum   Selinker, in
recent writings,   emphasizes the term fossilized IL-competence as a
viable and widely used   concept,   and   makes an appeal for more
sophisticated research into such an entity   In his words

> [   ] we need to know about fossilized forms   Why these and not
> others?   The very possibility of the cessation of IL-learning, often
> far from IL-norms, leads to thoughts about its inevitability and
> about innateness,   which makes some colleagues nervous   It is
> impossible to show innateness so   I guess that is where matters will
> stand   We can skirt this issue *empirically* by agreeing that
> 'non-development' in IL is an important search area and try to
> describe and understand that
>
> (Selinker, 1984 335, emphasis added)

For a deeper understanding of the internal mechanisms incorporating into the entire IL-system, and therefore of the **fossilized IL-competence,** the three systems (L1, IL and L2) and the five central processes can be visualized in **Figure 5** This modified configuration is, in fact, a considerably extended adaptation of Krzeszowski's (1981 77) visualization

As Figure 5 illustrates, the smaller arrows meeting the radii at the circumference represent two contrasting forces of the IL-core first, a centrifugal force whereby fossilizable structures are produced, and, second, a centripetal force whereby new L2-material is received and processed through the corresponding L1-material These smaller arrows revolve uprightly around the circle and, at the same time, change direction constantly to maintain the dynamic and systematic nature of the entire IL-continuum The source of the two contrasting forces lies at the heart of the small box (IL) and formulates the potential for fossilization which, by means of the centrifugal force, invokes the
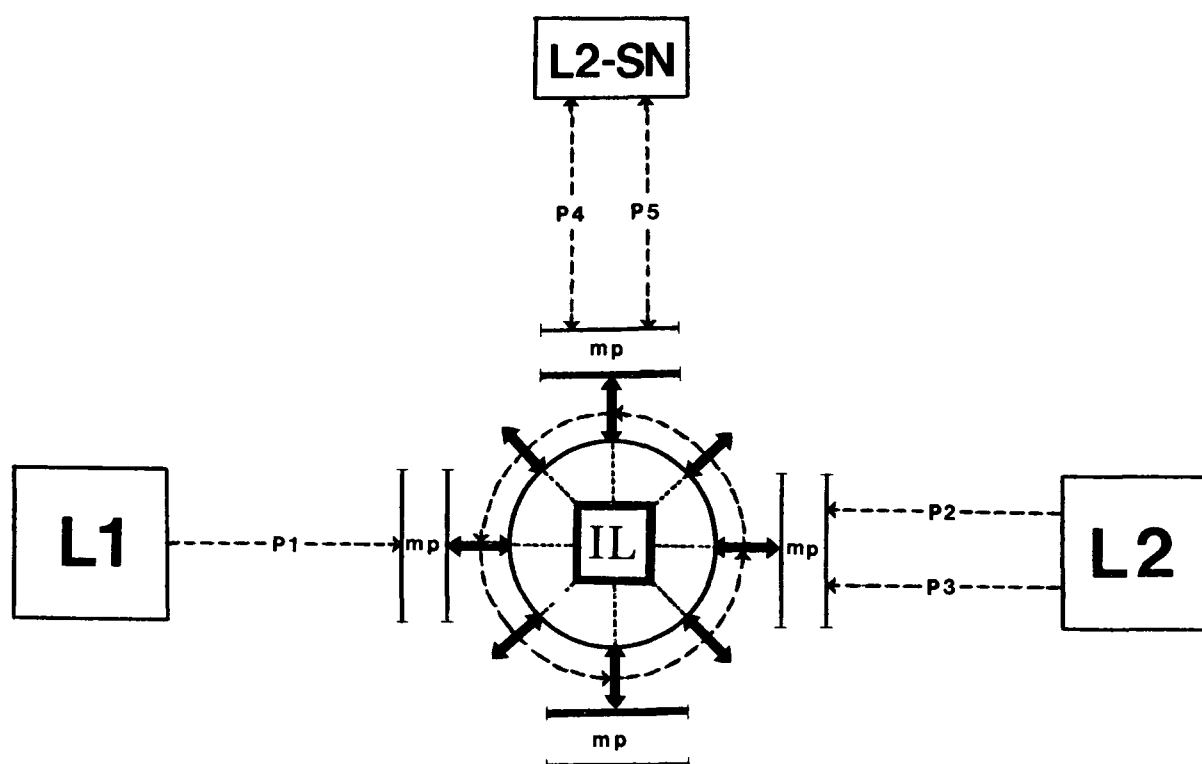
P1	Language Transfer	P5	Strategies of L2-communication
P2	Overgeneralization	mps	Some Minor Processes
P3	Transfer of Training	L2-SN	The Standard Norm of the L2
P4	Strategies of L2-learning		as Specific for L2-learning

Figure 5. *A dynamic model for the IL-system and fossilization mechanisms*

regular re-emergence of fossilizable structures through the five central channels or processes (P1, P2, etc) and some other minor processes (mps). As the graphic configuration shows, the first three of the five central processes are represented in horizontal axes directed only towards the IL-system because each of these processes is associated with the general principle of transfer either *interlingually* (P1) or *intralingually* (P2) or *extralingually* (P3) On the other hand, the remaining two processes (P4 and P5) are represented in vertical axes and their directions alternate constantly (from the IL to the L2 and vice versa), but their processing mechanisms are *always* modified in the direction of the L2-standard norm (L2-SN) This graphic polarity of direction indicates the relative separation of the horizontal-configurated processes (P1, P2 and P3) from the vertical-configurated processes (P4 and P5) simply because these latter do not involve any type of transfer, rather, they are evidence of the learner's identifiable approach (learning/ communication) to the processing of the input he receives from the L2

It has been argued that the five central processes suggested by Selinker are basically connected with the notion of *simplification*, which, logically speaking, subsumes the existence of a *non-simplified* language system, that is, the learner's IL is the simplified system whereas the L2 he is learning is the non-simplified one In this respect, Widdowson (1977) points out that "all the processes which Selinker refers to are tactical variations of the same underlying *simplification* *strategy* and [   ] in general EA is a partial account of basic simplifying procedures which lie at the heart of communicative competence" (quoted by Krzeszowski, 1981 74, emphasis added) According to Widdowson, the strategy of simplification entails a psycholinguistic adjustment of learner-language behaviour for purposes of communication in the L2 Hence, the author makes a distinction between expression rules and reference rules while the former are rules *in presentio* actually used by the learner to express his communicative needs, the latter are rules *in absentio* constituting his existing knowledge of the L2. Therefore, the errors that the learner makes, or the fossilizable structures which regularly re-emerge, may reflect his attempt to use reference rules as expression rules In an optimistic attitude towards the learner, Widdowson concludes that the making of errors is an indication of the learner's success not his failure in the sense that "the failure to conform to given reference rules is the consequence of success in developing expression rules" (*cf* Krzeszowski, 1981 75f)

It follows from the above that Widdowson's conclusion seems to have been derived from Selinker's notion of 'successful learning' which, for most L2-learners, " involves, to a large extent, the *reorganization* of linguistic material from an IL to identify with a particular L2" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 44, emphasis added) From a similar perspective, Nemser points out that learner speech is ". frequently changing with typical rapidity and subject to radical *reorganization* through the massive intrusion of new elements as learning proceeds" (Nemser, 1971b, reprint· 56, emphasis added) It seems, therefore, *reorganization*, or *restructuring*, is a total learning strategy which encompasses the five central processes incorporating into the LPS Given that Widdowson refers to these five processes as tactical variations of *simplification*, he appears to have conceived of such a phenomenon as a total learning strategy as well Along the same line of thinking, Richards (1974b) describes *simplification* as "one way in which speakers of different languages can make a new language easier to learn and use" (quoted by Corder, 1981. 88). In an unorthodox argument, Corder holds the view that *simplification* is "the *result* of a learning strategy or process: it cannot be a learning strategy itself, though it may well be a 'strategy of communication' [in Widdowson's terms]" (Corder, 1981: 88f, original emphasis) Corder assumes that it might be possible to define simplified codes or registers —such as *baby talk* (Ferguson, 1964), *foreigner talk* (Ferguson, 1975), and *pidgins* (Hall, 1966)— in terms of *complexification* (not *simplification*) as a set of universal processes of elaboration, that is, language learning in general Corder's assumption is based on the fact that these simplified or reduced codes, being in a state of flux, lean towards a more complex code and are modified in the direction of the non-implified standard code For instance, the development of a *pidgin* into a 'post-*pidgin* continuum' known as *creole* is clear evidence of this progressive *complexification* Likewise, the development of an IL-continuum (in Selinker's terms) through an evolutionary series of a more complex APS (in Nemser's terms) to be modified in the direction of the non-simplified standard norm of the L2 is an apparent instance of this *complexification* (Corder, 1981 79f) The author concludes that simplified codes or registers represent the permanent/fossilized subsystems (which Nemser and Selinker refer to respectively) in the *complexification* of a special language behaviour "which has become institutionalized and stereotyped" (Corder, 1981 82) It is believed that complexification phenomena, where they exist in the

learner's IL, are noticeable at a lexical level in the first place. To make the point more explicit, an actual utterance produced by a Syrian learner can be exemplified·

> (13) *A small lake in the desert* (AU)

In this utterance, the context suggests that the learner attempted to express the L1-lexical item [wa ḫa] (MSA/SCA) in English Because the learner, at least at the time of speaking, was not able to conjure up the L2-lexical item *'oasis'* for whatever reason, he seems to have had recourse to what can be called an interpretation strategy Therefore, from a lexical standpoint, the learner's lack of knowledge might cause him to adopt this strategy and to produce in his IL a more complex lexical code such as (13) than the equivalent L2-code *'oasis'*, though he already has the simplified L1-code [wa ḫa] at his disposal. Nevertheless, in reply to Corder, Selinker still believes that, despite the existence of complexification, there is a place for simplification in the learner's IL In Selinker's words

> One argument says that central to a theory of IL *must* be complexification and the second, is that 'simple codes' do not necessarily mean simplification has occurred This is insightful But the argument 'how can one simplify what one does not know, i e the L2?' is too general Of course we get simplification of the L1; that is not in dispute. I would like to claim that learners, sometimes, and maybe quite consciously, also simplify L2-information
>
> (Selinker, 1984, 340, original emphasis)

In the light of the above argument, one might come to the conclusion that both types of strategies are applicable by the learner in his IL but their underlying domination varies from one level of linguistic processing to another Thus, complexification strategies can, at best, be noticed at a lexical level, particularly in the learner's attempt to express unknown L2-lexical items as shown above (*cf.* example (13)); whereas simplification strategies, generally speaking, are well observable at a syntactic level in the first place This can be seen in the Syrian learner's frequent use of simple tenses and sentences in situations where pragmatic contexts require more complex identifications (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 2 3)

It follows from what precedes that, of the five central processes which Selinker refers to, *strategies of L2-learning* and *strategies of*

L2-communication seem to be directly connected with the polarity of simplification/complexification As noted earlier, the strategies adopted during L1-L2 acquisition are fundamentally the same in that both the L1-acquirer and the L2-learner follow identical routes of development (*cf* Corder, chapter 1, section 1 4 2). In the case of L1-acquisition, such routes start with a very simplified code known as the *base form* and gradually shift up towards a more complex form through strategies of acquisition and communication in order to institutionalize and stereotype this code (Corder, 1981 84f) So long as the IL-continuum is characterized by the regular *reorganization* mentioned above, strategies of learning and communication should also pass through, but various, schemes of simplification/complexification As far as one can judge from the logical point of view, the reason why strategies of learning and communication are represented in vertical directions (*cf* **Figure 5**) is that this polarity, when operating through the natural routes of development, involves vertical dimensions as well, that is, simple, complex, more complex, and so on. With regard to L1-acquisition, the development of child language is, beyond question, clear evidence of this vertical representation Similarly, it has been assumed that the process of L2-learning/acquisition entails the same vertical representation "
even if this process is distorted by other processes including those that can be described *horizontally* [i.e the first three processes (*cf* **Figure** 5)]" (Krzeszowski, 1981 78, emphasis added). Processes such as these latter are associated with the general principle of transfer and result in the regular re-emergence of fossilizable structures within a horizontal dimension, that is, certain aspects of a previous task (the learner's L1, his knowledge of the L2, or the way he is trained to learn the L2) are faultily *overgeneralized* into their counterparts of a subsequent task (the new material received from the L2) However, fossilizable structures, within a horizontal dimension, can only be seen at a surface-structure level which is insufficient to be taken up as the constant TC for CA (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 3) Consequently, the re-oriented constant TE which, at a far deeper level, incorporates the three types of meaning *ideational*, *textual*, and *interpersonal* (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3) must be taken into account to scrutinize the potential for language transfer within a vertical dimension. This highly complex analysis will be attempted later (*cf* section 3 2 3 below)

To sum up Selinker's theoretical perspective, the principal tentative assumptions can be recorded as follows

(1)   The three sets of utterances (L1, IL and L2) are the psychologic-
       ally relevant data of L2-learning.

(2)   The learner focuses on one form of the L2, and his IL-identifica-
       tions are what unites the three systems (L1, IL and L2)
       psychologically

(3)   Theoretical predictions should concern the surface structures of
       IL-utterances, and each prediction must be relevant to one of the
       five central processes

(4)   The five central processes incorporate into the LPS which is differ-
       ent from, but exists in addition to, the LLS

(5)   Fossilization accounts for the regular re-emergence of IL-product-
       ive performance

(6)   Successful learners reorganize the linguistic material from the ILs
       to identify with a given L2

(7)   Of the five central processes,   three (language transfer, over-
       generalization, and transfer of training) represent horizontal
       directions, and two (strategies of L2-learning and strategies of
       L2-communication) represent vertical dimensions

(8)   Since strategies of L2-learning and strategies of L2-communication
       represent vertical dimensions, they are primarily associated with
       the polarity of simplification/complexification

3.2.2 *Creative Construction (CC)*

       One of the most severe attacks on the theoretical assumptions behind
CA, and subsequently on its notion of transfer, was launched by Dulay and
Burt during the 1970s and the repercussions of their analyses are still
to be seen today A great deal of their critical survey, however, does
not seem to have received endorsement in transfer-based studies   Hence,
the counter-criticisms levelled at their sceptical attitudes towards the
historical link between CA and *bilingualism* have been outlined earlier
(*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 1 2)   Mention has also been made of how the
findings of several researchers have not borne out the results of Dulay
and Burt's empirical studies which reported the least percentage (3%) of
interlingual goofs among those which were made by children during
L2-learning (*cf*   chapter 2,   section 2 2 3)   It is worth noting,
however, despite the relative validity of such counter-criticisms, Dulay
and Burt's writings have been extremely influential in the field of

L2-acquisition, particularly IL-research, and thus, by re-reasoning out their theoretical speculations carefully, language transfer can be considered from a far more convincing perspective

The most exciting line of thinking among Dulay and Burt's theoretical purview is the enunciation of a cognitively-based theory in L2-acquisition research known as *creative construction* (CC) It appears that such a theory is in many respects a reflection of the theoretical issues (for instance, *innateness, creativity, systematicity,* and so on) put forward by Chomsky in L1-acquisition research, and of Piaget's complementary views on developmental psychology (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4) This can be explicitly seen in Dulay and Burt's own writing where they define the CC-theory as follows

> Creativity in language acquisition derives from the linguistic notion, it is also attributed to all normal learners It too refers to *a degree of learner independence from external input factors* such as the exact form of modeled utterances, frequency of occurrence, or rewards for correctness While for mature speakers, creativity stems from a control of the rules of the language they speak, for *language learners,* creativity stems from the structure of those mental mechanisms responsible for learning the rules of a new language. Thus [..] "creative construction" in language acquisition refers to the process by which *learners* graduallly reconstruct rules for speech they hear, guided by *innate mechanisms* which cause them to formulate certain types of hypotheses about the language system being acquired, until the mismatch between what they are exposed to and what they produce is resolved
>
> (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 67; emphasis added)

The striking point here is that many of the general facets which characterize the CC-theory conform, to a large extent, to those which characterize the IL as a uniform system, even though the methodological differences between the two, particularly concerning the approach to language transfer, are clear as will be seen in the next section (*cf* also Figure 7 below). Of prime interest here is to discuss some of the theoretical issues of CC which conform to those of IL

One of these issues, perhaps the most important, is the focus of attention upon the learner, the central perspective from which Selinker considers learner language, as shown in the preceding section Similarly Dulay and Burt look upon the learner as a creative organism generating utterances from an internalized rule system rather than merely imitating previously heard utterances CC is, therefore, a *subconscious process* whereby the learner reconstructs rules and organizes the linguistic data he receives from the input As the above excerpt from Dulay and Burt

indicates, the form of these rules is determined by *innate mental mechanisms* which are inherently responsible for the formulation of learner language (*cf*. also Dulay *et al* , 1982 11) In other words, following Brown's (1973) argument about the L1-acquirer, the L2-learner is seen as constructing for himself a special type of grammar essentially derived from the L2 due to the gradual reconstruction of rules and the production of " systematic deviations from the structure of the L2-sentences" (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 72). This type of grammar is evident in the two designations (ISD and APS) in that both *idiosyncratic utterances* and *permanent deviations* are 'grammatical' and 'patterned' in *suis generis* terms   This grammar is also evident in the IL-system whose potential for fossilization reflects the   regular re-emergence of *fossilizable structures* which are also reorganized within a cohesive system in language-specific terms   It should be noted, however, that, like Nemser, but unlike Corder and Selinker, Dulay and Burt seem to regard learner language as a deviant system, since the L2-goofs children make signify those systematic deviations " which native adult speakers consider grammatically correct" (Dulay and Burt, 1974a 95)

A further important issue concerns Dulay and Burt's views on the learner's internal processing mechanisms which interact with the input to formulate his own speech In this respect, the authors identify **five** general, but distinct, factors as constituting a working and dynamic model for **CC** in the L2-learning process   (i) *the socioaffective filter;* (ii) *the cognitive organizer,* (iii) *the editing monitor,* (iv) *personality,* and (v) *past experience*   Dulay and Burt suggest that certain discrepancies between the input the learner receives and the output he produces are attributable to such five internal factors which represent a myriad of conscious and unconscious processes operating in the learner's mind (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 68)   The five general factors can be visualized in the form of Figure 6 which is a combination of several diagrams introduced by the same writers (*cf* Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 70, Dulay *et al* , 1982 6 and 46)

As Figure 6 illustrates, the *input* the learner receives from the L2 undergoes the three internal operators the filter, the organizer, and the monitor consecutively These operators are all constantly influenced by the other two factors personality and past experience in order to constitute a highly intricate network underlying the learner's production
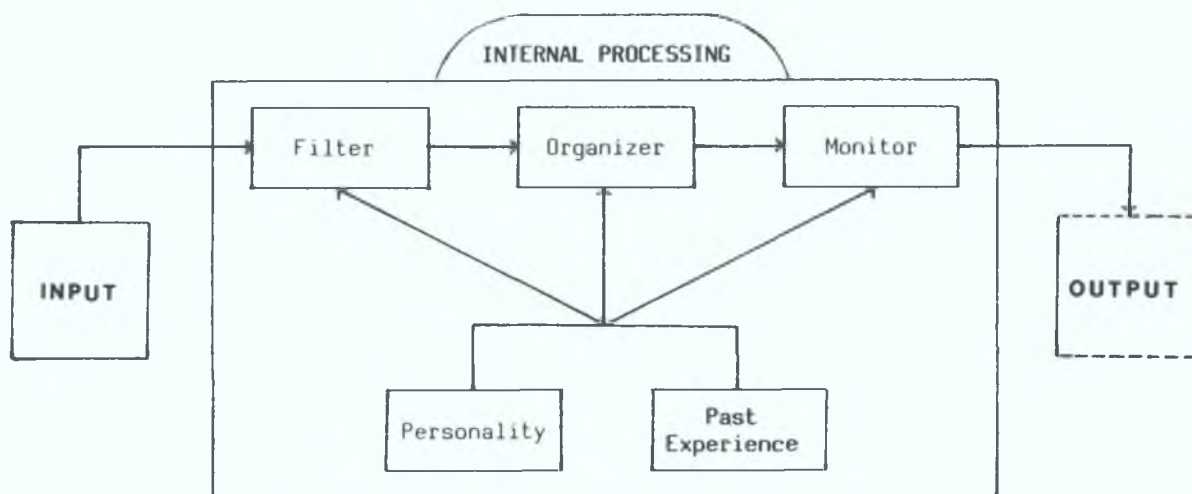
Figure 6: *A working model for CC in the L2-learning process*

of the *output*. Here, the potential for language transfer can be detected by a complete scrutiny of the last internal factor, since the learner's past experience refers to his previous knowledge of the L1 in the first place (this matter will be discussed in detail in the next section). In conformity with most of the general facets proposed by IL-specialists, Dulay and Burt stress that the observable discrepancies between the input and the output are clear indications of learner language as a distinct system characterized by independence, systematicity, transitionality and the like, as will be seen presently. It appears that the first three internal mechanisms incorporating into CC comprise both the **LLS** (in Lenneberg's terms) and the **LPS** (in Selinker's terms) referred to in the preceding section. To make this point clear, a brief outline of each of these three mechanisms might be useful:

(i) The socio-affective filter
This mechanism is mainly associated with *psychological factors* such as the learner's conscious or unconscious motives for learning, attitudes towards learning, or emotional states. As the term *filter* implies, such factors screen out what is received from the input and affect the rate and quality of the L2-learning process. Thus, the *filter* determines "(a) which L2-models the learner will select; (b) which parts of the language will be attended to first; (c) when language acquisition efforts should

cease, and (d) how fast a learner can acquire the language" (Dulay *et al* 1982· 46, *cf* also Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 68). It seems, therefore, by means of these internal psycholinguistic factors along with other external sociolinguistic factors such as the environment, the learner may employ certain types of *verbal routines* which give his speech system its own independence, a common feature that all IL-specialists appear to concur with.

(ii) The cognitive organizer

This mechanism is based on a set of *cognitive principles* or structures which already exist in the learner's mental ordinance and are responsible for the formulation of his special grammar mentioned above The *organizer*, therefore, refers to Chomsky's notion of the LAD, or to what Lenneberg called the LLS, since it can be maintained as a direct counterpart to an abstract system such as *universal grammar*. According to Dulay and Burt, the functioning of the *organizer* is reflected in three pervasive phenomena "(a) the *systematic* progression of changes in interim rules, or *transitional* constructions that learners use before a structure is finally acquired, (b) the errors that systematically occur in learner speech, and (c) the common order in which mature structures are learned" (Dulay *et al* , 1982. 54, emphasis added, *cf* also Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 69) Here, the authors stress the systematicity of learner language, thus allowing the investigator to carry out a systematic study of this continuum, and to discover many of the aspects which underlie the learning process In very much the same concept of *transitional* competence proposed by Corder, Dulay and Burt also emphasize transitionality, another common feature suggested by all IL-specialists, and use the term *transitional constructions* "to refer to the interim structures learners regularly use during the acquisition of a particular L2-structure" (Dulay *et al* , 1982 54) Moreover, the evolutionary nature of these transitional constructions is identical with that of APSs in Nemser's terms (*cf* section 3 1 2 above) While APSs form an evolving series through *successive stages* of learning (which Selinker also refers to), transitional constructions entail progressive steps where "Language development is *not* a series of plateaus [or stable varieties in Nemser's sense], but a continuum made up of blending the beginnings and ends of severeal *successive phases*" (Dulay *et al* , 1982 55, emphasis added).

(iii) The editing monitor

The notion of the *monitor* was first invoked by Krashen (1975; 1977) to stress its responsibility for 'learning' or conscious linguistic processing in Dulay and Burt's sense As the term indicates, this internal mechanism refers to "the conscious editing of one's own speech" (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 69), and the degree to which it is employed is determined by the following stipulations. "(a) the learner's age, (b) the amount of formal instruction the learner has experienced, (c) the nature and focus required by the verbal task being performed; and (d) the individual personality of the learner" (Dulay *et al.*, 1982· 59) Further, the degree to which learner speech is edited depends upon the type of verbal task, and, in this context, Dulay and Burt point out that " tasks which cause [the learner] to focus on communication tend to bring on less self-editing, while tasks whose focus is linguistic analysis [   ] seem to invite more editing" (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 69) Recently with reference to some of the current research into *crosslinguistic influence*, Krashen has extensively refined Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance hypothesis* in terms of the conscious *monitor* (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1)

Clearly, therefore, the *organizer*, as shown above, is directly pertinent to Lenneberg's notion of the LLS, whereas both the *filter* and the *monitor* appear to lie at the heart of the LPS referred to by Selinker In relation to the two types of strategies which exist in the LPS, it seems that while the filter deals with *strategies of L2-learning* in the first place, the monitor can, at best, be seen as relevant to *strategies of L2-communication*, though there is no necessary one-to-one relationship between either pair. Nevertheless, what is reasonably acceptable is that the learning of particular L2-material precedes the learner's communication in the L2 by using that material Therefore, the priority of the filter over, at least, the monitor as shown in **Figure 6** is a clear indication of this relationship As noted above, the filter dictates to the learner how to select, what to prioritize, and when noviciate stops, whereas the function of the monitor is to consciously edit during communication what has already been learnt, regardless of the extent of editing which correlates with the type of linguistic material being processed.

It follows that, according to Selinker, if an exact decision were available for a given fossilizable structure to be ascribable to one of

the central processes which are described *horizontally*, then such a structure might be related to another process but described in the same dimension as separate from those which are represented *vertically* (*cf.* Figure 5). This of course can only be taken up with IL-identifications on the level of product. In other words, if a fossilizable structure is said to be a reflection of *language transfer*, then this structure could be related to either *transfer of training* or *overgeneralization* or both (and vice versa), but neither to *strategies of L2-learning* nor to *strategies of L2-communication*. For instance, the collocation '*drive a bicycle*' frequently produced by Indian speakers of English was identified by Jain (1969: 24) as a result of *overgeneralization*; whereas, according to Selinker, such a collocation may well be attributed to *language transfer* or *transfer of training* or even, prehaps, to both but not, it is believed, to either of the other two processes (*cf.* Selinker, 1972; reprint: 42).

On the level of process, however, the mechanism of *language transfer* is not said to be functioning in isolation from any other internal processes existing in the web of the LPS. Rather, Selinker underlines the fact that "language transfer interacts with other processes and constraints throughout the IL-experience" (Selinker, 1984: 335). By analogy, what seems to be deduced from Dulay and Burt's argument turns out that none of the internal mechanisms (such as the *filter*, the *organizer* and the *monitor*) is separable from language transfer, where there are transfer effects, since the learner processes the linguistic data he receives from the input through successive proceedings by means of these internal mechanisms together "...with personality factors and *L1-experience influencing the operation of all three*" (Dulay and Burt, 1977; reprint: 70; emphasis added). By introducing such a statement, Dulay and Burt appear to lay particular stress on the fact that any strategy (such as learning and communication) applied by the learner can *not* be abstracted from L1-influence; although the authors, in their empirical research conducted on children learning a L2, reported the least percentage (3%) of interlingual goofs among others. This matter will be addressed in the next section.

So far two important issues have been put forward as similar in both designations (IL and CC): first, the focus of attention upon the learner; and second, the three internal mechanisms (the filter, the organizer, and the monitor) which are a psycholinguistic concatenation between Lenneberg's notions of the LLS and Selinker's concept of the LPS.

In Selinker's perspective, language transfer, as one of the five central processes, plays a significant part in determining the IL-system and interacts with other processes such as strategies of L2-learning and strategies of L2-communication Likewise, according to Dulay and Burt, L1-experience is one of the five major internal mechanisms which incorporate into the CC-model and characterize particular discrepancies between the input and the output, merger, L1-experience also affects the filter, the organizer and the monitor constantly A further important issue which seems to be methodologically commensurable in the two approaches is the notion of prediction Dulay and Burt set up an alternative approach to CA *a priori* known as the L2=L1 Hypothesis in order to predict the goofs that are likely to be made by children learning a L2 (*cf* chapter 2, section 2.2 2) As seen from the discussion, the theoretical assumptions behind CC have been carefully compared with those which concern the other three designations put forward in this chapter Hence, **Figure 7** sketches out the main characteristics of all four designations (ISD, **APS**, IL and CC)

As **Figure 7** illustrates, learner language (whether it be considered from a L2-perspective or a learner-perspective) is indeed "a legitimate system of language in its own right" (Brown, 1980 162) Thus, even in the case of linguistic deviancy as so judged from L2-grammar, the systematic appearance of errors/fossilizations/goofs (which are themselves describable in terms of a specific grammar) brings to light the 'indigenous' *systematicity* of all the internal mechanisms integrated into the learner-language continuum Given that language transfer —the main concern of the current study— is one such mechanism, the transfer-based utterances produced by the learner must also have inherent in them *systematic* identifications While these identifications can be diagnosed in ISD and APS by means of symptomatic comparison (in Corder's sense) or symmetrical projection (in Nemser's sense), their psycholinguistic repercussions can be predicted in IL and CC through the careful unification of L1/IL/L2 (in Selinker's sense) or through the analysis of both the goofs collected from the learning/acquisition data of a given L2 and the goofs collected from the L1-acquisition data of the same L2 (in Dulay and Burt sense) The next section will scrutinize the potential for language transfer both in IL and in CC, and will consider the notion of prediction suggested by Selinker and Dulay and Burt
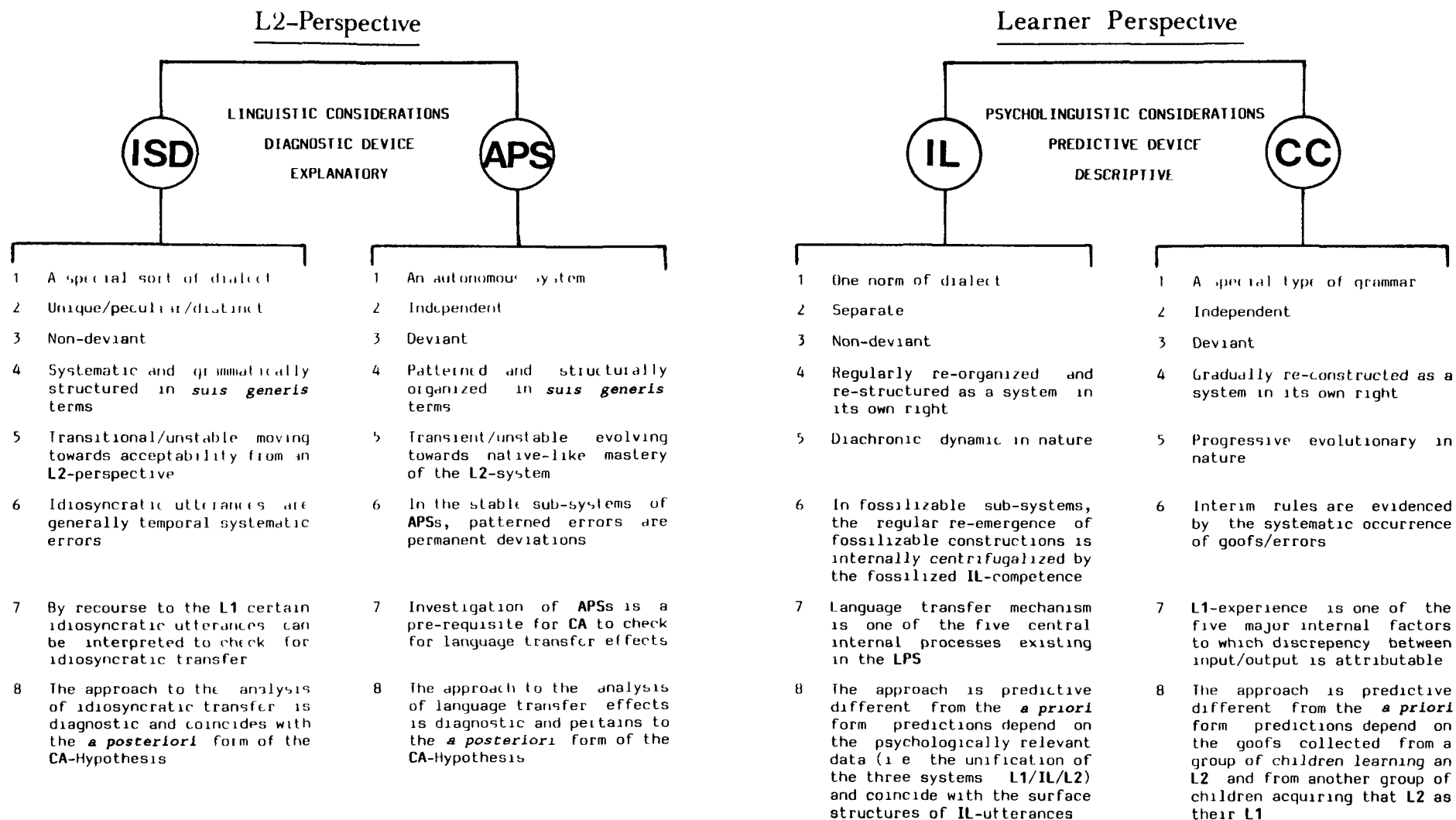
L2-Perspective

LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS
DIAGNOSTIC DEVICE
EXPLANATORY

(ISD)   (APS)

	ISD		APS
1	A special sort of dialect	1	An autonomous system
2	Unique/peculiar/distinct	2	Independent
3	Non-deviant	3	Deviant
4	Systematic and grammatically structured in *suis generis* terms	4	Patterned and structurally organized in *suis generis* terms
5	Transitional/unstable moving towards acceptability from an L2-perspective	5	Transient/unstable evolving towards native-like mastery of the L2-system
6	Idiosyncratic utterances are generally temporal systematic errors	6	In the stable sub-systems of APSs, patterned errors are permanent deviations
7	By recourse to the L1 certain idiosyncratic utterances can be interpreted to check for idiosyncratic transfer	7	Investigation of APSs is a pre-requisite for CA to check for language transfer effects
8	The approach to the analysis of idiosyncratic transfer is diagnostic and coincides with the *a posteriori* form of the CA-Hypothesis	8	The approach to the analysis of language transfer effects is diagnostic and pertains to the *a posteriori* form of the CA-Hypothesis

Learner Perspective

PSYCHOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS
PREDICTIVE DEVICE
DESCRIPTIVE

(IL)   (CC)

	IL		CC
1	One norm of dialect	1	A special type of grammar
2	Separate	2	Independent
3	Non-deviant	3	Deviant
4	Regularly re-organized and re-structured as a system in its own right	4	Gradually re-constructed as a system in its own right
5	Diachronic dynamic in nature	5	Progressive evolutionary in nature
6	In fossilizable sub-systems, the regular re-emergence of fossilizable constructions is internally centrifugalized by the fossilized IL-competence	6	Interim rules are evidenced by the systematic occurrence of goofs/errors
7	Language transfer mechanism is one of the five central internal processes existing in the LPS	7	L1-experience is one of the five major internal factors to which discrepency between input/output is attributable
8	The approach is predictive different from the *a priori* form predictions depend on the psychologically relevant data (i e the unification of the three systems L1/IL/L2) and coincide with the surface structures of IL-utterances	8	The approach is predictive different from the *a priori* form predictions depend on the goofs collected from a group of children learning an L2 and from another group of children acquiring that L2 as their L1

Figure 7 *The learner-language continuum in two perspectives the main characteristics of the four designations (ISD, APS, IL and CC)*

3.2.3 *Transfer Potential in IL and CC*

Having reviewed the main theoretical assumptions behind these two designations, it appears that L1-influence is one of the central factors which dtermine learner language. A comparative survey of the internal mechanisms operating in IL and CC has shown that language transfer is indeed a real entity bound up with the previous knowledge of the L1 either horizontally on the level of product or vertically on the level of process. Since IL-research offers a cognitively based theory of L2-acquisition, dynamic and evolutionary in nature, the potential for language transfer can be considered within a perspective much deeper than what had been recognized during the predominance of behaviourism up to the late 1960s. Potentiality stems from the fact that, for the IL-system, language transfer is a central *internal* process interacting with others in the LPS; and, for the CC-model, L1-experience is a major *internal* mechanism influencing others constantly. The potential for language transfer in the IL-system will be addressed first.

As noted above, *fossilization* is a total internal mechanism which, by means of its centrifugal force, triggers the regular re-emergence of fossilizable structures through one, or more, of the five central processes (*cf.* Figure 5). Given the operation of fossilization and language transfer (being one of these five central processes) takes place only in the ordinance of the LPS, it is felt that L1-experience has more potential to affect L2-learning than language transfer. This is because L1-experience, or more specifically, what is internalized as L1-knowledge does not belong to the LPS, but rather to a more genetically determined structure such as the LLS referred to by Lenneberg (*cf.* Selinker, 1972; reprint: 33f). From this point of view, L1-experience exists in the LLS as a type of *pure* linguistic knowledge in its own terms and is continuously peculiar to the individual alone even if he happens to be a L2-novice. Clearly, therefore, since the mechanism of fossilization is part of the LPS, L1-knowledge is said to be separate from such a mechanism. This can be analogously extrapolated from particular schemes of L2-learning but in the domain of lexical selection in the first place. Hence, what is received from the L2 as an input (on the stipulation that it is perceived by reference to the initiating L1-counterpart but *not* yet produced in the output) also tends to remain, for an unknown period of time, as a type of *pure* linguistic knowledge from a L2-perspective; but not necessarily peculiar to the individual learner since what he receives

is usually bound up with at least one social dialect of the L2, typically the standard norm In such a case, L2-knowledge, too, is said to be abstracted from fossilization and thus, before being produced, it very likely occupies a temporal position in the LLS. It seems, therefore, at a reception level, there exist in the LLS two types of pure linguistic knowledge (L2-knowledge and L1-knowledge) as being isolated from fossilization before the productive reorganization of the L2-material An attempted analysis of some examples may clarify this point

	L2-English			L1-SCA
(14)	a	*the player*	(15) a	[ɪlla ʔɪb]
	b.	*was dismissed*	b	[intarad]
	c	*after*	c	[baʔid]
	d	*two warnings*	d	[ɪnza·re.n]

As the discussion of the actual IL-utterances (16a-b) below will illustrate, the Syrian learner seems to have received the L2-set of lexical items (14a-d) in a given order (not necessarily in the same order given above) and, before being produced, these lexical items were stored in the LLS as *pure* knowledge from an English perspective, that is, they were received as they are usually produced within different identifications by a native speaker of English In addition, the learner in question already possesses in the LLS the L1-set of lexical items (15a-d), which are the initiating counterparts of (14a-d) in his focus of attention, as part of his *pure* knowledge of Arabic (SCA) It appears that, at this point, at a reception level, both sets of lexical items still remain isolated from the mechanism of fossilization At a production level, however, the learner's attempt to reconstruct a *meaningful* utterance out of the L2-items (14a-d) —founded on the assumption that these items are in any order available to him— entitled him to produce (16a) at a surface-structure level and (16b) at a deep-structure level when the situational context (watching a televized football-match) required more information

(16)	a	The player was *dismissed*	(*AU*)
	b	The player was *dismissed* after two *warnings*	(*AU*)

As the contextual meaning of these IL-utterances suggests, neither of them seems to be a reflection of *pure* L2-knowledge in the sense discussed above, even though both utterances are grammatically correct and reconstructed out of the L2-items (14a-d) which were stored as *pure*

lexical knowledge This is because, from the viewpoint of English, these lexical items do not usually collocate with each other as in (16a-b) to convey the same contextual meaning. From the viewpoint of SCA, on the other hand, the L1-items (15a-d) can collocate with each other as in (17a-b) below to express the same meaning whose reconstruction still represent *pure* L1-knowledge

(17) a   [illa ?ıb *intarad*]   (*SCA*)
     b   [illa ?ıb *intarad* ba?ıd *inza re n*]   (*SCA*)

It appears that the IL-utterances (16a-b) are merely the verbatim translations of the L1-utterances (17a-b) for which reason the former represent *non-pure* L2-knowledge   Hence, if a native speaker of English was exposed to the same context and induced to express the same meaning, he might well produce the L2-utterances (18a-b) below —taking into account that the L2-ıtems *'sent off'* and *'bookings'* may exist in the learner's LLS but to be rendered into different semantic manifestations

(18) a   The player was *sent off*   (*L2-U*)
      b   The player was *sent off* after two *bookings*.   (*L2-U*)

The distınction between *pure* knowledge and *non-pure* knowledge ın the sense dıscussed above seems to be sımılar, but not exactly symmetrıcal, to the dıstinction between *declarative* knowledge and *procedural* knowledge respectıvely (*cf* Faerch and Kasper, 1983, 1986)   It follows that the *non-pure* knowledge whıch underlıes the IL-utterances (16a-b) ıs no longer part of the learner's L2-knowledge ınternalızed ın the LLS, but rather ıt ıs formulated in the LPS as being *creatıve* ın Dulay and Burt's terms. Put more precisely, thıs *non-pure* knowledge is formulated by the mechanısm of fossılızatıon (whıch exısts ın the LPS) and centrıfugalızed through the channel of language transfer as there ıs no dırect connectıon between fossılızatıon and errors (*cf*   Selınker, 1972, reprint 51, footnote 14)

It appears that IL-utterances such as (16a-b) are evidence of a *hıghly structured* speech system (*cf*   Selınker, 1969 71) and of the facilitative role of the L1 whıch caused the learner to reconstruct meanıngful and well-formed utterances out of what is available to hım or what is *ın presentıo* (*cf* Wıddowson, section 3 2 1)   Therefore, Selınker poınts out, " *whatever the cause*, the well-observed phenomenon of 'backslıdıng' by L2-learners from a L2-norm ıs *not*, as has been generally

believed, either random or towards the speaker's Ll, but towards an IL-norm" (Selinker, 1972; reprint 36, emphasis added) Hence, transferable fossilizable structures, whether they re-emerge as well-formed or ill-formed from a L2-perspective, are not only observable in the lexical domain, that a particular collocation of a set of Ll-lexical items is replicated in the IL as shown above, but also in the syntactic domain where " the interlingual unit of surface syntactic structure [is] transferred from Ll to IL (*not* to L2)" (Selinker, 1972, reprint 45, original emphasis) This indicates that it is the grammatical function of the fossilized IL-item in question which is to be modified in the direction of the grammatical function of the Ll-counterpart (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 2) Transferable fossilizable structures can also be noticed in the phonological domain, and, in this respect, Selinker identifies several *minor* processes which exist beyond the five central processes and affect the phonological shapes of IL-utterances (i) *spelling pronunciation* for example, most learners, particularly Arab learners, tend to pronounce the final '-*er*'; (ii) *cognate pronunciation* for example, the tendency to substitute /b/ for /p/ by most Arab learners in general, or to substitute /s/ and /z/ for /θ/ and /ð/ by Syrian learners whose home dialects are NCD/SCD/WCD (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 1); and (iii) *hypercorrection*: in the sense discussed by Nemser (*cf* section 3 1.3 above)

Selinker argues that there are some other minor processes which may influence the syntactic shapes of IL-utterances A vivid instance of these has to do with *holophrastic learning*, a term used by Jain (1969) to refer to certain phrases such as '*one and half-an-hour*' frequently produced by Indian speakers of English Analogously, the Syrian learner tends to regularly reconstruct holophrases such as the following

    (19) a   *One space and a half*   (*AU*)
           b. *One pound and a half*   (*AU*)

Selinker asserts the significance of research into these minor processes among others for they ostensibly " affect by themselves the shape of English IL-utterances [ ] or at least reinforce some important processes such as *language transfer*" (Selinker, 1972; reprint 41; original emphasis) Following this conviction, the potential for Arabic transfer can be recognized by a detailed analysis of the linguistic knowledge underlying the IL-holophrases (19a-b) with reference to the Ll-counterparts It is well observed that the Syrian learner

specifically tends to produce holophrases such as (19a-b) instead of '*one and a half spaces/pounds*'. One possible interpretation is that this tendency stems from the presence of the **dual case** [al-muthanna] in Arabic, which is absent in English   To begin with, consider the following examples.

	L2-English			L1-SCA
(20)	a One and a half *spaces*	(21)	a.	[*fara g w nus*]
	b Two *spaces*		b	[*fara ge n*]
	c Three *spaces*		c	[tlat *fara ga·t*]

Notice here the English phrases (20a-c) indicate that the grammatical form of '*spaces*' is plural in all three cases, whereas in the Arabic phrases (21a-c) the counterparts are singular, dual and plural respectively   It seems, therefore, the addition of '*a half*' into '*one*' in (20a) renders the counted noun '*spaces*' into the plural case because plurality in English starts with the association of two entities whether the second entity is equal to or half of the first   Thus, '*one*' is an entity and '*a half*' is another entity, and both entities impose plurality upon '*spaces*' due to the absence of the dual case in English   On the other hand, plurality in Arabic starts with the association of three equal entities either in quality or in quantity   Hence, the morphological form of [fara ge n] in (21b) or in the phrase [*fara ge n w nus*] (SCA) 'two *spaces* and a half' still indicates duality since it would be absurd to quantify the plural form [fara ga t] '*spaces*' by means of the phrase [tne n w nus] (SCA) '*two and a half*' simply because this phrase does not indicate three equal entities least   It follows that, if no mention is made of the number, the English plural form '*spaces*' would, at a deep-structure level, denote '*one and a half*' least, whereas the Arabic plural form [fara ga t] in (21c) would imply at least three equal entities of the singular form [fara g] in (21a)   With regard to duality in Arabic, the main concern here, it only indicates the association of two equal entities in the sense that the dual form [fara ge n] in (21b) only involves two equal entities of the singular form [fara g] in (21a)   A consideration of some examples concerning the co-occurrence of the phrase [wa ḥid w nus] (SCA) '*one and a half*' with each of the three cases may help clarify the point

(22)	a.	[wa ḥid w nus *fara g*]	(*singular*)
	b.*	[wa ḥid w nus *fara ge.n*]	(*dual*)
	c *	[wa ḥid w nus *fara ga t*]	(*plural*)

Given the ideational implications of duality and plurality in Arabic, it would be incorrect to identify duality with the phrase (22b) because it exactly means 'one and half of (only two spaces)' which equals 'only two spaces' from the mathematical point of view   Nor would it be correct to identify plurality with the phrase (22c) because, at a deep-structure level, it implies 'one and half of (at least three spaces)' which equals 'at least two and a half spaces'. However, it is possible to identify singularity with the phrase (22a) since it exactly means 'one and half (a space)' which equals the same number intended

Concerning the phrase (22a), the singular form [fara g̱] is not quantified by the whole number [wa h̲ d w nus̱] 'one and a half', but rather it is only bound up with its direct quantifier [nus̱] 'a half' which cannot be considered an entire entity as discussed above. It appears that, at a deep-structure level, the word [wa hid] 'one' is in fact a quantifier standing for another preceding, but deleted, entity [fara g̱]   The former [wa h̲id] quantifies the latter [fara:g̱] as an entire and separate entity to which the remainder [nus̱ fara g̱] 'half a space' is added   Thus the deep structure of (22a) would be (23a)

```
(23)  a   [(fara g̱) wa h̲id w nus̱ fara g̱]
          (Lit   (space) one and half space)
      b   One space and half a space
```

By analogy, the singular form [fara g̱] in (21a) is, at a deep-structure level, directly associated with another following, but deleted, quantifier [wa h̲id] 'one' which quantifies the former as an entire and separate entity   The added remainder [nus̱] 'a half' is also quantifying another following, but deleted, entity [fara g̱] quantified by [wa h̲id] as shown above   Thus, the deep structure of (21a) would be (24a)

```
(24)  a   [fara g̱ (wa h̲id) w nus̱ (fara g̱)]
          (Lit   space (one) and half (space))
      b   One space and half a space
```

As a consequence, the structural properties which concern the real existence of [wa h̲id] at a deep-structure level as in (24a) and the functioning of the added remainder [nus̱] on its own at a surface-structure level as in (21a) seem to have been positively transferred onto the IL-holophrases (19a-b)   Further, the structual properties which concern the singularity of [fara.g̱] as in (22a) are, at best, said to be negatively transferred onto the following IL-utterance

(25)   * One and a half *hour*.   (*AE*)

Having   scrutinized   the   potential   for   Arabic   transfer   in some
IL-utterances   by   recourse   to their Ll-L2 counterparts,   it   seems   that
ınvestigation of the   *context*   within   its   linguistic and non-linguistic
paradigms   ındubitably constitutes an integral part of transfer   analysis
through the intricacy of   vertical   dımensions   as   seen   above.   Hence,
Selınker   emphasizes   the significance of the *context*, a   related   aspect
which has not   received   much   attention   since   Lado's   inclusion of the
cultural   variable   in CA's parameters (*cf*   chapter 1,   section   1 3 2).
Selınker states

> In   arguing   for   IL-studies   to look   to   well-defıned   and   *socio-*
> *functıonally real areas of context*, the area of what we are calling
> specific-purpose   acquisition   comes   to mind   Do   specific-purpose
> contexts shape IL-behavıour?   Is complexıfication of IL different in
> specific-purpose   contexts?   Are   language   transfer   effects,
> fossilization effects and so on   related   in such contexts? I have a
> strong   feeling   that the answer is 'yes',   in each   case,   and   that
> IL-specıalists have been blind to this.
>   (Selınker, 1984 342, emphasıs added)

Therefore,   Selınker's contention of data collection   ıs   to unify   the
psycholinguıstic and socıolınguistic aspects integrated into the contexts
of a given IL-utterance and its Ll-L2 counterparts   By this unifıcation,
it is   believed,   Selınker   seeks   to   ınvestıgate   the   lınguistıc   and
non-lınguıstıc   ınteractıon   between   the   learner's *pure* L2-knowledge   and
hıs already existing *pure*   Ll-knowledge, whıch gives rıse to the creative
reconstructıon   of   the *non-pure* knowledge underlyıng hıs IL   Thus,   the
L2-items (14a-d),   as discussed   above,   are,   at a reception level,   stored
in   the   learner's LLS as *pure* lexıcal knowledge,   merger,   the   Ll-items
(15a-d) as well as their   collocatıonal representatıons (17a-b) are already
ınternalızed   in hıs LLS as *pure* lexıcal knowledge too   At a   production
level,   however, the   ınternal processıng   of   the two types of knowledge
takes   place   in   the   learner's LPS upon   reconstructing   the   *non-pure*
knowledge underlying the IL-utterances (16a-b)

It   seems   the   case   that,   for   the   reconstructıon   of   a   given
transfer-based   IL-utterance,   the   centrıpetal   force   of   fossılızatıon
'attracts' the L2-ıtems or rules   whıch are *ın presentıo* to fıt ınto that
utterance   and   the   lınguistıc solutions that govern   the   corresponding
Ll-utterance to convey the same   meanıng   wıthın the same context. Then,
the   centrıfugal force of fossılızatıon 'boosts' the re-emergence of   the

IL-utterance through the channel of language transfer which is inherently responsible for what can be matched between the L2-items or rules and their L1-counterparts (*cf* **Figure** 5). Eventually, the resultant utterance bears in it certain surface-structure properties which are not identifiable with those of the L2-counterpart, but are traceable back to those of the L1-counterpart In such a view, the three sets of utterances (L1, IL and L2) are, according to Selinker, the psychologically relevant data which enable the analyst to provide an adequate description of the linguistic knowledge underlying IL-utterances, and to make more precise decisions that particular fossilizable structures are attributable to language transfer Moreover, along with this adequate description, predictions that certain items or rules will be fossilized are also verifiable Predictions, in this case, correlate with how to systematically account for the phenomenon of fossilization on the basis of the theoretical constructs derived from the psychologically relevant data To illustrate the complexity of this task, Selinker cites an example of asymmetrical fossilizability for no distinct reason

> According to CA, Spanish speakers should have no difficulty with the *he/she* distinction in English, nor should English speakers have any difficulty with the corresponding distinction in Spanish The facts are quite different, however Spanish speakers do, indeed, regularly have trouble with this distinction, while the reverse does not seem to occur with English learners of Spanish
>
> (Selinker, 1972, reprint: 42)

Therefore, predictions of interlingual fossilizations constitute a serious problem, and a prior comparison between L1 and L2 is in many respects unreliable, a point which all the proponents of IL-research appear to concur with Interlingual fossilizations cannot be predicted solely on the basis of differences between L1 and L2 because of several reasons an important one is that a difference may not cause the learner to reconstruct the related fossilizable structure, but to *avoid* producing that structure (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2) Further, language transfer, as an inevitable process operating in the LPS, may override many other considerations referred to throughout this chapter such as the learner's knowledge of his L1, his aptitude for language learning in general, his internal factors, and so on Hence, Selinker emphasizes the need for an adequate description of *fossilization* which may help resolve the problem of prediction He concludes·

> The major justification one has for writing about the construct
> 'fossilization' at this stage of knowledge is that descriptive
> knowledge about ILs which turns out to suggest predictions
> verifiable in meaningful performance situations, leads to a
> systematic collection of the relevant data; this task, one which is
> impossible without this construct, is expected to be relevant to
> serious theory construction in a psychology of L2-learning
>   (Selinker, 1972, reprint: 43)

So far the potential for language transfer in the IL-system has been
extensively scrutinized on both theoretical and empirical grounds Given
the tentative assumptions behind the GC-model, the potential for language
transfer can also be established by carefully figuring **L1-experience** out.
As noted in the preceding section, Dulay and Burt make an articulate
enunciation that L1-experience is a major internal mechanism constantly
affecting the operation of other mechanisms such as the filter, the
organizer and the monitor (*cf* Figure 6) Since particular discrepancies
between the input and the output are ascribable to these mechanisms, it
appears that an inextricable proportion of such discrepancies can be
traced back to the learner's L1-experience While it is generally agreed
that approximately one-third of the learner's errors have direct
connection with L1-influence, Dulay and Burt, in their empirical
research, recorded a considerably low percentage (3%) of interlingual
goofs (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 3) However, through their
theoretical speculations, Dulay and Burt pointed to the fact that
L1-influence is well observable in the phonological domain In their
words

> [ ] the past experience of having learned one's L1 is integrated
> into some of the *organizing strategies* used by a learner to acquire
> a L2 This is evident, for example, in certain aspects of the
> acquisition of *phonology* and the use of code alternation as a
> L2-*learning device*
>   (Dulay and Burt, 1977, reprint 70, emphasis added)

The controversial point which should be addressed here is that although
Dulay and Burt, like all IL-specialists, reject the behaviouristic
paradigms from which transfer theory essentially derived its principles
(and, in the light of the generative-cognitive model, this rejection is
undoubtedly true), they do not seem to deny the fact of L1-influence on
L2-learning/acquisition Rather, Dulay and Burt look upon reliance on
the L1 as a strategy adopted by the learner not only in the phonological
domain as shown above, but also in the syntactic domain and/or the

lexical one   As noted in the preceding section, the monitor is a major internal mechanism responsible for *conscious* linguistic processing Hence, Dulay and Burt admittedly state·

> *Conscious learning* may also underlie a learner's use of his or her Ll-structure to formulate L2-sentences in particular situations When called upon to produce structures that are not yet part of the subconscious linguistic system, some learners —adults in particular — tend to plug L2-*vocabulary words* into their consciously available Ll-*syntax* This conscious word-for-word translation process may be a *communication strategy* of last resort
> > (Dulay *et al* , 1982 59, emphasis added)

So, it can be seen that the learner's reliance on his Ll-experience during L2-learning is noticeable on the three linguistic levels. phonology, syntax and lexis. Accordingly, this reliance is integrated into the two types of strategies employed by the learner· learning and communication (*cf* also Selinker, Figure 5) Therefore, by looking at the two exerpts cited above, one may notice the remarkable contradiction between Dulay and Burt's theoretical assumptions concerning language transfer and their empirical research which tried to play down the role of Ll-influence in L2-learning/acquisition

With regard to their theoretical assumptions, it appears that, like Selinker who identifies language transfer as one of the five central processes, Dulay and Burt establish Ll-experience to be one of the five major factors which characterize certain discrepancies between the input and the output Again, like Selinker when referring to language transfer as an internal process interacting with others during IL-experience, Dulay and Burt assume that Ll-experience is an internal mechanism which constantly influences the operation of others during L2-learning/ acquisition Clearly, therefore, within more or less the same equilibrium, language transfer can process through the strategies of L2-learning and L2-communication which are pertinent to the psychology of the learner According to Corder, while strategies of L2-learning refer to "the mental processes whereby a learner creates for himself or discovers a language system underlying the data he is exposed to", strategies of L2-communication have to do with "the devices whereby [a learner] exploits *whatever linguistic knowledge he possesses* to achieve his communicative ends" (Corder, 1981 89, emphasis added). Explicitly, the   author   associates   language   transfer   with   strategies   of L2-communication (*cf*   the monitor), since Ll-experience occupies a central position in his already existing linguistic knowledge.   Implicit

in Corder's definition of strategies of L2-learning (*cf.* the filter), language transfer can also be related, particularly at a **reception level** In other words, since strategies of L2-learning refer to the mental devices whereby the learner processes what he receives from the input, they can well be viewed to have connection with language transfer as they form a central internal process operating in the **LPS** This can be justified in terms of the results of Schachter's (1974) project conducted on distinct groups of learners of English In brief, Schachter observed that the Chinese and Japanese learners *avoided* producing the relative-clause structure, whereas the Arab and Persian learners *made errors* over the same structure, in spite of the fact that in comprehension, all these learners were aware of the correct rules governing that structure This indicates that, at a **reception level**, the *pure* linguistic knowledge of this L2-structural device was stored in the learners' **LLSs** (*cf* the organizer) for an unknown period of time, but processed differently at a production level, that is, *resorting to paraphrase* by the former group due to the radical difference between Chinese/Japanese and English relative clauses, and *making much more attempts at reconstruction* by the latter group due to the crucial similarity between Arabic/Persian and English relative clauses (*cf.* chapter 4, section 4 1 2) Therefore, the two different types of strategies adopted towards the learning of this L2-structure were determined by the learners' previous knowledge of the **L1**-counterparts, leading one to conclude that strategies of learning are by no means separable from language transfer even if interlingual errors do not occur This also applies to strategies of communication as the distinction made by Selinker between the two types of strategies is not always justifiable Here, the same writer appears to reconsider this point

> I feel as if I raised a hornet's nest when I suggested long ago (Selinker, 1972) the distinction communication strategies versus learning strategies The distinction in principle is seductive, but seems to have proved impossible to distinguish in practice Empirically, it appears that the only way out is to clearly operationalize what one means for each study [ ] I agree that a definition of strategy must be cognitive and not L2-specific [ ]. Additionally, it is reasonable to suppose that IL-communication strategies must at times further learning, but apparently no one has any idea how this happens

(Selinker, 1984 339-340)

With respect to Dulay and Burt's empirical research, on the other hand, the results they reported about what they called *interference-like goofs* extremely trivialized the role of L1-influence in L2-learning As noted earlier, satisfactorily conclusive statements about the exact percentages of interlingual errors are far from issuing, since the three variables (contrast, data, and age) often face the analyst and place restrictions on maintaining objective attitudes accordingly (*cf* chapter 2, sections 2 2 3 and 2 2 4) Therefore, the results of Dulay and Burt's empirical research are questionable in terms of these three variables

(i) The degree of contrast between L1 and L2

Along this variable, the investigation of learner language was confined to "the production of *syntax* in L2-acquisition by children, from the viewpoint of 'goofs' children make during the acquisition process" (Dulay and Burt, 1983 54, emphasis added) Thus, within the procedures of goof analysis (EA), the syntactic domain, without taking into consideration the phonological and lexical domains, is insufficient to give a complete picture of L1-influence as the role it plays in L2-learning may be mostly an inhibitor in one linguistic domain, but mostly a facilitator in another (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3) In this respect, Dulay and Burt themselves point out that the major impact of the L1 has on L2-learning may have to do with phonology rather than with grammar or syntax In their words "Pronunciation is more susceptible to L1-crossover than grammar" (Dulay *et al* , 1982 5; a footnote, *cf* also. 96). Therefore, if, for instance, Dulay and Burt had aimed at analysing phonological goofs, the percentage of the 'putatively' *interference-like goofs* would have been much higher than 3% or 5%

(ii) The collection of data

This variable which concerns the type of data collected need not be proved here, that it is not necessary to examine in detail the nature of the data Dulay and Burt intended to analyse, but it should be noted that the authors admittedly reported "The data we have were not systematically collected, therefore, a frequency count is not appropriate There were, however few interference-like goofs relative to the number of non-interference goofs" (Dulay and Burt, 1983 63) Consequently, one can apparently notice that *relatively few*

interference-like goofs do not necessarily lead to *absolutely* conclusive statements about language transfer and, therefore, a disparagement of the role of the L1 in L2-learning

(iii) The age of the learner

Concerning the age variable, Dulay and Burt cited empirical studies from the learning of English by several groups of children whose L1's are Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Norwegian and so on As mentioned elsewhere, Dulay and Burt brought with them a cognitively-based hypothesis known as the L2=L1 Hypothesis to stress that L2-acquisition and L1-acquisition do essentially comply with the same laws In its strongest claim, this hypothesis exists in two versions firstly, "Children below the age of puberty will make goofs in L2-syntax that are similar to L1-developmental goofs"; secondly, "Children below the age of puberty will not make goofs that reflect transfer of the structure of their L1 onto the L2 they are learning" (Dulay and Burt, 1983 59) Given the theoretical assumptions behind L1-experience, it appears that the remarkably low percentage of interference-like goofs in syntax specifically indicates no more than a child's reduced susceptibility to cognitive reliance on the L1 compared with an adult's Here, it is worth recapitulating Ausubel (1964) who pointed to the fact that the adult is more capable of syntactic generalizations than the child in that the former can draw on his L1-structural devices which are identical with their L2-counterparts (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 2).   Therefore, since the adult's L1-knowledge is assumed to be broader than the child's L1-knowledge (provided that L1-experience affects the operation of other internal mechanisms constantly), language transfer appears to have more potential in the adult's CC that it has in the child's CC

It should be noted, however, that the goofs collected from children were analysed only in terms of the L2=L1 Hypothesis whose ultimate aim holds that "children actively organize the L2-speech they hear and make generalizations about its structure as children learning their L1 do Therefore, the goofs *expected* in any particular L2-production would be similar to those made by children learning that same language as their L1" (Dulay and Burt, 1983 55, emphasis added)   Hence, with the rejection of the behavioural-structural model, the L2=L1 Hypothesis was apparently postulated as an alternative predictor of L2-goofs to CA *a priori*, by relying heavily on the developmental L1-goofs made by children during L1-acquisition For instance, Dulay and Burt report, "the

CA-Hypothesis predicts that Spanish-speaking children will delete subjects, as in *Wants Miss Jones*, while the L2=L1 Hypothesis predicts that children will omit functors, as in *He want Miss Jones*" (Dulay and Burt, 1983: 55). Apart from Dulay and Burt's neglect of language transfer, which has not gained much approval, as will be seen presently, their approach to the prediction of interlingual goofs appears to roughly coincide with that of Selinker. As discussed above, Selinker's intention is to found the three sets of utterances (L1, IL and L2) within a unified framework and —by collecting as data, utterances related to certain surface-structure devices employed in each of these three systems— to *predict* interlingual fossilizations where necessary. Likewise, Dulay and Burt seek to collect the goofs that a group of children make during L2-learning and the developmental goofs which another group of children make when acquiring that L2 as their L1, and to project the structures of the former goofs on the L1-counterparts for deciding which interlingual goofs are *predictable*. In other words, if the structures of the L2-goofs reflect the learner's L1-corresponding structures and are not found in the L1-acquisition data of the L2 he is learning, then *predictions* of interlingual goofs can be made. It seems, therefore, the unification of the three systems (L1, IL and L2) is implicit in Dulay and Burt's approach to the prediction of interlingual goofs specifically; whereas, according to Selinker, such unification in general establishes the psychologically relevant data on which theories of L2-learning should be based as the entire system of the IL-continuum stresses the structurally intermediate status between L1 and L2.

Since the mid 1970s, particularly when studies into *crosslinguistic influence* began to proliferate as will be discussed in the next chapter, there have been a great number of researchers who have frequently forwarded their criticisms against Dulay and Burt's empirical findings which attempted to severely discount L1-influence and the inevitable role it plays in L2-learning/acquisition. Among these researchers are: Kennedy and Holmes (1976), Larsen-Freeman (1976), Van Els *et al*. (1984), Kellerman (1978b; 1984), and Ringbom (1987). For instance, Kellerman and Ringbom point out respectively:

> Dulay and Burt re-analyse a number of L1-like errors in the only
> terms their hypothesis allows, namely as parallel to attested
> L1-acquisitional forms or as overgeneralizations of L2-material.
> Some of their analyses fail to convince because they fail to provide
> the critical supporting evidence for them (see the comments in e.g.

Kellerman 1974; 1975), but the overall impact was enormous, and it was only a matter of time before the morpheme studies were underway

(Kellerman, 1984· 99)

[ ] when [Dulay and Burt] compare Spanish and Chinese children learning English they do not pay attention to the fact that the Spanish children in their data constantly perform better than the Chinese children A natural explanation of this, as far as one can judge from a distant perspective, would be that the Spanish children can make much more use of their Ll when learning English than the Chinese children The difference can, in other words, be referred back, if not to transfer ın a narrow sense, at least to cross-linguistic ınfluence

(Ringbom, 1987: 48)

Nevertheless, Dulay and Burt's unconvincing disparagement of Ll-ınfluence appears to be one of the ıncentives which have encouraged IL-specialısts to deeply ınvestigate this fact and to re-affirm its credibılity. Therefore, despite the wide gap between what Dulay and Burt theorızed on Ll-experience and what they reported about ınterference-like goofs, language transfer can be considered from a much broader perspective by re-estimating the internal mechanism of Ll-experience within cognitive cırcumscription. The next section wıll draw on some of the recent research which has been prımarily devoted to this matter

3.3 IL and the Reaffirmation of Transfer

At this poınt, a brıef outlıne chronologıcally schematizing the theory and methodology of the three lines of research (CA, EA and IL) may be considered to trace, ın as much it ıncludes, the changing attıtudes towards the question of language transfer through the extensıve developments in linguıstic theory which were in fact the recıpes for such attıtudes

Beginnıng wıth the mıd 1950s, CA essentially relied on a prior comparison between Ll and L2 to identıfy their structural differences and to predıct͵ interlıngual errors on the basıs of these dıfferences The psychological constructs of CA were, ın the heyday of behavıourism, derıved from transfer paradıgms (the learnıng of task A wıll affect the subsequent learning of task B), and the lınguistic crıteria for CA were demarcated within the rigorous tradition of structuralısm. Therefore, Ll-ınfluence was deemed to be the chıef source of difficulty in L2-learning, and the pedagogical issues rested on mere elımınation of

interlingual errors   With the emergence of TGG and GS, and as a result of the contrastivists' failure in determining surface structure as the constant TC for CA, a number of researchers tried to apply the deep-structure principle which, though still insufficient, added valuable information on how the magnitude of transfer effects could be tested Following Chomsky's rejection of the structural-behavioural model, CA and eventually its notion of language transfer were fraught with severe criticism from a theoretical standpoint (*cf* chapter 1)

Up to the late 1960s, EA in fact witnessed two conflicting phases of endeavour   the structural-behavioural model and, its successor, the generative-cognitive framework   During the first phase, the procedure of EA was little more than an impressionistic collection of the common L2-errors made by speakers of different Lls.   In very much the same pedagogical tactics implemented in the guise of CA, EA's plea was precautionary in the sense that researchers warned teachers against tolerating errors to avoid the risk of the learner's establishing them as 'habits'   In the second phase, EA was mainly a reaction against CA as practical and empirical research demonstrated that a large number of 'actual' errors could not be predicted by CA.   However, EA's objectives could not be the ultimate remedy, since there are many of the 'invisible' aspects of language transfer which could not be accounted for by its post-procedural techniques either.   Hence, a complementary coalition of CA and EA was recommended along with the re-oriented position of the constant TE which, in addition to the deep-structure identity, incorporates more existing facts of meaning in order to give more convincing decisions on language transfer (*cf* chapter 2)

However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the pioneering insights into the entity of *error* did not only revolutionize the approach to EA, but also contributed a great deal towards highly profound studies into learner language, and, since then, IL-research has grown to be an area of prime concern in the literature of L2-learning/acquisition   Because IL-research offers a cognitively-based theory, dynamic and evolutionary in nature as discussed throughout this chapter, language transfer is no longer conceptualized as the automatic activation of habitualized linguistic behaviour, rather —in Faerch and Kasper's words.

> With a *cognitive* paradigm, transfer has been characterized as a problem solving procedure, or 'strategy', utilizing Ll-knowledge in order to solve a learning or communication problem in the L2 (Jordens, 1977, Kellerman, 1977, Sharwood-Smith, 1979)   As transfer is here seen as primarily a *decision-making* procedure, rather than

an automatic process, an important issue is what factors condition
the learner to transfer

(Faerch and Kasper, 1986· 49, original emphasis)

Clearly, therefore, with the circumscription of the transfer mechanism by
a cognitive aura, IL-research stresses the facilitative role L1-influence
plays in L2-learning, a point which has been made by Ausubel (1964) for a
long time (cf chapter 1, section 1.4 2)   In such a view, the potential
for language transfer does not only function as an automatic inhibitor as
had been believed under the constructs of habit formation, but as a
facilitator, it is rehabilitated in its own esteem to be one of the
central internal mechanisms which characterize the linguistic knowledge
underlying the learner's IL-utterances

From the initial work of IL-specialists reviewed in this chapter,
there seem to be two distinct trends concerning the approach to the
analysis of interlingual identifications (cf Figure 7) The first trend
is explicitly adopted by Corder and Nemser and coincides in large measure
with CA a posteriori in that investigation of learner language (ISD and
APS) is a pre-requisite for CA In other words, without permitting the
projection of the learner's actual utterances, CA, according to Corder
and Nemser, is unable to account for interlingual idiosyncracy and
deviancy However, CA, here, is not an initial device, since the
research focuses on the analysis of production errors and, thus, allows
almost no room for the study of comprehension errors The second trend
pertains to the credentials of an approach suggested by Selinker and
Dulay and Burt to the investigation of language transfer. It represents
a willingness to formulate tow distinct but, in principle, related
predictors as alternatives to CA a priori, albeit EA-techniques are still
employed to check for interlingual fossilizations and goofs. While the
first trend involves contrast between the learner's IL and the L2 he is
learning, and then explains interlingual idiosyncracy/deviancy by
recourse to his L1, the second trend establishes all three systems within
a unified framework, and, from the beginning, incorporates CA as" an
initial filtering device, making way for the testing of hypotheses about
other determinants of the learner's language" (Sridhar, 1981: 232)

It now becomes clear that, from the discredited behaviouristic
notion of language transfer, IL-studies bring with them crucial
psycholinguistic issues in L2-acquisition which aim at re-affirming
language transfer as an inevitable variable among others and serve other
important related notions such as crosslinguistic influence as will be

seen in the next chapter. These issues concern the highly intricate network where the two distinct predispositions (language **process** and language **product**) interact as long as the learner attempts to utilize the L2 by means of strategies of learning and communication as discussed on both theoretical and practical grounds throughout this chapter   It appears that, for the observable functioning of language product, language process manoeuvres a wide range of skill-interactions within different dimensions of cognitive control   In such a perspective, the transfer mechanism being primarily a *decision-making* procedure "   can both be conceived of as the creative activation of L1-knowledge at different levels of consciousness and the activation of highly automatized L1-knowledge in the absence of conscious control" (Faerch and Kasper, 1986   49),   similar points have already been made by researchers such as Vogel (1976), James (1977), Kellerman (1978a) and Sharwood-Smith (1979)

Therefore, the potential for language transfer can process through *conscious* activation and *unconscious* activation   As noted above, the *monitor* has to do with the conscious processing (activation) of whatever linguistic knowledge the learner possesses, whereas the unconscious processing (activation) of automatized linguistic knowledge constitutes part of the internal operation of the *filter* in that the learner, according to Dulay and Burt, seems to adopt certain types of **verbal** routines which enhance this unconscious activation (*cf*   Dulay and Burt, sections 3 2 2 and 3 2 3)   Mention has also been made of how both the *filter* and the *monitor* lie at the heart of the **LPS** referred to by Selinker because they are inherently responsible for strategies of learning and communication   In this respect, researchers like Faerch and Kasper appear to conceive of the IL-hypothesis and the CC-theory as derived from common psychological propositions, while liberating the transfer mechanism from its initial behaviouristic constraints   Thus, language transfer has come under reconsideration to be one of the significant variables underlying the L2-learning process, since L1-knowledge forms an essential part of whatever linguistic knowledge the learner has at his disposal   In Faerch and Kasper's words "   from a cognitive point of view it makes considerable sense to assume that learners *in principle* make use of any prior linguistic knowledge they have as 'input' to the CC-process, one important knowledge source   being the L1" (Faerch and Kasper, 1987   111, original emphasis)

Another endeavour which draws on IL-research comes from Wode's series of writings (for example, 1977; 1981; 1986 and so on), who emphasizes the need for a scrutiny of language transfer within cognitive dimensions. Wode points out that, for a deeper understanding of how the transfer mechanism functions internally at all levels of linguistic processing, it seems logically inadequate to exclusively relate the state of issue to L2-learning situations. Among bilinguals and/or bidialectals, language transfer may also occur in language contact situations such as *linguistic borrowing* and *code switching* as mentioned earlier (*cf*. Nemser, section 3.1.2). Apparently, this leads to a reinforcement of the legitimate link between CA and bilingualism which has been strongly attacked by Dulay and Burt (*cf*. chapter 1, section 1.1.2). Furthermore, language transfer, Wode argues, may also take place in *pidginization* which has been explicitly referred to by Nemser as one of the stable varieties of APS (*learner pidgin*) and implicitly by Selinker through several examples of the English ILs of Indian speakers. It follows that the general processing strategies employed in language-contact situations such as these formulate a vital component within the overall proceeding of the transfer mechanism. Therefore, language-contact situations contribute to the transfer mechanism on two underlying levels: "first, to determine its part within the design of natural language; and, second, to specify the nature of the *linguo-cognitive system(s)* underlying transfer" (Wode, 1986: 173; emphasis added). The same writer expounds the term *linguo-cognitive system* as follows (*cf*. also Wode, 1981: 55):

> It is [...] used to stress the fact that the *cognitive capacities* enabling human beings to process language data very likely constitute a special type of *cognition* not to be equated with general intelligence, concept formation, or the ability to think logically. It seems that the ability to handle the formal properties of linguistic devices used in natural languages constitutes a specific type of cognition especially geared to that purpose.
> (Wode, 1986: 182; a footnote; emphasis added)

It may be the case that, by using the term *linguo-cognitive system* as being directly relevant to the transfer mechanism, Wode appears to inherently refer to Selinker's notion of the LPS which exists in addition to a more genetically determined organization such as the LLS in Lenneberg's terms (*cf*. section 3.2.1). In other words, the centripetal force of *fossilization* (which exists in the LPS and is responsible for constituting this special type of cognition) attracts from the LLS

certain L2-items which are stored as *pure* L2-knowledge and, for the process of matching, the corresponding L1-items which already exist as *pure* L1-knowledge   Then, by means of the centrifugal force, fossilization causes the reconstructed utterance in question to re-emerge through the channel of transfer (*cf* section 3 2 3)   This indicates that behind the production of a given transfer-based utterance, there are regiments of cognitive capacities and skill-interactions which characterize the transfer mechanism as a potential ordinance in its own right   Without question, therefore, it should be established —Wode writes

1) that transfer does occur in learner languages,
2) that transfer is developmental, i e that it is an integral part of how people learn languages,
3) that the occurrence of transfer is systematic and not random,
4) that transfer is constrained by the formal properties of the linguistic devices of the languages involved, and
5) that there is variation in the use of transfer along several dimensions   individual variation among the transfer-based learner utterances, situational or task-specific variation in the sense that certain situations are more prone to trigger transfer-based utterances than others, and developmental variation as a function of the state of the development of the learner's L1 and/or L2

(Wode, 1986 174)

From this schematized overview of the three approaches (CA, EA and IL), it can be seen that, apart from Dulay and Burt's empirical research which played down the role of L1-influence by recording the least percentage of interlingual goofs, the rehabilitation of language transfer has in fact started with IL-research, particularly within the second trend   Therefore, Selinker as well as Dulay and Burt (in relation to their theoretical assumptions behind L1-experience) considers language transfer one of the central processes which underlie L2-learning   The extension of the cognitive bases of language transfer by researchers like Faerch and Kasper, and Wode among others clearly indicates that investigation of this mechanism has become one of the central strands of IL-research   This exciting but highly complex scrutiny of language transfer has in great measure contributed towards recent studies into *crosslinguistic influence* on L2-learning/acquisition   The next chapter will consider the earlier works which were in fact the seeds from which the notion of *crosslinguistic influence* has grown, and will trace its development in current thinking about language transfer

4

TRANSFER AND
CROSSLINGUISTIC INFLUENCE

In IL-studies, language transfer has been looked upon as one of the
central internal mechanisms underlying L2-learning, and, finally, the
importance of CA has emerged as part of the new direction of linguistic
theory More recently, many of the issues put forward by IL-specialists
have given rise to an interesting concept, collectively referred to as
Cross-linguistic Influence (CLI) Since the mid 1970s, research into CLI
has been proliferating and the concept, especially during the last
decade, has come under consideration to be a vital connecting set of
parameters each playing a significant role in L2-learning/acquisition
However, before the 1970s, specifically before the contributions of
IL-specialists, problems associated with CLI were not taken seriously
and their theoretical and practical treatments were, it is true,
relatively imperfect As Ringbom argues, the one-sidedness of research
into CLI was in fact due to four reasons First, within traditional
contrastive studies, emphasis on the inhibitive factor of the L1 and
neglect of the facilitative role it plays in L2-learning resulted in a
severe devaluation of the notion of language transfer, even though the
existence of *positive transfer* was commonly mentioned among researchers
Second, the domination of syntax in applied linguistics up to the 1980s
led to preoccupation with the analysis of syntactic interlingual
identifications and subsequent neglect of semantic problems such as the
domain of lexical selection Third, concentration on language transfer
in production distracted researchers from probing its internal mechanisms
in comprehension for a deeper understanding of the underlying processes
of L2-learning Fourth, L1-influence findings, whatever the results,

were assumed to be eventually applicable to other completely different languages and learning situations, regardless of the distance between L1 and L2 (Ringbom, 1987 48-49).

Beginning with the mid 1970s, the speculations of IL-specialists and the subsequent contributions of researchers such as Schachter, Kellerman, Krashen among others were, in fact, the seeds from which studies into CLI have grown and developed on a large scale In this respect, the turning point was the important event (The Ann Arbor Conference on Language Transfer in 1981) which brought about a new approach to the study and analysis of language transfer In effect, the concept of transfer within the extended boundaries of CLI has re-emerged as a widespread set of topics of serious discussion

The first section of this chapter (section 4 1) will be a description of some of the most important aspects which affect the learning, or loss, of the L2 Such aspects are said to formulate the general basis from which CLI-research draws Hence, by recourse to Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance* hypothesis, the notion of lack of knowledge and its relationship with the concept of *borrowing* will be considered in the light of current thinking about language transfer In addition, Schachter's *avoidance* hypothesis as well as the empirical support undertaken by Kleinmann will be highlighted as a prerequisite for scrutinizing the less tangible areas of language transfer Finally, with reference to the work of Kellerman, Wode, Zobl among others, the concept of *psychotypology* will be outlined

The second section (section 4 2) will touch on the most recent work of Ringbom whose invaluable insights into CLI-research contribute to many of the aspects that have been overlooked for quite a long time. With reference to the main issues put forward in the first section, CLI will be treated in terms of language process Hence, the various facets of CLI will be considered both in production (such as the distinction between *overt* and *covert* CLI) and in comprehension Furthermore, for a deeper understanding of the internal mechanisms of CLI (that is, the *transfer load*), the interaction between comprehension and production will be discussed in the light of the two important questions of transfer which concern the amount of CLI on L2-learning/acquisition

The third and final section (section 4 3) will introduce three provisional hypotheses to be tested in Part Two These hypotheses concern the value of Arabic-transfer potential at the three linguistic levels (1) where the potential for Colloquial Arabic influence (SCA),

rather than Classical Arabic influence (MSA), interferes mostly in the *phonological* processing of the English IL, (ii) where the potential for Arabic transfer (MSA/SCA) is mostly an inhibitor in the *syntactic* processing of the English IL, and (iii) where the potential for Arabic transfer (MSA/SCA) is mostly a facilitator in the *semantic* processing of the English IL

4.1 CLI and Aspects of Language Loss

In an introduction to CLI on L2-acquisition, Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman point out that the term *transfer*, in its traditional sense, is not broad enough to account for all aspects of L1-influence on L2-learning/acquisition They focus attention upon the need for a broader term such as CLI which subsumes, " under one heading, such phenomena as 'transfer', 'interference', 'avoidance', 'borrowing' and L2-related aspects of language loss and thus [permits] discussion of the similarities and differences between these phenomena" (Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman, 1986 1)

In this section, three topics will be considered as subheadings of CLI *ignorance*, *avoidance* and *psychotypology* With regard to the first topic, Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance* hypothesis will be outlined in its strong version Then, its revival by Selinker will be mentioned with reference to James' interpretation of ignorance as a precondition for language transfer to occur Further, other views on the phenomenon will be touched on, since researchers such as Corder prefer the term *borrowing* as an alternative on the assumption that ignorance is an insufficient precondition and, thus, lack of knowledge cannot always trigger language transfer Hence, the re-orientation of the *ignorance* hypothesis by Krashen will be considered in terms of the monitor model The second topic will draw on Schachter's *avoidance* hypothesis and Kleinmann's findings specifically In addition, mention will be made of further opinions about the importance of the phenomenon which, it is believed, seems to be the forerunner of the concept of *psychotypology*. For this reason, the third topic will deal with such a concept by reference to the work of Kellerman, Wode, Zobl and others

4.1.1 Ignorance Compensations

It has been mentioned earlier that one of the influential criticisms levelled against the behaviouristic paradigms of CA was voiced by Newmark (1966) and subsequently by newmark and Reibel (1968) whilst at the same time conceding the inevitable fact of L1-influence (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 3) In a plea for a change of teaching methods, Newmark pointed out that the structural drilling designed on the basis of these paradigms could not in fact surmount the problem of L1-interference Rather, such drilling was over-emphasizing the linguistic form to the detriment of the social context, a matter that has received special attention since the initial work of IL-researchers (*cf* section 3.1 3, Corder, 1971a, reprint 24, and section 3.2.3, Selinker, 1984: 342) According to Newmark, therefore, a decontextualization of the L2-linguistic material and the overloading of the learner's cognitive capacities with chunks of such material may cause the learner —who is unable to absorb everything he receives due to the nature of his short-term memory— to fall back on his L1-experience, as the only resource available for communication. In such a perspective, Newmark saw L1-interference simply as a result of the learner's ignorance of certain L2-items He stated

> If what the learner observes is such that he cannot absorb it completely within his short-term memory, he will make up for his deficiency if he is called on to perform before he has learned the new behaviour by padding with material from what he already knows, that is, his own language This padding —supplying what is known to make up for what is not known— is the major source of 'interference', the major reason for 'foreign accents'. Seen in this light, *the cure for interference is simply the cure for ignorance learning*
>
> (Newmark, 1966, reprint 164, emphasis added)

From a theoretical standpoint, one can apparently notice that Newmark's proposal was merely a logical continuation of the strictures spelled out against the belief that most L2-errors were attributed to L1-interference Hence, the inextricable association of L1-interference with the theory of habit formation was almost entirely demolished, and Newmark and Reibel were conscious of the fact that the learner, by means of his cognitive capacities, would ensure success in L2-learning " if his own particular acts using the language are selectively reinforced"

(Newmark and Reibel, 1968   149). The authors' arguments, therefore, rested on controlling the input modelled for the learner, rather than combatting L1-intrusion because the corpus of actual L2-errors could be ostensibly observed and identified "with characteristics in the learner's own language" (Newmark and Reibel, 1968   158). By this conviction, the authors appear to have initiated one of the common characteristics of the IL as a uniform system, that is, the structural independence of learner language (cf   Table 7)   In its strongest claim, the *ignorance* hypothesis was enunciated as follows (quoted by Singleton, 1981   14, 1987   38)

[   ] a person knows how to speak one language, say his L1   Now he tries to speak another one [L2], but in his early stages of learning the new one, there are many *things he has not yet learned to do*, that is, he is grossly undertrained in the new one. But he is induced to perform [   ] in that new one by an external teacher or by his internal desire to say something   What can he do other than use what he already knows to make up for *what he does not know?*   To an observer who knows the L2, the learner will seem to be stubbornly substituting the L1-habits for L2-habits   But from the learner's point of view, all he is doing is the best he can to fill in his gaps of training he refers for help to what he already knows   The   problem of 'interference' viewed thus reduces to the problem of ignorance [   ]
(Newmark and Reibel, 1968: 159-160; emphasis added)

As discussed above, there are two types of linguistic knowledge that the learner can draw on   *pure* knowledge and *non-pure* knowledge (*cf*   chapter 3, section 3 2 3)   Therefore, inherent in Newmark and Reibel's hypothesis, it seems that they are ambivalently alluding to these issues   Thus, the statement 'what the learner does not know' implies his ignorance of those L2-items or rules that can be classified under *pure* knowledge or,   as James calls it, **analytic knowledge** of L2-items or rules   On the other hand, 'what the learner has not learned to do' suggests that he possesses the L2-items or rules in question as a type of *pure* knowledge but has not learned the new behaviour into which these items or rules can fit to convey the intended meaning   Therefore, what the learner is induced to perform in the L2 and to reconstruct out of such *pure* knowledge available to him is a language-specific behaviour which reflects a type of *non-pure* knowledge or what James calls skills or **manipulative knowledge** in that "having analytic knowledge of a L2 will not produce the required behaviour equatable with such knowledge" (James, 1971,   reprint 99). The same writer presumes that "Newmark and Reibel intend by knowledge the unformulated consciousness of linguistic rules

which determine acceptable performance, namely *competence* So they are saying that learners' performance is bad because their competence is bad" (James, 1971, reprint· 99, original emphasis) In other words, to use Selinker's terminology, inadequacy of what exists in the LLS as *pure* knowledge leads to an augmentation of the fossilized IL-competence in the LPS In effect, such fossilized IL-competence invokes more re-emergence of fossilizable structures which are evidence of *non-pure* knowledge

It appears, then, that the *ignorance* hypothesis was not exclusively centred upon the "reality of the phenomena that are referred to by the term *interference*" (Newmark and Reibel, 1968 158, original emphasis), since, as mentioned above, the authors did not reject the fact of L1-influence on L2-learning Rather, the attractive side of the hypothesis, being one of the most valuable strictures of CA, was taken up with a search for an appropriate description of the term *interference*, precisely because, within its behaviouristic paradigms, it was looked upon as an otiose concept (*cf* James, 1971, reprint 98f) James' initial position was that ignorance could, at best, be equated with interference (James, 1971, reprint: 100), a point which was later criticized by Kellerman in that lack of knowledge might obstruct the occurrence of interference (*cf* Kellerman, 1977 70f) Almost a decade later, James, in the light of Selinker's perspective, referred to ignorance as a precondition for transfer (this point will be discussed presently)

It is believed that beyond all question, Newmark and Reibel brought with them a cognitively-based theory which needs to be re-oriented in the light of current thinking since it is able to explain at least one of the causes underlying the learners' actual errors A possible explanation may run as follows given that the learner's memory is characterized by a short-term nature, it cannot retain everything he receives from the input So that when the learner is induced to perform a particular L2-utterance (whose rules or items are not retained in his memory), he will be prone to committing errors though he relies on his cognitive capacities to process the language In this case, the errors that the learner produces are creatively constructed in Dulay and Burt's terminology Accordingly, these cognitive capacities pertain to whatever means the learner has at his disposal his L1-experience is one major resource which he may fall back on Thus, according to Newmark and Reibel, the psychological accommodation for language transfer does not

seem to be vulnerable as is the case of "the unnecessary hypostatization
of competing linguistic systems", which,   as mentioned above,   situates
the linguistic   form   in the foreground at the   expense of the social
context

As   far as one   can   see   throughout   Part   One   of this study,   the
criticisms   of CA were voiced not because of the irrelevance of   language
transfer,   but   axiomatically   because   of   CA,   in   its theoretical and
practical implications,   was bound up with behaviourism   As shown in the
history of CA   (cf   chapter 1,   section 1 1 1),   the   phenomenon   of
language   transfer had been familiar long before behaviouristic views   on
L2-acquisition were pervasive   Behaviourists did in fact coin the terms
transfer,   interference, facilitation, and so on, to describe the effects
of Task A (L1) on the learning of   Task   B (L2),   but they certainly did
not invent the reality of the phenomenon   Thus there seems never to have
been any logical impediment to   incorporating   a more adequate account of
language   transfer into a cognitive model of L2-acquisition and use   (cf
Singleton, 1987   36)

As noted   in   the   preceding   chapter,   the   resurgence   of language
transfer   in   IL-studies has   been   the   pioneering   and   innovative
contribution to CLI-research since the mid 1970s (cf   chapter 3, section
3 3)   This resurgence has led to a more sophisticated scrutiny of those
cognitively-based issues that   play   a   significant   role in the internal
processing of language transfer,   and the analysis of its mechanisms   in
such a   perspective indubitably maintains   a   far more balanced view in
order to fully recognize the facilitative as well as   the   inhibitive
functioning of   language   transfer   in   L2-acquisition and use (cf
Singleton, 1987   37)

It follows from the above that because   Newmark   and   Reibel
proposed a cognitive alternative to   language   transfer,   their ignorance
hypothesis has been considerably revived by several   IL-specialists   and
subsequently modified along   with   CLI-research   to be one of the related
aspects of language loss   For instance,   Selinker,   as discussed   above
(cf   chapter 3,   section 3 2 3),   points   out   that a description of
strategy   should   be circumscribed by a cognitive aura since it is not   a
L2-specific facet   As James (1980   22) argues,   Selinker alludes to the
notion of ignorance as a precondition for the development of the internal
strategies   (learning/communication)   which   determine the learner's own
approach   to   the   processing   of L2-material,   or   which   determine   what

Corder calls the learner's *built-in syllabus* (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 1.1) Selinker states

> Crucially, it has been argued that *strategies* for handling L2 linguistic material *evolve whenever the learner realizes*, either consciously or subconsciously, *that he has no linguistic competence with regard to some aspect of the* L2 It cannot be doubted that various internal strategies on the part of the L2-learner affect to a large extent the surface structure of sentences underlying IL-utterances
>
>   (Selinker, 1972, reprint 39, emphasis added)

Clearly, 'no linguistic competence' entails the learner's ignorance of certain L2-items or rules as *pure* knowledge or, in James's terms, analytic knowledge It is, therefore, the learner's ignorance which forces him to manoeuvre, by means of his cognitive capacities, whatever prior linguistic knowledge he has at his disposal In this case, the L1-knowledge, as Larsen-Freeman restates Newmark, " is not a source of proactive inhibition, but rather something the learner relies on less and less as he becomes increasingly proficient at expressing himself in the L2" (Larsen-Freeman, 1978 128).

Later, James appears to alter his initial position that ignorance is an alternative to language transfer as mentioned above By reference to Selinker, James prefers to see ignorance as a precondition for the occurrence of language transfer since this latter can be viewed as an internal strategy (learning/communication) applied by the learner (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2 3) James expounds this point as follows

> [   ] if L1 and L2 formal devices for a particular function are identical —the 'ordinary learning' subparadigm— the learner will merely successfully transfer the L1-item to L2-use It is only when they are different, and he nevertheless transfers the L1-item, that interference —and with it, error— accrue
>
>   (James, 1980 22)

However, it should be noted that, according to Newmark and Reibel, padding (that is, resorting to what is known to compensate for what is unknown), is the major source of interference, but not the sole source As discussed above, the statement 'interference reduces to ignorance' was only spelled out as a reaction against the structural drilling which had been designed on the basis of traditional CA to surmount the problem of interference Therefore, it should not be conceived that whenever the learner is called upon to produce an 'unknown' L2-pattern he resorts to his L1-experience There are many observed instances of what James

calls *ignorance-without-interference* and *interference-without-ignorance* (James, 1980 22-23)

On the question of ignorance-without-interference, James argues that the *avoidance* strategies explored by Schachter and subsequently by Kleinmann can be taken as evidence of ignorance without interference James' exemplification, however, does not seem the case (this point will be discussed in the next section) Rather, it is believed that, following Corder's argument, the learner is unaware of his systematic errors and therefore he cannot correct them since they are a reflection of the only rules known to him (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 2) That is, systematic errors recur because the correct rules or items which relate to these errors do not exist in the learner's linguistic repertoire Therefore, many of the attested systematic errors that have no connection with L1-influence (intralingual errors) are clear examples of *ignorance-without-interference*

With respect to the question of interference-without-ignorance, it is believed that this type manifests itself only in interlingual mistakes —in Corder's sense of the term *mistake*— since they are known to the learner and thus he can readily correct them However, James insists on the occurrence of *interference-without-ignorance* in interlingual errors for no distinct reason He points out

> It often happens that students are drilled in a particular L2-pattern until their performance is error-free they have learnt it 'to criterion' They are no longer ignorant of the pattern Nevertheless, two minutes later they produce errors over that very same pattern Not that they are ignorant of the pattern *they can easily self-correct when the teacher expresses his dismay* The errors will often have clear indications of L1-transfer-without ignorance
> (James, 1980 23, emphasis added)

> Although they are self-correctable, I would not agree with Corder (1967; reprint 10) that they should be viewed as 'mistakes' [of Performance] rather than 'errors' [of Competence]
> (James, 1980 26, a footnote)

The writer goes on to claim that, in the case of *retroactive* or *backlash* interference (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 1 2), " since no native speaker can properly be said to be ignorant of the *central structures and the lexis of the* L1, any interferences in L1 and L2 will normally have to be accepted as constituting interference without ignorance" (James, 1980. 23, emphasis added) Here, the definition of the term *without*

ignorance, or knowledge, seems to be ambiguous in either direction. *proactive* interference (Ll----->L2) and *retroactive* interference (Ll<-----L2)   To avoid possible confusion, the term 'interference with knowledge' instead of *interference-without-ignorance* will be used

As far as *proactive* interference is concerned, one might notice that, following Schachter's argument,   the Arab learner is said to have knowledge of the English relative-clause structure due to its similar properties in Arabic which are internalized as part of his *pure* knowledge in the LLS   Thus leading one to believe that any interlingual error the Arab learner commits on the relative-clause structure is an example of interference with knowledge   But what sort of knowledge is this? Is it item knowledge?   Or is it structure knowledge?   If a given norm of syntactic formation is interpreted as the structure in question and an item as a sub-constituent of that structure, then it appears that the answers to these questions depend to a large extent upon the type and frequency of the errors committed on the structure in question   For instance,   Schachter (1974, reprint   359) has recorded (1a) below as an actual IL-utterance produced by an Arab learner of English

(1) a   * education *which* they don't work for *it*
    b   [ittarbiye *illi* ma. bištiglu minša n*a*]   (*SCA*)
    c   [attarbiyatu *allati* la ya?malu na li?a]'liha·]   (*MSA*)

As the above example illustrates, the sort of knowledge of the relative-clause structure is determined by the process of *pronominalization*, that is, the retention or deletion of the resumptive pronoun '*it*' in (1a)   To clarify the point in terms of this example, item-knowledge refers to the learner's knowledge of the correct rendering of the resumptive pronoun, whereas structure-knowledge involves knowledge of relative-clause formation, regardless of one or more of its items being unknown   If the recurrence of retention was quite frequent, then it would most likely be considered a systematic interlingual error due to the learner's ignorance of '*it*-deletion' in English and his internalizing of '[a]/[ha]-retention' in Arabic, and, in this particular case, '*it*-retention' in (1a) clearly indicates 'interference resulting from item-ignorance',   the central concern of Newmark and Reibel's hypothesis   Because the other items or sub-constituents of the relative-clause structure are similar in both languages and thus are known to the learner, such an error would more accurately be an example

of interference with partial knowledge, that is, knowledge of some items
or constituents of a given L2-structure (e g   the placement of the
relative pronoun) and ignorance of other items of the same structure
(e g   the deletion of the resumptive pronoun)   However,   if the
recurrence of 'ıt-deletion' was considerably more frequent than that of
'ıt-retention', then the latter would clearly signal an interlıngual
mistake as a result of interference with total knowledge, that is, both
ıtem-knowledge   and   structure-knowledge   As   a   consequence, only
ınterlingual mistakes can be taken as examples of this type,   sınce
interference with partial knowledge   —whıch is evidence of interlıngual
errors— does not precisely ımply interference-without-ignorance from the
logıcal point of vıew

Concernıng the notıon of retroactive interference, ıt appears that,
ın the case of L2-learnıng, most of the instances, if not all, which
represent the effects of the L2 on the L1 are counted neither among
ınterlıngual errors nor mistakes   Rather,   such instances reflect
positive retroactive transfer and,   therefore, they can be safely
described as non-deviant interlingual identifications resulting from the
learner's unconscıous actıvatıon of the L2-verbal routines he adopts on
the one hand, and from the subsequent attrition in hıs L1-competence
caused by the L2 on the other. Thus the learner's L1-competence "remains
subject to alteratıon through the effects of positive retroaction" (Py,
1986.   166,   emphasis added). Accordıngly, even at later stages of
L2-learning where retroactive transfer ıs expected to be stronger (cf.
Jakobovits, 1969 70, 1970 203), the learner's knowledge of his L1 is
stıll consıdered a pure type of linguıstic knowledge   It has been
mentıoned earlıer that L1-knowledge is characterized by an internal
nature, whereas L2-knowledge is said to be external (cf chapter 1,
section 1 1 2)   Therefore, equating the two types of knowledge as shown
in James' excerpts seems to be misleadıng   It is true that any
retroactive interferences can signify what may be called 'interference
with L1-knowledge' (or wıthout L1-ignorance),   but ıt would be more
useful to specify the type of knowledge as well as the degree of transfer
when cıtıng examples of 'retroactive ınterference without ignorance' than
to coın ambıguous terms which leave the reader in a dısturbing 'impasse'.

Followıng Selınker's revıval of the notion of ıgnorance,   Newmark
and Reıbel's ınıtıal account has been subject to consıderable
modıfıcatıons and has become far more tenable ın current thinkıng   There
have been a number of very recent attempts which serve ın great measure

as an important source of theoretical and empirical corroboration to the phenomenon (*cf*   for example, Singleton, 1983) Of prime concern here is the pioneering work of Corder, who adopts the first trend of IL-research, and Krashen, who seems to be in line of with much of the work of Dulay and Burt, and thus can be said to represent the second trend (*cf.* chapter 3, section 3.3)   Corder's views on ignorance will be mentioned first

As discussed at the outset of this section,   the learner's ignorance of specific L2-items or rules does not preclude him from performing such unknown items or rules,   but rather leads him to employ his cognitive capacities and therefore to manoeuvre whatever linguistic knowledge he possesses in order to fill in gaps of his L2-knowledge (*cf* Newmark and Reibel's quotation above)   Corder suggests that the learner's gap-filling from L1-resources can be viewed more precisely as *linguistic borrowing* rather than what had been misleadingly interpreted as interference or transfer   He emphasizes the communicative function of borrowing in the first place, suggesting that when it is successfully realized it might lead to a learning strategy. Corder points out

> [   ] an [IL] speaker may, in his attempts to communicate,   simply
> 'borrow' for immediate purposes items or features of his [L1] (or
> any other language he knows) without incorporating them into his
> [IL] system   'Successful borrowing',   that is when a 'borrowed'
> item is 'accepted' by the interlocutor as 'well formed' in the [L2],
> may lead to that item being incorporated into the speaker's [IL]
> repertoire   This could be regarded as 'learning'
>
> (Corder, 1981 104)

In such a perspective, learning progress proceeds only when successfully borrowed items or rules are modified in the direction of the L2-standard norm and are eventually established as part of the linguistic knowledge underlying the learner's IL-system   For this reason, Corder seeks to relocate the position of language transfer in the new cognitive aura; that is, to illustrate with special reservation what the term *transfer* exactly means

Generally speaking, borrowing, according to Corder,"is a *performance* phenomenon, not a *learning* process, a feature, therefore, of language use not of language structure" (Corder,   1983 92, original emphasis). It could only be considered a learning strategy in the case of successful borrowing as shown above   The term, of course, was described by Haugen in the course of bilingual studies (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 1 2), whereas in L2-learning/acquisition literature Corder argues.

> [   ]   the process refers to the use of items from a [L2], typically the [L1], particularly syntactic and lexical, to make good the deficiencies of the [IL]   This is a process which has long been recognized as a source of so-called *interference*, a totally inappropriate name for the phenomenon, since nothing whatsoever is being interfered with
>
> (Corder, 1983   92, emphasis added)

It should be noted, however, that the writer does not intend to reject the reality of *interference*, but rather he is trying to describe the term more precisely and compare and contrast it with *borrowing*; perhaps because researchers like Dulay and Burt, in their argument against the link between CA and bilingualism, have referred to *linguistic borrowing* as interference in the sociolinguistic sense   So that, from a psycholinguistic standpoint, borrowing and interference do not necessarily involve the same interlingual identifications, even though the two phenomena are both instances of CLI   Moreover, Corder does not concur with describing L1-transfer as a one-to-one relationship between the learner's realization of his gaps (that is, ignorance) and his resorting to the L1 in order to fill in such gaps   In other words, while Corder refers to gap-filling from L1-resources as borrowing, the term L1-transfer is inadequate for interpreting this process   He writes·

> An explanation of the process [i.e. borrowing] has also been called the "ignorance hypothesis" of language transfer   Again the term "transfer" is inappropriate for reference to the phenomenon, since nothing is being transferred from anywhere to anywhere   What is happening is that the speaker is using certain aspects of his [L1] to express his meaning because his [IL] lacks the means to do it
>
> (Corder, 1983   92)

It seems the case that the learner who does not know, or is in ignorance of, a given L2-structure and is induced to perform its L1-counterpart is not transferring from his L1, but retaining the L1-structure and using L2-lexical items   Zobl refers to this process as *relexification* which is, according to Corder, the most extreme form of borrowing   However, according to Zobl, *relexification* is a kind of transfer viewed as a communication strategy " since it generally involves a copying of L2-lexical items into an L1-syntactic structure" (Zobl, 1980a   471, a footnote)   Krashen implicitly refers to the phenomenon of *relexification* as an example of non-acquisition (this point will be discussed presently)

It appears from what precedes that, unlike Selinker, Corder and researchers like Tarone (1977), Kellerman (1977; 1978a), Wode (1978), Zobl (1980a) among others believe that *ignorance* cannot be a sufficient precondition which triggers the occurrence of language transfer Rather, tansfer-based IL-utterances may be performed at certain stages of development However, Corder looks upon the learner's gap-filling as *borrowing* since the L1 is not the only source of borrowing behaviour He argues "Any other languages known to the learner are also a source of forms when he is casting around to supplement his [IL]" (Corder, 1983 93) Whereas the above researchers have recognized the phenomenon under the name of *transfer*, albeit both borrowing and transfer can be viewed as communication strategies. In fact, strategies of communication were first invoked by Selinker (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2 1) who defined them as a reflection of a particular approach adopted by the learner Therefore, such strategies would not be the same for all learners Likewise, borrowing phenomena, Corder argues, "are *highly variable* and clearly *situation-dependent* This means they cannot be a by-product of learning but must be a performance phenomenon" (Corder, 1983 93, emphasis added) Such variability and situation-dependence play a significant role in *psychotypology* or perceived language distance, a topic which has become associated with the work of Kellerman In brief, he has shown that the possibilities of borrowing decrease where the distance between L1 and L2 is great On the other hand, the heaviest incidence of borrowing is observable where languages are moderately similar or related (*cf* section 4 1 3 below)

So far Corder's theoretical speculations on the *ignorance* hypothesis have been considered Reference has also been made to other researchers such as Tarone, Kellerman and Zobl who, unlike Corder, prefer the use of the term transfer rather than borrowing It is believed that, in the case of L2-learning, the two terms are fundamentally the same since all the above researchers refer to the same phenomenon, that is, language transfer either from the L1 or from any other languages available at the learner's linguistic repertoire

Another line of thinking concerning the *ignorance* hypothesis has been enunciated by Krashen who is well-known for his monitor model (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2.2). Krashen has attempted to provide empirical support for the hypothesis in terms of the conscious monitor The issues

he puts forward rest basically on how and where L1-influence fits into a theoretical framework for L2-performance   Krashen maintains the position by Newmark and Reibel as follows

> "interference" is not the [L1] "getting in the way" of [L2] skills
> Rather, it is the result of the performer "falling back" on old
> knowledge when he or she has not yet acquired enough of the [L2] In
> terms of the Monitor performance model, interference is the result
> of the use of the [L1] as an *utterance initiator*   [L1] competence
> may replace acquired [L2] competence in the performance model [   ].
> (Krashen, 1981 7, emphasis added)

It appears that, within Krashen's perspective, ignorance can be a direct precondition for the occurrence of language transfer, a point implicitly suggested by Selinker above   strategies of communication (performance) evolve whenever the learner realizes his ignorance   In such a perspective, however, language transfer in Corder's sense does not seem to take place

According to Krashen, the learner's IL-utterances at a competence level are invariably initiated by the L1-counterparts   Since the two unconsciously acquired systems (that is, L1-competence and 'L2-competence') lie at the heart of the organizer or the LLS, " the L1 may substitute for the acquired L2 as an utterance initiator" (Krashen, 1981 67) due to the dominance of L1-competence at one end and the deficiencies of the unconsciously acquired L2-system at another A similar point has been made by Singleton (1987 38)   With regard to performance, unlike Corder who refers to borrowing as a performance phenomenon, Krashen points out

> It may in fact be the case that the domain in L2-performance is the
> same as those rules that are most prone to L1-influence, while
> aspects of the [L2] that may be learned (late acquired, easy to
> conceptualize, e g bound morphology) are relatively free of
> L1-influence
> (Krashen, 1981 67)

As discussed above, the *ignorance hypothesis* was first postulated to explain the 'real' causes of L2-errors as indications of low learning in general due to factors such as inadequate teaching (structural drilling) which relied on the overburdening of the learner's short-term memory Thus, the control of the input was recommended for that reason   It

follows that, in terms of the monitor model, the issue has been questioned by reference to naturalistic settings, that is, interlingual errors may also be a reflection of low acquisition. If this is the case, Krashen argues, then " it can be eliminated or at least reduced by *natural intake and language use*" (Krashen, 1981 67, emphasis added) Therefore, the re-organization of the input in such a view may be profitable for adults learning a L2 in formal settings However, it is possible for a learner to produce IL-utterances without any acquisition For instance, Krashen notes, the learner can insert the L2-lexis into the L1-surface structure This process pertains to what Zobl calls *relexification*, which is, according to Corder, the most extreme form of *borrowing*, as mentioned above Because the monitor is responsible for conscious linguistic processing, that is, learning/acquisition (*cf* chapter 3, section 3.2 2), such an internal mechanism " may then be used to add some morphology and do its best to repair word order where it differs from the L1" (Krashen, 1981 68)

More recently, Krashen has refined this position in the light of the CLI-research conducted by several scholars, notably Zobl (1980a, 1980b, 1980c), who have pointed out that the *ignorance* hypothesis is somewhat too strong. Krashen still maintains Newmark and Reibel's characterization in terms of the conscious monitor and the role it plays in dealing with interlingual errors Accordingly, he describes the potential for language transfer on the fundamental assumption that "[L1] interference in the syntactic domain is the use of a rule of the [L1] in place of some *transitional* form or *mature* form of the L2" (Krashen, 1983 141, emphasis added) The author suggests that ignorance triggers language transfer when the acquirer has not yet acquired the new rules that could be added to those constituting his competence up to the current stage of acquisition In other words, the acquirer tends to substitute a L1-rule for the L2-rule, the counterpart, which he does not acquire in the proposed next stage of acquisition However, this does not exclude any L1-rule substitution for a previously acquired L2-counterpart since the L1 acts invariably as an utterance initiator and thus can replace both transitional (= not acquired) and *mature* (= acquired) L2-rules but the possibilities of transfer in the former case may be greater, that is, the possibilities of transfer as a result of ignorance are greater. Hence Krashen restates Zobl (1980b) by pointing out that when a L1-rule is similar to an attested transitional rule, the new IL-structure emerging from the replacement of the two is prone to

fossilization because, it is assumed, the Ll-rule functions differently in the acquisition process (Krashen, 1983. 142). Therefore, the 'new' rule governing such an IL-structure cannot operate as a rule 'acquired' most recently

It follows from the above that the conscious monitor, Krashen argues, is not always responsible for the full repair of interlingual errors In cases where the repair task appears to be complex, the performer's self-editing may cause him to abort the structure in question and to rely on simplification (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2 1) Krashen points out that the monitor, when facing a difficult repair task, might be one of the bases for an *avoidance* strategy (this matter will be discussed in the next section) As a consequence, it seems that not all interlingual errors are a result of ignorance and Newmark and Reibel's hypothesis, in its strong version, predicts more errors than actually occur Krashen concludes

> Transfer, according to this view, can still be regarded as *padding*, or the result of falling back on old knowledge, the Ll-rule, *when new knowledge* [the transitional rule] *is lacking.* Its cause may simply be having to talk before "ready", before the necessary rule has been acquired When this happens, if the conditions are met, the performer may very well fall back on old knowledge
>
> (Krashen, 1983 148, emphasis added)

4.1.2 *Avoidance Strategies*

Throughout the discussion of a contrastive approach to EA, special emphasis has been placed on a reconciliation between CA and EA for a more fruitful analysis of interlingual identifications (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 1) Such a reconciliation was in fact recommended by several researchers in vindication of the *a priori* form of the CA-Hypothesis Although CA proved to have many logical flaws in its predictive power, the diagnostic nature of the *a posteriori* form was not an alternative remedy for these flaws One of the researchers who sought to vindicate CA *a priori* to some extent was Schachter in her exploration of *avoidance* strategies Schachter's argument arose out of the insight that some of the difficulties predicted by CA on the basis of differences between Ll and L2 might simply cause the learner to *avoid* the difficult areas and to resort to a paraphrase of the *avoided* construction This

was a serious attempt to rehabilitate the validity of CA and therefore of language transfer on empirical grounds

Schachter believed that CA, in its ability to account for *avoidance*, could be tenable; even though its prediction, as traditionally postulated, was conditioned by the learner's tendency to commit errors whenever he faced a L2-structure different from the L1-counterpart Hence, Schachter recognized the weaknesses of CA, whilst her contention was that such weaknesses were less calamitous than those of EA (Schachter, 1974 reprint, 355) To test her hypothesis, she made a CA between the major restrictive relative-clause-formation strategies of four unrelated languages (Arabic, Persian, Chinese and Japanese) at one end and those of English at another The results of her analysis illustrated two different facts firstly, Arabic and Persian resemble English in the relative-clause structure Secondly, Chinese and Japanese do not resemble English in the relative-clause structure Schachter, then, predicted possible areas of difficulty that would arise for native speakers of the four L1s when constructing English relative clauses (Schachter, 1974, reprint 357)

In an analysis of the relative clauses actually produced by members of each language group, Schachter observed that the native Chinese and Japanese learners made considerably **fewer errors** than did the native Arab and Persian learners. A strictly EA, or the *a posteriori* form, might lead one to believe that the English relative-clause structure was far less difficult for the native Chinese and Japanese learners If this were the case, then CA *a priori* would be useless because its prediction was that the Chinese and Japanese learners would have more problems with the structure in question due to the radical differences between their L1s and English, specifically a switching from prenominal to post-nominal position Schachter's explanation, however, was that the Chinese and Japanese learners **did** in fact experience tenacious difficulty with relative-clause formation. Such learners made fewer errors simply because they were trying to *avoid* the relative-clause structure, so that the differences referred to above actively dissuaded them from attempting to produce the structure

These learners, however, produced the relative-clause structure only when they were quite sure that it was correct This is a clear indication that the learners were aware of the structure and, therefore, in contrast with James, any alternative strategy they resorted to cannot be viewed as an instance of *ignorance-without-interference* as will be

seen presently Schachter argued that the learners' fewer attempts were a direct reflection of an *avoidance* strategy and thus would account for the significantly small number of errors they made   She pointed out "What we encounter is a phenomenon of avoidance due to a difficulty which was predicted by the *a priori* approach,   but which the *a posteriori* approach can not handle at all" (Schachter, 1974 reprint. 359)

It follows that the Chinese and Japanese learners *avoided* to great measure producing the relative-clause structure in English because they found it to be so different from the equivalent structure in their L1s   The reason why the errors   they committed were fewer was that they made fewer attempts at producing the structure which nevertheless they were not ignorant of   The Arab and Persian learners, on the other hand, perceived relative-clause formation in English to be very similar to the counterpart in their L1s, mainly the postnominal position   Because this structural device has been internalized or conceptualized in the Arab and Persian learners' LLSs,   they made more attempts at producing the structure and subsequently more errors cropped up,   especially in pronominalization,   and this was   precisely   what Schachter's data illustrated (*cf* section 4 1 1, example (1))   However, there have been a number of researchers such as Fox (1970),   Ibrahim (1973),   Tadros (1979), Mukattash (1982) among others who have tackled different aspects of the difficulties with relative-clause formation encountered by Arab learners of English   More recently, Kharma, in a very comprehensive study, has dealt with a variety of errors committed by Arab learners on relative-clause formation   He has classified the errors collected from essay-writing and text translation into fourteen possible types to ascertain the relative difficulty faced in the structure and by recourse to MSA, to arrive at a possible source for each type (Kharma, 1987: 258) In the analysis of IL-data in Part Two, three types of errors will be examined by reference to the crucial similarities and radical differences between Arabic and English relative-clause formation (*cf*   chapter 6, section 6 2 4)

Given   that the structural placements of   relative-clause formation are identical in English and Arabic/Persian, the speakers of the latter language group can directly transfer their L1-patterns to English   The interlingual errors that may emerge —mainly in pronominalization due to the usual retention of the resumptive pronoun in Arabic and Persian— could be accounted for by the *a posteriori* approach since its EA-techniques only rely on the analysis of errors made upon the

production mode   However, this approach is unable to handle phenomena such as the avoidance strategies adopted by the Chinese and Japanese learners simply because these strategies lie at the heart of comprehension, that is, the learner avoids a L2-structure simply because he finds it difficult to process   It follows that the internal processes of avoidance entitle the learner to paraphrase whether erroneously or correctly the avoided structure in order to convey the same meaning   Possibilities of paraphrase can exist only in the syntactic subcomponent since it is difficult to imagine any circumstances where phonological paraphrase would appear   Hence, the evidence from Schachter's experimental project strongly corroborated the *a priori* approach as it stands in a neutral position between comprehension and production   She argued

> The learner apparently constructs hypotheses about the [L2] based on knowledge he already has about his [L1]   If the constructions are similar in the learner's mind [i e   LLS], he will transfer his [L1] strategy to the [L2]   If they are radically different,   he will either reject the new construction or use it only with extreme caution   On the other hand, [EA] without *a priori* predictions simply fails to account for the avoidance phenomenon   If the student does not produce the constructions he finds difficult,   no amount of [EA] is going to explain why
>
> (Schachter, 1974; reprint, 360)

The question, then, arose from a plea for a reconsideration of the predictive power of CA in the light of the new position of L2-acquisition research   The strictures of CA were in fact an outcome of " poor analysis or poor predictions about what is difficult and what is not" (Schachter, 1974,   reprint   361)   The author suggested, therefore, that the *a posteriori* form of the CA-Hypothesis was indeed the problematic approach and should be abandoned, whereas a combination of CA *a priori*,   EA techniques and the comprehension testing proved to be extremely tenable to provide information that could be necessary for a more thorough understanding of the L2-learning process

It appears that *avoidance*, in such a perspective, cannot be conceived of as an example of what James (1980   22) calls *ignorance-without-interference* as noted in the preceding section   According to Schachter,   learners tend to avoid a given L2-structure not because they are said to be ignorant of that structure,   but because they find it difficult to process   —and therefore to produce— due to its radical difference from the L1-counterpart,   the already internalized structural

device in their minds (LLSs). For instance, had the Chinese and Japanese learners been indeed ignorant of the relative clause structure, they would not have made any attempt to produce that structure. Thus, the fewer attempts these learners made at producing the relative-clause structure, particularly when they were certain of its correct placements, are proof enough that they were conscious of the rules which govern the structure.

More empirical experimentation on the same phenomenon has been carried out by Kleinmann who supported in large measure Schachter's findings. He reported: "...[L2] learners resort to an avoidance strategy that *cannot be attributed to a lack of knowledge of the avoided structure*" (Kleinmann, 1977; reprint; 375; 1978: 165; emphasis added). In other words, the learner is said to be avoiding a certain syntactic structure simply because he is unable to perform it in particular contexts (Kleinmann, 1978: 158). Therefore, the type of syntactic avoidance explained by Schachter and Kleinmann cannot be taken as evidence of ignorance without interference. Rather, James' suggestion appears to conform to other types of avoidance such as semantic avoidance and topic avoidance which in most cases reflect the learner's lack of lexical knowledge (Tarone *et al.*, 1976; cf. also Corder, 1981: 105). Types of avoidance such as these "...discuss situations which deal with a learner's *ignorance* of some linguistic item and his concomitant nonuse thereof, which in turn is interpreted as avoidance" (Kleinmann, 1977; reprint: 365; emphasis added).

Following Schachter's conclusions, Kleinmann made CAs between English and some other languages —of which Arabic was one— for syntactic structures such as passive voice, infinitive complement and present progressive. Likewise, he predicted certain areas of difficulty for each language group. For instance, he predicted that Arab learners would experience relative difficulty with passive construction and present progressive constructions. In addition, the comprehension testing recommended by Schachter was conducted to ensure that the Arab learners did in fact comprehend the structure in question so that their nonuse could not be ascribed to ignorance but to avoidance (Kleinmann, 1978: 159). As Kleinmann's results demonstrated, the prediction was confirmed by observing that the Arab learners made significantly fewer attempts at producing, for example, the passive construction than did other language groups (Kleinmann, 1978: 162). It may also be the case that the Arab learners' avoidance of the passive construction could

not only be attributed to the structural differences between Arabic and English, but also to the extremely infrequent use of this structural device, especially in Colloquial Arabic This suggests that even if there were crucial similarities between the Arabic and English passive-voice structure, the Arab learner might still tend to avoid that structure due to its rare use in everyday Arabic Again, in the analysis of IL-data in Part Two, there are a number of attested interlingual identifications which are said to be a reflection of avoidance strategies in such a perspective (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 2 3, examples (89-92), (96), (100)) By realizing the relative validity of **CA** *a priori* in the light of his findings, Kleinmann concluded

> [ ] **CA** is a fairly good predictor of potential cases of avoidance, although admittedly, it cannot predict when a given structure will be avoided as opposed to when it will be produced with the likelihood of error [ ] we must re-evaluate the generally unquestioned assumption that low frequency of errors implies relatively minor learner difficulty It may be the case that errors that do not make a quantitative impression are just as or even more symptomatic of difficulty than those which do, if an avoidance strategy is operating
>
> (Kleinmann, 1978: 165-166)

Investigation of avoidance strategies, therefore, would yield valuable insights into the potential for Ll-influence since this internal mechanism cannot be entirely detected solely at a production level and, as shown above, **CA** *a posteriori* on its own is by no means the solution to the problem Since the late 1970s Schachter's *avoidance* hypothesis has been central to discussion in CLI-research, and work on exploring the existence of such a phenomenon is still proliferating (*cf* Kellerman, 1979) The same writer points out that the possibility of avoidance appears to increase as the learner's perception of differences between Ll and L2 increases Perception of differences and similarities is what is meant by the learner's *psychotypology*, the topic of the next section According to Kellerman the significance of language transfer and cross-linguistic analysis in current thinking is clear evidence that the question of how previous knowledge of the Ll can affect the learning, or loss, of the L2 is no longer the *salted mine* (Kellerman, 1983 112) The question is in fact a *viable reactor* which constantly receives and derives shrewd notions in order to arrive at a deeper comprehension of

the underlying learning processes   It seems that the potential for *avoidance* is one of the these notions which should gain a more sophisticated scrutiny   Kellerman adds

> The problem with 'avoidance',   as is   generally acknowledged, is that it needs to be pinned down by indirect means   Avoidance becomes 'visible' only by virtue of the relevant structure being underrepresented by one group of learners with a particular L1 in terms of other groups with different L1s or with a group of native speakers of the L2
>
> (Kellerman, 1983 113)

It has been mentioned at the end of the preceding section that, according to Krashen, the difficulty over the repair of syntactic processing experienced by the *monitor* may underlie the avoidance phenomenon   Krashen's interpretation of Schachter's study runs as follows   the Chinese and Japanese learners consciously knew correct relative-clause formation in English but had not acquired it;   even though, in their fewer attempts,   they utilized their L1-counterpart The repair task was, therefore, too complex for their monitor, that is, to switch from prenominal to postnominal position   Krashen states·

> Avoidance   is thus predicted in cases where a rule has been consciously learned, but not acquired,   when the conditions for L1-use are met, and when the L1 and L2-rules are quite different, where 'repair' by the Monitor requires difficult mental gymnastics
>
> (Krashen, 1983· 148)

Here, the author makes a slight distinction between Schachter and Kleinmann's perspectives on avoidance   Krashen argues that, according to Kleinmann, the Arab learners, for instance, consciously knew the passive construction imperfectly,   that is,   they did not know it well enough to process the relevant syntactic device in the L2   However, they knew the construction well enough to comprehend a mismatch between L1 and L2   As long as their monitor found such a mismatch difficult to repair, the Arab learners would resort to avoiding the construction

It appears that, both in Schachter and Kleinmann's perspectives, the learner —or the acquirer in Krashen's terms— is consciously aware of the structure in question   This is proof enough that the avoidance phenomenon, in such a view, cannot be an example of *ignorance-without-interference* as James has seen it   Instead, the learner's conscious

knowledge of the structure serves as a filtering device whereby he perceives the differences between L1 and L2 in Kellererman's sense Krashen (1983 149) summarizes the two types of avoidance in Table 5 which has been extended a little here

Author	At a comprehension level:	The performer avoids if·
Schachter (1974)	The performer consciously knows the L2-rule well enough to make the repair	The repair is too difficult i e it involves complex operations
Kleinmann (1977) (1978)	The performer knows only enough of the L2-rule consciously to note a difference between the L1-rule and the actually (unacquired) L2-rule	An L1-L2 difference is noted since repair is not possible

Table 5 *The Monitor and the two types of avoidance*

As a consequence, the avoidance phenomenon is indeed worth examining since Schachter's initial insight, as Kellerman (1984 112) puts it, 'still seems unassailed' The importance of the phenomenon, Singleton argues, arises from the fact that

> [   ] L1-influence may be operating less observably, but no less significantly, in the comprehension process and/or as a kind of preproductive filter with a tendency to allow through only those forms which are not sufficiently different from their L1-counterparts to pose major difficulties
>
> (Singleton, 1987 39)

As seen throughout this section, attention has been focused upon the learner who tends to avoid a specific L2-structure because he perceives the radical differences between L1 and L2 This is one of the less tangible aspects of language transfer The next section, on the

other hand, will describe how the situation where the learner perceives the relative similarities between L1 and L2 can trigger language transfer with more tangible results

4.1.3 Psychotypological Constraints

The concept of *psychotypology* has been particularly associated with the work of Eric Kellerman and gained considerable approval in CLI-research In a series of articles referred to elsewhere, Kellerman essentially defines the term as the learner's own perception of the relationships between L1 and L2, that is, the learner's notion of the *distance*, or *difference* (cf Corder, 1981 96), between rules or items in his existing knowledge of the L1 and their counterparts in a subsequent L2 he is willing to learn or acquire *Psychotypology* is, therefore, one factor that plays a significant role in L2-learning in general and, depending on the magnitude of typological relatedness, may act as either a trigger or a constrainer of language transfer in particular (Kellerman, 1983 113) The author has already suggested that when L1 and L2 are closely related (for example, L1-Italian and L2-Spanish), the potential for language transfer would have larger scope than when L1 and L2 are radically unrelated (for example, L1-Italian and L2-Chinese) The learner in the former case would have a relative opportunity to identify cognate elements across the two languages Consequently, both positive and negative transfer would be anticipated as a natural by-product of such an opportunity to establish cross-linguistic identifications (Kellerman, 1977: 77f) On the other hand, with regard to the latter case where cognate elements across languages are absent, Kellerman points out

> [   ] if L1 and L2 were very different [e g   L1-Italian and L2-Chinese],   the lack of available correspondences would, in the initial stages at least, act as a bar to transfer, since the learner is unable to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups
> (Kellerman, 1983 114)

The learner's psychotypology is, then, one of the elements which potentially control the degree of transferability, that is, the probability with which a given L1-structure will be transferred in relation to other L1-structures The crucial point here is that,

according to traditional CA, formal similarity is the key to facilitation and thus the condition for transfer to operate is minimal. Paradoxically, CLI-research holds the position that:

> [...] any occurrence of *linguistic equivalence* between L1 and L2, which thus provides the potential for transfer between L1 and L2, *will nevertheless not guarantee that facilitation will take place*, since L1-induced constraints may act to limit theoretically possible IL-forms to an attested subset.
>
> (Kellerman, 1983: 117; emphasis added)

Kellerman's tentative proposals have given rise to several long-term empirical studies into the question of typological relatedness. In support, a conglomeration of interesting research into the effects of a L2 on a L3 has substantially demonstrated a genuine existence of the potential for language transfer within such a parameter. For instance, Rinbgom and his colleagues have carried out a number of projects in Finland where Finnish and Swedish are the two official languages: Swedish-speaking Finns learn Finnish as a L2 and Finnish-speaking Finns learn Swedish as a L2. Ringbom stresses the cultural and educational homogeneity of these two groups, despite the fact that their L1s are vastly structurally different, a seemingly unique situation in the world (*cf.* Ringbom, 1976: 1; 1987: 2). Ringbom and other researchers such as Sjöholm (1979) have conducted a long programme of research on members of each group learning English as a L3. They pointed out that there were considerable variations between L1-influence and L2-influence upon L3-learning for both groups. Ringbom and Sjöholm found that Swedish-speaking Finns were prone to make errors in English which reflected transfer from their L1-Swedish. These researchers also observed that Finnish-speaking Finns, however, tended to make errors in English which reflected larger scope for transfer from their L2-Swedish (chronologically) than from their L1-Finnish. Ringbom and Sjöholm concluded that both groups seemed to have resorted to Swedish, the language they perceived as *typologically* closer to English than Finnish, even though the former (Swedish) was not the Finnish-speaking Finns' L1 (*cf.* Ringbom, 1985: 39f). Therefore, in the precise nature of this relationship, the formal similarities between Swedish and English —both are Germanic languages— acted as a trigger of language transfer; whereas the radical differences between Finnish and English proved to be a constrainer of language transfer. Consequently, Swedish —whether it be the L1 or the L2— becomes a source of CLI on learner English (L3)

identifiable in cross-lingual tie-ups at particular linguistic levels

According to this view, if an Arab learner —who has a certain degree of proficiency in, for example, French as a L2— happens to learn English as a L3, then, upon communicating in English, he would be more prone to *proactive transfer* from L2-French to L3-English than from L1-Arabic to L3-English, due to his perception of the typological relatedness between French and English   Naturally, the magnitude of this type of transfer correlates with the degree of proficiency the learner attains in the L2 chronologically (French), that is, the larger the degree of proficiency in the L2, the greater the magnitude of *proactive* interference from the L2 to L3 that will occur   This can be observed within the phonological domain in the first place   For example, the first vowel of the French word 'lettres' is articulated as a slightly long monophthong /e / as in /le trə/, whereas the same vowel of the English counterpart 'letters' is articulated as a shorter monophthong /e/ between the half-open and half-closed positions as in /letəɪz/ in RP   Therefore, upon performing such an item in L3-English, the learner in question tends to modify it in the directin of L2-French as in *[le tarz] (AE)   However, this does not entirely constrain *proactive* transfer from L1-Arabic which can be seen on two levels a direct level where transfer operates directly from L1 onto L2, and an indirect level where the effects of transfer from L1 onto L2 appear to be activated upon producing the same identification in the L3.

Along the first level, the learner seems to positively transfer the long vowel [e] and the more-than-one-glide consonant [r] from L1-SCA onto L2-French   This appears the case that the diphthong [ay] as in [bayt] 'a house' in MSA is usually rendered into [e.] as in [be t] in SCA, and the consonant [r] is always pronounced even in clusters like [-tr-] as in [bitri d] 'you want' in SCA (for a detailed analysis of [r] and [e], *cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 1, sub-section (E) and section 6.1 2, sub-section (A) respectively)   With regard to the second level, the learner negatively transfers the Franco-Arabicized interlingual identifications of [e] and [r] onto L3-English due to the learner's opportunity to make the relevant cross-lingual tie-ups between L2-French and L3-English

On the other hand, examples of cross-lingual tie-ups in such a perspective can also take place in *retroactive transfer*, that is, transfer from L3-English to L2-French   For instance, the second syllable of the English word 'Hebrew' is articulated with a back-close-long vowel

/u·/ as in /hi·bru /, whereas the same syllable of the French counterpart
'Hebreu' is articulated with an open-rounded-long vowel /œ/ as in
/i brœ/   Thus, upon performing such an item in L2-French, the
articulation *[i bru.] (AE) was the resultant identification   Again,
even in examples of retroactive transfer such as this, L1-influence can
also be observed on the two levels referred to above   direct, from L1
onto L3, and indirect, from the effects of L1-L3 transfer onto the L2
Hence, at one end, the syllable [bru] (two-segment cluster followed by
a vowel) as in [ʔabru] 'let (pl) him cross/pass' and [dabru] 'manage
(pl) him' was positively transferred from L1-SCA onto L3-English   At
another, the Anglo-Arabicized interlingual identification of [-bru] was
negatively transferred onto L2-French due to the relevant cross-lingual
tie-ups between L3-English and L2-French

It follows from the above that language transfer appears to be
more likely when there is what Wode has called a 'crucial similarity
measure' between L1 and L2   The author argues that certain types of
interlingual errors do not occur at any developmental stages of the
English ILs of German-speaking learners   Rather, for an interlingual
error to occur, L1-structure and L2-structure should meet a crucial
similarity measure at certain stages of development (Wode, 1978   116)
Wode's data come from his German-speaking children learning English as a
L2   For instance, negation in English is pre-verbal as in 'I don't
know', and in German it is post-verbal as in 'Ich weiss nicht'. Wode has
observed examples of post-verbal negation in his children's ILs such as
(2) below

(2)   * John go not to the school

Wode points out that the IL-negation rule was in no way similar
to the L1-counterpart at early stages, but it became similar when his
children progressed to the acquisition of the [Auxiliary + Negative] rule
at later stages   Thus, language transfer only operated when there was a
crucial similarity between L1 and L2-structures perceived by the learner
at certain stages of development   Although Wode's data are reported from
children, developmentally interlingual identifications such as (2) above
cannot be restricted to children since the same negation structure is
also discernible in the English ILs of adult learners (cf Wode, 1984
166)

Other researchers such as Zobl appear to have taken a rather similar

line of research   As mentioned   earlier,   Zobl defines *relexification* as
a   transfer   strategy   adopted by the learner (*cf*   section   4 1 1).   He
distinguishes this type of transfer from *structural transfer* which has to
be   developmentalized if it is to provide the analyst with   any   fruitful
insights   Structural transfer, Zoble states

> [   ] is   developmentally   selective   [i e]   the   learner   must
> previously   have acquired certain *crucial structural knowledge* about
> the L2 before it can arise   It is   also   probably unconscious,
> forming   an integral part of the learner's mental representation   of
> an L2-structure
>   (Zobl, 1980a   471, a footnote, emphasis added)

Zobl's   studies   have   been conducted on   certain   English   IL-structures
produced by learners with different   Lls   One of these structures is the
negation   structure   recorded   from the English ILs   of   Spanish-speaking
learners   In   Spanish,   negation   formation   is preverbal   Thus the
resultant   IL-structures   reflected   specific distributions such   as   (3)
below

(3)   * The glass *no will* break

Similarly, Zobl points   out   that   where   there   is a   crucial
concatenation between CLI and   developmental   realization in the learner's
focus   of   attention,   then L1-retardation may function in the   resultant
IL-structures which in   turn   "   show   a tendency towards fossilization"
(Zobl,   1980a   477)   As has been mentioned earlier, Dulay   and   Burt
identified IL-structures similar   to   the   above example (3) as ambiguous
goofs   * '*I no have a car*' (*cf*   chapter 2,   section 2 2 4, example (8))
On   the   other   hand,   Zobl   argues   that   "influence from Spanish is
unmistakable once   these   utterances   are seen as   part   of   the   entire
developmental   pattern"   (Zobl,   1980a   471)   Accordingly,   the
preverbal-negation IL-structures   produced   by   the   Spaniard could   be
regarded as both developmental and interlingual errors simultaneously.

What   the   above   scholars   collectively   emphasize   is   that   the
occurrence of language transfer is   not   random   but systematic, a point
that has been made by Wode (1986) as referred to earlier (*cf*   chapter 3,
section 3 3)   Thus,   for language   transfer   potential   to be activated,
certain   conditions   which   essentially   pertain   to   the   learner's
psychotypology have to be met   However,   the notion of *psychotypology* is
not   only   restricted to merely linguistic skills by   which   the   learner

perceives cross-linguistic relations, but it also exceeds that scope to be concomitant with other metacognitive skills, which provide natural and efficient feedback to the mechanisms of learning In this respect, Kellerman points out "The development of a psychotypology will inevitably be fostered by the possession and development of metacognitive skills [ ] under which may be subsumed *metalinguistic awareness*" (Kellerman, 1983 116, emphasis added) The author restates Marshall and Morton (1978 228) by stressing such metalinguistic awareness as a significant source of linguistic monitoring, control, and repair which affect the process of language learning/acquisition (*cf* Krashen, section 4 1 1)

It seems, therefore, that the notion of *psychotypology* has already inherently inspired Schachter and Kleinmann's empirical findings as discussed in the previous section In such a perspective, the Arab learner, for instance, committed a considerable number of interlingual errors on relative-clause formation because he perceived the structural similarity, or more specifically, crucial similarity measure between English and Arabic relative clauses with the result that, at certain stages, he had an opportunity to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups Conversely, the Arab learner tended to **avoid** the passive construction —in Kleinmann's data— because he perceived the radical differences (or there was no crucial similarity measure to be perceived) between English and Arabic in that structure Although the interlingual errors which appeared with the former structure (relative clause) were greater in number, cross-linguistic similarities did in no way preclude the Arab learner from producing the structure in his English IL; and, in this case, the learner's *psychotypology* was a 'visible' trigger of language transfer in production With regard to the avoidance of the passive contruction, on the other hand, transfer effects could only be detected at a comprehension level as an 'invisible' precondition for such a strategy Consequently, it is the similarities and lack of similarities —rather than differences— which concretely activate and constrain language transfer respectively Such issues seem to steal the limelight in current thinking about CLI Ringbom adds

> In particular, the importance of perceived linguistic similarities
> should be discussed in terms of the learning processes The
> question of whether or the extent to which cross-linguistic
> similarities facilitate L2-learning is of great practical *and*
> theoretical interest, but it should be discussed in terms of what
> is known about *how* the learning processes are affected by

similarities or the lack of similarities
                                (Ringbom, 1987 134, original emphasis)

It is worth noting, here, that the above statement,
especially concerning similarities and lack of similarities has been more
recently emphasized by the same author (*cf* Ringbom, 1990) Perceived
similarity between L1 and L2 is, therefore, an internal factor which
plays a very significant role in how the learner processes the
L2-material at both levels production and comprehension The next
section will consider CLI on production and comprehension, and will
probe the interaction between the two processes

4.2 CLI and Aspects of Language Process

Knowledge of the L2 is what determines the learner's degree
of proficiency at all linguistic levels phonology, syntax and
semantics (lexis) Such knowledge is a total system formulated out of
these levels, each including a number of subsystems that exist in the
learner's repertoire and enable him to process the language both in
production and in comprehension Ringbom identifies the main distinction
between these two processes as follows " *comprehension* refers to
the learner's ability to process incoming data, relating to previous
knowledge structures, whereas *production* means ability to activate
knowledge structures without a direct linguistic stimulus from outside"
(Ringbom, 1987 36, emphasis added)
        In this section CLI on production and then on comprehension
will be outlined in terms of the main aspects reviewed in the first
section of this chapter (section 4 1) Next, by reference to the
questions of language transfer which concern the magnitude of CLI, the
interaction between comprehension and production will be considered

4.2.1 CLI on L2-Production

It is widely accepted that L2-learners who have different L1-
backgrounds and learn the same L2 produce IL-utterances in completely
different ways due to the structural differences between these L1s (and,
therefore, to the relative variations in the degrees of difference

between these Lls and the L2) as well as to the natural individual variations among L2-learners   This can be observed when, for example, an Indian, a Japanese, a Russian, an Italian, an Arab and so on happen to learn English as a common L2   Such learners behave differently even if they attain more or less the same level of L2-proficiency, that is, the same linguistic knowledge underlying their ILs   As mentioned elsewhere, there are countless variables which interact and play a part in determining the differences in linguistic behaviour in general   With respect to the use of language transfer, Wode (1986) identifies such differences, even among L2-learners sharing the same Ll along three dimensions   individual variation, situational variation, and developmental variation (cf   chapter 3, section 3 3). However, in CLI-research Ringbom points out

> Inevitably the differences in the linguistic *products* of L2-learners
> must be largely due to the different starting points they have the
> way in which their Ll influences L2-learning But Ll-influence can
> manifest itself in many ways, depending to a great extent on whether
> and how various *perceived similarities* affect the learning process.
>   (Ringbom, 1987 50, emphasis added)

At a production level, Ringbom makes a distinction between *overt* and *covert* CLI   Essentially, *overt* CLI is based on the learner's perception of cross-linguistic similarity between Ll and L2, whereas *covert* CLI is due to the learner's lack of perceived cross-linguistic similarity (Ringbom, 1987 50)   For the distinction between *overt* and *covert* CLI, Ringbom refers to a similar distinction made by Kean between 'short-sighted transfer' and 'blind transfer' respectively   In her application of Chomsky's (1981) recent ideas on universal grammar to the analysis of transfer, Kean argues that these two types are the potential for two sources of transfer   Blind transfer refers to the learner's failure " to take *cognizance* of some relevant property of the [L2] which is at *variance* with the [Ll], and so [he] is only capable of exploiting [Ll] knowledge when the linguistic exigencies demand exploitation of that property" (Kean, 1986 87, emphasis added)   Here, there is no cross-linguistic similarity perceived and the resultant transfer product would be an example of *covert* CLI, so that the learner is forced to exploit his Ll-knowledge in order to compensate for L2-limitations (cf Newmark and Reibel, section 4 2 1)   Short-sighted transfer, on the other hand, "   arises not through failure to note some property of the [L2], but rather an inability to (fully) make the necessary distinction between the [Ll] realization of the property and

the [L2-realization]" (Kean, 1986 87) Therefore, the resultant transfer product, in this case, would be an example of *overt* CLI, since perceived cross-linguistic similarity, or markedness considerations, plays a significant role

With regard to *overt* CLI, Ringbom argues that all cross-linguistic examples cited by Faerch and Kasper (1987) are examples of *overt* CLI The three languages (Danish, English and German), which these researchers are concerned with, are such closely related languages in that the transfer-based utterances produced are due to overtly perceived cross-linguistic similarity (cf Ringbom, 1987 51) According to Ringbom, *overt* CLI can be divided into two types transfer and borrowing For the first type, Ringbom expounds the term transfer as follows

> Transfer does not mean a carrying over of surface forms or unanalysed chunks from L1 to L2, but involves an *analysis of patterns* The L2-pattern is assumed to be similar to or identical with the L1-pattern L1-procedures may, however, be used either on their own or in conjunction with L2-procedures In the area of lexis, semantic extensions on the basis of L1 and loan translations are examples of transfer deriving from such *analysed knowledge* Transfer, reliance on L1-patterns which are assumed to be similar in L2, is one way in which the learner tries to cope with a gap of knowledge
>
> (Ringbom, 1987 51-52, emphasis added)

Inherent in Ringbom's argument is the distinction between analytic knowledge and manipulative knowledge made by James (1971) with reference to Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance* hypothesis (cf section 4 1 1) It has been mentioned earlier that certain L2-items or rules remain for an unknown period of time as part of the learner's *pure* linguistic knowledge (unanalysed) on the one hand, and as being the new concomitants of their already existing L1-counterparts in the LLS on the other This can only be understood at a reception level (cf chapter 3, sectin 3 2 3) Therefore, as linguistic exigencies require the learner to produce such L2-items or rules, the linguistic knowledge underlying the resultant IL-utterances becomes a type of *non-pure* knowledge (analysed) belonging to the LPS It follows that, in the domain of lexical selection in particular, any transfer-based IL-utterances produced overtly by Arab learners can in no way be viewed as a result of unanalysed L1-knowledge due to the total unrelatedness, and therefore the absence of cognate

elements, between Arabic and English   Thus, in the case of **borrowing** in the sense discussed here, Arabic transfer,   if it operates at all, is extremely rare (this point will be explained presently)

The second type of *overt* CLI concerns the phenomenon of **borrowing** as referred to earlier (*cf*   section 4 1 1)   Corder (1983) argues that Newmark and Reibel's notion of **gap-filling** could be considered, at best, as borrowing which, in its most extreme form, is referred to by Zobl (1980a) as *relexification* Borrowing is,   therefore,   a phenomenon manifesting itself only in the domain of lexis According to Ringbom, borrowing " .   may result not from a gap in knowledge,   but from inadequate control" (Ringbom, 1987 52)

It appears that, unlike transfer which reflects   analysed L1-knowledge, borrowing is due to   unanalysed L1-knowledge   Such a phenomenon may well occur when the L1 and L2 are closely related (for example, L1-Swedish and L2-English),   especially in types of borrowing such as complete language shift, or in intermediate forms between transfer and borrowing such as *hybrids, blends, relexifications*, and *false friends* (*cf*   Ringbom, 1987 112f)   For example

(4) a   I *fick* a job last week (Sw fick = *got*) (p 149)
     b.   .   two *asks* a day   (Sw ask = *packet*) (p 153)
     c   a big *incomst*   (Sw inkomst = *income*) (p 155)
     d   As a *barn* I was   (Sw barn = *child*) (p 156)

However, in the case of L1-Arabic and L2-English which are totally unrelated, examples of borrowing such as (4 a-d) will hardly occur at all due to the absence of cognate elements as mentioned above   Hence, upon communicating with native speakers of English, no Arab learner tends to produce examples such as (5 a-d) below by means of what can be called *pseudo-relexification*,   that is, a carrying over of the L1-surface forms of lexical items ununanalysed as in the following examples

(5) a *I* [rihit] *to college*   (SCA [rihit] = *went*)
     b *I went* [?al] *college*   (SCA [?al] = *to the*)
     c *I went to* [l'killiyye]   (SCA [l'killiyye] = *the college*)
     d *and borrowed two* [kta bs] (SCA [kta b] = *book*)

Because aspects of linguistic relatedness,   such as cognate elements, between Arabic and English are absent (Semitic *versus* Germanic), it is difficult to envisage examples like (5a-d) as actually occurring though they may appear in such cases as slips, jokes and the like Pseudo-relexification may also occur in retroactive borrowing due to

environmentally imposed intrusion (*cf.* chapter 3, section 3 1 2, example (3a))) Moreover, a carrying over of the surface forms of L1-items unanalysed may take place in some phonological interlingual identifications These will be referred to in the discussion of the IL-data where appropriate (*cf.* chapter 6, section 6 1) It follows that in the domain of lexis, this type of transfer is extremely rare; so that all of the L1-items in (5a-d) which reflect unanalysed L1-knowledge are only imaginable However, in the domain of syntax, it is quite possible for a certain rule of L1-grammar to be transferred onto the Arab learner's IL without being analysed For example

(6)   * I went to *the* college   (*AE*)

As the above actual example illustrates, the article '*the*' reflects a particular L1-item [-l-] '*the*' as in (5b-c) Clearly, from a lexical point of view, the L1-based L2-item '*the*' in (6), as opposed to the *pure* L1-item [-l-] in (5b-c), is not carried over as unanalysed L1-knowledge, but rather somewhat transferred or 'translated' as an analysed lexical item What seems to be carried over as unanalysed L1-knowledge is, then, the grammatical function of the definite article [al] which is the MSA-form of [-l-] in (5b-c) Therefore, it is the syntactic conceptualization of [al] —not its lexical representation— that caused the Arab learner to 'define' the noun '*college*' in (6) Consequently, two types of L1-knowledge seem to underlie the resultant L1-based L2-item '*the*' analysed lexical knowledge and unanalysed syntactic knowledge (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 2 2 for a detailed analysis of articles)

So far the two types of *overt* CLI have been considered With regard to *covert* CLI, on the other hand, Ringbom stresses that this type does not seem to be recognized by researchers of today Analogous with Kean's notion of blind transfer, *covert* CLI, Ringbom states

> [   ] means that L1-based procedures are *used to compensate for gaps of L2-knowledge* The learner's underlying knowledge remains unanalysed in the sense that it has not been placed in relation to L2 because of the lack of a common reference frame The speaker/writer needs fairly thorough mastery of the structural details of L2. Mere learning of a number of basic lexical items works only to a very limited extent the learner also has to cope with the demands of giving these items their proper forms and, hence, indicate their syntactic relationships accurately [   ] Covert CLI is thus relevant to the problem of *avoidance* [   ]
> (Ringbom, 1987 51, emphasis added)

It should be noted, however, that if one accepts such a relationship between *covert* CLI and *avoidance* strategies as discussed by Schachter and Kleinmann (*cf* section 4 1 2), then 'gaps of L2-knowledge', especially in the syntax of the avoided structure, should not be conceived as a reflection of the learner's *ignorance* of that structure Rather, since *covert* CLI is due to lack of perceived similarity, phenomena such as avoidance are only a result of inadequate control Finally, Ringbom, in **Figure 8** below, summarizes the different types of CLI as discussed in the process of production

CLI in L2-Production

Overt		Covert
CL-similarity perceived		No CL-similarity
Transfer	*Borrowing*	perceived,
		unanalysed knowledge
Perceived L1-L2	Perceived L1-L2	as far as relation
similarity of *patterns*,	similarity of forms	L1-L2 is concerned,
knowledge-based	of lexical *items*,	gaps of knowledge,
procedures used to	unanalysed knowledge,	frequently manifested
fill gaps of knowledge,	reflects lack of	in *avoidance*
analysed knowledge	control rather than	
	lack of knowledge	

Figure 8· *CLI in L2-Production*

4.2.2 *CLI on L2-Comprehension*

As mentioned at the outset of the preceding section, learners with different L1s, learning a common L2, produce their ILs differently Again, there are considerable differences in learning to process a L2 at a comprehension level A group of learners sharing the same L1 and having no prior knowledge of any language other than their L1 will ostensibly vary in their comprehension strategies if each one is learning a different L2 In the light of what precedes, differences in L2-comprehension are primarily determined by the existence or

non-existence of cross-linguistic similarities between L1 and L2   The learner of a closely related L2 previously knows in large measure about this L2 such as the linguistic categories and functions in addition to the extensive potential for L2-vocabulary, so that he has great opportunities to make the relevant cross-lingual tie-ups even at the early stages of learning (*cf* Ringbom, 1987 53)

As the degree of L2-comprehension correlates with the speed of L2-learning/acquisition and the differences in both depend on the so-called language distance, the heuristic and facilitative role of the L1 can be stressed within this formulation Corder writes

> The more distant linguistically from the [L1] the longer a [L2] takes to learn This can be explained simply by saying that the more similar [L1] and [L2] the greater help the [L1] can give in acquiring the [L2] The less similar, the less help it can give [   ] failure to facilitate is by no means the same thing as inhibition or interference Where languages are *distantly related there is no inhibition, simply little facilitation*, which is not at all the same thing
>
> (Corder, 1983 88, emphasis added)

Therefore, in the case of learning a closely related L2 even from the start, CLI-research rests on the facilitating effects of the L1 on L2-comprehension Since the use of the L1 may act as an *utterance initiator* in Krashen's terms (*cf* section 4 1 1), L1-influence in L2-comprehension can be observed in the learner's attempt or attempts to interpret incoming L2-utterances by recourse to his L1-knowledge (*cf* Faerch and Kasper, 1987· 6) On the other hand, in the case of learning a totally unrelated L2 (L1-Arabic and L2-English), the facilitative role of the L1 is not always guaranteeable, particularly at the early stages of L2-learning In such a case, the beginning learner —unlike the learner whose L1 is closely related to the L2— does not possess the extensive L2-knowledge referred to above and, therefore, he is not in a position to comprehend cross-linguistic similarities, where they exist, between L1 and L2 In Ringbom's words

> If we deal with the learning of a totally unrelated L2 [   ] mastering grammar even for *receptive use* becomes an important problem for the beginning learner *He will find it difficult to establish over-simplified one-to-one equivalences between lexical items when he cannot rely on finding the same grammatical categories in the L2 as in his L1* Above all, the understanding of the meanings and functions of high frequency words such as articles, prepositions and pronouns becomes a task of some complexity, since it forces the learner to try and make sense of a

linguistic reality quite foreign to the linguistic organization
with which he is familiar

(Ringbom, 1987 55, emphasis added)

However, this does not imply that cross-linguistic similarities
between unrelated languages are entirely absent. Rather, the potential
for such similarities exists between any pair of languages but the degree
of cross-lilnguistic similarity varies from one pair to another
Therefore, for a learner of a totally unrelated L2 to perceive
cross-linguistic similarities, a certain degree of L2-knowledge should
exist in his linguistic repertoire in addition to his already existing
L1-knowledge (this point will be discussed presently)

Researchers like Winitz and Reeds believe that totally unrelated
languages are easier to learn than closely related languages· "We
believe that the more the two languages differ in structure the more
rapid the acquisition of the [L2]" (Winitz and Reeds, 1975 69, quoted
by Ringbom, 1987 56) Ringbom's critical account of their statement
runs as follows ideally, if the purpose of L2-learning is to attain
native-like competence in the L2, then Winitz and Reed's claim is
somewhat verifiable However, even in the case of bilinguals, perfect
bilingualism where L1-competence and L2-competence are equal is extremely
rare (*cf.* chapter 1, section 1 1 2) Further, if the learner had
really possessed native-like competence, then his stages of development
would have subsumed that cross-linguistic L1-L2 similarities were either
of no significance at all or they might have predominantly negative
effects on the learning process In both cases, the facilitative role
of the L1 seems to be disregarded and the so-called negative effects of
L1-influence could easily be eradicated (*cf* Ringbom, 1987: 57) What is
quite reasonable to assume is that both related and unrelated L2s present
their own learning problems The efficiency of learning these two types
of L2s, therefore, depends primarily on the goal of language learning.
If the goal is intentionally the bare bones of communication, then, in
this case, the learning of a related L2 would be more helpful than the
learning of an unrelated L2 For example, when a tourist knowing some
lexical items such as *'where'* and *'bus-station'* juxtaposes them in the
IL-question (7a) below, instead of producing a well-formed utterance such
as (7b):

(7) a. * *Where bus-station?*
     b   *Excuse me, could you tell me* where *the* bus-station *is?*

If, however, the goal of language learning is what can be called grammatical correctness, then neither type would appear to be more efficient than the other (*cf* Ringbom, 1987 67-68, footnote 11) Hence, a reconsideration of Winitz an dreeds' statement has been made by Ringbom as follows

[   ] to focus exclusively on the last stage of learning [   ] is [   ] to give a grossly misleading picture of what language learning really is about. The earlier stages of productive competence as well as the development of receptive competence (and its influence on productive competence) must be considered What is perfectly possible, and even probable, however, is that knowledge of a related language may be more easily fossilized at a stage where communication generally works, *compared with the learning of an unrelated language, where the learner is used to putting a great deal of effort into learning* [   ]
                                                        (Ringbom, 1987 57, emphasis added)

Within the view that the learner of an unrelated L2 makes a greater effort to arrive at a fairly acceptable level of L2-proficiency, the learning of an unrelated L2 (such as an Arabic speaker learning English) should be emphasized as the principal concern in the current study Thus, in order to give more balanced decisions on the value of language transfer, the learner in question is to be viewed as passing through a particular stage (or stages) of L2-learning, that is, development (*cf* Wode and Zobl, section 4 1 3) In other words, the learner of an unrelated L2 who learns its grammatical rudiments such as linguistic categories and their functions and potentially possesses a wide range of its vocabulary would have a greater opportunity to comprehend cross-linguistic similarities, where there are, between L1 and L2 and to make use of his L1 as a dynamic reference frame, so that positive as well as negative transfer would be anticipated It follows that cross-linguistic similarities can occur between typologically unrelated pair of languages such as Arabic and English, since, as Corder puts it "It is possible that languages which are unrelated may resemble each other in respect of some features of their systematic structure, whilst genetically related languages may differ quite markedly in the same features" (Corder, 1973 227)

In the domain of syntax, for instance, Schachter's data demonstrated that the Arab learner had fairly acceptable knowledge of the English structural devices (*cf* section 4 1 2) Such knowledge seems to have acted as the inherent preconditions which enabled him to make the

relevant cross-lingual tie-ups between Arabic and English relative-clause formation   Had   the   Arab   learner   not   perceived   the   crucial cross-linguistic similarity (that   is,   the postnominal position in both languages),   he would not have attempted to produce the relatively   large number of relative clauses which,   in   most   cases,   reflected negative transfer   from Arabic in relation to *pronominalization*   (*cf*   Schachter, 1974, reprint   359)   For example

(8)   * *The time I spent* it *in practice*

Therefore,   the   Arab   learner's   attempts   to   produce   the   structure in question   reflected   nothing more than a certain degree of   knowledge   of L2-syntax,   and,   thus,   his   perception   (comprehension)   of cross-linguistic   similarity   between   L1   and   L2   was   the   underlying precondition

In the domain of lexis,   which   is   classified   under   semantics in   the   current   study,   the Arab learner should,   in   addition   to   his syntactic   knowledge,   internalize   the   necessary   potential for L2-vocabulary   at   a   comprehension   level   in   order   to   activate   the L1-semantic extensions   or   idiosyncracies   when producing IL-utterances In   this   respect,   such   IL-utterances   are   said   to   be   an   attested reflection of L1-based L2-lexical   items   whose knowledge seems to be the strongest   trigger   of positive transfer   Therefore,   the   knowledge   of certain L2-vocabulary is a must for the Arab learner,   otherwise language transfer in the domain of lexis would be far more complex to   investigate (*cf*   chapter   5,   section   5 3 3,   examples   (7-9)   for   an analysis of lexical selection)

It   appears   the   case   that the   learner of a totally   unrelated   L2 who possesses the   L2-linguistic   knowledge   referred   to above coincides with the learner of a closely related L2 in that both of them are able to perceive   the   crosslinguistic   similarity,   where   there is similarity, between what they know about the L2 and what they already know about   the L1   From this point of view,   the   Arab   learner of English,   the Syrian learner specifically,   is   the focus of attention in the   present   study (*cf*   chapter 5,   section   5 1)   Perceived   cross-linguistic similarity is,   therefore,   one of the most significant aspects in L2-comprehension as well as in L2-production   As the analysis of IL-data in Part Two will illustrate,   although   perceived   cross-linguistic   similarity   can   be   a

relevant precondition for language transfer,   such an important aspect,
however,   is not always a trigger of positive transfer   In Ringbom's
words

> [   ] it seems that when perceived similarities to the L1 lie behind
> the influence of the L1 —i e   when it is a question of overt
> cross-linguistic influence— there is, in principle, as much corr-
> esponding   positive   transfer as   negative   transfer   Covert
> cross-linguistic influence, on the other hand, is entirely negative,
> since the underlying cause here is that no similarity between L1 and
> L2 has been perceived, and the L1-procedures have been used because
> no L2-procedures were available
>
> (Ringbom, 1987 59)

In the next section, the interaction between L2-comprehension
and L2-production as a much more complicated process will be considered
by reference to the important questions raised in current thinking
Such questions concern the amount of CLI on both processes for a deeper
understanding of transfer mechanisms   Since the present study is
concerned with the oral English ILs a group of Syrian learners, the
terms 'speaker' and 'listener' will be restricted to production and
comprehension respectively

4.2.3   The Interaction between Comprehension
and Production

It has been mentioned at the outset of section (4 2) that the
main distinction between comprehension and production is that
comprehension refers to data-based processing,   whereas production
involves self-activated mechanisms.   It follows that the learner, in
production, is required to make a greater effort and to keep, in larger
scale, control of linguistic procedures because the *speaker* "   not
only has to activate the impulses himself but also has to make a
definite choice between a number of activated items and between
different forms of the same item" (Ringbom, 1987 62)

Swain (1982), for instance, argues that the speaker often
encounters problems which are primarily due to the insufficient
L2-knowledge he has at his disposal, so that, in such a case, he has to
develop a number of alternative strategies where there is communication
breakdown in order to cope with the situation   In her argument about

language process at a production level, Swain suggests that the output may force the speaker to move from semantic processing to syntactic processing. Thus, the speaker is as concerned with the meaning of content words as he is with their formal features. Further, the speaker, upon using the language, has a chance to test out a variety of hypotheses about the different linguistic levels of the L2 (*cf.* Ellis, 1985: 159).

The learner in comprehension, on the other hand, is required to make a relatively less effort, since the listener can process the language —as produced by the **speaker**— simply in terms of attending to the meaning of content words without paying much attention to formal details. However, perceived cross-linguistic similarities as well as lack of similarities are more significant for comprehension than for production. This is due to the fact that similarities between incoming data (input) and already existing knowledge structures are more tangible than similarities between the existing knowledge structures themselves. Ringbom adds:

> Existing knowledge structures are more easily activated by the linguistic cues of incoming data if similarities, cross-linguistic or intralinguistic, can be perceived by the learner. Lack of linguistic similarity means that the learner has to rely on extra-linguistic cues for inferencing, but if he can perceive cross-linguistic similarities at different linguistic levels *this will facilitate comprehension*, even if this comprehension is often only approximate, and occasionally even incorrect.
>
> (Ringbom, 1987: 136; emphasis added)

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is relatively plausible, at a production level, to test the value of transfer effects by comparing the learner's IL-utterances with their well-formed L2-counterparts. Thus, leading one to make conclusive statements about positive and negative transfer on the basis of the linguistic convergence and divergence respectively when specified between IL-identifications and L2-well-formedness (*cf.* chapter 3, sections 3.1.3 and 3.2.3). However, one of the highly complex tasks is to precisely pinpoint where or how positive transfer mechanisms have operated in L2-comprehension or L2-production. For this reason, Ringbom restates Faerch and Kasper (1987) by posing the two important questions which concern the magnitude of CLI; that is, the transfer load:

(a) *How much of the learner's automatized L1-knowledge can be usefully employed by extending it to L2-learning? Or phrased in ,a different way, when do L1-based procedures actually work in L2-comprehension and L2-production?*

and

(b) *How much of the learner's controlled effort is needed to free himself from the constraints of the L1, where there are constraints?*
(Quoted by Ringbom, 1978 59)

In her adaptation of Levine's (1975   271) *hypothesis theory*, Schachter suggests that transfer is not in, and of, itself a **process**, but rather it is more appropriately viewed as both a facilitating and an inhibiting condition on the learner's hypothesis testing process (Schachter, 1983 98) Thus transfer, in the case of inhibition (*cf* Question (b) above), is in fact a **constraint** imposed by the learner's already existing knowledge on a more general process, that is, **inferencing** In Schachter's words "The learner infers from previous knowledge *[which includes L1-knowledge]* the domain within the universe from which the solution to the current L2 problem will be taken Then, the learner samples hypotheses from that domain" (Schachter, 1983· 103)

As has been mentioned earlier, the ultimate aim of the **CA**-Hypothesis was to identify learning difficulty on the basis of linguistic differences and to help the learner overcome such difficulty Although the behaviouristic paradigms with which **CA** was bound up were relinquished, this ultimate aim seems to remain unchanged It is, therefore the approach to the identification of learning problems (and subsequently the approach to pedagogical tactics) that have been entirely reconsidered, whereas the aim which has rested on the part of the learner is still set up, albeit in a new perspective, by researchers of today, and the two questions above are clear evidence of that aim However, because traditional CA-based research concentrated on the negative effects of L1-influence, the aim was, in fact, set up solely in terms of Question (b) Again, despite the leading contributions of IL-specialists towards the investigation of language processing at both levels (comprehension/production) and towards the facilitative role of the **L1**, most of the empirical findings of transfer researchers, especially those reviewed throughout this chapter, have also been carried out in terms of Question (b), that is, they emphasized the negative constraints of the L1 without paying much attention to the facilitating triggers (positive transfer)

As far as the linguistic subcomponents are concerned, Ringbom argues that while Question (b) may well be the more important of the two questions for phonology and pragmatics, Question (a) appears to be the more relevant for syntax and lexis   In other words, the facilitative effects of automatized L1-knowledge is more readily explicable in terms of grammar and lexis than in terms of phonology and pragmatics   In grammar and lexis, the learner's effort is fraught with considerable difficulty in processing the L2 (comprehension and production)   In such a case, the learner has a large number of opportunities to establish simplified cross-linguistic equivalences between L1 and L2   As learning proceeds and progresses and the underlying knowledge of his IL becomes quite extensive, linguistic reconsiderations start with modifying such equivalences in the direction of the standard norm of the L2 (Ringbom, 1987· 60)   In this context, Swan states

> When we set out to learn a new language, we automatically assume
> (until we have evidence to the contrary) that meanings and
> structures are going to be broadly similar to those in our own
> language. The strategy does not always work, of course —that is
> why languages are different to learn— and it breaks down quite
> often with languages unrelated to our own   But on balance this kind
> of 'equivalence assumption' puts us ahead of the game [.]
>   (Swan, 1985 85f, quoted by Ringbom, 1987· 68, footnote 12)

In phonology and pragmatics, on the other hand, the learner's task seems to be less exhausting, particularly in acquiring what Ringbom calls a *superficial receptive competence* which is the least required achievement in these areas However, although the learning of a closed system such as phonology is less difficult, this superficial receptive competence is insufficient for Arab learners specifically For instance, even at advanced stages of learning most Arab learners tend to pronounce the strong form of one-syllable words such as *'can'*, *'have'*, *'was'*, *'and'* and so on for all phonological identifications in connected speech Such a tendency may create pragmatic problems at a comprehension level because the Arab listener, in this case, assumes that even the native speaker, his interlocutor, has a 'permanent' tendency towards the strong form upon producing one-syllable words For example

(9) *You can't have wars without killing*   (AU)

The learner's well observable 'permanent' tendency to produce *'can'* as /kæ n/ (strong form) rather than /kən/ (weak form) may cause him to receive the negative form *'can't'* in (9) as the affirmative and strong form /kæ n/ even if such an utterance is actually produced by a native speaker of English (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 2, sub-section (F) for a detailed analysis of this example as an attestedly received IL-identification) Phonological aspects such as these reflect highly automatized L1-identifications which are in many respects unnoticeable not only by learners, but also by analysts Thus, such a phonological pragmatic aspect will be prone to fossilization of no proper effort is made Ringbom adds

> [ ] the learner's real problems lie in the development of his own ability to use the phonological and pragmatic systems underlying L2-production. The highly automatized L1-systems in these areas *are not changed or modified for actual productive use without considerable controlled effort.*
> (Ringbom, 1987 60; emphasis added)

In the light of the above two questions which concern the amount of CLI, Ringbom assumes that comprehension generally precedes production in the learning process This assumption is not very recent in itself It even dates back to behaviourists who, within the constructs of habit-formation theory, proposed this order as one of the direct analogies drawn between L1 and L2-acquisition "understanding always precedes speaking" (*cf* Stern (1970), chapter 1, section 1 2 2) Therefore, the general order (comprehension/production) seems to be constant and even in some examples which occur in the domain of cognate vocabulary, this general order remains unchanged However, Ringbom argues that an exception may be constituted by some cognate words in the learner's potential vocabulary For instance, the Swedish learner of English who perceives the cross-linguistic similarities between Swedish and English words such as *'hat-hate'*, *'stat-state'*, may produce the English word *'rate'* for the Swedish word *'rat'* before he has come across *'rate'* (Ringbom, 1987 62) It is believed that this particular instance does not seem to be an exception to the general order as stated by Ringbom It is quite possible that the Swedish learner may produce the English word *'rate'* before he has received it, but his previous perception of cross-linguistic correspondences between pairs of cognate words such as *'hat-hate'*, *'stat-state'* may well act as a precondition which causes him to apply the principle of analogy at a comprehension level; that is, an

analogy between already perceived L1-L2 pairs of cognate words and the new L1-L2 pairs of which the L1-words, at least, already exist in the learner's linguistic repertoire After all, if it is allowed to isolate L1-comprehension from L2-comprehension, then the order for this particular case would be (L1-comprehension -----> analogy -----> L2-production) Nevertheless, whether it be an exception to the general order or not, this kind of psycholinguistic self-activation may very well contribute to effective learning

It has been mentioned in the previous section that the learner of an unrelated L2 who knows a good deal about the L2 can be equated with the learner of a related L2 in that both learners are able to perceive cross-linguistic similarities where there are crucial similarities between L1 and L2. Therefore, most of the insights into CLI reviewed in this chapter can be applied to the Arab learner in question By reference to Ringbom's (1990) lecture, the relationship between comprehension and production can be summarized in the following points

(i) In comprehension, most of the simplified cross-linguistic equivalences between L1 and L2-items which have been established by the learner are legitimate, though they should be modified at later stages However, in production L1-based L2-items may not be available to the same extent, because of the usual gap between comprehension and production

(ii) When the learner encounters problems in comprehension, he makes use of inferencing, where L1-knowledge often provides successful cues. In production, L1-strategies may compensate for gaps in L2-knowledge but to a lesser extent than inferencing does in comprehension

(iii) The crucial congruence of syntactic structures (*cf* the Arab learner's attempts to produce the relative-clause structure in Schachter's data) allows the learner to adopt a meaning-oriented approach to comprehension Such an approach can be well applied to the use of L1-based L2-lexical items (*cf* chater 5, section 5 3 3, examples(7-9)) without a great measure of precaution taken about syntactic relations, since these lexical items are easily recognizable and their contexts do not normally impede

communication   However,   formal   accuracy   (syntax)   is   much   more important   for   production   Syntactic   representations   in   production cause   greater   problems   for   all   learners   than   in   comprehension

(iv) In   comprehension,   some   linguistic   aspects   of   the   L1   can   be incorporated   into   the   learner's   potential   L2-knowledge   without   much learning   effort   being   involved   In   production,   the   potential   for L1-knowledge   does   not   aid   to   the   same   extent,   since   L1-L2 correspondences   may   not   be   available   for   production

(v) In   comprehension,   the   activation   of   potential   L2-knowledge   can   be easily   automatized   if   controlled   efforts   are   involved   Such automatized   knowledge   facilitates   the   learner's   procedures   for assessing   L2-knowledge   and   enables   him   to   cope   with   the   time pressure   inherent   in   listening   comprehension   In   the   oral production   of   ILs,   the   learner's   more   automatized   procedures   lead   to better   L2-fluency

From   the   discussion   of   the   key   issues   put   forward   in   this   chapter, it has become clear that the mechanism of language transfer is by far one of the most complex processes   underlying L2-learning/acquisition   There are   boundless   factors   that   trigger   or   constrain   the   operation   of   this internal   mechanism.   Although   the   proponents   of   IL-research   have contributed   in   large measure to the study of   language   processing   and emphasized   the   facilitating   effects   of   the   L1,   most   of   the   empirical findings   conducted   during   the   last decade have   concentrated   on   the negative   effects   of   L1-influence   to   the   detriment   of   the   positive effects   Hence,   research   into   CLI   —and   Ringbom   is   one   of   the   leading figures   in this   field—   is   as   concerned   with   the   inhibiting   aspects   of L1-influence   as   it   is with   the   facilitating   aspects   The   notion   of perceived   language   distance   seems   to   have   originated with   the   initial work   of   Schachter   This   notion   has   been   developed   by   researchers   such   as Kellerman   and   Wode   in   terms   of   *psychotypology*   and   *crucial similarity mesaure*   respectively   Again,   in   CLI-research,   this   notion   has   been emphasized   in   terms   of   *perceived   cross-linguistic   similarity*   which   is   the most   significant   precondition   for   *overt*   CLI   (the   transfer   load)   Given that   such   a   precondition   plays   a   more   important   role   in   comprehension than   in   production,   the   scope   of   transfer   is   assumed   to   be   larger   in   the comprehension   process,   and   its   value   (positive   or   negative   or   a   mixture

of both) is determined by the degree of perceived cross-linguistic similarity. Above all, the magnitude of CLI is subject to a great many inter-related variables which, in turn, formulate a far more intricate network of factors generally pertinent to the L2-learning process. Such variables may be linguistic such as the learner's previous linguistic knowledge (his L1, the L2 he is learning, and any other languages has has knowledge of) or non-linguistic such as age, personality, style of learning, and many other internal variables referred to throughout Part One of this study.

In conclusion, the position of language transfer in the L2-acquisition research of today seems much more respectable and recognized than it was during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The inextricable association of CA with habit formation and Chomsky's criticisms of the behavioural-structural model caused the pendulum to swing away from the notion of language transfer (*cf.* chapter 1 and chapter 2). Surprisingly, perhaps, it was also Chomsky's ideas on mentalism and cognitivism which encouraged researchers to reconsider the whole concept of language transfer from a far deeper perspective. Therefore, despite the severe attacks launched by researchers like Dulay and Burt, the concept has slowly regained ground through the work of IL-specialists (*cf.* chapter 3). The situation of language transfer today in all the guises of CLI reviewed in this chapter appears to confirm its own important niche, and, beyond all question, language transfer is a central and inevitable mechanism (among others) which underlies —and therefore plays a significant role in— the process of L2-learning/acquisition.

4.3 Hypotheses of Arabic–Transfer Potential

As seen throughout Part One of this study, the key issues connected with language transfer have been dealt with in a rather detailed and modified configuration. In addition, the new direction of transfer-based research (which, it is believed, has started with IL-specialists onward) has been carefully traced within a schematized overview. It seems, therefore, in the light of these key issues and in relation to the IL-data collected from a number of Syrian-Arab adult learners, three major provisional hypotheses can be proposed in terms of the three

linguistic subcomponents phonology, syntax and semantics (lexical selection) In Part Two, these hypotheses will, first, be taken under preliminary consideration (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3) and, then, explored by a detailed analysis of the Syrian learners' interlingual identifications along the three linguistic subcomponents (*cf* chapter 6)

Hypothesis One: Phonology

The potential for Colloquial-Arabic transfer (SCA), rather than Classical-Arabic transfer (MSA), will be mostly an *interfering factor* (that is, a *non-facilitator* rather than an *inhibitor*) in the phonological processing of the English IL

Hypothesis Two: Syntax

The potential for Arabic transfer (SCA/MSA) will be mostly a *non-facilitator* rather than an *inhibitor* in the syntactic processing of the English IL

Hypothesis Three: Semantics

The Potential for Arabic transfer (SCA/MSA) will be mostly a *facilitator* in the semantic processing of the English IL

PART TWO

The Empirical Research

5

PRELIMINARIES TO DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In corroboration of the three hypotheses proposed in this study, various linguistic aspects of the spoken ILs of some Syrian-Arab learners will be examined in detail. Attempts will be made to extrapolate the possible source or sources from which interlingual identifications, erroneous or non-erroneous, may flow. Hence, this introductory chapter presents all the possible information which may help clarify the initial stages of undertaking this revealing, if complex, analysis.

The opening section (section 5 1) of this chapter will be taken up with a brief historical background of Arabic, the L1 of the learners in question, and the relationship between the two varieties the Classical and the Colloquial. As Syrian Colloquial Arabic is a sub-variety of the latter, the regional dialects of Syria will be specified in terms of four main dialects representing the learners' home dialects. Next, a brief outline of the learners' educational background and the way the concrete IL-data was collected will be considered.

The second section (section 5 2) will identify the potential areas of Arabic transfer which will be investigated throughout the discussion of a selective number of the concrete IL-data. Thus, to avoid possible confusion, the linguistic terms used in this study will be defined with reference to the three hypotheses introduced at the end of Part One.

The third and final section (section 5 3) will provide some preliminary remarks on these hypotheses in order to explore them within a particular approach to the analysis of Arabic transfer.

5.1 Arabic, Learner and IL-Data Background

Arabic is one of the Semitic languages spoken by some two hundred millions of Arabs over the vast area extending from Morocco to the Arabian Gulf   This language has appeared in literature (mainly poetry) for approximately one and a half millennia   In the pre-Islamic period, Arabic was of two major sets of dialects or varieties used in and around the Arabian Peninsula   the dialects of southern Arabs and the dialects of northern Arabs   As a result of many intervening objective factors (such as socio-economic, political, cultural, religious, etc), most dialects, especially those of northern Arabs, were historically integrated into the Qureishi Dialect which became the typical form of Arabic due to the particular influence Mecca had at the time   In the Islamic period, the historical integration of Arabic dialects into this form was gradually identified in the sociolinguistic sense, and, as a result of historical inevitability, was supported by the Holy Koran and Hadith since Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, belonged to the Qureish Tribe   Thus, Arabs from other different tribes were unified by the Islamic Vocation and consequently they adopted Qureishi Arabic as a *common* dialect, although members of each tribe were still using their *own* dialects in ordinary speech

Having been developed down through ages, Arabic was governed by various linguistic rules along the written and spoken forms   Arabic now offers a bewildering range of linguistic variation   There are two main varieties of Arabic   first, the Classical or the Standard written language which extends from pre-Islamic poetry to modern books and journals   This variety shows essentially the same sound system and morphology but with considerable variation in lexis, syntax and forms of discourse   The second variety, or set of varieties, is the Colloquial or the Spoken language which descends from the *koine* (*cf*   chapter 3, section 3 1 1) and constitutes the intricate chain of regional dialects all over the Arab World (*cf*   Ferguson, 1970   358f)

It has been argued that these two varieties, the Classical and the Colloquial, exist side by side in a **diglossic relationship** in the Arab speech community, and there are extensive diferences between the two varieties in phonology, lexis, and grammatical structures (*cf* Ferguson, 1959b)   Above all, the extent of variation between the

colloquial dialects themselves seems to be more enormous For instance, the extent of variation between Syrian Colloquial Arabic (SCA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is even greater than between, for example, Swedish and Norwegian which belong to the same origin (Germanic) and are historically recognized as separate languages (*cf* Ferguson, 1970 358) Such variation is considerable not only between the regional dialects of the Arab countries, but also between the sub-dialects of the same country

In the current study, the potential for Arabic transfer will be scrutinized by recourse to two varieties the classical or written variety which is referred to as *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA), and the spoken variety in Syria which is called *Syrian Colloquial Arabic* (SCA) However, during the 1950s, the term *Syrian Arabic* had been recognized " to include any variety of Arabic spoken by the settled populations of the area formerly comprising Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan" (Ferguson, 1955 187) The term SCA refers, here, to the Arabic variety spoken by any native of the Syrian Arab Republic This variety can be identified in terms of four main dialects or sub-dialects as visualized in the **Map of Syria**

As the **Map of Syria** illustrates, the four main regional dialects of SCA can be classified as follows

(i)   *Eastern Colloquial Dialect* (ECD) which comprises Urban Eastern
        Dialect (UED), the dialect of Dayr az-Zawr, and Rural Eastern
        Dialect (RED), the dialect of its environs including Ar-Raqqah

(ii)   *Western Colloquial Dialect* (WCD), the dialect of Tartus

(iii)   *Northern Colloquial Dialect* (NCD), the dialect of Aleppo

(iv)   *Southern Colloquial Dialect* (SCD), the dialect of Damascus

Therefore, given the chance of obtaining a multitude of interlingual identifications from a number of Syrian-Arab learners having different L1-dialects, these four main dialects are said to constitute SCA in the
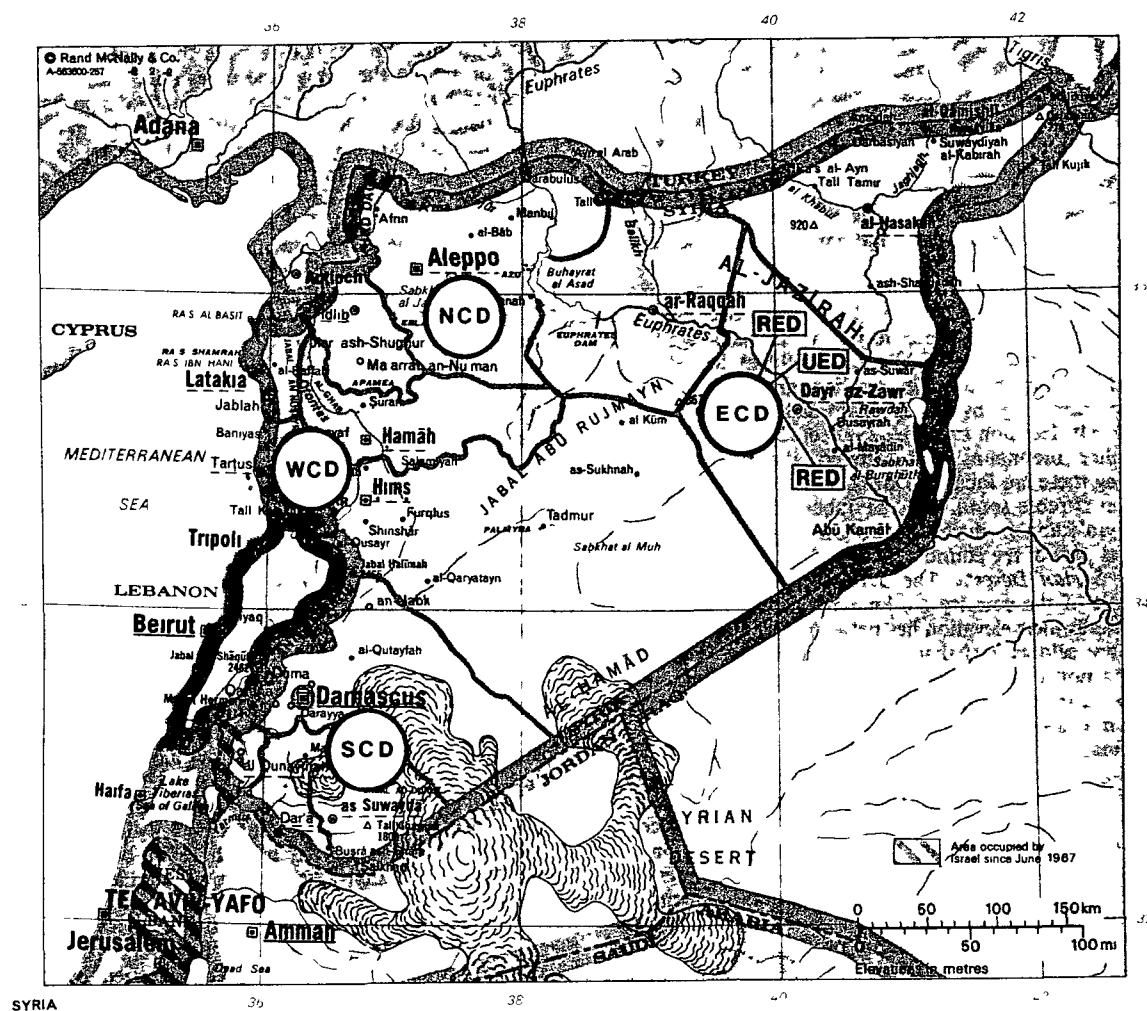
The Map of Syria *The four main dialects of Syrian Colloquial Arabic*

sociolinguistic sense and to represent the home dialects of the learners under discussion Further, the interlingual identifications selected from the concrete data can be generally viewed as typical examples of the linguistic representation of the Syrian-Arab learner's English IL It should be noted, however, that, for any interlingual identification cited throughout this thesis, the following points are established

(a) The term *Arabic*, when used solely for some L1-example as the constant TE, indicates that the example in question can occur both in MSA and SCA

(b) The abbreviation SCA, when used solely for some L1-example as the constant TE, indicates that the occurrence of the example in question is possible in all the four dialects of SCA

(c) The abbreviation **ECD**, when used solely for some L1-example as the constant **TE**, indicates that the occurrence of the example in question is possible in ECD but rare in other dialects. This point applies to the other three dialects NCD, SCD and WCD

(d) When a given L1-example used as the constant **TE** is recurrent in two or three dialects of **SCA**, these dialects will be mentioned consecutively

(e) In all the phonetic transliterations and transcriptions recorded throughout this study, the square brackets [ ] are used for both the Arabic spelling pronunciation and the phonological representation of the English IL, whereas the oblique dashes / / are specific for the English spelling pronunciation

The interlingual identifications which will be tabulated and analysed along the three linguistic dimensions in the next chapter (chapter 6) have been selected from a wide range corpus of IL-utterances produced orally by a group of Syrian full-time post-graduate students during their research careers at three universities in Dublin, the Republic of Ireland These universities are Dublin City University, University College Dublin, and Trinity College Dublin The students are still reading for higher degrees such as M Sc and Ph D (by research) in the following areas

(i) Mechanical Engineering (M Sc and Ph D)
(ii) Civil Engineering (M Sc)
(iii) Electronics (M Sc and training courses)

Some of the students commenced their studies in the academic year 1987/1988 at Dublin City University specifically These got M Scs in mechanical engineering in the academic year 1989/1990, and since then they have been studying for Ph Ds in the same field and at the same university In the academic year 1988/1989, other students commenced studying for M Scs in the above mentioned areas (including mechanical engineering) at the three universities and are expected to graduate in the academic year 1990/1991 During their research careers in Ireland, all the students are totally funded by the Scientific Studies and

Research Centre (SSRC), the Syrian Arab Republic   The students are fifteen males and one female in number, and the average of their ages is twenty nine years

From the long-term basis the students live on in Ireland, ranging from one to three years, it can be seen that the scope of their formal exposure to English (classroom settings) is quite extensive and reasonably uniform   That is, before the students had commenced their studies,   particularly in mechanical engineering and electronics, they pursued an approximately four-month English course at the Language Centre of Ireland in Dublin. In addition, their formal exposure to English was and is still re-inforced by the large number of lectures and seminars the students attended and are attending during their long-term research careers   Essentially, these lectures and seminars cover the area of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) due to the *specific* nature of the students' studies The extent and uniformity of such formal exposure were also sustained by the lectures of English as a L2, which the students attended during their undergraduate study careers at different Syrian universities such as the University of Damascus and the University of Aleppo According to the educational system of the Syrian universities, the L2,   English or French, is a compulsory subject (often 2 hours per week,   that is, a total of approximately 300 hours over a five-academic-year duration) Out of the sixteen students, there were only two students, whose L2s chronologically were not English one whose L2 was French in some measure of familiarity (*cf* the example of this particular student, chapter 4, section 4 1 3) and the other whose knowledge and fluency in Serbo-Croatian were quite extensive Furthermore, during their working careers at the Scientific Studies and Research Centre (SSRC),   these students —including those whose L2s chronologicaly were not English— had an opportunity to do a number of English courses (beginner, intermediate and upper-intermediate) each covering a total of approximately 160 hours over a four-month period The students also had to do a compulsory intensive course due to the regulations of scholarship candidature in the Scientific Studies and Research Centre (SSRC) Such an intensive course preceded, as it normally does, the candidates' preparation for travelling abroad

So far a brief account of Arabic (within its main varieties and

sub- varieties) and the students' educational background has been
considered In addition, an extensive view of the students' formal
exposure to English both in the home country and in the host country has
been outlined With regard to their informal exposure (naturalistic
settings), on the other hand, it seems that the scope is much wider and
more uniform The students' long-term residence in Ireland is a clear
indication of how the width and uniformity of such scope are maintained,
especially at a reception level   That is, besides the time they spend
reading their assignments and listening to their tutors or supervisors,
the students have greater opportunities to listen not only to native
speakers of English, but also to mass media such as the radio and the
television This means that the students' receptive competences are much
more viable in the host country than they are in the home country   For
instance, most leaners, even advanced learners, rely mainly on the Arabic
subtitles when watching an English-speaking film in Syria (and in this
case many aspects of reception are prone to fossilization), whereas in
Ireland the students in question are forced to operate their cognitive
capacities both in listening when watching English-speaking programmes or
films and in reading when watching a non-English-speaking film with
English subtitles

      It seems, therefore, the Syrian learners' formal and informal
exposure to English is, in this perspective, proof enough that they know
a great deal about English such as the linguistic categories and their
functions, the relevant syntactic constructions in addition to the
necessary potential for L2-lexical items   Such extensive knowledge
entitles these learners to be equated with learners of a closely related
L2 in that both types of learners achieve a fairly acceptable level of
L2-proficiency, even though the latter may not have been exposed to the
L2 in the same measure (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 2 3)

      It follows that the Syrian learners who possess such L2-knowledge
are able to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups between Arabic and
English at various linguistic levels, and this is precisely what the
concrete IL-data have illustrated. These IL-data have been collected
randomly from the learners' casual conversations with native speakers of
English and sometimes with each other during a period of almost eighteen

months (from January 1989 to August 1990)   This indicates that the study
and analysis of the IL-data are said to contribute to some information
about a longitudinal investigation into the individual learner's
IL-development outside the classroom setting (*cf* Corder, chapter 3,
section 3 1.1)   However, it should be made clear that the method of
data collection was more than simple   No recording devices were used,
of course, to ensure that the speakers under discussion were not
monitored at all and thus their actual IL-utterances would be entirely
naturalistic   Neither was deliberate attention paid to them, so that
they would more confidently feel at ease while conversing with native
speakers of English specifically   In fact, the method of data-colection
was, as far as possible, implemented spontaneously   It was essentially
relying on memory but for a short term when precaution was needed, that
is, while during the conversations it was felt that certain actual
IL-utterances of some importance might be forgotten, it was necessary,
therefore, to discreetly note them down.   In such a way, the whole corpus
of the concrete IL-data was collected during the period mentioned above
The next step, then, was to select particular interlingual
identifications for analysis in this study   Some of them have been cited
and analysed throughout Part One, the others will be tabulated and
analysed along the three linguistic subcomponents in this part (*cf*
chapter 6). The sources of the IL-data selected are specified in terms
of several forms of discourse arranged as follows

(1)   In support of *Hypothesis One*, certain interlingual identifications
      have been selected for phonological   analysis such   as phonemes,
      diphthongs, forms of epenthesis, suprasegmentals, and so on

(ii) In corroboration of *Hypothesis Two* and *Hypothesis Three,* certain
      interlingual identifications have been selected for syntactic and
      semantic analysis respectively   These identifications are mainly
      based on three sources.

      (a)   Spoken forms of the English IL (phrases and utterances).
      (b)   Short pieces of dialogue between the Syrian learners and native
            speakers of English
      (c)   Short pieces of dialogue between the Syrian learners themselves

5.2 Areas of Arabic Transfer: Terminology

Following the hypotheses of Arabic transfer potential which have been formulated at the end of Part One (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 3), it seems that the interlingual identifications selected from the concrete IL-data should be analysed in terms of three linguistic dimensions These are phonology, syntax and semantics (lexical selection) Along the first dimension, attempts will be made to investigate some interlingual identifications produced by the Syrian learners upon their phonological performance of the English IL These will illustrate to what extent the phonological system of SCA is much more conducive to language transfer than the phonological system of MSA With regard to the second and third dimensions, there will appear three types of interlingual identifications so far as transfer effects from *Arabic* (MSA/SCA) are concerned

(i)   Interlingual identifications which reflect transfer from SCA

(ii)   Interlingual identifications which reflect transfer from MSA

(iii)   Interlingual identifications which reflect transfer from an over-
        lap existing between SCA and MSA as it is not always possible for
        either variety to operate in isolation

These three types of interlingual identifications will be clarified throughout the discussion of the IL-data in the next chapter Depending on the specific nature of the IL-data previously collected, each dimension has its own linguistic taxonomy Therefore, by reference to Crystal (1985), it seems necessary that a brief definition should be provided for each linguistic dimension as it is intended in the current study

The term *phonology*, as it is used here, indicates both phonetic and phonological aspects Phonetic aspects are those which concern the description, classification and transcription of speech sounds and how they are used in speech In this respect, three characteristics of speech sounds are normally identified

(i)   *Articulatory sounds* which refer to the process whereby speech
        sounds are articulated by the vocal organs For example, the

consonants [t], [d], [s], [z], [n], [1] and [r] are
dento-alveolars in Arabic and alveolars in English (*cf* chapter 1,
section 1 3 2)

(11) *Acoustic sounds* which concern the physical properties of speech
sounds, that is, how they are transmitted between mouth and ear
For example, the Arab learner tends to pronounce the strong form of
one-syllable words such as '*can*', '*have*', '*and*', '*was*' and so on
for all phonological identifications (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 2,
sub-section (F), example (63))

(111) *Auditory sounds* which deal with the learner's receptive competence
These concern the perceptual response to accoustic speech sounds
and how they are mediated by ear, auditory nerve and brain
Following the above example, since the Arab learner tends to
produce the strong form of '*can*', it is well observed that this
tendency may sometimes cause him to receive '*can't*' as the strong
form of '*can*' (*cf* the above example (63))

Within the **phonological aspects**, as contrasted with the syntactic and
semantic components in the theory of TGG, two types of phonological units
are generally recognized

(1) *Segmental units* which refer to the analysis of speech into discrete
segments such as phonemes, diphthongs, formed epenthesis and so on
For example, the Syrian learners whose L1-dialects are NCD, WCD and
SCD tend to substitute the consonants [s] and [z] for the phonemes
/θ/ and /ʒ/ respectively Further, the Syrian learners in general
also tend to substitute [o] for the diphthong /əʊ/, and so on

(11) *Suprasegmental units* which concern the analysis of connected
speech, that is, those units extending over more than one
segmental unit such as intonation, rhythm, contours (primary
stress, secondary stress and terminal stress), and so on Although
there are some similarities between Arabic and English intonation
patterns, the contour system of English seems one of the most
problematic areas encountered by the Arab learner

The term *syntax*, as it is intended in this study, is used to refer to those syntactic aspects which concern the grammatical rules governing the interrelationships between 'elements of sentence structure' at one end and between sentences in sequences at another Among these are tense construction, question formation and word-order formation Syntax is also used to indicate those morphological aspects which determine the interrelationships between 'morphemes of word structure' such as the omission of the plural marker '*s*' or the third-person-singular marker '*s*' In the domain of syntax, functional or grammatical markers are also included These markers are words (such as prepositions and articles) having no lexical meanings but grammatical meanings, thus, their sole function is to signal grammatical relationships between elements of sentence/utterance structure

The term *semantics*, as intended in this study, concerns the semantic extensions and/or restrictions of lexical words in general This domain will be allocated in terms of three major parameters

(i)   Lexical representation

(ii)   Collocational representation

(iii) Contextual representation   This comprises

    a Situational context

    b Contextual meaning

Along the first parameter, lexical representation is confined to the use of 'lexical words' as opposed to the notion of 'grammatical words' mentioned above   Here, lexical words refer to the lexical meaning of words, that is, words which have semantic *content* such as (IL-*shelf* vs L2-*sill/ledge*), (IL-*took* vs L2-*followed/did/pursued*), (IL-*wrote* vs L2-*prescribed*) as in the following examples

(1) a   It is on the *shelf* of the window   (*AU*)
    b   It is on the window *sill/ledge*   (*L2-U*)
      (*cf* section 5 3, example (7) below)

(2) a   I *took* an English course in London   (*AU*)
    b   I *followed/did* an English course in London   (*L2-U*)
      (*cf.* chapter 6, section 6.3, example (16))

(3) a. He *wrote* some medicines for me   (*AU*)
    b. He *prescribed* some medicines for me   (*L2-U*)
      (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 3, example (18))

As this applies to all the interlingual identifications cited in this study, the abbreviation (AU) indicates that the example in question is an *actual utterance* produced by the learner in his IL by recourse to the L1-counterpart which is the source L1-identification, whereas the abbreviation (L2-U) represents the equivalent utterance which is usually produced in the L2 by its natives

With regard to the second parameter, **collocational representation** is a type of syntagmatic lexical relations referring to the habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items in a particular language   For example, in English the lexical word 'open' (as a verb) can collocate with lexical nouns such as *account, book, debate, door, eye, fire, flower, road, story, view* and possibly with *umbrella*, whereas 'open' does not collocate with other lexical nouns such as * *appetite*, * *fortune*, * *radio*, * *tap*, and so on   Concerning the L1-lexical verb [fataha] '*opened* (he)', collocational representation in Arabic, on the other hand, depends on the morphological form of the triliteral root or the three-radical stem [f-t-ḥ], as each form has its own grammatical meaning in addition to its lexical meaning   Table 6 illustrates the collocation and non-collocation of the above lexical items with some of the morphological forms of [f-t-ḥ] that are possible both in MSA and SCA. Notice that there are other morphological forms which have different grammatical meanings such as [fa taha] Form III, [aftaha] Form IV, [istaftaha] Form X and so on

[fataha] Form I	[fattaha] Form II	[tafattaha] Form V	[infataha] Form VII	[iftataha] Form VIII
account	*	*	account	*
book	*	*	book	*
debate	*	*	debate	debate
door	*	*	door	*
eye	eye	*	eye	*
fire	*	*	fire	*
*	flower	flower	*	*
road	*	*	road	*
*	*	*	*	story
appetite	*	*	*appetite*	*
fortune	*	*	*fortune*	*
radio	*	*	*radio*	*
umbrella	*	*	*umbrella*	*
tap	*	*	*tap*	*

Table 6:   *Some collocational and non-collocational aspects of different morphological forms of the triliteral root [f-t-ḥ]*

Finally, with respect to the third parameter, **contextual representation** sometimes refers to the *situational context* which concerns the total non-linguistic background to an utterance; that is, where, how, and why such an utterance is performed Contextual representation also refers to the *contextual meaning*; that is, the 'information signalled about the kind of use' which an utterance conveys in its **social context** within the intended meaning These will be mentioned throughout the discussion of the IL-data where necessary

5.3   An Approach to Arabic-Transfer Analysis

An issue concerning the interdisciplinary approach to transfer analylsis has been put forward and emphasized in Part One It addresses a combination of CA *a priori* (the original approach adopted by Lado and his followers) and CA *a posteriori* as a subcomponent of EA for a more appropriate and fruitful investigation into language transfer on both levels comprehension and production (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 1, *cf* also chapter 4, section 4 1 2) In current transfer-based research, Kohn, for instance, suggests that, like any other processes characteristic of IL-behaviour, language transfer undergoes three levels of linguistic analysis First, the structural transfer potential which refers to the possible preconditions, that is the inherent similarities and differences existing between L1 and L2, for language transfer to operate This level of analysis corresponds to CA *a priori*. Second, the structural transfer pattern which emerges from a structural comparison between a given IL-utterance and its available L1-TE or L1-TEs As this level is identifiable with language production, its approach coincides with CA *a posteriori* Third, the level of transfer process which, though the most problematic area, seems to be the true object of psycholinguistic analysis (Kohn, 1986 21f) With this level, Kohn states

> The problem involved is simple to pinpoint, but difficult to solve Transfer processes are only 'visible' in terms of what they produce, i e in the transfer pattern Therefore, information about the learner's linguistic, developmental and attitudinal predisposition, along with a careful analysis of transfer patterns, constitute the empirical basis on which insight about transfer processes are

founded.   Regardless of how strong the emphasis on transfer
processes might be, there is no way around the unwanted limitation
that it will always be transfer patterns which steal the limelight
                                                   (Kohn, 1986 22)

Having pinpointed what IL-utterances may be overbearingly conducive
to transfer potential, attempts will be made to extrapolate some of the
'invisible' areas (or transfer processes) which underlie these
IL-utterances;   that is, the transfer patterns With regard to the
erroneous IL-utterances as they are viewed from the L2-perspective, two
major categories of errors will be analysed The first category deals
with the *interlingual errors* which are themselves forms of transfer
patterns   Under this category comes a particular type of interlingual
errors which can be taken as instances of L1-error transfer (*cf*   chapter
2, section 2 3 2)   These will be referred to throughout the discussion
of the IL-data where appropriate   Since it is not always possible to
isolate interlingual from intralingual errors, some attempts will be made
to investigate examples of the second category which concerns
inter-intralingual errors   These errors result from either an overt
combination of interlingual and intralingual solutions or from a covert
interaction between the two (*cf*   chapter 2, sections 2 4 1 and 2 4 3)
Further, because not all interlingual identifications lead to errors as
evidenced by the IL-data, the criterion for assigning an *error* will
always be considered from the viewpoint of the standard norm of the L2,
that is,   the Received Pronunciation (RP) for phonology and Standard
British English (SBE) for grammar

Given the nature of the information relevant to the psycholinguistic
analysis of Arabic-transfer potential, it is felt that, at this stage, a
preliminary consideration of the three hypotheses put forward at the end
of Part One is necessary

5.3.1 Hypothesis One: Phonology

The potential for Colloquial-Arabic transfer (SCA), rather than
Classical-Arabic transfer (MSA), will be mostly an *interfering factor*
(that is a *non-facilitator* rather than an *inhibitor*) in the phonological
processing of the English IL

In the *intralingual* identification of Arabic phonology (that is, the phonological deviation from the MSA-norm within Arabic as a L1), it is observed that the potential for Colloquial-Arabic phonology is prone to interfere even with the oral performance of Classical Arabic This can be seen when a group of L1-Arabic speakers having different colloquial dialects are called upon to orally perform a given text written in Classical Arabic For such manifestation it is not hard to find empirical support in the literature of Arabic linguistics Harrel, for instance, points to the fact that " any Arab's use of spoken Classical Arabic is always influenced in some way by his native colloquial dialect" (Harrel, 1960 4) Further, in naturalistic settings, where the *intralingual* solutions of Arabic as a L1 operate, the potential for Colloquial-Arabic phonology can be more ostensibly observed in the Arab's tendency towards *classicization* as mentioned earlier (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 1 1)

It appears the case that, with regard to the phonological sub-component whose interpretation can be determined by surface-structure constituents (*cf* Chomsky, 1965 16), the Arab's native colloquial dialect represents his L1 whereas Classical Arabic represents his L2 (or rather his second L1) Therefore, in such a perspective, any foreign language such as English will be to him the L3 chronologically This position is different from that of *psychotypology* (*cf* section 4 1 3), since both L1 (SCA) and L2 (MSA) are used by the same speech community and are typologically distant from the L3 (English) within somewhat the same linguistic measure It follows that the Arab's phonological knowledge of the L1 (SCA) is characterized by an internal nature as opposed to his phonological knowledge of the L2 (MSA) which is by definition external, even though both types of knowledge are pure in *suis generi* terms The only type of knowledge that can be specified as non-pure (that is, a mixture of both SCA and MSA identifications) is the phonological knowledge underlying those 'phonologically deviant' utterances which proceed from the speaker's attempts to orally perform MSA, or those utterances which are modified in the direction of *classicization* (*cf* chapter 3, sectoin 3 1 1)

In the case of learning a L3 (English), however, the internalized variety L1 (SCA) seems to be the strongest trigger of language transfer at a phonological level in the first place In this context, an attempt

was made by Broselow to analyse the *epenthesis* errors committed by members of two Arabic-dialect groups Iraqi Colloquial Arabic (the dialect of Baghdad and environs) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (the dialect of Cairo and lower Egypt) Broselow found that the epenthesis of vowels into two-segment and three-segment clusters differed in treatment by members of the two dialect groups (Broselow, 1983 271f) For example

Errors by Egyptian speakers

(4) a [fɪlo r]   '*floor*'
    b [θɪrɪ]   '*three*'
    c [tšɪldɪrɪn]   '*children*'

Errors by Iraqi speakers

(5) a [ɪflo r]   '*floor*'
    b [ɪθri]   '*three*'
    c [tšilɪdrin]   '*children*'

Such a phonological aspect is distinct in both L1-dialects For instance, in their colloquial dialect, the Egyptian speakers tend to insert the short vowel [ɪ] between the first and second consonants of the initial two-consonant cluster as in [tɪši l] '*she carries*' (cf examples (4 a-b)) They also tend to insert the short vowel [i] after the second of a three-consonant cluster as in [katabtɪlu] '*I wrote to him*' (cf example (4c)) Epenthesis in the Egyptian dialect seems to be the nearest to the standard norm of the Arabic *koine* (cf chapter 3, section 3 1 1), since [tɪši l] and [katabtɪlu] are pronounced as [taši l] and [katabtu lahu] in MSA respectively

The Iraqi speakers, on the other hand, tend to insert the short vowel [ɪ] before the initial two-consonant cluster as in [itš l] '*she carries*' (cf examples (5 a-b)), and after the first of a three-consonant cluster as in [kɪtabɪtla] '*I wrote to him*' (cf example (5c)) The above examples (4 a-c) and (5 a-c) are, among many others, clear indications that the potential for the phonological influence of Colloquial Arabic is much more liable to transfer onto the phonological performance of the English IL than that of Classical Arabic In the IL-data collected from the Syrian learners, there appeared some attested examples of *epenthetic phenomena* which will be explained in detail (cf chapter 6, section 6 1 2, sub-section (E))

However, besides the examples which are said to be in corroboration of *Hypothesis One*, there are a few interlingual identifications reflecting an influence from a *mixture* of both varieties (MSA/SCA), and a few others which, as an exception to *Hypothesis One*, are said to have direct connection with 'pure' MSA These will be discussed at the end of each section of phonological interlingual identifications (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 1, sub-section (E), and section 6 1 2, sub-section (F))

5.3.2 Hypothesis Two: Syntax

The potential for Arabic transfer, that is either MSA or SCA or a mixture of both, will be mostly a *non-facilitator* rather than an *inhibitor* in the syntactic processing of the English IL

In corroboration of this hypothesis, the term *syntax*, as intended here, has been carefully identified in the previous section (*cf* section 5 2) There are countless psychological and socio-affective factors such as intelligence, motivation and so on that determine the Arab learner's own strategies and play a significant role in the syntactic domain These factors are heterogeneously conditioned by other psycholinguistic factors such as the following

(i)   Lack of L2-knowledge (*ignorance*) of the L2-item or structure This can be seen mainly in the domain of prepositions and articles

(ii) Lack of control rather than lack of L2-knowledge, which may result from the learner's involvement in relatively long utterances

(iii) Perceived cross-linguistic similarity (that is, crucial similarity) between Arabic and English structures such as relative clause formation However, the resultant errors, particularly in pronominalization, may be due to the learner's lack of knowledge of the resumptive pronoun deletion (*item ignorance*), or they may be due to his lack of control over the item and/or the structure in question (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1, example (1))

(iv) No cross-linguistic similarity perceived (that is, radical difference) between Arabic and English structures As evidenced by the IL-data, the following syntactic structures will be investigated

    a.   The perfect-tense construction.

    b.   The progressive-tense construction

    c.   The passive-voice construction.

    d.   The word-order formation.

    e.   Other syntactic aspects which will be referred to throughout
         the analysis of interlingual identifications in semantics.

It follows that the Arab learner in question is assumed to *know* these
syntactic structures (namely, (a), (b) and (c)), from the perspective of
English but he does not seem to have acquired them completely. Therefore,
the overt or covert interlingual errors comitted over these structures
are said to be examples of *syntactic avoidance* in Schachter and
Kleinmann's sense (*cf.* chapter 4, secton 4.1.2). Here, an example will
be considered to make the point clear:

    (6) a. * I *walk* on my nerves.   (*AU*)
         b.   [*ma:ši* ?al ?a?'sa:bi]   (*SCA*)

    Both the situational context and the contextual meaning of this
IL-utterance will be explained within the analysis of its semantic
dimensions in support of *Hypothesis Three* (*cf.* example (9) below). As the
syntactic deviation is the concern here, the learner's resort to the
simple form of the verb '*walk*' in (6a) suggests a covert interlingual
error, or covert negative transfer, because the context involved the
progressive form. It may be the case that although the form [ma:ši] in
the L1-TE (6b) —which descends from the *nomen agentis* or active
participle [ma:šin] in MSA— also indicates progressiveness, the
learner's attempt to produce the simple form of '*walk*' (transfer pattern)
seems to have been easier to process than the progressive form 'BE +
walking' (transfer process), though, it has been attested, he is not
ignorant of the latter form. In Ringbom's sense, this can be viewed as an
example of *covert* CLI resulting from unanalysed L1-knowledge; that is,
the L1-*nomen agentis*, which indicates progressiveness, was not analysed
into the L2-present participle to cope with the context (*cf.* chapter 4,
section 4.2.1). Consequently, the learner's nonuse of the progressive
form 'BE + *walking*' can be reduced to a *syntactic avoidance* strategy due
to a lack of cross-linguistic similarity between the structural
properties of the L1-*nomen agentis* in Arabic and those of the L2-present

participle in English, albeit both structurral devices can be used to indicate progressiveness (for further analysis, *cf.* chapter 6, section 6.2.3, examples (89-92), (96) and (100)).

One final point to be made here is that *Hypothesis Two* does not exclude any facilitating effects of Arabic-syntax influence. Hence, as an unavoidable exception to the hypothesis, such facilitating effects may apparently result from perceived cross-linguistic similarity (that is, complete similarity) between particular Arabic structures and their English counterparts such as the following:

a. The use of some prepositions; for example, *'from'* and *'on'* (*cf.* chapter 6, section 6.2.1, sub-sections (C) and (D) respectively).

b. The formation of non-inverted WH-questions when preceded by a phrase.

c. The formation of non-inverted WH-questions with *'who'*, *'what'* and *'which'* when anyone of these stands for the subject of a sentence (for (b) and (c) , *cf.* chapter 1, section 1.2.1).

d. The use of some holophrases (*cf.* chapter 3, section 3.2.3, example (19)).

e. Other syntactic aspects which will be referred to throughout the analysis of interlingual identifications in semantics.

5.3.3 *Hypothesis Three: Semantics*

The potential for Arabic transfer, that is either MSA or SCA or a mixture of both, will be mostly a *facilitator* in the semantic processing of the English IL.

Having identified what the term *semantics* precisely indicates, the relevant aspects which will be investigated in this study are tabulated along three parameters: lexical representation, collocational representation, and contextual representation (*cf.* section 5.2). Such parameters depend largely on the learner's potential knowledge of L2-vocabulary. Therefore, as has been mentioned earlier, any transfer-based utterance produced in these three aspects cannot be taken as an example of *borrowing* due to unanalysed L1-knowledge in Ringbom's sense (*cf.* chapter 4, section 4.2.2). Rather, at a comprehension level,

the learner's perception of the crucial similarities in the domain of syntax and, at a production level, his self-activated control over certain syntactic aspects may cause him to adopt a meaning-oriented approach drawn essentially upon L1-based L2-lexical items Thus, the learner's resort to such lexical items —which are a reflection of analysed L1-knowledge— is in many respects subject to *semantic avoidance* *(cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2), since the learner's, linguistic repertoire lacks the exact lexical distribution imposed by L2-semantic idiosyncracies That is, the learner lacks knowledge of the L2-lexical item in question and/or its semantic extensions

The facilitating effects of Arabic are, therefore, due to the crucial congruences of its semantic idiosyncracies with those of English Such crucial congruences, whether they are perceived by the learner or not, enable him at least to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups which, in most cases, lead to positive transfer To clarify the point, an example of each parameter will be considered

(i) Lexical representation

Following the IL-utterances which have been analysed within the domain of lexical selection *(cf* for instance, chapter 3, section 3 1.3, example (6), and section 3 2 3, example (16)), under this parameter comes any IL-utterance which is said to contain an attestedly L1-based L2-lexical item, or items, realized by recourse to the lexical meaning of the L1-counterparts For example

    (7) It is on the *shelf* of the window   *(AU)*

This IL-utterance suggests, as it has been attested, that the learner's linguistic repertoire lacked the lexical knowledge of the L2-items *'sill'* or *'ledge'* Thus, unlike *borrowing* in Ringbom's sense *(cf* chapter 4, section 4 2 2), the IL-utterance (7) can be viewed as an example of *semantic avoidance*, a strategy adopted by the Syrian-Arab learner due to his *ignorance* of certain lexical items *(cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2). However, the lexical knowledge of *'shelf'* was enough for him to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-up between [raf] in Arabic **(MSA/SCA)** and *'shelf'* in English for the intended IL-utterance (7) Had the learner not known, at least, the lexical item *'shelf'*, he would not have been

able to comprehend the cross-linguistic similarity between [raf issibba k], which is frequently recurrent in SCA, and the IL-utterance as rendered into '*the* shelf *of the window*' in English. Therefore, it is this knowledge (that is, the lexical knowledge of '*shelf*') which impelled the learner to activate his L1-semantic idiosyncracy as a facilitative reference frame. As a consequence, such knowledge positively triggered transfer effects, otherwise the learner would not be able to produce (7) in its current lexical representation and thus, by resorting to whatever procedure, language transfer would be a very complex type of *covert* CLI which is far more difficult to detect (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 3 1 for further examples)

(ii) Collocational representation

This parameter refers to any IL-utterance which is said to contain attestedly two or more L1-based L2-lexical items realized by recourse to the habitual co-occurrence of the L1-counterparts. For example

(8) He *let* my *blood boil* (*AU*)

This IL-utterance reflects two dimensions of semantic representation lexical representation in the use of '*let*' and collocational representation in the co-occurrence of both '*blood*' and '*boil*'. With regard to the lexical representation, the concern of the first parameter, the lexical use of '*let*' suggests that the learner made a cross-lingual tie-up between the L1-word [k̲alla] and the L2-word '*let*' (a verbatim-translation strategy). Given that the L2-word '*made*' was known to the learner as a lexical item, it seems, however, his linguistic repertoire lacked the semantic idiosyncracy of English which imposes the lexical use of '*made*' rather than '*let*'. Therefore, within such a context, the less often use of [sa wa] or [ʔimil] '*made (he)*' and the more often use of [k̲alla] '*let (he)*' in SCA appear to have dissuaded the learner from the use of '*made*' and entitled him to resort to the L1-based L2-lexical item '*let*'. This implies that the L1-utterance [k̲alla dammi yaglı] (SCA), which is the L1-TE of (8), acted as an *utterance initiator* in Krashen's terms (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1)

Along the second parameter, the collocational use of the L2-lexical items *'blood'/'boil'* and that of the L1-counterparts [dam]/[yigli] denote that, both in English and in SCA, one's blood boiling is a symbol of great anger Consequently, whether the learner had perceived such complete similarity or not, the IL-utterance (8) was actually produced as a clear indication of positive transfer (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 3 2 for further examples)

(iii) Contextual representation

The third parameter deals with any IL-utterance which is said to contain an attestedly L1-based L2-lexical item, or items, realized within the contextual representation of the L1-counterparts As noted above, this parameter involves two aspects related to the context a non-linguistic aspect which refers to the situational context of a given utterance, and a linguistic aspects which concerns the contextual meaning of that utterance These will be referred to throughout the discussion of the IL-data where necessary For example

(9) I walk *on my nerves*   (*AU*)

The situational context of this IL-utterance indicates that the speaker was obliged to walk in a street which he did not like to frequent, assuming that he would be seen by certain undesirable persons The contextual meaning suggests, therefore, that the speaker entertained an apprehension of being seen It appears that his knowledge of *'nerves'* as a L2-lexical item and his ignorance of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy (which imposes the relevant lexical distribution of, for example, 'to walk *on glass*' or 'to walk *on egg-shells*' in such a context) were a strong trigger of his reliance on the L1-semantic idiosyncracy which, instead, involves the lexical distribution of [ma ši ʔal ʔaʔ'sa bı] (SCA) in the same context Consequently, the contextual use of the L1-based L2-lexical items *'on my nerves'* suggests positive transfer though the learner lacked the knowledge of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy, since the lexical distribution of 'to live *on one's nerves*' may be used to express the same feeling but not in this particular context (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 3 3 for further examples)

It follows that, in relation to *Hypothesis Three*, semantic facilitation refers to the linguistic configuration whereby the potential for Arabic transfer leads to more or less the same lexical distribution in order to convey the same meaning, regardless of the structural properties of the resultant IL-utterance   For instance, if the learner had produced (9) as * '*I walking on my nerves*', this proposed utterance would still have marked positive transfer in the contextual use of '*on my nerves*', whereas the omission of 'BE'—which would have marked overt negative transfer in the domain of syntax— would be the concern of *Hypothesis Two*   One final point to be made here is that, since *Hypothesis Two* does not exclude any facilitating effects of Arabic-syntax transfer, nor does *Hypothesis Three* exclude any negative effects of Arabic-semantics transfer   These will be referred to throughout the analysis of the IL-data where appropriate

6

THE ANALYSIS OF
ARABIC TRANSFER POTENTIAL

This chapter will provide a detailed discussion through attempted analyses of a selective number of the IL-data which have been collected from the spoken production of the English ILs of the Syrian-Arab learners in question In order to test the three provisional hypotheses on empirical grounds, the chapter will consider the attested interlingual identifications within the polarity of negative and positive transfer Therefore, along the levels of language process (*transfer process*) and language product (*transfer pattern*), it will seek to scrutinize the possible source or sources which underlie the flowing of these identifications The analysis will, of course, draw upon many of the theoretical and practical issues that have been put forward in Part One

The opening section of this chapter (section 6 1) will, in corroboration of *Hypothesis One*, show to what extent the potential for SCA-influence, rather than MSA-influence, interferes in the phonological performance of the English IL

The next section (section 6 2) will examine the attested inter-lingual identifications in syntax and will, in support of *Hypothesis Two*, illustrate to what extent the potential for Arabic-influence (MSA/SCA) inhibits, or rather does not facilitate, the syntactic performance of the English IL

The final section of this chapter (section 6 3) will analyse the attested interlingual identifications in semantics (lexical selection) and will, in support of *Hypothesis Three*, illustrate to what extent the potential for Arabic-influence (MSA/SCA) facilitates the semantic performance of the English IL

6.1 Arabic-Transfer Identifications in Phonology

In this section, two main aspects of phonology as observed in the oral ILs of the Syrian learners will be examined to check the validity of *Hypothesis One* The first aspect concerns the areas of difficulty the learners experience with the articulation of consonants and phonemes The second aspect deals with the areas of difficulty encountered in the articulation of vowels and diphthongs in addition to some suprasegmental aspects elicited from the learner's superficial receptive competence To avoid possible confusion, each of these two aspects will be classified according to its own taxonomy Notice that for every interlingual identification, the asterisk (*) indicates an actual error (AE) as observed in the learner's English IL and so judged from the viewpoint of RP

6.1.1 Consonants and Phonemes

Consonants and phonemes are tabulated in the following sub-sections

(A)   The English phoneme /tʃ/ which is the approximate equivalent of the Arabic phoneme [tš] occurring frequently in **E CD** and less frequently in **NCD**

(B)   The English phoneme /dʒ/ which is the approximate equivalent of the Arabic phoneme [ʝ] occurring equally in **MSA** and **ECD** and approximately in **NCD**

(C)   The English phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/ which are the approximate equivalents of the Arabic phonemes [th] and [th] respectively, occurring equally in **MSA** and **ECD**

(D)   The English nasal /ŋ/ which is the approximate equivalent of the Arabic nasal [ŋ] occurring specifically within the term [gunna] *'nasalization'* in the art of reciting the Koran in **MSA**

(E)   Miscellaneous consonants such as the English phoneme /p/ which does not occur in Arabic, the English alveolar /r/ which occurs in the form of the dento-alveolar [r] in Arabic, and so on

(A)   /tʃ/ (ENGLISH) ≃ [tš] (ECD/NCD)

It is observed that learners whose dialects are SCD and WCD have some problems articulating the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ This can be ascribed to the fact that this sound does not occur in SCD and WCD   Therefore, these learners lean towards producing the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [š] which they perceive to be safely the Ll-equivalent in their focus of attention   For example

(1) a * [šabtar]   'chapter'   (AE)
     b * [še nj]   'change'   (AE)
     c * [šob]   'chop'   (AE)
     d * [šestarfi ld]   'chesterfield'   (AE)

However, the English phoneme /tʃ/ occurs very approximately in some words in NCD, and more frequently in ECD, and, in all its natural articulation, this sound occurs in dark phonemicized junctures of [t] and [š]   It follows that such phonemicized junctures are extremely rare in SCD and WCD specifically   For example

(2) a   [ša y]   'tea'   (SCD)
     b   [še y]   'tea'   (WCD)
     c   [tša̲ y]   'tea'   (NCD)
     d   [tša y]   'tea'   (ECD)

(3) a   [ka n]   'he/it was'   (SCD)
     b   [ke n]   'he/it was'   (NCD/WCD)
     c   [tša n]   'he/it was'   (ECD)

It appears the case that the learners whose dialects are ECD and NCD will face no serious problems articulating the English phoneme /tʃ/ This seems to be one of the verified predictions postulated first by CA *a priori*   However, even advanced learners (SCD/WCD) who recognize this phoneme tend to produce it with a high degree of accuracy, but, in most cases, the articulation operates in clear phonemicized junctures of [t] and [š] as in

(4) a * [t-še nj]   'change'   (AE)
     b * [t-še r]   'chair'   (AE)
     c   [t-ša t]   'chat'   (AU)
     d * [t-šalinj]   'challenge' (AE)

[**N.B**   The interlingual errors suggested by (4a), (4b) and (4d) do *not* concern the clear phonemicized articulation of [t-š]   Rather, example (4a) refers to both the phoneme [j] (*cf*   (6a-d)) and the vowel [e] (*cf*   (29a-d), example (4b) refers to both the phoneme [r]   (25 a-b)) and the vowel [e] (*cf*   (33a-d)), and example (4d) refers to [j] as is the case with example (4a)]

This kind of articulation (*i e* the clear phonemicized juncture of [t-š]) may even occur in cases when a Syrian (SCD/WCD) attempts to 'imitate' the ECD accent which is distinguished by the articulation of phonemes such as the voiceless palato-dental affricate [tš] and the voiceless uvular plosive [q]   For instance, some Syrians (SCD/WCD) tend to say [šlo nši] '*how are you?* (feminine)' and [šinet] '*I was*' (*cf*   (1 a-d), others tend to say [šlo nt-ši] and [t-šinet] (*cf*   (4 a-d)) when trying to imitate the ECD-articulation which involves dark phonemicized junctures as in [slo ntši] and [tšintu] respectively Consequently, the examples (1 a-d) mark apparent NT from SCD and WCD, whereas the examples (4 a-d) signify PT from a mixture of SCD/WCD and ECD   Since the learners, at a reception level, are said to be aware of the correct phonemicization of the junctures, these interlingual identifications are by-products attributable to inadequate control rather than to a gap in L2- knowledge   However, the type of transfer which triggers the processing of (1 a-d) seems to be a result of unanalysed L1-knowledge, whereas in the case of (4 a-d) transfer effects are clear evidence of analysed L1-knowledge (*cf*   chapter 4, section 4 2 2)

Another problem concerning the English phoneme /tʃ/ is worth considering here   It refers to the learner's complex task of grasping the unpredictable distinction between '*ch*' as /tʃ/ and '*ch*' as /k/ on the one hand, and between '*ch*' as /tʃ/ and '*ch*' as /ʃ/ on the other For example

(5)   a   *   [dit-šotomi] = /k/   '*dichotomy*'   (*AE*)
       b   *   [t-šivalri] = /ʃ/   '*chivalry*'   (*AE*)
       c   *   [t-šyu t] = /ʃ/   '*chute*'   (*AE*)

Although these identifications may at first glance appear to mark *intralingual* errors due to overgeneralization from the L2-phoneme /tʃ/, they may well mark covert *inter-intralingual* errors due to an overlap between the transfer-based clear phonemicization of the juncture [t-š],

and the faulty generalization of /tʃ/ over 'ch' in the L2-items 'dichotomy', 'chivalry' and 'chute' In other words, had these L2-items involved the articulation of /tʃ/, the clear phonemicization of the juncture [t-š] would still have marked PT from a mixture of SCD/WCD and ECD In the light of the above argument, the potential for SCA-transfer can be seen at three hierarchical levels of phonological influence on the English IL

(1)   Transfer from *one* representation in two dialects (SCD/WCD) of the L1 as in (1 a-d)

(11) Tansfer from a *mixture* of this representation and another representation in another dialect (ECD) of the L1 as in (4 a-d)

(111) Tranfer from *an overlap* between the resultant representation of the L1 and the overgeneralized representation of the L2 as in (5 a-c)

(B) /dʒ/ (ENGLISH) ≃ [ʝ] (MSA/ECD) & (NCD)

Another problematic area encountered by the Syrian learners (SCD/WCD) is the articulation of the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ These learners also tend to substitute this phoneme by the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʝ] as is the case of the English phoneme [ʒ] For example

(6)   a *   [ʝo n]   'John'   (AE)
      b *   [koleʝ]   'college'   (AE)
      c *   [ʝe rɪm]   'germ'   (AE)
      d *   [breʝ]   'bridge'   (AE)
      (*cf* also (1b), (4a), (4d))

Again, this tendency is observable in the learners' (NCD/WCD) attempts to perform spoken MSA in which the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [ʝ] occurs as the English phoneme /dʒ/ Such a phoneme also occurs in ECD and approximately in NCD For example

(7)   a   [ʝama l]   'beauty'   (SCD)
      b   [ʝame l]   'beauty'   (WCD)
      c   [ʝame l]   'beauty'   (NCD)
      d   [ʝama l]   'beauty'   (MSA/ECD)

(8)   a   [ʝa y]   'I'm/he's/you're (sing) coming'   (SCD)
      b   [ʝe y]   'I'm/he's/you're (sing) coming'   (WCD)
      c   [ʝe y]   'I'm/he's/you're (sing) coming'   (ECD/NCD)

Similarly, in ECD/NCD as well as in MSA, the natural articulation of the sound [ɟ] is characterized by a **dark** phonemicized juncture of [d] and [j] On the other hand, this juncture does not occur in SCD and WCD, so that when speakers of these two dialects are called upon to pronounce such a phoneme they usually drop the voiced dento-alveolar emphatic plosive [d] and resort to the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [j] From the point of view of MSA, to substitute [j] for [ɟ] upon performing spoken MSA would mark a common phonological L1-error since the phoneme [j] does not exist in the phonological system of MSA It follows that Egyptians, too, tend to commit the same L1-error over [ɟ] but resort to another alternative commonly used in their colloquial dialects, namely, the voiced velar stop [g], which does not exist in the phonological system of MSA either For instance, upon performing spoken MSA, most Egyptians, if not all, tend to pronounce (7d) as [gama 1] rather than [ɟama 1] The supposition, therefore, runs as follows if, for example, an Egyptian had produced (6a) as * [go n], then this interlingual identification would have been a clear indication of L1-error NT For precisely the same reason, the actual interlingual identifications (6 a-d) can be safely viewed as phonological errors reflecting L1-error NT (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 2) It seems, therefore, this type of transfer (that is, the tendency to produce [j] instead of [ɟ]) is typical of most Syrian learners whose dialects are SCD and WCD, and even in the case of advanced learners —who recognize the English phoneme /dʒ/ as a juncture of /d/ and /ʒ/— the articulation is still distinguishable by clear phonemicization of the juncture For example

$$
\begin{array}{llll}
(9) & \text{a} * & [d\text{-}jo\ n] & \text{'John'} & (AE) \\
& \text{b} & [d\text{-}jad\text{-}j] & \text{'judge'} & (AU) \\
& \text{c} * & [d\text{-}je\ 1] & \text{'jail'} & (AE) \\
\end{array}
$$

[N B Analogous with the examples (4 a-b) and (4d) above, the interlingual errors suggested by (9a, c) here do *not* concern the clear phonemicized juncture of [d-j] Rather, example (9a) refers to the vowel [o] (*cf* (38 d-e)), whereas example (9c) refers to the vowel [e] (*cf* (29 a-d)]

Therefore, from the point of view of these learners (SCD/WCD), the examples (9 a-c) are not said to have connection with language transfer, since the clear phonemicization of the juncture [d-j] can

neither occur in their colloquial dialects nor in their attempts to perform spoken MSA in which the juncture exists in **dark** phonemicization [ʝ] Given that the learners (SCD/WCD) do not internalize the phoneme [ʝ] in their LLSs (and this, too, can be analogous with the phoneme [tš]), the resultant interlingual errors as in (6 a-d) are in many respects indications of lack of control rather than lack of L2-knowledge because the learners in question are said to be conscious of the juncture but they find it difficult to process or, put another way, their monitor finds it difficult to repair (*cf* Krashen, chapter 4, section 4 1 2) It should be noted, however, although the carrying over of the L1-item [j] in (6 a-d), or [š] in (1 a-d), is an apparent example of unanalysed L1-knowledge, these transfer-based phonological identifications cannot be viewed as a type of *covert* CLI, since the learners (SCD/WCD), in their focus of attention, are supposed to perceive a cross-linguistic similarity between the L1-item [j] and the L2-item /dʒ/ at one end, and between the L1-item [š] and the L2-item /tʃ/ at another Therefore, this perceived similarity seems the only stipulation which gave the learners a chance to make the relevant cross-lingual tie-ups (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 2 1)

(C) /θ/ and /ʒ/ (ENGLISH) ≃ [th] and [t̲h̲] (MSA/ECD)

In (chapter 1, section 1 2 3) mention has been made of how Egyptian learners face considerable difficulty in producing some English contrasts such as '*thistle-this'll*', '*think-sink*', '*breathe-breeze*', and so on One possible interpretation of this difficulty is that the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ and the voiced dental fricative /ʒ/ do not occur in the colloquial dialects of Upper Egypt specifically, in spite of the fact that Egyptians are exposed to the equivalent L1-phonemes [th] and [t̲h̲] respectively in the study of Classical Arabic (MSA)

Some Egyptian learners of English tend to substitute /θ/ and /ʒ/ by the voiceless dento-alveolar fricative [s] and the voiced dento-alveolar fricative [z] respectively Others resort to the voiceless dento-alveolar plosive [t] and the voiced dento-alveolar plosive [d] respectively

Similarly, among the Syrian learners who find the phonemes /θ/ and /ʒ/ troublesome are those whose dialects are NCD, SCD and WCD

However, in all interlingual identifications, these phonemes are substituted by [s] and [z] rather than by [t] and [d] due to the more frequent occurrence of the former pair than the latter pair in these dialects For example

(10) a * [sa nk yu]   *'thank you'*   *(AE)*
     b * [so rın]   *'thorn'*   *(AE)*
     c * [sre d]   *'thread'*   *(AE)*
     d * [ze m]   *'them'*   *(AE)*
     e * [za t]   *'that'*   *(AE)*

Although the phonemes [t] and [d] are substituted for [th] and [th] in some L1-words by these learners (NCD/SCD/WCD), their tendency to use the phonemes [s] and [z] is well observed in their attempts to perform spoken MSA For example

(11) a   [ıthnayn]   *'two (masc)'*   *(MSA)*
     b * [ısnayn]   *(MSA performed by NCD/SCD/WCD)*
     c   ['tne n]   *(NCD/SCD)*
     d   ['tnayn]   *(WCD)*
     e   ['thne n]   *(ECD)*

(12) a   [ha tha]   *'this (masc)'*   *(MSA)*
     b * [ha za]   *(MSA performed by NCD/SCD/WCD)*
     c   [ha da]   *(NCD/SCD)*
     d   [hayda]   *(WCD)*
     e   [ha tha]   *(ECD)*

As the above examples illustrate, the phonemes [th] and [th] only occur in MSA and ECD, as in (11 a, e) and (12 a, e), so that the learners whose dialect is ECD specifically will face no difficulty producing such phonemes either in their performance of spoken MSA or in their phonological performance of their English ILs This is apparently because, like the phonemes [tš] and [j], these two phonemes ([th] and [th]) are internalized in these learners' LLSs On the other hand, with regard to the learners whose dialects are NCD, SCD and WCD, the problem lies in the fact that the phonemes [th] and [th] are not internalized in their LLSs, thus the corresponding pairs of phonemes in their dialects are either '[s]-[z]' or less frequently '[t]-[d]' These latter phonemes occur as substitutes for [th] and [th] in some L1-words such as (11c-d) for [t] and (12 c-d) for [d] However, even in the learners' (NCD/SCD/WCD) attempts to perform these L1-words (which contain [t] and [d] as substitutes for [th] and [th] respectively) in spoken MSA, the articulation is in most cases prone

to the phonemes [s] as in (11b) and [z] as in (12b) This indicates that these learners (NCD/SCD/WCD), upon the phonological performance of their English ILs, are more susceptible to transfer the phonemes [s] and [z] than [t] and [d] (*cf* examples (10 a-e) above)

It follows that, from the point of view of MSA, examples such as (11b) and (12b) would also mark common phonological L1-errors As discussed above, to render [ɟama l] (MSA) into either [ʒama l] (SCD/WCD) or [gamma l] (Egyptian Colloquial Arabic) would mark a phonological L1-error because **neither** of the two phonemes [j] and [g] exists in the phonological system of **MSA** In the case of (11b) and (12b), however, to substitute [th]/[t̲h̲] by [s]/[z] would be a phonological L1-error because both pairs of phonemes exist in the phonological system of **MSA** but in different distributions Thus, in each of the following pairs, (a) and (b) are different in meaning (*cf* Wehr, 1961)

(13) a [ı*th*m]   '*sın/offence/misdeed, etc* '   (*MSA*)
     b [ısm]   '*name/noun/appellation, etc* '   (*MSA*)

(14) a [*th*alla]   '*to degrade/humiliate/be low, etc* '   (*MSA*)
     b [zalla]   '*to make a mistake/to slip up, etc* '   (*MSA*)

It appears that any Syrian learner's resort to [s]/[z] when called upon to perform [th]/[t̲h̲] in his English IL would be seen as another example of L1-error NT It should be noted, however, that the learners (NCD/SCD/WCD) are not always unable to produce the English phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/ Rather, the correct articulation is noticeable in the highly frequent words which the learners use in their linguistic repertoires such as '*think*', '*thing*', '*this*', '*those*', and so on It seems, therefore, the examples (10 a-e) —which sometimes occur in 'correct' forms— are, among many others, clear evidence that the learners in question have learned or 'known' the phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/ but have not yet acquired them (*cf* Krashen, chapter 4, section 4 1 2) Such non-acquisition may well be suggested by their randomly 'correct' and 'erroneous' articulation of these phonemes upon the phonological performance of their English ILs However, their tendency to resort to [s] and [z] or sometimes to [t] and [d] seems to be constant in their home dialects (NCD/SCD/WCD) This tendency remains constant even when these learners converse with native speakers of English and are induced to produce an Arabic proper noun (containing either of the phonemes [th]/[t̲h̲]) during their conversations For example

(15) a   [a y *think tha* t *giy s* ha z wan of *ze* m]   *(AU)*
          'I *think that Ghiath has one of them*'
      b   [*think*]/[<u>*tha*</u> t]   '*think/that*'
      c * [<u>g</u>iya *s*]   '*Ghiath*'   *(AE)*
      d * [*ze* m]   '*them*'   *(AE)*

As the above examples illustrate, the substitution of [s] for [th] in
the L1-proper noun (15c) is a clear indication that the learners'
tendency to use [s] instead of [th] is constant in their L1-dialects,
since this L1-proper noun (as produced in their L1-dialects) remains
unchanged when used in their English ILs On the other hand, the
correct articulation of the phonemes in (15b) as well as the erroneous
articulation in (15d) indicates that the learners' tendency to produce
[s] and [z] instead of [th] and [<u>th</u>] is variable Both L1-constancy
and L2-variability, therefore, provide evidence that the learners
(NCD/SCD/WCD), even at advanced stages, have not yet acquired the
English phonemes /θ/ and /ʒ/ As a consequence, the learners'
variable resort to [s] and [z], like their resort to [š]/[j] versus
[tš]/[<u>j</u>], can be taken as another example of lack of control rather
than lack of knowledge However, unlike their resort to [š]/[j], their
resort to [s] and [z] can also be viewed as a type of *covert* CLI
because, in this case, there is no cross-linguistic similarity
perceived between the L1-phonemes '[s]-[z]' and the L2-counterparts
'/θ/-/ʒ/'

(D) /ŋ/ (ENGLISH)= [ŋ] in [<u>g</u>unna] (MSA)

(16) a * [bri*ng*ing]   '*bringing*'   *(AE)*
      b * [thi*nk*ink]   '*thinking*'   *(AE)*
      c * [si*nk*]   '*sink*'   *(AE)*
      (*cf* also (15 a-b))

These examples concern the articulation of the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/
which most Arab learners find troublesome Notice that, in all three
interlingual identifications (16 a-c), the voiced velar stop [g] and
the voiceless velar stop [k] are pronounced in clear phonemicized
junctures with the voiced alveolar nasal [n] One possible
interpretation is that although the appropriate *nasalization* is found
in MSA in the form of [<u>g</u>unna], most Arab speakers neglect this process
when performing spoken MSA assuming that [<u>g</u>unna] is only specific for
the art of reciting the Koran [ta<u>j</u>wi d] Thus, upon performing

[gunna] 'nasalization' in spoken MSA where the Arabic phoneme [ŋ] involves more than an approximation to the English phoneme /ŋ/, Arab speakers tend to say (18 a-b) (cf (15 a-b)) rather than (17 a-b)

(17)   a [miŋka] 'from/of you (sing masc)' (MSA by [gunna])
        b [?aŋka] 'about you (sing masc)' (MSA by [gunna])

(18)   a [minka]   (MSA performed by SCA)
        b [?anka]   (MSA performed by SCA)

This indicates that the neglect of [gunna] 'nasalization' as in (18 a-b) is a colloquial feature, since no Arab speaker attempts to process such articulation in the home dialect Rather, he tends to double the alveolar nasal [n] and insert a vowel (epenthesis) between the two radicals [n] and [k] as in (19 a-b)

(19)   a   [minnak] 'from/of you (sing masc)'   (SCA)
       b   [?annak] 'about you (sing masc)'   (SCA)

Therefore, it is SCA which, by means of phonological 'simplification', neglects many of the linguistic aspects of the surface structure of MSA and [gunna] is one of these aspects However, apart from the religious implication of the term, [tajwi d] in Arabic is normally concerned with the proper articulation of vowels and consonants It is, then, a highly organized set of phonological rules such as intonation, contour, rhythm, stress pattern, and so on Thus, it would be very useful if the learners in question knew some of these rules before indulging the risk of making phonological errors such as (16 a-c) Had these learners internalized (or at least been familiar with) the process of [gunna], and, therefore, perceived the cross-linguistic similarity between the L1-L2 identifications, they would have faced no tenacious difficulty in producing the phoneme /ŋ/ in their English ILs It appears that, in most interlingual identifications, the resultant phonological errors such as (16 a-c) reflect the learners' inadequate control over the processing of /ŋ/ Consequently, their monitor will find it difficult to repair unless otherwise great effort is being made

(E) Miscellaneous Consonants

In all the preceding transfer-based examples, the analysis has shown that the potential for SCA-influence, rather than MSA-influence, is a strong trigger of language transfer mechanisms In this final sub-section, some interlingual identifications will be analysed to demonstrate that the internal mechanisms of SCA-influence does not always operate in isolation from MSA-influence, but rather both varieties share in the trigger of transfer Essentially, these interlingual identifications concern the consonants /p/, /r/ and /s/ These will be discussed consecutively

(i) The voiceless bilabial stop /p/

This consonant exists neither in the phonological system of SCA nor in that of MSA The only Ll-counterpart, which occurs in both varieties, is the voiced bilabial stop [b] Such a consonant, therefore, gives the Arab learner (who finds the production of /p/ troublesome) the only opportunity to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups between Ll-[b] and L2-/p/ as in (20 a-d) below (cf also example (la)) Further, since both [p] and [b] are randomly produced as allaphonic in the Arab learner's English IL (cf Smith, 1987 144), the problem seems to be greater in the distinction between some contrasts such as (21 a-d) and far greater when both phonemes occur in the same word or when the phoneme /p/ occurs twice in the same word as in (22 a-c)

(20)	a	* [bre šas]	'precious'	(AE)
	b	* [bra ktis]	'practice'	(AE)
	c	* [sablimant]	'supplement'	(AE)
	d	* [styu bid]	'stupid'	(AE)
(21)	a	* [bo st]/[bo st]	'post/boast'	(AE)
	b	* [ba wnd]/[ba wnd]	'pound/bound'	(AE)
	c	* [ba rk]/[ba rk]	'park/bark'	(AE)
	d	* [bre y]/[bre y]	'pray/bray'	(AE)
(22)	a	* [ribablik]	'republic'	(AE)
	b	* [ke babel]	'capable'	(AE)
	c	* [pa rtisibe t]	'participate'	(AE)

(ii) The voiced gliding alveolar /r/

This consonant occurs both in SCA and in MSA but as a voiced gliding dento-alveolar [r] There are two positions of this phoneme within which transfer from *Arabic* can be detected 'before consonants' and 'in final position' Concerning the first position, of the two varieties, SCA-influence seems by far the stronger trigger of language transfer For example

(23) a * [fe rɪm]   'firm'   (*AE*)
      b * [le rɪn]   'learn'   (*AE*)

Because of the dento-alveolar characteristics of the Arabic consonant [r], most learners, upon producing it before nasals specifically, tend to insert a short vowel [ɪ] into the two-segment clusters [r-m] and [r-n] as shown in (23 a-b) above (*cf* also examples (6c), (10b)) The insertion of the short vowel [i] is a clear indication of *epenthesis* which appears to occur only in SCA if no vowel is added to the final radical For example

(24) a   [farm] (*MSA*)/[farɪm] (*SCA*)   'mincing/chopping'
      b   [qarn] (*MSA*)/[qarɪn] (*SCA*)   'horn/tentacle'

Here, the *epenthesis* of [i] is directly attributable to the inappropriate articulation of [r] Some epenthetic phenomena will be discussed in detail (*cf* section 6 1 2, sub-section (E) below) In MSA, the articulation of [r] involves only one glide, that is, the tip of the tongue taps only once against the dento-alveolar ridge In SCA, on the other hand, most speakers, if not all, tend to produce more than one glide, so that the insertion of [i] makes the two-segment clusters [r-m] and [r-n] easier for them to pronounce as in (24 a-b) Such more-than-one-glide articulation of [r] seems to be directly tranferable by most Arab learners, regardless of their home dialects

With regard to the final position of [r], it appears that both SCA and MSA share in the trigger of transfer, since [r] in final position occurs in the two varieties Similarly, most learners tend to transfer this aspect onto their English ILs For example

(25) a * [tɪ tšar]   'teacher'   (*AE*)
      b * [fa thar]   'father'   (*AE*)
      (*cf* also (1a), (4b))

(26) a [aḥmar]   *'red'*   *(MSA/SCA)*
      b [akbar]   *'bigger/older'*   *(MSA/SCA)*
      c [aštar]   *'incomplete'*   *(MSA)*

(iii) The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

This consonant exists both in **SCA** and in **MSA** but as a voiceless dento-alveolar sulcal fricative [s], and, therefore, it is presumed to cause no difficulty at all However, when, in particular cases, it occurs after the more-than-one-glide [r], most Arab learners —including advanced learners— tend to render the consonant /s/ into the voiced dento-alveolar sulcal fricative [z] For example

(27) a * [konvarze šin]   *'conversation'*   *(AE)*
      b * [kompa rizon]   *'comparison'*   *(AE)*
      c * [ınkrı zıng]   *'increasing'*   *(AE)*

One possible reason for such covert transfer-based identifications can be attributed to the fact that, in SCA, the articulation of [r] is characterized by a more-than-one-glide nature as discussed above   It suggests that this L1-articulation of [r] acts as a phonological precondition for the voiceless /s/ to be substituted by the voiced /z/ which appears to be easier for the learners to produce as in (27 a-c)

One final point to be mentioned   here   is that there are some attested interlingual identifications in phonology which can be viewed as an inherently direct operation of transfer from **MSA**, rather than from **SCA**, a seemingly established exception to *Hypothesis One* This can only be observed in the learners' attempts to read aloud something written in English such as a newspaper, a sign, a label and so on For example

(28) a * [po ses]   *'possess'*   *(AE)*
      b * [ındonı sya]   *'Indonesia'*   *(AE)*
      c * [smıthwıks]   *'Smithwicks'* *(AE)*

MSA-influence on these examples is, then, explicable in terms of the one-to-one relationship between what is written and what is read in **MSA**   Hence,   the written forms of 'ss' and 's' in *'possess'* and *'Indonesia'* respectively have induced the 'reader' to resort to [s] as in (28 a-b)   Again, the written form of 'thw' in *'Smithwicks'* has incuded the 'reader' to resort to the voiceless dental fricative [th] as in *'Smith'* on its own, and to retain the labio-velar semi-vowel [w]

as in (28c) above   Therefore,   the above examples can be said to
reflect   Arabic-reading   strategies and the   phonological   errors
identified are in many   respects   due to the learner's lack of
L2-knowledge,   that is, his *ignorance* of the L2-phonological pattern in
question (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1)

6.1.2 *Vowels and Diphthongs*

Vowels and diphthongs are tabulated in the following sub-sections

(A)   The English diphthong /eɪ/ which is the approximate equivalent of
      the Arabic diphthong [ay]   occurring   in **MSA** and in some
      sub-dialects of WCD

(B)   The English diphthong /əu/ which is the approximate equivalent of
      the Arabic diphthong [aw] occurring in **MSA** and   in some **sub-
      dialects of WCD**

(C)   The English diphthong /ɪə/ which is the approximate equivalent of
      the Arabic diphthong [ie] occurring exactly in **RED**, the rural
      sub-dialects of ECD, and approximately in the form of [iya] in
      MSA

(D)   The English diphthong /ʊə/ which is the approximate equivalent of
      the Arabic diphthong [ue]   occurring   exactly   in **RED** and
      approximately in the form of [uwa] in **MSA**

(E)   Some *epenthetic phenomena* observed in   the learners' **phonological**
      performance of their English ILs

(F)   Miscellaneous *suprasegmentals* such as the strong and weak forms of
      one-syllable words, and some   other observed deviant stress
      representations in the learner's English ILs

(A)   /eɪ/ (ENGLISH) ≃ [ay] (MSA/WCD)

The L2-diphthong /eɪ/ is often mispronounced by the Syrian learners
whose dialects are ECD, NCD,and SCD specifically   Thus, when they are
called upon to produce /eɪ/ they do not seem to realize that there is a
glide from the simple vowel /e/ to another short simple vowel /ɪ/

Instead, these learners tend to drop this glide and produce a long spread flat vowel [e] which is not found in the phonological system of MSA   For example

(29)   a * [me k]   *'make'*   *(AE)*
       b * [bre k]   *'break'*   *(AE)*
       c * [we t]   *'wait'*   *(AE)*
       d * [re z]   *'raise'*   *(AE)*

       (cf also (1b), (4a), (9c), (21d), (22b))

In **MSA**, the nearest approximation to /eɪ/ is the clear glide linking the short simple vowel [a] with the palatal semi-vowel [y]   This diphthong also occurs in some sub-dialects of WCD which are in many respects similar to Lebanese Colloquial Arabic   For example

(30)   a   [ʔayn]   *'where'*   *(MSA)*
       b   [wayn]   *'where'*   *(WCD)*
       c   [ʔ̲ayn]   *'eye'*   *(MSA/WCD)*
       d   [bayt]   *'house'*   *(MSA/WCD)*
       e   [sayf]   *'sword'*   *(MSA/WCD)*

       (cf also (11a, d), (12d))

In their dialects, the learners **(ECD/NCD/SCD)** usually drop the glide from [a] to [y] and resort to the long flat vowel [e], so that they produce the above L1-words as follows

(31)   a   [we n]   *'where'*   *(ECD/NCD/SCD)*
       b   [ʔ̲e n]   *'eye'*   *(ECD/NCD/SCD)*
       c   [be t]   *'house'*   *(ECD/NCD/SCD)*
       d   [se f]   *'sword'*   *(ECD/NCD/SCD)*

       (cf also (11c, e))

It seems the case that the tendency to use the **SCA**-item [e] as in (31 a-d) instead of the MSA-item [ay] as in (30 a-e) is directly transferable onto the English ILs of the Syrian learners (ECD/NCD/SCD) as in (29 a-d), in spite of the fact that these learners particularly are able to produce the diphthong [ay] when called upon to perform spoken **MSA**   As a result of this tendency, the problem becomes greater in that it is very hard to distinguish the learners' attempts to produce /eɪ/ from their attempts to produce the diphthongs /ɜ / and /əə/ specifically   This can be ascribed to their permanent tendency to produce the dento-alveolar [r] in more-than-one-glide articulation both

before   consonants as in (32 a-d) and in final position as in (33 a-d)
below (for the analysis of [r],   *cf*   section 6 1 1, sub-section (E))
For example

```
(32)    a *   [se rv]       'serve'        (AE)
        b *   [me rdar]     'murder'       (AE)
        c *   [pe rs]       'purse'        (AE)
        d *   [fe rzar]     'further'      (AE)
        (cf   also (6c), (23 a-b))

(33)    a *   [we r]        'where'        (AE)
        b *   [fe r]        'fair'         (AE)
        c *   [ke r]        'care'         (AE)
        d *   [be r]        'bear'         (AE)
        (cf   also (4b))
```

The   linking between [e] and [r] is well noticeable in the   colloquial
pronunciation of some L1-proper   nouns   such as [zuhe r],   [zube r] and
[nuse r] (SCA)   It also occurs in some other colloquial words such   as
[be rik] *'sitting'* (NCD), [se rif] *'spending'* (NCD/ECD), and [še rib]
'drinking' (NCD/ECD)   It also occurs even in some foreign loan   words
used in SCA such as   [sbe r] *'spare'*,   [sute r] *'cistern/water store'*,
and so on

It seems the case that interlingual errors   such as those cited in
(29), which are a reflection of SCA-transfer, can be viewed as examples
of *covert* CLI,   since the learners in question are,   in   most   cases,
unaware of the cross-linguistic similarity (crucial similarity) between
the L1-item [ay] and   the L2-item /eɪ/   Consequently,   as   the
phonological   errors   cited   in   (32)   and   (33)   appear to be
over-generalized from such non perceived   cross-linguistic   similarity
between [ay] and /eɪ/,   the   resultant   IL-identifications can be well
seen as types of covert inter-intralingual errors

(B) /əʊ/ (ENGLISH) ≃ [aw] (MSA/WCD)

Analogous with the diphthong /eɪ/ discussed above is the diphthong /əʊ/
which   most learners whose dialects are ECD, NCD, SCD find difficult to
pronounce   Similarly,   this   diphthong   is formulated by uttering the
vowel /ɜ / and then gliding away to the short vowel /ʊ/   Thus,   most

learners, if not all, tend to drop the glide linking the two vowels and resort to a long rounded vowel [o] which does not exist in the phonological system of MSA   For example

(34)   a *   [ho m]   'home'   (AE)
       b *   [jo k]   'joke'   (AE)
       c *   [bo t]   'boat'   (AE)
       d *   [abro tš]   'approach'   (AE)
       (cf also (21a))

In MSA, the nearest approximation to /əʊ/ is the diphthong [aw] which is formulated by uttering the short vowel [a] and then clearly gliding away to the labio-velar semi-vowel [w]   This diphthong, like [ay], also occurs in some sub-dialects of WCD which are similar to Lebanese Colloquial Arabic   For example

(35)   a   [nawm]   'sleeping'   (MSA/WCD)
       b   [lawn]   'colour'   (MSA/WCD)
       c   [lawz]   'almonds'   (MSA/WCD)
       d   [lawḥ]   'board'   (MSA/WCD)
       e   [hawn]   'here'   (WCD)

Again, the learners (ECD/NCD/SCD), when attempting to produce these L1-words in their dialects, usually drop the glide from [a] to [w] and resort to the long rounded vowel [o]   For example

(36)   a   [no m]   'sleeping'   (ECD/NCD/SCD)
       b   [lo n]   'colour'   (ECD/NCD/SCD)
       c   [lo z]   'almonds'   (ECD/NCD/SCD)
       d   [lo ḥ]   'board'   (ECD/NCD/SCD)
       e   [ho n]   'here'   (ECD/NCD/SCD)

From the above examples, it appears that the tendency to use the SCA-item [o] as in (36 a-e) in place of the MSA-item [aw] as in (35 a-e) is directly transferable onto the English ILs of Syrian learners (ECD/NCD/SCD) as in (34 a-d), even though these learners are able to produce [aw] in their attempts to perform spoken MSA   Likewise, this tendency leads to a far greater problem   in that it is very difficult to distinguish the way the learners pronounce /əʊ/ from the way they pronounce /ɔ / specifically   For example

(37) a * [flo r]   'floor'   (AE)
      b * [fo rk]   'fork   (AE)
      c * [fo rj]   'forge'   (AE)
      d * [po rk]   'pork'   (AE)
      e * [so]   'saw'   (AE)
      (cf also (10b))

It is also difficult to distinguish this vowel from the way they produce /ɜ /, /ə/ and /o/ in some phonological identifications For example

(38) a * [wo rd]   'word'   (AE)
      b * [wo rk]   'work'   (AE)
      c * [divilo b]   'develop'   (AE)
      d * [alo ng]   'along'   (AE)
      e * [lo st]   'lost'   (AE)
      (cf also (9a))

Following the phonological identifications cited in the preceding section, interlingual errors such as (34 a-d) are other examples of *cover* CLI because the learners do not seem to have perceived the cross-linguistic similarity (crucial similarity) between the L1-item [aw] and the L2-item /əʊ/ Again, since the phonological errors (37 a-d) and (38 a-e) suggest an *over-generalization* from the non-perceived cross-linguistic similarity between [aw] and /əʊ/, they can therefore be viewed as other examples of **covert inter-intralingual errors**

(C) /ɪə/ (ENGLISH) = [ɪe] (RED) ≃ [iya] (MSA)

Another problematic area encountered by most Syrian learners is the articulation of the diphthong /ɪə/ This diphthong is formulated by gliding from the short vowel /ɪ/ to a shorter vowel /ə/ Thus, most learners find it difficult to pronounce, particularly when it precedes the phoneme /r/, with the result that they tend to drop the glide and resort to a long spread flat vowel [i] which occurs both in MSA and SCA For example

(39) a * [bi rd]   'beard'   (AE)
      b * [bi r]   'beer'   (AE)
      c * [di r]   'dear'   (AE)
      d * [fi r]   'fear'   (AE)
      e * [hi r]   'here'   (AE)
      f * [kli r]   'clear'   (AE)

The learners' resorting to [i:] may be ascribed to the articulation of the more-than-one-glide [r] as discussed above (cf section 6 1 1, sub-section (E)) It seems the case that when the learners attempt to perform /ɪə/ as preceding /r/ they make cross-lingual tie-ups between this dipthong and the L1-long vowel [i] followed by the dento-alveolar [r] For example

(40)	a	[kabɪ r]	'big/old'	(MSA)
		[tšabɪ r]	'big/old'	(ECD)
		[kbɪ r]	'big/old'	(NCD/SCD/WCD)
	b	[kathɪ r]	'much/lot'	(MSA)
		[tšathɪ r]	'much/lot'	(ECD)
		[ktɪ r]	'much/lot'	(NCD/SCD/WCD)
	c	[mudɪ r]	'manager'	(MSA/SCA)
	d	[amɪ r]	'prince'	(MSA/SCA)

In MSA, however, the only approximation to /ɪə/ is the diphthong [iya] which is formulated by gliding down from the short vowel [i] to the palatal semi-vowel [y] and then gliding up to the short vowel [a] For example

(41)	a	[ẖɪyal]	'tricks'	(MSA)
	b	[rɪyab]	'suspicions'	(MSA)
	c	[sɪyar]	'biographies'	(MSA)
	d	[šɪya?]	'adherents'	(MSA)
	e	[dɪyaka]	'cocks/roosters'	(MSA)
	f	[hɪya]	'she'	(MSA)

Moreover, in the rural sub-dialects of ECD (referred to as RED in this study) there seems to occur a far nearer approximation, if not a complete equivalence, to the English diphthong /ɪə/ This can be observed when speakers of RED produce the L1-diphthong [ay] as discussed above (cf section 6 1 2, sub-section (A)) These speakers tend to reverse the diphthong by gliding from the short vowel [ɪ] to a much shorter vowel [e] which can be equated with the English vowel /ə/ Therefore, the examples (30 a-e) cited in (sub-section (A)) of this section are pronounced by these speakers as follows

(42)	a	[wɪen]	'where'	(RED)
	b	[?ɪen]	'eye'	(RED)
	c	[bɪet]	'house'	(RED)
	d	[sɪef]	'sword'	(RED)

Further, these speakers tend to *intralingually* 'transfer' the diphthong [ie] when they perform L1-words containing the long vowel [i]   It seems, therefore, that such a long vowel is subject to segmentation into two short vowels ([i] + [i]) of which the second is replaced by the very short vowel [e] referred to above   As a consequence, the examples (40 a-d) would be pronounced by speakers of RED as follows

(43)	a	[tšibier]	'big/old'	(*RED*)
	b	[tšithier]	'much/lot'	(*RED*)
	c	[midier]	'manager'	(*RED*)
	d	[imier]	'prince'	(*RED*)

In the light of the above analysis, it appears that the Syrian learners in question, upon making the interlingual errors (39 a-f), did not perceive the cross-linguistic similarity either between the L2-item /ɪə/ and the MSA-item [iya] as in (41 a-f) (crucial similarity), or between the L2-item /ɪə/ and the RED-item [ie] as in (43 a-d) (complete similarity), though they are familiar with at least [iya] as they use some of the MSA-words (41) such as (41a), (41c), (41d) and (41e) in their home dialects   Their seemingly constant resort to [i] as in (40 a-d) appears, then, to be attributable to the fact that the existence of /r/ in the L2-words (39 a-f) dissuaded them from making the relevant cross-lingual tie-ups between, at least, the MSA-item [iya] and the L2-item /ɪə/   Consequently, interlingual errors such as (39 a-f) can be regarded as other examples of *covert* CLI

(D)   /ʊə/ (ENGLISH) = [ue] (RED) ≃ [uwa] (MSA)

Analogous with the diphthong /ɪə/ discussed above is the diphthong /ʊə/ which is very often mispronounced by most Syrian learners   This diphthong is formulated by gliding from /ʊ/ to /ə/   Paradoxically, these learners tend to drop the glide and to resort to the long rounded vowel [u] preceding [r]   For example

(44)	a	*	[kyu r]	'cure'	(*AE*)
	b	*	[pu r]	'poor'	(*AE*)
	c	*	[šu.r]	'sure'	(*AE*)

Similarly, the learners seem to have made cross-lingual tie-ups between /ʊə/ and the L1-long vowel [u] followed by [r]   For example

```
(45)  a   [su r]        'fence'         (MSA/SCA)
      b   [nu r]        'light'         (MSA/SCA)
      c   [mabšu r]     'shredded'      (MSA/SCA)
      d   [maksu r]     'broken'        (MSA/SCA)
```

Both in MSA and SCA, an approximation to /ʋə/ is [uwa] as formulated by
gliding down from the short vowel [u] to the labio-velar semi-vowel [w]
and then gliding up to the short vowel [a]   For example

```
(46)  a   [suwar]       'photographs/pictures'   (MSA/SCA)
      b   [fuwat]       'napkins/towels'         (MSA/SCA)
      c   [šuwak]       'forks'                  (SCA)
      d   [quwat]       'boxes'                  (ECD)
```

Again, a far nearer approxomation to /ʋə/ occurs when speakers of RED
attempt to produce the L1-diphthong [aw] as referred to above (*cf*
section 6 1 2, sub-section (B))   These speakers tend to reverse [aw]
by gliding from [u] to a very short vowel [e] as is the case of /ə/
Thus, the L1-examples (35 a-d) cited in (sub-section (B)) would be
pronounced by these speakers as follows

```
(47)  a   [nuem]        'sleeping'      (RED)
      b   [luen]        'colour'        (RED)
      c   [luez]        'almonds'       (RED)
      d   [lueh]        'board'         (RED)
      (Notice that these speakers pronounce (35e)
       as [hien] 'here' for no distinct reason)
```

Moreover, these speakers tend to *intralingually* 'transfer' [ue] when
performing [u] within their home dialect   Thus, the L1-examples (45
a-d) would be pronounced as follows

```
(48)  a   [suer]        'fence'         (RED)
      b   [nuer]        'light'         (RED)
      c   [mabšuer]     'shredded'      (RED)
      d   [maksuer]     'broken'        (RED)
```

Following   the conclusion drawn in the preceding   section,
phonological interlingual identifications such as (44 a-c) can be
viewed as examples of *covert* CLI, since the learners in question do
not seem to have perceived the cross-linguistic similarity between the
L2-item /ʋə/ and the RED-item [ue], or, at least, the MSA-item [uwa]

(E)   Epenthetic Phenomena

Epenthesis is one of the two types of phonological intrusion, the other one being *prothesis* (cf   Crystal, 1985 163)   *Epenthesis* refers to such intrusion where an extra vowel is inserted initially or medially into a consonant cluster   The interlingual identifications cited by Broselow from Egyptian and Iraqi learners are clear examples of this phenomenon as put forward in support of *Hypothesis One* (cf chapter 5, section 5 3 1)   As far as the Syrian learners are   concerned, *epenthetic* phenomena are observable in their attempts to produce some final consonant clusters For example

> (49)   a * [bo rɪn]   *'born'*   (AE)
>   b * [spe rɪm]   *'sperm'*   (AE)
>   (cf also (6c), (10b))

As discussed above, the insertion of the very short vowel [ɪ] into the two-segment cluster ([r] + [nasal]) is due to the inappropriate articulation of the phoneme [r] (cf   examples (23 a-b), (24 a-b)) Therefore, when this phoneme precedes another two-segment cluster such as /k-t/, the learners tend to insert [ɪ] into this cluster For example

> (50)   a * [wo rkɪd]   *'worked'*   (AE)
>   b * [ma rkɪd]   *'marked'*   (AE)

It seems,   therefore,   because the English phoneme /r/ is clearly articulated by the learners through the phonological patterning of the Arabic dento-alveolar [r], the resultant IL-cluster will seem (in their attempted utilization) to be a three-segment cluster [r-k-d] in final position   Thus, the learners' tendency to insert the short vowel is systematic, that is, the insertion normally occurs before the final segment of the final cluster whether it consists of two or three segments For example

> (51)   a * [a skɪd]   *'asked'*   (AE)
>   b * [monthɪz]   *'months'*   (AE)

The tendency to insert a short vowel in such a position appears to be uniquely recurrent in the phonological system of SCA compared with that of MSA This is to demonstrate that, in support of *Hypothesis One*, it is SCA-influence (not MSA-influence) which underlies the operation of *epenthesis* in the learners' English ILs For example

	SCA	MSA	
(52) a	[sakabɪt]	[sakabt]	*'poured out (I)'*
b	[taḥɪt]	[taḥt]	*'under/beneath'*
c	[sabɪt]	[sabt]	*'Saturday'*
d	[ɪsɪm]	[ɪsm]	*'name/noun'*
e	[masɪr]	[mɪsr]	*'Egypt/metropolis'*
f	[baḥar]	[baḥr]	*'sea'*
g	[raqam]/[raqɪm]	[raqm]	*'number/numeral'*

Moreover, *epenthetic* phenomena are also noticeable in the learners' attempts to produce three-segment clusters in initial position These, too, appear to be systematic, that is, vowel-insertion normally occurs between the first and second segments of the initial three-segment cluster For example

(53)	a	* [sɪkr n]	*'screen'*	(AE)
	b	* [sɪprɪng]	*'spring'*	(AE)
	c	* [sɪtrɪng]	*'string'*	(AE)

Epenthetic phenomena are more apparent in the learners' ILs when they are induced to produce initial four-segment clusters preceded by a vowel Again, vowel-insertion occurs systematically after the second segment of these clusters For example

(54)	a	* [ɪksɪkyu z]	*'excuse'*	(AE)
	b	* [ɪksɪpreŝɪn]	*'expression'*	(AE)
	c	* [ɪksɪple n]	*'explain'*	(AE)
	d	* [ɪksɪplo ɟɪn]	*'explosion'*	(AE)
	e	* [ɪksɪtri mlɪ]	*'extremely'*	(AE)

To avoid possible confusion, it will be helpful to employ some abbreviations here (v) stands for a short vowel, (V) for a long vowel, and (C) for a consonant In MSA, some verbs are governed by the structure (CvCVC) as in (55 a-c) below

(55)	a	[turɪ d]	*'you (sing masc) want'*	(MSA)
	b	[taru ḥ]	*'you (sing masc) go'*	(MSA)
	c	[tana m]	*'you (sing masc) sleep'*	(MSA)

In MSA, in particular, one of the interrogation rules is formulated by adding the question particle [a] initially to these verbs This particle is phonologically a glottal stop [ʔ] Since it always occurs initially, its structure is simply described by the short vowel [a] Thus, the structure of the above verb class will be (vCvCVC)

(56) a [aturı d]   *'do you want?'*   (*MSA*)
      b [ataru h̲]   *'do you (want to) go?*   (*MSA*)
      c [atana m]   *'do you (want to) sleep?'* (*MSA*)

In SCA, on the other hand, the structure of the verb class (CvCVC) as in (55 a-b) is changed by dropping the short vowel (v), and the resultant structure will be (CCVC)

(57) a [trı d]   (*SCA*)
      b [tru h̲]   (*SCA*)
      c [tna m]   (*SCA*)

Particularly, the initial two-segment clusters as in (57 a-c) seem to occur only in SCA, though the clusters in MSA can occur medially as in [taskub] *'pour out (you)'*, or finally as in (52 a-g) It follows that when speakers insert, for example, the consonant [b-] (one of whose functions is interrogation) initially into the verb class (CCVC) as in (57 a-c), the result would apparently lead to a formulation of three-segment clusters initially occurring within the structure (C-CCVC)

(58) a [b-trı d]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
      b [b-tru h̲]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
      c [b-tna m]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)

However, although [b-] (as derived from [bıddak] (*SCA*)/[abıwıddıka] (*MSA*) *'do you like/want?'*) can express interrogation on its own, speakers tend to retain the question particle [a] as in [abıwıddıka] (*cf* 56 a-c), but render it into a very short vowel [i] inserted after [b-]

(59) a [bıtrı d]   *'do you want?'*   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
      b [bıtru.h̲]   *'do you (want to) go?'*   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
      c [bıtna·m]   *'do you (want to) sleep?'* (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)

If, however, the above processes (that is, starting with (55) and ending in (59)) are, more or less, applied to other verb classes such as (CvCCvC):

> (60) a. [tadrus]   'you *(sing. masc.) study'*   *(MSA)*
>   b. [taskob]   'you *(sing. masc.) pour out'*   *(MSA)*
>   c. [taksab]   'you *(sing. masc.) win'*   *(MSA)*

then the resultant colloquial representations of these verbs will involve initial four-segment clusters of which the short vowel [a] as in (60 a-c) will be a substitute by a shorter vowel [i] as in (59 a-c). Thus, the SCA-identification will be governed by the structure (CCvCCvC):

> (61) a. [btidros]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
>   b. [btiskob]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
>   c. [btiksab]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*

Further, [i]-insertion in (61 a-c) will still remain in its place even if these verbs are affirmed by colloquial particles such as [e]:

> (62) a. [ebtidros]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
>   b. [ebtiskob]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
>   c. [ebtiksab]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*

Notice that all the colloquial representations cited in (59), (61) and (62) are typical of speakers whose dialects are NCD, SCD and WCD specifically. It now becomes clear that *epenthetic* phenomena, which occur systematically in L1-examples such as (59 a-c) and (62 a-c), seem to be **systematically** transferable onto the learners' ILs as in (53 a-c) and (54 a-e) respectively. In other words, when the learner attempts to produce L2-words beginning with three-segment clusters: /*skri*:n/, he usually inserts the vowel [i] between the first and second consonant of this cluster by falling back on a systematic SCA-phonological identification as in (59 a-c). When the learner attempts to produce L2-words containing four-segment clusters in medial position: /*ikskj*u:z/, he tends to segment the cluster into two two-consonant clusters and insert the vowel [i] medially by resorting to a systematic SCA-phonological identification as in (62 a-c).

(F) Miscellaneous Suprasegmentals

The preceding sub-sections have dealt with the main English diphthongs such as /eɪ/,   /əʊ/, /ɪə/ and /ʊə/ which are often mispronounced by Syrian learners   Some *epenthetic* problems observable ın the learners' ILs have also been considered by reference to equivalent phenomena realızed ın **NCD, SCD** and **WCD**   In support of *Hypothesis One*, the analysıs has demonstrated that the potentıal for **SCA**-ınfluence,   rather than **MSA**-ınfluence, ıs a   strong   trıgger of language transfer mechanısms   However,   ın phonologıcal ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıons, **SCA**-ınfluence does not always operate on ıts own   In thıs fınal sub-sectıon, two ımportant aspects wıll be analysed one wıll show transfer effects from an overlap between **SCA** and **MSA**, the other (as an exceptıon to *Hypothesıs One*) wıll ıllustrate that,   ın partıcular ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıons,   **MSA**-ınfluence ıs more prone to transfer than   ıs   **SCA**-ınfluence   These two aspects wıll   be   mentıoned consecutıvely

(ı) Transfer from an overlap of SCA and MSA

Followıng the notıon of what Rıngbom calls a *superfıcıal receptıve competence*,   the learner's 'permanent' tendency   —at a productıon level— towards the strong form of some one-syllable words (such as 'and',   'can',   'have',   'was', etc) may result ın consıderable pragmatıc problems encountered by such a learner at a receptıon level (*cf*   chapter 4, sectıon 4 2 3, example (9)) In thıs context, an actual example wıll demonstrate how the learner may **faultıly receıve a** gıven L2-ıtem produced naturally by a natıve speaker of Englısh Because of the ınfluence of an equıvalent L1-ıtem realızed phonologıcally both ın **MSA** and **SCA**, thıs faulty receptıon can be attrıbuted to a defect ın the learner's lıstenıng skıll   To begın wıth, consıder the followıng actual example

> (63) a NSE *You* can't *have wars wıthout kıllıng*   (/kænt/)
> b NSA *Thıs ıs wrong*
> c NSE *Why?*
> d NSA *Because last tıme you said*
>   *'You* cannot *have wars wıthout kıllıng'* ([ka nnot])
> e NSE *Yes, that's what I said*

Inherent in the above example is that the Arab listener faultily received the contracted form *'can't* in (63a) and realized it as the strong form of *'can'* in the affirmative mode, since what the native speaker of English had already said was the **same** negative statement in (63d). It seems the case that most Arab learners, if not all, tend to produce the strong form of one-syllable words such as /kæn/ rather than the weak form /kən/ for all phonological identifications in connected speech. For instance, when these learners attempt to perform affirmative statements such as (64 a-c) below, they tend to 'permanently' produce the strong form of *'can'* without really paying attention to pragmatic exigencies. That is, when the context requires them to produce the weak form, they still lean towards the strong form of *'can'* even if the main verb is stressed:

> (64) a. *You* [ka:n] go *to the city centre.* (/kæn/)
>   b. *You* [ka:n] have *this book.* (/kæn/)
>   c. *You* [ka:n] stay *here.* (/kæn/)

Because the contracted form *'can't'* in (63a) involves the strong form /kæn/ connected with a slight articulation of /t/ as is the case in Hiberno-English and American English, the Arab listener seems to have received (63a) as *'You* /kæn/ *have wars without killing'* assuming that the affirmative mode was in question. Thus, his superficial receptive competence (that is, his auditory receptive skill) told him —as he usually does in speaking (production)— that even his native interlocutor had a tendency to produce the strong form of *'can'* in affirmation. Moreover, in terms of such a superficial competence, the Arab listener will face a greater problem in receiving *'can't'* when it negates main verbs beginning with /t/ such as *'take'*, *'tell'* and *'teach'* due to the inseparable link, or *liaison*, between the final /t/ of *'can't'* and the initial /t/ of these verbs. For example:

> (65) a. *You can't-tell...*
>   b. *You can't-take...*
>   c. *You can't-teach...*

It appears the case that, neither in MSA nor in SCA, is there such a thing as a strong form and a weak form of the same one-syllable word in connected speech. For instance, in SCA the Ll-word [ka:n] *'was (he)'* represents the same accentuation imposed by the phonological system of MSA in which the word consists of two syllables [ka:na]. So that the

SCA-word [ka:n] —which is still characterized by the long open vowel [a:] though the second syllable [a] is dropped— is **always** pronounced as the strong form of the L2-word *'can'* whether it be accentuated or not. For example:

> (66) a. [*ka:n* biddo:] (interrogative) - /k æ n/ (SCD/NCD)
>   *'did he want?'*
>   b. [e: *ka:n* biddo:] (affirmative) - /k æ n/ (SCD/NCD)
>   *'Yes, he did'*
>   c. [ma: *ka:n* biddo:] (negative)   - /k æ n/ (SCD/NCD)
>   *'No, he didn't'*

It seems, therefore, such a phonological L1-aspect is one of the highly automatized L1-identifications which the Syrian learner, even at advanced stages of learning, unconciously transfers onto his IL. Consequently, the learner's permanent tendency towards the strong form may lead to *overt* PT at a production level, but it may well lead to *covert* NT at a reception level as shown in (63) and thus will be liable to fossilization if no proper action is taken to remedy the situation.

(ii) Transfer from MSA rather than SCA:

The second aspect deals with some attested interlingual identifications which, it is believed, have direct connection with the spelling pronunciation of **MSA** rather than SCA. In the preceding section, mention has been made of some interlingual identifications in consonants, which reflect an Arabic-reading strategy adopted by the learner (*cf.* section 6.1.1., sub-section (E)). Thus, transfer effects are more pertinent to MSA-influence than to SCA-influence (*cf.* examples (28 a-c)). Likewise, some 'seen' written forms and some other 'known' written forms of L2-words may reflect an influence from the **MSA** spelling pronunciation when these words are read aloud or spoken by the Syrian learners. For example:

> (67)   a.* [pri:liminari]   *'preliminary'*   (AE)
>   b.* [bila:tral]   *'bilateral'*   (AE)
>   c.* [rilyabiliti]   *'reliability'*   (AE)

Again, following the interlingual identifications cited in (28 a-c), transfer effects on (67 a-c) are ascribable to the one-to-one relationship between written and read forms in MSA. Hence, (67a) suggests that the 'reader' knows the 'correct' pronunciation of the

prefix 'pre-' as /pri./ from which [pri] in (67a) seems to have been
overgeneralized   Thus, overgeneralization from a L2-item within an
Arabic-reading strategy indicates an inter-intralingual error
Concerning (67b), the existence of 'i' in the written form and perhaps
the absence of 'e' after the consonant that follows may induce the
reader to render 'i' into [i] rather than [a i] This would be more
apparent when 'i' is followed by 'a' in some words such as (67c)   In
this case, the reader, or the learner who orally performs already-known
written words containing 'ia', seems to resort to an Arabic-reading
strategy   Such a strategy tells him, as a phonological rule in MSA,
that if the palatal semi-vowel [y] is followed by the short vowel [a]
or the long vowel [a], then the resultant identification will be
either [ya] or [ya] as in [al-yam] 'the sea' and [al-?alya f] 'the
fibres' Therefore, the unpredictable nature of pronouncing the English
'ia' (sometimes /jæ/ and other times /aiə/) confuses the learners and
impels them to apply such a confidently predictable L1-strategy to at
least those L2-items of which they are not entirely sure, since some
of these learners produce examples such as *[liyabl] 'liable' (AE) and
*[dya·lekt] 'dialect' (AE)   Even advanced learners —who know the
correct pronunciation of these words as /laiəbl/ and /daiəlekt/—
appear to render, by false anology, some L2-words containing /jæ/
into the reverse /aiə/   For example

(68) * [zoda yak]   'zodiac'   (AE)

Another Arabic-reading strategy can be detected in some L2-words
orally produced by advanced learners   For example

(69) a * [kom'pi tans]   'competence'   (AE)
      b * [pri'fe rans]   'preference'   (AE)

These examples may, at first glance, lead one to believe that the
learner knew the correct pronunciation of the two verbs 'compete' and
'prefer' (whose second syllables are stressed) but, at least up to the
time of uttering (69 a-b), his linguistic repertoire lacked the correct
stress-patterning demanded by the pronunciation of 'competence' and
'preference', since the advanced learner in question produced (69 a-b)
several times before outside correction was made   These examples also
suggest that he might have known some other verbs and the correct
phonological representations of their derived nouns such as (70 a-c)

below Given that these forms follow a regular phonological stress-pattern (that is, the primary stress occurs on the same syllable of the verb and its noun), it seems that the learner drew a false analogy between (70) and (71)

(70) a /əpreɪz/'appraise' ----> /əpreɪzl/'appraisal'
      b /əpru v/'approve' ----> /əpru vl/'approval'
      c /əkɔ d/'accord'   ----> /əkɔ dəns/'accordance'

(71) a /kəmpɪ t/ 'compete' ----> * /kəmpɪ təns/'competence'
      b /prɪfɜ / 'prefer'   ----> * /prɪfɜ rəns/'preference'

If this is the case, then the examples (69 a-b) would mark intralingual errors due to *overgeneralization* from similar but correct L2-identifications such as (70 a-c) However, since regularity of spelling pronunciation in MSA is much more predictable by the learner than that of the L2, it seems that he was more amenable to *overgeneralization* from an Arabic-reading strategy in that word structures such as (CvCCVC), of which the second vowel is accentuated as in (72a), would retain that structure even if regular morphological rules of femininity, duality of femininity and plurality of femininity operate For example

(72) a [tarnɪ m]   'hymning' (verbal noun, sing masc)
     b [tarnɪ maton]   'a hymn'   (indefinite noun, sing fem)
     c [tarnɪ mata nɪ] 'two hymns' (indefinite noun, dual,fem)
     d [tarnɪ ma ton]   'hymns'   (indefinite noun, pl , fem)

Therefore, such structure retention in MSA, being much more predictable by the learner, seems to have acted as a precondition for the structure retention realized in *'prefer'* and *'preference'* at one end, and perhaps in *'compete'* and *'competence'* at another In the light of this reasoning, interlingual identifications such as (69 a-c) can be taken as other types of covert inter-intralingual errors due to *overgeneralization* from previously known L2-material preconditioned and activated by more predictable L1-material

●   ●   ●

6.2 Arabic-Transfer Identifications in Syntax

In this section, five central aspects of syntax as observed in the spoken production of the Syrian learners' English ILs will be carefully studied and analysed in corroboration of *Hypothesis Two* These five aspects concern the areas of difficulty the learners experience over the following structural devices

— prepositions and prepositional phrases (section 6 2 1),
— definite and indefinite articles (section 6 2 2),
— the verb form construction (section 6 2 3),
— the relative-clause formation (section 6 2 4),
— and the word-order formation (section 6 2 5)

Again, to avoid possible confusion, each of these areas will be classified according to its own taxonomy Notice that for every interlingual identification, the asterisk (*) indicates an actual error (AE) as attested in the learner's English IL and so judged from the viewpoint of the SBE-grammar

6.2.1 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

Prepositions are tabulated in the following sub-sections

(A) The English prepositions 'at', 'on', 'by', 'around', and 'with' are interlingually rendered into the IL-preposition 'in'

(B) The English prepositions 'to', 'on', 'of', 'about', and 'at' are interlingually rendered into the IL-preposition 'with'

(C) The English prepositions 'at', 'with', 'by', 'of', 'about', and 'through' as well as the English conjunction 'than' are interlingually rendered into the IL-preposition 'from'

(D) The English prepositions 'to', 'of', 'for', 'by', and 'with' are interlingually rendered into the IL-preposition 'on'

(E) Miscellaneous IL-prepositions such as 'in' which suggests an overlap between the learner's intralingual and interlingual solutions

(A)   at/on/by/around/with (ENGLISH) = [bi]/[fi.] (ARABIC)

```
(1) *   He is good in Maths                          (AE)
(2) *   You are quick in reading                     (AE)
(3) *   He was in the work                           (AE)
(4) *   We travelled in the day to Sligo             (AE)
(5) *   I saw him in that day                        (AE)
(6) *   He is in a mission                           (AE)
(7) *   Put it (necklace) in your neck               (AE)
(8) *   Put it (watch) in your hand                  (AE)
(9) *   Can we buy it (TV) in debt                   (AE)
(10)*   I bought my TV in ---- cheap price           (AE)
(11)*   Stop playing in your teeth                   (AE)
(12)*   He wants to subscribe in the newspaper       (AE)
```

As the above examples illustrate, the potential for Arabic transfer can be detected in the misuse of the preposition 'in' The learner's recurrent misuse of 'in' suggests a reflection of his inherent reliance on either of two prepositions in Arabic [bi] and [fi] In MSA, each preposition has a multitude of grammatical functions or meanings fourteen functions are indicated by the use of [bi] and ten functions by [fi] (cf Al-Bustani, 1977 25 and 707) However, both prepositions resemble each other in expressing several functions within either the restrictive boundaries of MSA or the flexible rules of SCA These will be considered with reference to the above interlingual identifications Notice that the L1-examples below are transliterated from MSA only, whereas the uses of the L1-prepositions are maintained both in MSA and SCA

(i)   In both varieties (MSA/SCA), [bi] and [fi] are used before *knowledge* (13a), *skill* (13b), *training* (13c), or *state of motion* (13d)   For example

(13)   a   [ḵibra/ḵabi r] [bi/fi-zzira ?a]
           'experience/an expert in agriculture'

       b   [sur?a/sari ?] [bi/fi-lkita ba]
           'being quick/quick at writing'

       c   [Ju da/Jayyid] [bi/fi-l?amal]
           'being good/good at work'

       d   [Zayd bi/fi-l?amal/ššugul]
           'Zaid is at work'
           (cf examples (1), (2), (3))

(ii)   In both varieties (MSA/SCA), [bi] and [fi.] can act with certain
       words as adverbial clauses (place and time) either *literally*
       [ḥaqı qatan] as ın (14 a-b) or *figuratively* [majʼa zan] as ın (14
       c-e)

(14)   a   [*bı/fı*-lbayt]   (*place*)
           '*at* home/*ın* the house'

       b   [*bı/fı*-nnaha r]/[*bı/fı* ṯha lıka-lyawm]   (*time*)
           '*by* day'/'*on* that day'
           (*cf* examples (4), (5))

       c   [tadaḵḵala *bı/fı* šuʔu nı ğayrıhı]
           'he interfered *ın/with* somebody's affairs'

       d   [*bı/fı*-lkala m/ḥadı th]
           '*ın/on* a conversation'

       e   [ka na *bı/fı* muhımma]
           'he was *on* a mission'
           (*cf* example (6))

(iii) However, for an adverb of place, [bı]/[fı] ın SCA and [fı]   ın
       MSA are used to indicate either *perversion* [qalb] as ın (15 a-b),
       or *overness* and *onness* [ıstıʔla ʔ], that ıs, both [bı] and [fı]
       are synonymous with the preposition [ʔala·] '*over/on*' as ın (15c)
       and (15e)

(15)   a   [adḵala-lka tama *bı/fı* ısbaʔıhı]
           (*Lıt* inserted (he) the ring *ın* his finger)

       b   [adḵala ısbaʔahu *bı/fı*-lka tam]
           (*Lıt* inserted (he) his finger *ın* the ring)
           'he put the ring *on* his finger'
           or 'he put *on* the ring'

       c   [wadaʔatı-ṯtawqa *bı/fı* /*ʔala* ʔunuqıha]
           'she put the necklace *around* her neck'

       d   [labısatı-ṯtawqa/lqıla data (*bı/fı* ʔunuqıha)]
           'she wore the necklace' (*around* her neck)'

       e   [wadaʔa-ssa ʔata *bı/fı* /*ʔala* yadıhı/mıʔ'samıhı]
           'he put the watch *on* his arm/wrist'

       f   [labısa-ssa ʔata (*bı/fı* yadıhı/mıʔ'samıhı)]
           'he wore the watch (*on* his arm/wrist)'
           (*cf* examples (7), (8))

(iv) Both [bi] and [fi:] in MSA and [bi] in SCA are used to indicate *exchange* [muqa:bala] or *compensation* [ta?wi:d]. For example:

>   (16) a. [iŝtarawhu *bi/fi:* thamanen baksen]
>   'they bought it *at* a very low price'
>
>   b. [yaŝtaru:na *bi/(fi)*-ddayn]
>   'they are buying *on credit/on tick*'
>   (*cf.* examples (9); (10))

(v) In both varieties (MSA/SCA), [bi] and [fi:] are used to denote *concomitance* [musa:haba] or *withness* [ma?iyya]; that is, both [bi] and [fi:] are synonymous with [ma?a] *'with'* as in (17a); whereas only [bi] is used to indicate *utilization* [isti?a:na] as in (17b). However, both [bi] and [fi:] can be used to indicate *amusement* or *entertainment* [lahwon] as in (17c):

>   (17) a. [qa:ma *bi/fi:/ma?a* tulu:?i-ŝŝams]
>   'he got up *at* sunrise/*at* dawn'
>   'he rose *with* the sun'
>
>   b. [kataba *bi*-lqalam]
>   'he wrote *with* the pen'
>
>   c. [la: tal?ab *bi/fi*-nna:r]
>   'don't play *with* fire'
>   (*cf.* example (11))

(vi) In both varieties (MSA/SCA), [bi] and [fi:] can be used to denote *continuity* [muwa:sala]. For example:

>   (18) a. [istarsala *bi/fi*-lkita:b]
>   'he made a long speech'
>
>   b. [iŝtaraka *bi/fi*-lmajalla]
>   'he subscribed *to* the magazine'
>   (*cf.* example (12))

Concerning the interlingual identifications (1-12), it appears that two types of L1-knowledge may be specified. First, analysed **lexical knowledge** where, from the point of view of *relexification*, the L1-items [bi] and [fi:] have been rendered or analysed as lexical items into the L2-item *'in'* (*cf.* chapter 4, section 4.2.1). Second, **unanalysed** syntactic knowledge which represents a carrying over of the grammatical functions of the L1-prepositions [bi] and [fi:] in place of the grammatical functions of the L2-prepositions *'at'* (1-3), *'by'* (4), *'on'* (5-6), (8-9), *'around'* (7), *'with'* (11) and *'to'* (12).

Therefore, at a comprehension level, the learner seems to have made crosslingual tie-ups between [bi]/[fi.] and 'in' as shown in the above L1-examples In the first six interlingual identifications (1-6), it is believed that the learner's cognitive processing of these two prepositions lay essentially at the heart of the general grammatical function *inclusion* [iḥtiwa ?] by which [fi] in MSA and [bi], being more frequent in SCA, are characterized For instance, with regard to example (1) —and this can be applied to the other first five— the preposition [fi] in MSA normally indicates that something is *included* or 'contained' in a 'container' Thus, *'Maths'*, here, is figuratively a field of knowledge, and *'he'* occupies a *'good'* position [fi·] in this field Concerning the other six examples (7-12), transfer effects can be easily detected by looking at the L1-examples (15 a-f), (16 a-b), (17 a-c) and (18 a-b)

(B) to/on/of/about/at (ENGLISH) = [bi] (ARABIC)

By recourse to the last two interlingual identifications (11) and (12), it seems that inherent in the learner's focus of attention is the rendering of [bi] specifically into either *'in'* or *'with'*, since both [bi] and [fi] have been realized to denote *concomitance* or *'withness'* as mentioned in the preceding sub-section (*cf* sub-section (A), item (v)) This rendering can apparently be seen in the recurrent use of these two prepositions (*'in'* and *'with'*) in the same interlingual identification For example

> (19) * He's going to subscribe *with* the newspaper   *(AE)*
> (*cf* examples (12), (18b))

Again, one of the commonest uses of [bi] in MSA and particularly in SCA is to denote *connection* and *association* [ilṣa q] —which has been mentioned earlier through the analysis of *'I dreamed* with *my father yesterday'* (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 1 3, example (6)) — or to denote *utilization* as mentioned above (*cf* sub-section (A), item (v), example (17b)) Such denotations can be expressed either *literally* as in (20 a-b) or *figuratively* as in (20 c-d)

> (20)   a   [amsaka bi zayd]   (*connection/association*)
>   'he got hold *of* Zaid'

    b   [qata?a *bı*-ssıkkı n]   (*utılızatıon*)
         'he cut *with* a knıfe'
         (*cf* example (17b))

    c   [halama *bı*-?abı hı]   (*connectıon/assocıatıon*)
         'he dreamed *of/about* hıs father'
         (*cf* example (22) below)

    d   [halla-llugza *bı*-l?ıstıdla l]   (*utılızatıon*)
         'he solved the rıddle *by* reasonıng'

It follows that these denotatıons seem to act as cognıtıve precondıtıons or, put another way, as Ll-realızatıon *ınıtıators* when the learner ıs called upon to produce the followıng ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıons (notıce that (22) ıs re-recorded for the sake of clarıfıcatıon)

(21) * You can dry your hands *with* thıs towel   *(AE)*
       (*lıteral utılızatıon* (cf (17b), (20b))

(22) * I dreamed *with* my father yesterday   *(AE)*
       (*fıguratıve assocıatıon* (cf (20c))

(23) * I was amazed *with* the Irısh accent   *(AE)*
       (*fıguratıve assocıatıon* (cf also (24), (25c))

(C) at/with/by/of/about/through/than (ENGLISH) = [mın] (ARABIC)

Followıng (12) and (19) ın whıch [fı] has been rendered ınto '*ın*' and [bı] ınto '*with*' respectıvely for the same ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıon, ıt appears that [bı], too, can be rendered ınto both '*with*' as ın (23) and '*from*' for the same ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıon For example.

(24) * I was really astonıshed *from* the Irısh accent   *(AE)*

Thıs can be attrıbuted to the fact that both Ll-prepositıons [bı] as rendered ınto '*with*' ın (23) and [mın] as rendered ınto '*from*' ın (24) coıncıde wıth each other ın denotıng grammatıcal functıons such as *fıguratıve assocıatıon* For example

(25) a   [naThara *bı/mın* tarafen kafıyy]   *(MSA)*

     b   [talla? *b-/mın* taraf ?e no]   *(SCA)*
       'he glanced furtıvely *at*'
       'he took a furtıve glance'

      c   [madhu š *bɪ/mɪn*]   *(MSA/SCA)*
           'amazed/astonished/surprised *at*'
           (*cf* examples (23), (24))

However, at a deep-structure level, the main difference between [madhu š *bɪ*] and [madhu š *mɪn*] in (25c) is that the former indicates a usual *association* between the *agent* (the person who is amazed) and the *patient* (the thing or person that the *agent* is amazed *at*), whereas the latter [madhu š *mɪn*] is, at best, looked upon as indicating a *cause-and-effect* relationship [ta?li l], that is, the *patient* is the *cause* [?illa], and '*amazement*' is the *effect* [mu?lu l] that the *patient* has on the *agent* Such a *cause-and-effect* relationship is apparently observable in the following interlingual identifications

    (26)   * 'I got bored *from* them   *(AE)*
    (27)   * He is tired *from* studying   *(AE)*
    (28)   * I am frustrated *from* the education in this college *(AE)*
    (29)   * I complain *from* the pain   *(AE)*

In all these interlingual errors the learner seems to have relied on the L1-preposition [mɪn] which can only express the *cause-and-effect* relationship referred to above Therefore, both in **MSA** and **SCA**, the L1-verbs [malla] '*he got bored* with', [ta?iba] '*he got tired* of', [uḥbɪṭa] '*he was frustrated* with/by' and [šaka]/[?a na] '*he complained* of/about'/'*suffered* from' can only take the L1-preposition [mɪn] in order to indicate, at a deep-structure level, such a *cause-and-effect* relationship For instance, concerning example (29) — and this is applicable to all three (26 - 28) — the '*pain*', here, is an effect triggered by a certain cause (a wound or a disease), and '*complaining*' is the effect of the pain which is also a cause in relation to complaining The pain is something felt *inside* the body, whereas complaining is the result which occurs *outside* the body by means of facial expressions, groaning or even verbal expressions Thus, to denote such an inside-outside event *figuratively*, the preposition [mɪn] in both varieties (**MSA/SCA**) appears *to be the* only alternative Moreover, [mɪn] can also be used to indicate this inside-outside event *literally* For example

    (30)   * He entered *from* the window   *(AE)*

Similarly, this interlingual error seems to reflect the learner's resort to the L1-preposition [min], though, like the English counterpart 'through', the underlying meaning —whether it lies in the learner's LPS or in the deep structure of this IL-utterance— shows that the action of 'entering' started at one side (outside) and ended at another (inside) In MSA, the underlying meaning of the preposition [min] is generally known as [ibtida ʔu-lga ya] (cf Al-Bustan, 1977 864), that is, most of the grammatical functions of [min] are essentially based on a beginning-to-end relationship which is made explicit in the following interlingual identification

(31) * From the first sight   (AE)

Thus, implicit in the interlingual identifications (24), (26-29) and their L1-counterparts, the cause [ʔilla] is the beginning and the effect [maʔlu l] is the end, and this is also analogous with the inside-outside relationship mentioned above It follows that this general relationship (that is, the beginning-to-end relationship) seems to be the most internalized aspect of [min] in the Arab learner's LLS It is, therefore, highly automatized and may well be, among other aspects of [min], the strongest precondition for language transfer In other words, most of the attested interlingual identifications in which 'from' is used either erroneously (NT) or correctly (PT) can be said to reflect this kind of relationship For example

(32) * Do you pass from Botanic Road?   (AE)
(33) * Anyway, it is better from nothing?   (AE)

Given the fundamental grammatical function of [min] in MSA, it appears that inherent in these two interlingual errors is the beginning-to-end relationship referred to above Although the L1-preposition [bi] can be used in the L1-counterpart of (32), the learner's resort to [min] as rendered into 'from' is also evidence that such a relationship is the strongest trigger of language transfer As noted above, one of the commonest uses of [bi] is to indicate association [ilsa q] (cf (20a-b)) Thus, at a deep-structure level, the main distinction between (34a) and (34b) below is that the former simply indicates figurative association [ilsa q maja zi], whereas the latter —which is the more internalized of the two— denotes a beginning-to-end relationship [ibtida ʔu-lga ya]

(34) a.   [marra bi-ššaːriʔ]   (*association*)
           (*Lit*: he passed *with* the street)

      b.   [marra mina-ššaːriʔ]   (*beginning-to-end*)
           (*Lit*.: he passed *from* the street)
           'he passed *by* the street'

It follows from the above that in **SCA**, speakers usually use both
prepositions [bi] and [min] for the same indication (*beginning-to-end*),
albeit the distinction in **MSA** is made clear. It appears that, when the
learner   attempts   to perofrm IL-utterances such as (32),   the
Ll-utterance (34b) is more prone to language transfer than (34a) even
though both utterances are possible. This means that, within the
learner's data processing, the cross-lingual tie-ups between [min] and
'*from*' is more utilizable and thus more self-activated than between
[bi] and '*with*' upon producing (32). Consequently, in the light of the
above argument, since, from the point of view of the learner, resort to
[min] rather than [bi] is evidenced by the recurrent IL-utterance (32),
the possibilities of transfer from [min] are much greater than the
possibilities of transfer from [bi] though both prepositions can be
used for the same grammatical function in **SCA**.

     With regard to (33), transfer   effects   are also attributable
to the Ll-preposition [min] which is used in both varieties (**MSA/SCA**)
to denote that someone (A)/something (A) is more, or less, modified
than someone (B)/something (B). While in English this relationship is
known as *comparison*, in **MSA** the *beginning-to-end* relationship is still
implied because the term [muɟaːwaza] may indicate either an *increase
beginning* [ibtidaːʔu-lʔirtifaːʔ] or a *decrease beginning* [ibtidaːʔu-
lʔinḥiṭaːṭ] as in the polarity of (35a) and (35b) respectively:

(35) a.   [zaid aḥsan *min* ʔamr]   (*increase beginning*)
           'Zaid is better *than* Amr'

      b.   [zaid aswaʔ *min* ʔamr]   (*decrease beginning*)
           'Zaid is worse *than* Amr'

Although the learner may know the correct rendering of '*than*' in
(33), the highly automatized Ll-item [min] seems to be subconsiously
self-activated for particular IL-utterances such as (33). That is,
while the correct use of ('*-er*' + '*than*') is considerably recurrent in
the learner's IL, the grammatical function of [min] may sometimes
intrude into such a well-known L2-structure due to the highly

automatized nature of [min] which does not only seem to be reinforced by the attested interlingual errors cited above, but also by other interlingual identifications which mark PT from [min] For example

(36)	He jumped *from* the wall	*(place)*	*(AU)*
(37)	*From the* childhood	*(time)*	*(AU)*
(38)	A present *from* my sister	*(action)*	*(AU)*
(39)	He draws *from* imagination	*(source)*	*(AU)*
(40)	The prices are *from* five and above	*(limit)*	*(AU)*
(41)	Suras *from* the Koran	*(source)*	*(AU)*
(42)	*From* this point of view	*(source)*	*(AU)*
(43)	It is made *from the* wood	*(result)*	*(AU)*

As an exception to *Hypothesis Two*, it appears that [min] as rendered into 'from' does not always trigger **NT** as shown in the previous interlingual errors, but rather the actual utterances (36-43) are clear indications that this highly automatized L1-preposition may well lead to PT due to the complete cross-linguistic similarity between [min] and 'from' in particular grammatical functions

It has been attested that almost all the interlingual errors cited above —except perhaps (8), (11) and (33)— are in many respects a reflection of the learner's lack of knowledge (*ignorance*) of the correct L2-prepositions, so that the L1-counterparts seem to have been the only recourse available to the learner in order to fill in such gaps (cf Newmark and Reibel, chapter 4, section 4 1 1) There are a number of factors which play a part in the learner's lack of knowledge of the prepositions in question Among them are, perhaps the most significant, the highly automatized nature by which L1-prepositions are characterized and the unpredictable nature of L2-prepositions Therefore, the complex nature of prepositions in any language —associated as they are with *literal, figurative* and *idiomatic* uses— and their universality (commonness) seem to invoke the learner's automatized one-to-one tie-ups between, L1 and L2-prepositions, and to constitute a proper atmosphere for transfer to operate

(D) to/of/for/by (ENGLISH) = [?ala] (ARABIC)

(44)	* Let me read this letter *on* you	*(AE)*
(45)	* We have no hatred *on* anyone	*(AE)*
(46)	* He went for a walk *on the* light *of the* moon	*(AE)*
(47)	* Let me sleep *on* the music	*(AE)*

These interlingual errors suggest the learner's falling back on the L1-preposition [?ala·] which has been rendered into the L2-preposition 'on' Thus, some of the grammatical functions of [?ala] seem to have been carried over onto the learner's IL as unanalysed L1-knowledge Within the grammatical functions of [bi] and [fi], it has been noted that both prepositions can be used to indicate *overness* and *onness* [isti?la ?] in which use they are synonymous with the preposition [?ala·] (*cf* sub-section (A), item (iii), examples (15c) and (15e)) It follows that the term [isti?la ?], which is morphologically derived from [?ala], can be expressed either *literally* as in (48 a-b) or *figuratively* as in (48 c-d) (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 630)

(48)   a   [*?ala*-lfulki tuḥmalu n]   (*literal onness*)
            'you are carried *on* ship-board'

      b   [*?ala* Ṯhahri-lḵayl]   (*literal onness*)
            '*on* horseback'

      c   [tala/qara?a *?ala*ykumi-rrisa la]   (*figurative onness*)
            'he read the letter *to* you'
            (*cf* example (44))

      d   [assala mu *?ala*ykum]   (*figurative onness*)
            '(may) peace be *upon* you''
            (*cf* example (45))

Moreover, it has been mentioned that the prepositions [bi] and [fi] can be used to denote *concomitance* [muṣa ḥaba] or *withness* [ma?iyya] in that both prepositions resemble [ma?a] '*with*' in such a denotation (*cf* sub-section (A), item (v), example (17a)) By analogy, one of the grammatical functions of [?ala] also involves *concomitance* or *withness* For example

(49)   a   [ɉalasa *?ala*-nnar]   (*literal concomitance*)
            'he sat *by* the fire'

      b   [*?ala* ḏaw?i ma taqaddam]   (*figurative concomitance*)
            '*in* the light of what precedes'

      c   [qara?a *?ala* ḏaw?i-ššam?a]   (*literal concomitance*)
            'he read *by* candle-light'
            (*cf* example (46))

      d   [na ma *?ala* angami-lmo si qa]   (*literal concomitance*)
            'he slept *with* the (tune of) music'
            (*cf* example (47))

It follows from the above that, with regard to (44), the effects of MSA seem to be greater than those of SCA   Although the preposition [ʔala·], in SCA, is frequently used for literal and figurative *onness*, the preposition [li] is much more frequently used for L1-utterances such as (48c)   For example

(50) a   [qaraʔ'tu *l*aka]   (*MSA*)
     b   [ʔare t*l*ak]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
     c   [qare tu *l*ak]   (*ECD*)
         'I read (*to*) you'

Therefore, the learner's resort to [ʔala] upon producing (44) suggests that he did not perceive the cross-linguistic similarity between [li] and '*to*' and thus no opportunity was available to make the necessary tie-up which would have led to complete PT

With regard to (45), (46) and (47), transfer effects are clearly ascribable to both MSA and SCA, since [ʔala], which the learner appears to have drawn on, is equally used in both varieties for L1-utterances such as (48d) and (49 a-c)   Furthermore, it has been observed that such a L1-preposition does lead to PT when it denotes *figurative onness* in particular utterances   For example

(51) Don't let them walk *on* you   (*AU*)
(52) She is spying *on* me   (*AU*)

Surprisingly, like the L2-utterance which involves the same distribution as (51) in colloquial English, the L1-counterpart [ymaššu ha ʔale k] (*Lit   let   (they)   it walk* on *you*) is only recurrent in SCA   Again, like the L2-utterance (52) which occurs in written and spoken English, the L1-counterpart [tajassasa ʔala] (*Lit   spied (he)* on) is equally recurrent in MSA and SCA   As an exception to *Hypothesis Two*, this perhaps leads to a confirmation of Ringbom's statement that L1-influence is not the only source of errors, and not all instances of language transfer signify errors (*cf*   chapter 2, section 2 1 3)

(E)   Miscellaneous Prepositions

(53) * He threatened her *in* death   (*AE*)

[Reference *the learner was retelling the plot of a film he had seen recently*]

According to CA *a posteriori* which is a subcomponent of EA (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 1), such an attested error would not have any connection with Arabic transfer, since the L1-counterparts (54 a-b) below involve only the preposition [bi] in both varieties

(54) a [haddadaha *bi*-lmawt]   (*MSA*)
     b [haddadha *bi*-lmo t]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lit* threatened (he) her *with* the death)

It follows that such a preposition —which only denotes *figurative association* [ilsa q maja zi] in this context (*cf* (20 c-d))— would be, if the learner really relied on it, rendered into '*with*' as in *'*I dreamed* with ' specifically (*cf* (22)), and the resultant utterance would mark PT Therefore, in the light of this analysis, EA-techniques would not identify (53) as an interlingual error, but rather as an intralingual error due to *ignorance of rule restriction*, that is, the learner ignored restrictions on the distribution of the L2-preposition '*with*' (*cf* Richards, chapter 2, section 2 2 4) It seems, however, that such an identification is one-sided, since EA only deals with the analysis of errors at a **production** level without really paying attention to what is happening in the learner's mind at a **comprehension** level To begin with, consider the following 'imagined' errors

(55) * I'm suffering *of* the pain   (*PE*)
(56) * I'm suffering *about* the pain   (*PE*)

The supposition for such predicted errors may run as follows if these errors were actually made by the Arab learner in question, then the misuse of '*of*' and '*about*' would suggest that he had already realized the 'correct' restriction of these prepositions on the verb '*complain*' Thus, '*of*' and '*about*' in (55)/(56) would appear to have been *overgeneralized* from the previously and correctly learned restriction '*to complain of/about*', and the verb '*suffer*' would seem to have been learned only as a lexical item meaning '*complain*' However, by reference to the attested interlingual error * '*I complain* from *the pain*' (*cf* (29)), the L1-utterance [ašku mina-l?alam] might not act as an *utterance initiator* in Krashen's terms (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1) as it really did for (29), but rather its negative effects

might serve in the learner's *monitor* as a precaution against anticipated errors in later attempts   In such a perspective, the learner, being aware of interlingual errors such as (29) at a comprehension level, seems to take up a negative attitude towards the L1-preposition [min] when rendered into '*from*' in (29), albeit this rendering, when transferred onto (55) and (56), would lead to complete PT   Consequently, deviant structures such as (55) and (56) would mark neither solely intralingual errors nor solely interlingual errors, but rather **inter-intralingual** errors resulting from a covert interaction between the two sorts of linguistic solution

For precisely the same reason, the learner in (53) seems to have adopted such a negative attitude towards [bi] (when rendered into '*with*' as in * '*I dreamed* with ' (22)), so that the L1-coutnerpart (54 a-b) did not act as an *utterance initiator* (and if it did, the result would be PT), but the negative effects of [bi] on certain interlingual identifications might be stored in the learner's *monitor* for later repair   Above all, the learner's resort to '*in*' in (53) seems to be evidence that he did not perceive the cross-linguistic similarity between '*with*' and [bi] which is only used to denote *figurative association* in such a context   Similarly, the misuse of '*in*' can be viewed, in this regard, as an instance of covert inter-intralingual errors, though it may still be due to the learner's *ignorance* of '*with*' restriction

(57)   * I only know her *in the* face   (*AE*)

Another interlingual error concerning the misuse of '*in*' suggests a direct translation of an adverbial phrase used in SCA to indicate that the person in question (the *patient*) is only known to see   For example

(58)   a   [ba?rifa *bi/fi*-lwiš]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
       b   [a?rif'ha *bi*-lwiɟih]   (*ECD*)
           (*Lit*   know (I) her *in/by* the face)

The learner, here, seems to have had recourse to the L1-preposition [bi] and rendered it into '*in*' in (57)   As noted above, one of the grammatical functions of [bi] is to denote *utilization* [isti?a na] (*cf* sub-section (A), item (v), example (17b))   Therefore, in the learner's focus of attention, the prepositional phrase '*in the face*'

would lead to the same intended meaning In English, however, the meaning of such a prepositional phrase does not accord with what is implied by [bí-lwíš] in this context, since, for instance, 'to look someone in the face' would only mean to stare at someone steadily, though the Ll-counterpart [talla?t bwíššo] (Lit looked (I) at his face) may imply this meaning The SCA-phrase [bí-lwíš] (58a), in fact, originates from the MSA-phrase [bí-lwajh] which is in turn derived from [wajhan] as in (59a)

(59) a   [a?rifuhu wajhan]
          (Lit know (I) him by face)

The grammatical form of [wajhan], here, is traditionally known as the sub-verbal object [na ?ib maf?u l mutlaq] At a deep-structure level, this sub-verbal object is genitively governed by the deleted noun [ma?rifa] 'knowing' which is the real verbal object [maf?u l mutlaq] as in (59b)

b   [a?rifuhu ma?rifata-lwajh]
    (Lit know (I) him (by) knowing of the face)

The grammatical function of [ma?rifa] is to emphasize the action of the verb from which this noun is morphologically derived Therefore, to emphasize the verb in such a syntactic configuration would imply that the agent only knows the face of the patient, and this is precisely what the learner in (57) intended to say Consequently, the carrying over of the surface structure (58a) through the parallelled intended meaning refers to Chomsky's (1977 36) statement that syntax is autonomous, that is, independent of semantics (cf chapter 1, section 1 4 1), since what the learner did was entertain the meaning underlying (59b) —which is the same meaning underlying the L2-utterance 'I only know her face — whilst at the same time transferring the surface structure of the SCA-utterance (58a)

6.2.2 Definite and Indefinite Articles

The misuse of articles, as processed in the learners' English ILs, will be analysed in terms of three dimensions of syntactic realization

(i) The learner's reliance on the grammatical function of the L1-definite article may lead to *redundancy* in the resultant IL-utterance due to the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (*cf* examples (60-64) and (67-75) below)

(ii) The learner's reliance on the grammatical function of indefiniteness in the L1 may lead to a *deficiency*, or *loss*, of the indefinite article in the resultant IL-utterance due to the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (*cf* examples (76-78) below)

(iii) The learner's reliance on the countability of certain L1-nouns (whose L2-equivalents are uncountable in the L2) may lead to the *redundant use* of the indefinite article in the resultant IL-utterance (covert inter-intralingual solution) due to his resort to the surface structure of the L1-equivalents (*cf* examples (82) and (83)), or to the attested countability of the L1-equivalents (*cf* example (86-88) below)

(60)	*	*The* man will not live forever	*(AE)*
(61)	*	All *the* birds are beautiful	*(AE)*
(62)	*	*The* petrol is very expensive in Ireland	*(AE)*
(63)	*	It is made from *the* wood	*(cf (43))*
(64)	*	From *the* childhood	*(cf (37))*

[Reference *The speaker in (60) was implying generalization with a singular countable noun*]

The misuse of definite articles is another problematic area in the English grammar encountered by most Syrian-Arab learners The difficulty with this domain stems, in many respects, from the learner's lack of control particularly over the English definite articles whose grammatical functions are radically different from their L1-counterparts Although there are some similarities in the uses of Arabic and English definite articles, the differences appear to be much greater Apart from the various grammatical functions which the definite article in Arabic enjoys, there are two major types of *definition* by [al] *'the'* which are said to be the commonest in both varities (MSA/SCA) These will be briefly considered by reference to the above interlingual identifications

The first type is traditionally known as [ta?ri f ?ahdiy] *'definition of someone or something known'* (*cf* Al-Bustani, 1977 13)

Thus, [al] is used for someone/something already mentioned as in (65a),
or known in the speaker/listener's mind as in (65b), or in the
presence of the speaker/listener as in (65c)

(65) a   [ištaraytu farasan thumma bi?tu *al*-faras]   (*mentioned*)
          'I bought a horse and I sold *the* horse'

      b   [ja ?a -*al*-qa di]   (*known*)
          '*The* judge came'
          (*i e a particular judge known to the speaker/listener*)

      c   [ja ?ani hatha -*al*-walad]   (*present*)
          (*Lit   came (he) to me this the boy*)
          '*This* boy came to me'

L1-examples such as these seem to resemble some of the uses of the
English definite article, so that the learner in question can be said
to have no considerable difficulty in grasping most of the
L2-counterparts   This seems to be one of the verified predictions of
CA *a priori*

With regard to the second type, on the other hand, it is well
observed that the learner finds most of the L2-counterparts
troublesome, and the attested recurrent errors (60-64) are clear
evidence of such difficulty   Again, this appears to be one of the
verified predictions of CA *a priori*   In MSA, the second type of
definition is known as [ta?ri f jinsiy] '*definition of generic nouns*'
which comprise animate objects (man/animal) as in (66 a-d), inanimate
objects as in (66e), and properties of mankind as in (66f)

(66) a   [kuliqa -*al*-?insa nu min ti n]   (*man-sing*)
          (*Lit   was created (he) the man from clay*)
          '----- man was created out of clay'
          (*cf example (60)*)

      b   [kuliqa -*al*-bašaru min ti n]   (*man-pl*)
          (*Lit   were created the men from clay*)
          '---- men were created out of clay'

      c   [*al*-kalbu hayawa non ali f]   (*animal-sing*)
          (*Lit   the dog animal domestic*)
          '*the* dog is a domestic animal'

      d   [*al*-kila bu hayawa na ton ali fa]   (*animal-pl*)
          (*Lit   the dogs animals domestic*)
          '---- dogs are domestic animals'
          (*cf example (61)*)

e   [al-ma ʔu dʒaru rɪyyon lɪl-ħaya]   (inanimate)
    (Lɪt   the water necessary for the life)
    ' ---- water is necessary for ---- life'
    (cf examples (62), (63))

f   [al-ʔunu tha wa-al-rruʒu la]   (property)
    (Lɪt   the femɪnɪty and the manhood)
    ' ---- femɪnɪty and ---- manhood'
    (cf example (64))

It seems the case that, like the L1-prepositions considered in
the preceding section such as [bɪ]/[fɪ] and [mɪn],   the definite
article [al], in the **second type**,   is one of the highly automatized
L1-items which trigger language transfer both in comprehension and in
production Thus, the selected interlingual errors (60-64) are, among
many other attested errors, said to be a result of two underlying
factors   the learner's lack of control over *the*-restrictions in
English and the **automatized self-activation** of [al]-realizations in
Arabic,   since all the above grammatical functions of [al] are
frequently recurrent in SCA   It follows that this kind of
self-activation does not only affect examples such as (60-64), but also
many other interlingual identifications whose L1-counterparts retain
the definite article [al]   For example

(67) * He was *in the* work   (cf (3))
         [fɪ-l-ʔamal]/[bɪ/fɪ-l-ššugul]   (MSA/SCA)

(68) * We travelled *in the* day to Slɪgo   (cf (4))
         [bɪ/fɪ-l-nnaha r]   (MSA/SCA)

(69) * We travelled *in the* day and *the* nɪght   (AE)
         [bɪ/fɪ-l-nnaha r w fɪ/bɪ-lle l]   (MSA/SCA)

(70) * All *the* day *and* I was on my feet   (AE)
         [tɪwa la-l-nnaha r]/[tu lɪ-l-yo m/nnaha r]   (MSA/SCA)

(71) * I came from England by *the* boat   (AE)
         [fɪ/bɪ-l-ba kɪra]   (MSA/SCA)

(72) * He went to *the* college   (AE)
         [ɪla-l-kullɪyya]/[ʔa-l-kɪllɪyye]   (MSA/SCA)

(73) * My wɪfe ɪs stɪll in *the* hospɪtal   (AE)
         [fɪ/bɪ-l-mustašfa]   (MSA/SCA)

(74) * Mandela *stayed* in *the* prɪson for 27 years   (AE)
         [fɪ/bɪ-l-ssɪ̱n]/[fɪ/bɪ-l-ħabɪs/sɪjin]   (MSA/SCA)

(75) * From *the* fɪrst sɪght   (cf 31))
         [mɪna-l-nnaThra-l-ʔu la]   (MSA/SCA)

Similarly, recurrent errors such as these reflect at least the
learner's lack of control over many aspects of 'the' in English, so
that, up to this stage of learning, he does not seem to have acquired
the-restriction in Krashen's sense (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 1)
Given that in all the L1-counterparts of the IL-utterances (60-64) and
(67-75) the definite article [al] does occur in **MSA** and **SCA**, these
interlingual identifications can be looked upon as examples of transfer
from an overlap between the two varities   It appears that, from the
point of view of English, 'the' in (60-64) and (67-75) is **redundant**,
whereas [al] in the L1-utterances is **obligatory** (*cf* chapter 1, section
1 3 4)   Thus, some instances reflecting unanalysed knowledge of the
L1-syntactic representation are explicable in terms of redundancy in the
learner's IL not only in the domain of definite articles, but also in
other functional markers such as conjunctions (*cf* 'and' in (70)),
prepositions (*cf* 'of' in (46)), and so on   Some other instances
reflecting unanalysed knowledge of the L1-syntactic representation may,
on the other hand, lead to a **deficiency** of particular L2-functional
markers such as indefinite articles   For example

(76)	*	I have ---- headache	(*AE*)
(77)	*	I saw ---- big carnival in the city centre	(*AE*)
(78)	*	I bought my TV *in* ---- cheap price	(*cf* (10))

One possible explanation of such a deficiency is that in Arabic the
indefinite article does not exist   Thus, the indefinite noun is simply
expressed by the non-use of [al] and, in **MSA** specifically, by the
insertion of the *nunnation*-marks [on], [an] and [en] in place of the
final short vowels [u], [a] and [i] respectively   For example

(79) a [*al*-waladu-*l*-jami lu]   (*def   nominative*)
        (*Lit*   *the* boy *the* beautiful)
        '*the* beautiful boy'

     b [walad*on* jami l*on*]   (*indef   nominative*)
        (*Lit*   ---- boy ---- beautiful)
        '*a* beautiful boy'

     c [ra?aytu-*l*-walada-*l*-jami la]   (*def   accusative*)
        (*Lit*   saw (I) *the* boy *the* beautiful)
        'I saw *the* beautiflu boy'

     d [ra?aytu walad*an* jami l*an*]   (*indef   accusative*)
        (*Lit* · saw (I) ---- boy ---- beautiful)
        'I saw *a* beautiful boy'

      e   [marartu bɪ-*l*-waladí-*l*-jamɪ lɪ]   (*def dative*)
           (*Lɪt*   passed (I) by *the* boy *the* beautɪful)
           'I passed by *the* beautɪful boy'

      f   [marartu bɪ walad*en* jamɪ l*en*]   (*indef dative*)
           (*Lɪt*   passed (I) by ---- boy ---- beautɪful)
           'I passed by *a* beautɪful boy'

In SCA, *nunnatɪon*-marks are usually dropped, not only ɪn the Arab speakers' everyday use of theɪr colloquɪal dɪalects, but also ɪn theɪr attempts to perform spoken MSA, except perhaps the *nunnatɪon*-mark [an] as ɪn the accusatɪve case (*cf* (79d)) The retentɪon of [an], ɪn thɪs case, may be due to the fact that the wrɪtten form ɪnvolves, at least, the alphabetɪcal letter [a·] whɪch appears ɪn fɪnal posɪtɪon and ɪs dɪphthongɪzed wɪth [an], so that the ɪmportance of [a·] always ɪnduces the speaker —who performs spoken MSA— to produce [an] Thus, the above MSA-utterances (79 b, f) are often produced as (80a), whereas (79d) ɪs more often produced as ɪt ɪs ɪn spoken MSA Thus, the example [waladan jamɪ lan], whether ɪt ɪs performed ɪn pure MSA as ɪn (79d) or ɪn the speaker's attempt to perform spoken MSA as ɪn (80b), usually remaɪns unchanged due to the existence of [a]

    (80)   a   [walad jamɪ l]   (*spoken MSA*)
            (*cf* examples (79b), (79f))

          b   [waladan jamɪ lan]   (*spoken MSA*)
            (*cf* example (79d))

However, ɪn the case of SCA, speakers tend to produce (80a) for all the three grammatɪcal cases cɪted ɪn (79b), (79d) and (79f), therefore these are rendered ɪnto (81a), (81b) and (81c) respectɪvely

    (81)   a   [walad jamɪ l]   (*SCA*) (*ɪndef nominative*)
            (*cf* example (79b))

          b   [šɪfɪt walad jamɪ l]   (*SCA*) (*ɪndef accusative*)
            'I saw a beautɪful boy'
            (*cf* example (79d))

          c   [marre t b-walad jamɪ l]   (*SCA*) (*ɪndef dative*)
            'I passed by a beautɪful boy'
            (*cf* example (79f))

It now becomes clear that no artɪcle ɪs used for ɪndefɪnɪte nouns ɪn all three grammatɪcal cases whether they are produced ɪn MSA or SCA Therefore, by reference to the above ɪnterlɪngual errors

(76-78), the three grammatical cases of the indefinite noun (81a), (81b) and (81c) in SCA (which are derived from MSA) seem to be transferred as unanalysed L1-knowledge onto the learner's IL as in (76), (77) and (78) respectively Such unanalysed L1-knowledge, as shown above, leads to a **deficiency** of the indefinite article '*a/an*' in the English IL

In the case of uncountable nouns, on the other hand, the indefinite noun in English, according to the CA-Hypothesis, is said to cause no difficulty for Arab speakers, since in both languages no indefinite article is used If this were always the case, then the attested errors (82) and (83) below —as so judged from the viewpoint of the L2-standard norm— would be treated by EA and identified as intralingual errors due to *overgeneralization* from the L2-use of '*a*' as in, for example, '*I need a beer/coke*' which, at a deep-structure level, means '*I need a (glass/bottle of) beer/coke*'

(82) * It's *a* very strong beer   (*AE*)
(83) * It's really *a* nice coke   (*AE*)

As these utterances are possible when the context refers to a certain brand of beer or coke, it seems that the use of the indefinite article '*a*' is unacceptable since the actual context suggests that the indivisible substance was in question Therefore, it is quite true that even the advanced learner who has relative control over *a*-restriction may commit such errors by means of false analogy drawn between some previously learned, or acquired, aspects of a-restriction such as '*I need a drink*' and other aspects such as (82) and (83) of which he seems to have been uncertain Again, following the analysis of (53) in the domain of prepositions, this error-identification, which is the task of EA, is still considered one-sided, since the analysis rests only on the production mode By looking at their equivalent L1-utterances, (82) and (83) will appear to be probed from a different angle

In SCA, in particular, the loan words [bɪ ra] '*beer*' and [ka ẕo ẕ] '*any kind of carbonated drink such as coke*' tend to follow the same rule restriction of uncountable nouns (such as [sukkar] '*sugar*', [t̲aḥɪ n] '*flour*', [ʔaṣɪ r] '*juice*') in that it is impossible to pluralize these nouns when they refer to the indivisible substance

However, the popular use of [bi ra] and [ka zo z] specifically imposes the countable SCA-derivatives [bi ra ye] and [ka zo za] which, at a deep structure level, mean (84a) and (84b) respectively

(84) a [zuja jat/qanni nat *bi ra*] ---- [bi raye]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lit* bottle (countable) of *beer* (uncountable))
          '*a* bottle of beer'

      b [zuja jat/qanni nat *ka zo z*] ---- [ka zo za]   (*SCA*)
          (*Lit* bottle (countable) of *coke* (uncountable))
          '*a* bottle of coke'

Hence, it is quite frequent in **SCA** to employ the surface-structure utterances (85 a-b) as implying the meanings intended in their deep-structure configurations

(85) a [šribit *bi ra ye*]/[*ka zo za*]   (*singular*)
          'I drank *a* (bottle of) *beer/coke*'

      b [ištare t kamis *bi ra ya t*]/[*ka zo za t*]   (*plural*)
          'I bought five *beers/cokes*'
          or 'I bought five bottles of *beer/coke*'

Therefore, it would be PT if, at a surface-structure level, the countability of [bi ra ye] and [ka zo za] was transferred onto utterances such as '*Can I have a beer/coke?*' in which the deep structure of '*a beer/coke*' coincides with the deep structure of [bi ra ye]/[ka zo za] Consequently, at a comprehension level, such countability in **SCA** appears to be *covertly* transferred onto the learner's IL as unanalysed L1-knowledge and, at a production level, realized within the *overgeneralized* indefinite articles in (82) and (83) The influence of countability, in this sense, is more explicitly observable in *covertly* transfer-based identifications such as the following

(86) * I want to give you *an* advice   (*AE*)
(87) * It's *a* lovely weather, isn't it?   (*AE*)
(88) * I need *a* fresh air   (*AE*)

By analogy, the countability of [nasi ha] '*advice* (one)' as rendered into [nasa ʔih] '*advice-s* (more than two)' both in MSA and SCA on the one hand, and the countability of [jaw]/[taqs] '*weather*' and [hawa ʔ] '*air*' when realized in **SCA** specifically as in [hawa *ya t* taybe] '*fresh air-s*' (though it is not possible in MSA) on the other seem to be the

strongest preconditions underlying the redundant misuse of indefinite articles in (86-88)

As a consequence, the IL-utterances (82-83) and (86-88) may, in the light of the above analysis, mark examples of **covert inter-intralingual errors**, since parts of the learner's linguistic solutions (interlingual solution) are inherently attributable to his realization of countability in SCA through the MSA rule restriction This countability might, then, act as a precondition for the superficially *overgeneralized* use of '*a/an*' with countable nouns in English (intralingual solution) Therefore, like the complex nature of prepositions in any language, the complex and unpredictable system of L2-articles as well as the highly automatized nature of L1-articles may together establish a congenial atmosphere for transfer to take place

6.2.3 The Verb-Form Construction

In this section five types of verb-form constructions as processed in the learner's IL are to be investigated

(i) The learner's resort to the *simple past* form in place of the *present perfect* form (cf examples (89-92) below)

(ii) The learner's resort to the *simple present* form in place of the *present progressive* form (cf example (96) below)

(iii) The learner's resort to the *active* construction in place of the *passive* construction (cf example (100) below)

(iv) The learner's resort to the *gerund* in place of the *infinitive* when joined, by a conjunction, with another *infinitive* (cf example (103) below)

(v) The learner's resort to the *modal present* in place of the *modal past* after '*I wish*' and in *if*-clauses (cf examples (105) and (108) below)

(89) * I *didn't see* him for more than three years (*AE*)
     (cf. also example (74) above)
(90) * She is the most beautiful girl *I saw her* in my life (*AE*)
(91) * It *was* a long time *I didn't go* to the college (*AE*)
(92) * He *was* working all *the* day (*AE*)

As the above examples illustrate, the learner's resort to the past
form in place of the perfect form of the verb may well indicate a
strategy of *syntactic avoidance* in Schachter's sense (*cf.* chapter 4,
section 4 1 2)   That is, the learner, it has been attested, *avoids* the
English perfect form not because of his *ignorance* of this L2-structural
device, but because of his inherent perception of its radical
difference from the L1-counterpart Hence, the highly automatized
nature of the L1-counterpart seems to activate its structural
properties in the learner's IL and thus dissuade him from processing
the L2-structure   However, unlike the *avoidance strategies* explored by
Schachter, the learner here does not resort to paraphrase (where
avoidance, in such a case, would be discernible only in terms of
another group, or groups, of learners whose L1s significantly resemble
English in the perfect form), but rather alternatively to the past form
as a result of his seemingly automatized reliance on the
L1-counterpart   Therefore, upon conducting CA *a posteriori* (as a
sub-component of EA), the IL-utterances (89-92) would be sufficiently
identified as *overt* interlingual errors made in production (transfer
pattern) without really paying attention to what is happening in
comprehension (transfer process)

Although the learner in question may have received extensive
information on the English perfect form and thus is said to have learnt
its rule-restrictions, his recurrent misuse suggests that he has not
yet acquired the correct use of the construction in Krashen's sense
(*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2)   One possible explanation of this
avoidance strategy, and therefore of this non-acquisition, is that the
perfect form construction has no equivalent in Arabic grammar at a
surface-structure level   Concerning the L1-counterparts of the
IL-utterances (89-92), the perfective aspect of the verb in MSA can
only be expressed by the past form construction at a deep-structure
level (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3)   For example

   (93)   a   [*lam arahu* mun<u>th</u>u thala thi sini n]   (*MSA*)
           [*ma   ra?aytuhu*   ]   (*MSA*)
           (*cf* example (89))

       b   [a<u>j</u>malu fata ten *ra?aytuha* fi <u>h</u>aya ti]   (*MSA*)
           (*cf* example (90))

       c   [mun<u>th</u>u zamanen <u>t</u>awi len *lam* a<u>th</u>'hab ila-lkulliyya] (*MSA*)
           [*ma* <u>th</u>ahabtu   ]
           (*cf* example (91))

d. [ka:na ya?malu tawa:la-nnaha:r]   (MSA)
   (cf. example (92))

Furthermore, in SCA, the perfective aspect of the verb is also indicated by the past form construction which is in common use as in (94 a-d) below; albeit the *nomen agentis*, or active participle [ismu-lfa:?il], such as [ma:li ša:yfo:] (*Lit.: not (I) seeing him*) in (94a) and [ma:li ra:yeh] (*Lit.: not (I) going*) in (94c) is sometimes used for the Ll-equivalent of (89) and (91) but still denotes *pastness* of action completion in these contexts (for further information, *cf.* Kharma, 1983: 71f):

(94) a. [ma: šifto mni-tlat sni:n]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
        (*Lit.: not saw (I) him for three years*)
        [ma:li ša:yfo...]
        (*Lit.: not (I) seeing him*)   (*denoting pastness*)
        (cf. example (89))

     b. [ahla binit šifta b-hayati]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
        (*Lit.: (she) most beautiful girl saw (I) her in my life*)
        (cf. example (90))

     c. [min zama:n ma: rihit ?al-killiyye]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
        (*Lit.: for long time not went (I) to the college*)
        [... ma:li ra:yeh...]
        (*Lit.: not (I) going*)   (*denoting pastness*)
        (cf. example (91))

     d. [ka:n bištigil tu:li-lyo:m]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
        (*Lit.: was (he) work (he) all the day*)
        (cf. example (92))

[Note that, as discussed earlier, the definite article in (91) and (92) appears in the Ll-counterparts (93c) (MSA)/(94c) (SCA) and (93d) (MSA)/(94d) (SCA) respectively (*cf.* section 6.2.2). Again, the resumptive pronoun 'her' in (90) is also retained in the Ll-counterpart (93b) (MSA)/(94b) (SCA). The interlingual error committed over *pronominalization* in the relative clause structure will be analysed in the next section (*cf.* examples (110-111))].

It follows from the above Ll-utterances that neither in MSA (93 a-d) nor in SCA (94 a-d) is the perfect form construction employed due to its absence in Arabic grammar at a surface-structure level. It seems that, unlike the case in English, such a structural device does not exist in the Arab learner's Ll-LLS. Thus, for certain pairs of L2-utterances such as (95 a-c) below, the use of the past form in the

equivalent pairs of L1-utterances such as (95 b-d) is a clear indication of the high frequency, and subsequently of the highly automatized nature, of the past form construction in Arabic

(95)   a   *I didn't see* him yesterday   (*L2-U*)
        b   [*ma šifto* mba reh]   (*SCA*)
        c   I *haven't seen* him before   (*L2-U*)
        d   [*ma šifto* min abil]   (*SCA*)

Eventually, when the learner is called upon to produce IL-utterances such as (89-92), the Arabic past form, being more internalized than the English perfect form, appears to act as a strong *structural-device initiator* due to its high frequency in the L1 and its self-activation in the attempted IL-utterances Consequently, the underlying reason for the learner's *avoidance* of the perfect form can be atrributed to two relevant conditions First, the perceived cross-linguistic similarity between the Arabic and English past form as in (95 a-b), which allows the learner to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-ups Second, the lack of cross-linguistic similarity (surface-structural similarity) between the Arabic and English perfect form as in (95 c-d), which, in most cases, impels the learner to *avoid* the perfect form in English and, at a surface-structure level, to have recourse to the past form as in Arabic In such a perspective, the potential for Arabic transfer in the 'apparently' *overt* interlingual identifications (89-92) can partly be said to be a type of *covert* CL1 (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 2 1)

   Furthermore, it may also be the case that, in certain *intralingual* identifications in Hiberno-English specifically (such as **'I saw this before'* and **'Look what you did'* which are the verbatim translations of the L1-counterparts), the native speaker's frequent resort to the past form where grammatical accuracy demands the perfect form appears to enhance the learner's automatized reliance on the L1-structural device at a reception level Thus, acting as another pre-condition for the learner's *avoidance* of the perfect form at a production level

Avoidance phenomena, in such a perspective, are not only observable in the learner's 'supposed' attempts to produce the perfect form construction, but also in some other attempts to produce IL-utterances which, from the point of view of English, should have employed constructions such as the progressive and the passive (*cf*

Kleinmann, chapter 4, section 4 1 2) These will be considered by reference to the interlingual identifications (96) and (100) respectively

(96) * You *wear* your jumper *upside-down*   (*AE*)

Following the analysis of *'I walk on my nerves'* whose interim structure suggests *avoidance* of progressive tense formation (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3 2 , example (6)), the above interlingual error also suggests the learner's dissuasion of its progressive tense exigency Analogous with the perfect form construction discussed above, the progressive form construction, as is the case in English, is also absent in the grammatical system of Arabic at a surface-structure level Thus, the progressive aspect of the verb in both varieties (MSA/SCA) can be indicated, at a deeper level, by either the *simple present* form [al-muḏa riʔ] or the *nomen agentis* [ismu-lfa ʔil] (*cf* Kharma, 1983 77f) For example

(97)	a	[ma tha tafʔal]	(*MSA*)
	b	[šu ʔam bitsa wi]	(*SCD*)
	c	[šku n qa m tiʔmal]	(*ECD*)
		(*Lit* What *do (you)*?)	(*simple present*)
		'What *are* you *doing*?'	
(98)	a	[*yalbasu* qami san abyaḏa]	(*MSA*)
		(*Lit* Wear (he) shirt white)	(*simple present*)
	b	[*la bison* qami san abyaḏa]	(*MSA*)
	c	[*la bis* ʔami s abyad]	(*SCD*)
		(*Lit* Wearing (he) shirt white)	(*nomen agentis*)
		'he *is wearing* a white shirt'	

As the above L1-utterances illustrate, the simple present form is most commonly used in both varieties (MSA/SCA) for verbs denoting prolonged actions such as [qraʔa] '*read (he)*', [kataba] '*wrote (he)*', [akala] '*ate (he)*', and so on (*cf* (97 a-c)) Further, in MSA, both the *smiple present* form and the *nomen agentis* are interchangeably used for verbs denoting dynamic actions such as [thahaba]/[ra ha] '*went (he)*' and other verbs denoting prolonged actions such as [na ma] '*slept (he)*' [jalasa] '*sat (he)*', [labisa] '*wore (he)*', and so on (*cf* (98 a-b)) However, in SCA in particular, the *nomen agentis* is most frequently used for the last two verb classes (*cf* (98c))

With regard to the attested interlingual identification (96), the *nomen agentis* [la bis] *'wearing (you)'* in the L1-counterpart (99) below implies either of, or both of, two aspectual elements, namely, *progressive* and *perfective*

(99) [*la bis* kanıztak *bil-ma?lu b*]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lit   Wearing (you)* jumper your *in the opposite*)

Here, the *progressive* aspect is inherently related to the **state of** wearing (the present state whereby the jumper is on), whereas the *perfective* aspect is, at a deeper level, related to the **action of** wearing which has been complete when the jumper is first on, though this latter aspect can be more explicitly indicated by the past form of the verb [lbisit] *'wore (you)'* as discussed above However, the learner's resort to the simple present form of *'wear'* in (96) may well indicate that his attention was more focused on *progressiveness* than on *perfectiveness* This means that the learner, upon producing (96), seems to have relied on the surface structure of the L1-counterpart (99) Had he relied on the deep structure (which, in this case, implies *perfectiveness*), he would perhaps have produced the past form *'You wore your   '* instead of the present form as in (96) This leads to say that the interlingual identification (96) —as well as others in the domain of articles (*cf   section 6 2 2*, examples (82-83))— is one of the IL-utterances indicating that even the learner who is left to his own devices does not always return to deep structure (*cf* James (1980   174) for contrast, chapter 1, section 1 3 4) Concerning the adverbial phrase *'upside-down'* in (96), its contextual meaning will be analysed later (*cf section 6 3 3*, example (60) below)

As a consequence, apart from the misuse of the adverbial phrase *'upside-down'*, the learner's 'use' of the simple present form of the verb *'wear'* would be evidence of a *covert* error since the context refers to the progressive aspect (*cf Corder, chapter 2, section 2 2 1, chapter 3, section 3 1 1*) However, Arabic-transfer effects would indeed go unnoticed if the analysis exclusively relied on EA-techniques Plus, the processes underlying the learner's *avoidance* of the English progressive form would not receive any attention if the procedure of CA *a posteriori* was implemented only Hence, the learner's perception of the surface-structural difference (or, rather, lack of cross-linguistic similarity) between the English and Arabic progressive form appears to act as the main precondition for this

avoidance strategy Thus, leading to suggest that the resultant IL-by-product is partly another instance of *covert* CLI Above all, the learner in (96) does not seem to have full control over the English progressive form, though he has learnt the rule 'to criterion' Therefore, this lack of control can, at best, be looked upon as another precondition activating and enhancing the learner's *avoidance* of the English progressive form

Another example of *avoidance strategies*, in the sense discussed here, can be detected in the learner's extremely rare attempts to produce the *passive* construction in his IL Such strategies seem to be 'permanently' adopted due to two possible underlying reasons First, the radical structural differences between the Arabic [al-majhu 1] construction and the English *passive* construction Thus, even in correctly attempted structures such as '*they told me*' —whose contexts suggest that the *agent* is not known '*I was told*'— the only cross-linguistic similarity that the learner perceives is the one which entitles him to make tie-ups between the L1-[al-ma?'lu m] construction and the L2-*active* construction The second reason, which seems by far the more important of the two, is that although the L1-equivalent of the English *passive* exists in the form of [al-majhu 1] '*the unknown*' in MSA (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 3), the infrequent use of the structure, particularly in SCA, seems to constitute a logical impediment of its automatization and therefore of its self-activation in the learner's IL Hence, the learner's seemingly permanent resort to the *active* construction —except in a few cases— may sometimes lead to serious miscommunication For example

(100) * If anyone wants *to type something*, my wife
          is a typist   *(AE)*

[Reference *A Syrian postgrad studying electronics helps his wife, who is a typist, in her search for work*]

Again, this IL-utterance appears to suggest one of the *covert* errors discussed by Corder in that if such an utterance [a co-occurrence of the conjunction 'if' + the main clause + the subordinate clause] is interpreted in isolation from its context, then it would signify a perfectly acceptable structure (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 2 1, chapter 3, section 3 1 1) Therefore, neither CA *a*

posteriori (being a sub-component of **EA**) on its own nor **CA** *a priori* on its own could provide a full account of such an attested interlingual identification Rather, a combination of the two approaches together with the analysis of all possible stipulations (which act as a set of *feedback* mechanisms) may help detect the 'invisible' processes underlying the learner's resort to the active construction Therefore, such 'invisible' processes can, at best, be looked upon as 'invisible' tokens of the learner's *avoidance* of the passive construction

At a surface structure level, the main clause of (100) means '*if anyone wants* to do the job *of typing*' (*active* construction), whereas, at a deeper level and as the context illustrates, the learner intended to say '*if anyone wants* the job to be done' (*passive* construction) It seems that the surface structure of (100) reflects to a large extent the surface structure of the corresponding Ll-utterance usually produced in **SCA**, though the deep structure can be inherently implied For example

(101) a   [iza ḥada biddo yiṯbaʔ ŝi]   (*SCD/NCD/WCD*)
           (*Lit*   if someone want (he) (to) type (he) something)

Again, (100) is another example which shows the learner's explicit resort to the surface structure of the Ll-counterpart (101a) (*cf*   (96) above) Therefore, **NT** effects are attributable to the influence of **SCA** rather than **MSA**, since (101b) below —which is the literal **MSA**-equivalent of (101a)— is syntactically acceptable but semantically unacceptable within the same context

       b   [iṯha   yuri du aḥadon *an yaṯbaʔa ŝayʔan*]   (*MSA*)
           (*Lit*   if want (he) someone *to type (he) something*)

Hence, both the surface and deep structures of this utterance would mean '*if someone wants* to do the job *of typing*' (*active* construction) which does not accord with the meaning intended by the context of (100) However, it would be **PT** if the learner relied on the **MSA**-equivalent which, at both levels, implies the meaning '*if anyone wants* the job to be done' (*passive* construction) In this case, the word [ŝayʔan] '*something*' is the direct object of the verb [yur du] '*want (he)*' and '*the job of typing*' would be either expressed by a *nomen patientis* [ismu-lmafʔu l] (that is, the passive participle which

is morphologically derived from [yatba?] '*type (he)*' and functions as an adjective modifying [šay?an] '*something*') as in (102a), or by a *dative noun* [tiba ?a] '*typing*' governed by the preposition [li] '*for*' as in (102b), or, though less frequently, by the *passive* construction of the verb [yatba?] '*type (he)*' as in (102c)

(102) a [itha yuri du aḥadon *šay?an matbu ?an*] (*nomen patientis*)
(*Lit* if want (he) someone *something typed*)

b [*šay?an li-ttiba ?a*] (*dative noun*)
(*something for typing*)

c [*šay?an liyutbu?*] (*passive*)
(*something to be typed*)

As a consequence, this indicates that *all* the possible underlying processes that can, at best, be looked upon as those 'invisible' preconditions for the learner's *avoidance* of the passive construction are identified as follows

(i) The highly automatized nature of L1-utterances such as (101a) which employs the [al-ma?'lu m] '*active*' construction and is very often produced in SCA specifically to convey the same meaning intended by the context of the IL-utterance (100)

(ii) The learner's perception of the radical structural difference (or, rather, there is *no* cross-linguistic similarity to be perceived) between the [al-majhu l] construction in Arabic and the *passive* construction in English

(iii) The extremely rare use of the [al-majhu l] construction in Arabic (particularly in SCA) and the speaker's frequent resort to the [al-ma?'lu m] construction for the equivalent L1-identification

Such 'invisible' preconditions appear to have acted as a set of *feedback* mechanisms which *actively* dissuaded the learner in question from consciously and/or sub-consciously processing the passive construction in his IL, not withstanding that he is not said to be *ignorant* of this structural device

It follows from the above analysis that it is the surface structures of the L1-utterances (99) and (101a) in SCA, not the deep

structure, which were a strong trigger of the transfer-based utterances (96) and (100) respectively Transfer effects, in such a perspective, can more explicitly be examined in the following interlingual identification

(103) * Do you want to go by bus or *walking?*   *(AE)*

Similarly, this example suggests a carrying over of the surface structure of the L1-equivalent usually produced in **SCA** rather than **MSA** For example

(104) a [biddak tru h̲ bi-lba s̲ willa ---- maši]   *(SCA)*
          (*Lit* want (you, sing masc) go (you, sing masc) by
          the bus or ---- *walking* (the verbal noun of [maša] '*he
          walked*')?)

By looking at the pair of utterances (103) and (104a), one notices that the learner, in his data processing, seems to have rendered the [al-mas̲dar] '*infinitive*' (that is, the verbal noun [maši]) into the English gerund '*walking*' as an item reflecting unanalysed L1-knowledge from a syntactic point of view As noted above, such a verbal noun [maši] is known as the *verbal object* [maf?u 1 mut̲laq] whose grammatical function is to emphasize the action of the verb [timši] '*walk (you, sing masc)*' (SCA) from which the noun is morphologically derived (*cf* section 6 2 1, sub-section (E), example (59b)) It seems, therefore, the verb [timši] is, at a surface-structure level, deleted from (104a), whereas, at a deep-structure level, it will appear in both (104b) and (104c)

          b [biddak tru h̲ bi-lba s̲ willa timši maši]   *(NCD/SCD)*
          c [biddak tru h̲ bi-lba s̲ willa timši ----]   *(NCD/SCD)*

Given that all three L1-utterances (104 a-c) are possible in SCA, it appears that both the verbal object [maši] and its verb [timši] are alternately obligatory and optional that is, while [maši] is obligatory in (104a) and optional in (104c), [timši] is optional in (104a) and obligatory in (104c) From the point of view of MSA, however, the verbal object [mašyan] '*walking*' in (104d) below is optional when it follows its verb [tamšiya] '*walk (you)*' If, however, [tamšiya] is deleted, then [mašyan] is obligatory, although the latter occurs less often than the former

d   [hal tur du an ta<u>th</u>'haba bı-lba <u>sı</u> am *tamšıya (mašyan)*]
                                                                    (MSA)

[hal]   *a question particle (QP)*
[tur du]   *want (you, sing masc) (the main verb or*
           [al-musnad])
[an]   *a particle of infinitiveness which governs the*
           simple present verb [ta<u>th</u>'haba] that follows
[ta<u>th</u>'haba] *go (you, sing masc) (an infinitive verb*
           governed by [an])
[bı-lba <u>sı</u>] *by the bus (prepositional phrase)*
[am]   *a conjunction 'or'*
[tamšıya] *walk (you, sing masc) (another infinitive*
           verb joined by [am])
[mašyan]   *walking (a verbal object emphasizing the verb*
           [tamšıya])

However, ın thıs partıcular example, the verb [tamšıya] appears to be only oblıgatory due to the exıstence of the conjunctıon [am], or [wılla] ın **SCA**, whıch joıns the two grammatıcally equal verbs [ta<u>th</u>'haba] and [tamšıya] ın that both verbs are governed by the partıcle of *ınfınıtıveness* [an] (cf chapter 2, sectıon 2 3 2, example (23a)) Because [am] ın MSA, lıke '*or*' ın Englısh, denotes grammatıcal equıvalence between the two joıned ıtems, the deletıon of the verb [tamšıya] and the retentıon of ıts verbal object [mašyan] ın (104d) seems to constıtute a logıcal Ll-error By analogy, the deletıon of the verb [tımšı] ın (104a) would mark a logıcal Ll-error from the poınt of vıew of MSA Gıven that the Ll-utterance (104a) represents a carryıng over of ıts surface structure as unanalysed Ll knowledge, ıt appears that the ınterlıngual ıdentıfıcatıon (103) can, at best, be vıewed as an example of **Ll-error NT**

The last-mentıoned type of verb-form constructıon ıs the recurrent mısuse of the Englısh modal past after '*I wısh*' denotıng an unrealızed or unrealızable desıre as ın (105), and after '*ıf*' ın condıtıonal clauses where the condıtıon ıs not lıkely to be fulfılled as ın (108) below

(105) * I wısh I *can* go to Amerıca   *(AE)*

In MSA, such a desıre ıs expressed ın eıther of two ways The fırst way ınvolves a member of a set of partıcles tradıtıonally known as [al-<u>h</u>uru fu-lmušabbahatu bı-lfıʔlı] '*verb-lıke partıcles*', for example, [layta] '*wısh*', [laʔalla] '*hope*', and so on These partıcles are usually followed by a nomınal sentence whose *predıcate* [al-musnad]

may be a verb   In such a case, the verb is generally in the simple present form when the desire refers to the present or future time as in (106a), and rarely in the simple past form as in (106b)

(106) a   [laytani astat̲ ʔu   ]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit   wish (I) can (I)   )

       b   [laytani istat̲aʔtu   ]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit   wish (I) could (I)   )

The second way employs lexical verbs such as [wadda] or [tamanna] *'wished (he)'* followed by a particle of *infinitiveness* called [**law al-ma̲sdariyya**] and a verbal clause whose verb is either in the simple present or in the simple past form depending on the time the desire refers to (*cf* Kharma, 1983 64f)   For example

       c   [awaddu/atamanna *law* astati ̲ʔu   ]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit   wish (I) can (I)   )   *(present/future)*

       d   [awaddu/atamanna *law*-istat̲aʔtu   ]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit   wish (I) could (I)   )   *(past)*

Likewise, in **SCA**, either of the verb forms is used depending on the time the wish refers to   For example

(107) a   [ya re t biʔdir/ʔdirit   ]   *(SCD)*
            (Lit   wish (I) can (I)/could (I)   )

       b   [ʔalawwa baʔdir/ʔdirit   ]   *(NCD)*
            (Lit   wish (I) can (I)/could (I)   )
            (*cf* examples (106 a-b))

       c   [bitmanna *law* biʔdir/ʔdirit   ]   *(SCD)*
            (Lit   wish (I) can (I)/could (I)   )
            (*cf* examples (106 c-d))

It seems the case that the learner,   upon producing the present form of *'can'* in (105), was entertaining a wish referring to either the present or future time   This indicates that both the past form *'could'* in English and the present form [biʔdir] in **SCA** coincide in, at least, expressing a present meaning, that is, the two verbs are semantically *convergent* but syntactically *divergent*   Therefore, the only similarity that the learner seems to have perceived was the semantic intention at which both verbs converge, while the syntactic realization of the L1-verb was the unanalysed linguistic knowledge underlying (105) Following the concept of *interlingual level shift* discussed by James

(cf chapter 1, section 1 3 1), the learner's lack of control over the
modal past can be ascribed to the automatized shifting from convergence
at a semantic level to divergence at a syntactic one   Consequently,
the possibility of using the modal present in the Arabic structure may
well be the relevant trigger of the learner's resort to the present
form of 'can' in (105) This trigger is also detectable in his
observed misuse of the English modal past in if-clauses where the
condition is unfulfilled or cannot be fulfilled   For example

(108) * If I can drive, two minutes and I'll be there   (AE)

Similarly, in both varities (MSA/SCA), such a condition is expressed by
the use of the particle [law]   —which is, in this case, a particle of
conditionality [law aššartiyya]— in the main clause, and the verbs in
both clauses can generally take the simple present form, though the
past form is also possible (cf Kharma, 1983 65f)   For example

(108) a   [law bɪʔdɪr su ?, daʔɪ ʔte n wu bku n hni k]   (SCD)
           (Lɪt   if can (I) drive (I), two minutes and
           will be (I) there)
       b   [law kɪnt bɪʔdɪr su ?, bdaʔɪ ʔte n kɪnt hnɪ k]   (SCD)
           (Lɪt   if [was (I) + can (I) = could] drive (I),
           ɪn two mɪnutes [was (I) + (will) = would be] there)

By analogy, the usual use of the modal present in L1-utterances such
as (108a) might have acted as a strong structural-device ɪnɪtɪator
which ɪnduced the learner to automatɪcally realɪze the present form of
'can' ɪn the ɪnterlɪngual ɪdentɪfɪcatɪon (108)   The word-order ɪn the
subordɪnate clause wɪll be consɪdered later (cf sectɪon 6 2 5, example
(118) below)

6.2.4   The Relative-Clause Formation

In thɪs sectɪon, three types of errors appearɪng ɪn relatɪve-clause
formatɪon wɪll be analysed

(ɪ)   Retentɪon of the subject of the relatɪve clause as ɪn (109)

(ɪɪ)   Retentɪon of the object of the verb ɪn the relatɪve clause as ɪn
       (110) and (111)

(iii) Deletion of the *relative pronoun* as a linking element between
        the main clause and the relative clause which modifies the
        antecedent   This type will be analysed within the   IL-utterance
        (115) which is said to mark an **overt inter-intralingual error**

(109) * Aren't these the papers which *they* were in your desk? *(AE)*
(110) * This is the man we met *him* yesterday   *(AE)*
(111) * She is the most beautiful girl I saw *her* in college   *(AE)*
        (*cf* example (90), its *MSA-TE* (93b), *SCA-TE* (94b))

Following Schachter's research into the transfer errors committed
by Arab learners over *pronominalization* in relative clause formation
(*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2), the above interlingual identifications
illustrate,   among many others, that at least two types of errors seem
to be the most persistent examples of language transfer The first type
refers to the retention of the *subject* of the relative clause as in
(109) and the second type concerns the retention of the *object* of the
verb in the relative clause as in (110) and (111) In a comprehensive
study of Arab students' problems with the English relative clause
formation,   particularly in their written ILs, Kharma has classified
fourteen error-types of which (type 1) and (type 3) pertain to the
above mentioned first and second types respectively,   though these
latter were made in the spoken ILs of the Syrian learners in question
(*cf* Kharma, 1987 258)

Concerning the **first** type (that is, the retention of the *subject*
of the relative clause as in (109)),   the cross-linguistic similarity
between the English and Arabic (MSA/SCA) structures seems to be
considerably evident on two syntactic levels Firstly, in English the
relative pronoun is obligatorily inserted as a linking element (for
example, 'which' or 'that' in (109)),   whereas in Arabic this linking
element is obligatorily inserted when the *antecedent* (that is,   the
head-noun of the main clause) is defined by [al] '*the*' (for example,
[*al-ʔawra* q]/[*lura ʔ*] '*the papers*' in (112 a-b) below) and **obligatorily**
deleted when the *antecedent* is indefinite [nakira], that is, neither
defined by [al] nor by a genitive added to it This will be clarified
by the L1-TEs of the second type (*cf*   114 a-b) below) Secondly,
concerning the IL-utterance (109),   in neither language does the
resumptive pronoun (that is, the *subject* of the relative clause) appear
at a surface-structure level For example

(112) a [a laysat ha <u>th</u>ihi hiya-l?awraqu-*llati* ka·nat   ] (*MSA*)

[a] *a question particle (QP)*
[laysat] *not to be (conjugated according to [hiya] 'she' when standing for an inanimate plural subject)*
[ha.<u>th</u>ihi] *either 'this' for 'she' or 'these' for an inanimate plural noun*
[hiya] *either 'she' or 'they' for an inanimate plural noun*
[al-?awr q] *'the papers', an inanimate plural noun*
[allati] *either 'who' for 'she' or 'which'/'that' for an inanimate plural noun*
[ka nat] *either 'was' for 'she' or 'were' for an inanimate plural subject*

  b [mu hay *lura ? illi* ka nit   ]   (*SCD*)
   (*Lit* not these *the* papers *which* were   ?)

As the above Ll-equivalents illustrate, the relative pronoun [allati]/ [illi] is obligatory and the resemptive pronoun does not appear since the verb [ka nat]/[ka nit] is conjugated according to the latent or *implied pronoun* [<u>d</u>ami r mustatir] [hiya] (*MSA*)/[hay] (*SCD*) '*she*' standing for the inanimate plural noun   [al-?awra q] (*MSA*)/[*lura* ?] (*SCD*) 'the *papers*' However, one possible interpretation of the retention of '*they*' in (109) is that, in the English non-relative clause, the pronoun of the verb usually appears both in the surface and deep structures when it refers to the *agent* in question (for example, 'I *went*', 'he *went*', 'they *went*'), whereas in Arabic, on the other hand, the pronoun of the verb is usually *implied* in the deep structure whether the clause is relative or not because the verb is, at a surface-structure level, conjugated according to the pronoun which stands for the *agent* in question (for example, [ri<u>h</u>it] '*went* (I)', [ra <u>h</u>] '*went* (he)', [ra hu] '*went* (they)' (*SCA*)) It appears the case that the learner, upon producing the 'visible' pronoun in the English non-relative clause, is inherently manipulating the deep structure of the Ll-counterpart whose pronoun is usually 'invisible' in the surface structure By analogy, the 'invisible' pronoun of the verb [ka nat] in (112a), or [ka nit] in (112b), seems to have been transferred as unanalysed Ll-knowledge onto the IL-utterance (109) and rendered into '*they*' as standing for an inanimate plural subject In other words, the retention of '*they*' might have been *overgeneralized* from the usual appearance of the pronoun in the English non-relative clause by recourse to the deep structure of the Ll-counterpart Thus, the deep structure of the Ll-counterpart normally leads to PT when

transferred (or carried over as unanalysed syntactic knowledge) onto the English non-relative clause and to NT when transferred onto the English relative clause   Consequently, the redundant use of *'they'* in (109) can be viewed as one of the examples which reflects the learner's resort to the L1-deep structure rather than to surface structure as shown in the preceding sections *(cf* section 6 2 2, examples (82) and (83), section 6 2 3, examples (96), (100) and (103))

With   respect to the **second type** (that is, the retention of the *object* of the verb in the relative clause as in (110) and (111)),   the cross-linguistic similarity between the English and Arabic (MSA/SCA) structures seems to be **significantly** absent on two syntactic levels, although the identical noun (that is, the noun in the embedded relative clause) is postnominally pronominalized in both languages Along the first level, *'who'*, *'whom'* or *'that'* for both (110) and (111), is optional, whereas in Arabic,   like the case of the first type,   the relative pronoun is obligatorily inserted when the *antecedent* is defined by [al] *'the'* as in the L1-TE of (110) *(cf*   (113 a-c) below) and obligatorily deleted when the *antecedent* is indefinite [nakira] as is the case of [fata ten] (MSA)/[binit] (SCD) *'girl'* in the L1-TE of (111) *(cf* 114 a-b) below)

(113) a [ha t̲h̲a huwa-rrajulu-*llat̲h̲i*-iltaqayna (*hu*)   ]   *(MSA)*
          (*Lit*   This he *the* man who(m)/that met (we) (*him*)   )

       b [ha t̲h̲a huwa-rrajulu-*llat̲h̲i* -iltaqayna bihi   ]   *(MSA)*
          (*Lit* This he *the* man who(m)/that met (we) with *him*   )

       c [le ko-rrija l-illi-lta?e na fi   ]   *(SCD)*
          (*Lit*   This *the* man who(m)/that met (we) with *him*   )

(114) a [innaha ajmalu fata ten ra?aytu(*ha*)   ]   *(MSA)*
          (*Lit*   she most beautiful girl saw (I) *(her)*   )

       b [hiyye aḥla binit s̆ifta   ]   *(SCD)*
          (*Lit*   she most beautiful girl saw (I) *her*   )

The second level is that, in English, the resumptive pronoun (that is, the *object* of the verb in the relative clause) is obligatorily deleted, whereas in Arabic it is usually suffixed to the verb as in (113a) and (114 a-b) or to the preposition of a phrasal verb as in (113 b-c)   In MSA,   however, it is possible to delete the resumptive pronoun suffixed to the verb particularly when there is nothing inserted after it in the embedded relative clause as in (113a) and (114a), while in SCA,   its retention is more common On the other

hand, in neither variety is it possible to delete the resumptive pronoun suffixed to the preposition of a phrasal verb as in (113 b-c)

It now becomes clear that the crucial similarity between the English and Arabic relative clause structure, especially in the post-nominal position of the relative clause, seems to have been perceived by the learner and, therefore it acted as a strong precondition for the retention of the resumptive pronouns *'him'* and *'her'*, in the IL-utterances (110) and (111) due to the highly automatized nature of the L1-counterparts

(115) * You are the *most* country ---- *benefit* from ---- EEC   (*AE*)

This IL-utterance reflects two phases of the learner's linguistic solutions first, *interlingual* solutions which manifest themselves in the misplacement of *'most'* and the loss of the obligatory relative pronoun *'which/that'* before the verb *'benefit'* Second, *intralingual* solutions which concern the loss of the third-person-singular *'s'* of the verb *'benefit'* and the loss of the definite article with the abbreviation *'EEC'* To begin with, consider the following L1-TEs

(116) a [antum aktharu dawlaten tastafı du mın-al'ı ı sı] (*MSA*)
      b [ıntu aktar dawle-btıstıfı d mn-ıl'ı ı sı] (*SCD*)

    [antum]/[ıntu] *you (plural, masculine)*
    [aktharu]/[aktar] *àn elative noun [ısmu-ttafdı l]*
    [dawlaten]/[dawle] *country (a noun not defined by [al]*
                       'the' but genitively governed by the
                         elative noun)
    [tastafı.du]/[btistifi d] *benefit (she/it (feminine))*
    [mın]/[mn] *from*
    [al]/[ıl] *the*
    [ı ı.sı] *ECC*

With regard to the learner's *interlingual* solutions, the misuse of *'most'* and the loss of the relative pronoun will be discussed consecutively In English, the word *'most'*, when forming a superlative degree, can only function as an adverb modifying another adverb, an adjective, or a verb In MSA, on the other hand, the [ısmu-ttafdı l] such as [akthar] is treated as an *indeclinable* noun but functions grammatically as a *declinable* noun through the four main cases (*nominative, accusative, genitive* and *dative*) When forming a superlative degree, the word [akthar], within the morphological pattern

(vCCvC) [af?al], should be defined by either the definite article [al] prefixed to it or a following genitive added to it   If [akthar] is directly followed by a word,   then this word should be one of the three grammatical items

(i)   **A derivative noun** [ism muštaq] which is *accusatively* specified by [akthar] as in [innaha-al-?aktharu jama lan] (*Lit   she the most beauty*) where [jama lan] '*beauty*' is a derivative noun and its grammatical function is known as *specification* [tamyi z]

(ii)   **A primary noun** [ism ja mid] which is *genitively* governed by [akthar] as is the case of [dawleten] in (116a)

(iii)   **A suffixed pronoun** [dami r muttasil] which is *genitively* governed by [akthar] as in [aktharuhum/hunna jama lan] (*Lit (he/she) most them (masc /fem) beauty*) where [hum/hunna] '*them (masc /fem)*' is suffixed to [akthar] and, at a deep-structure level, stands for a primary noun as is the case of (ii)

In **SCA**, in particular, the   last two items (ii) and (iii) are in common use Therefore,   the word that follows [akthar] in (116b) is either a primary noun or a suffixed pronoun standing for a primary noun   It now becomes clear that the positioning of '*most*' in (115) before '*country*' reflects an Arabic word-order strategy carried over as unanalysed syntactic knowledge,   since the rendering of '*country*' into [dawle] functions as a primary noun as shown above (*cf* item (ii))

Concerning the   loss   of the relative pronoun, it has been mentioned above that, in Arabic,   the relative pronoun is obligatorily deleted if the *antecedent* is indefinite [nakira], that is, neither defined by [al] '*the*' nor by a genitive added to it as is the case of [fata ten]/ [binit] in (114 a-b)   By analogy,   the   *antecedent* [dawlaten]/[dawle] in (116 a-b) is indefinite,   so that the relative pronoun is obligatorily deleted in both   varieties   (MSA/SCA) Therefore,   the IL-utterance (115) clearly shows a carrying over of relative pronoun deletion due to the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA   However,   the retention of '*the*' in (115) —and, as discussed,   the relative pronoun is obligatorily inserted if the *antecedent* is defined by [al]— may well indicate that the learner, at a comprehension level, was focusing upon [dawle] '*country*' not [aktar] '*most*', since it is this latter which is genitively defined by the former   It seems, therefore, the learner correctly realized the

genitive definiteness of [aktar] in the L1 as the definite article in
the L2 (PT), whilst at the same time falling back on the indefiniteness
of [dawle] which was the strongest trigger of relative pronoun deletion
(NT) Of the fourteen error types classified by Kharma, this deletion
error is similar to (type 4) specifically (*cf* Kharma, 1987 258)

   With respect to the learner's *intralingual* solutions, the loss
of the third-person-singular '-*s*' may be due to lack of control rather
than lack of knowlege, since the IL-utterance (115) is relatively long
on the one hand and the correct use of the '-*s*' is observed
particularly in shorter IL-utterances on the other It seems
difficult, however, to relate '-*s*' omission to Arabic transfer because,
by means of *affixation* and *infixation*, the morphological system of the
Arabic verb is totally different from that of the English verb Thus,
no morphological similarity exists to induce the learner to make the
relevant cross-lingual tie-ups between the two types of verb-formation

   As for the loss of the definite article before the abbreviation
'*EEC*', again, this omission cannot be looked upon as an interlingual
error, since '*EEC*' is usually preceded by [al] if it happens to be used
in an Arabic context In English, abbreviations such as '*BBC*', '*IRA*',
'*UN*' can take '*the*', whereas acronyms such as '*NATO*', '*UNESCO*', '*UNO*'
do not normally have articles because they are treated as proper names
In Arabic, on the other hand, loan abbreviations and acronyms do not
seem to follow a distinct rule For example

   (117) a [mn-*il* bı bı sı]   (*Abbreviation*)
          (*Lıt*   from *the* BBC)

          b [mn-*il* yu nısko]   (*Acronym*)
          (*Lıt*   from *the* UNESCO)

          c [mn-*il*-nna to]   (*Acronym*)
          (*Lıt*   from *the* NATO)

          d [mın ---- sa na]   (*Acronym*)
          (*Lıt*   from ---- SANA)
          (SANA   *Syrıan Arab News Agency*)

It may be the case that the rule is phonological rather than
grammatical in that three-long-syllable abbreviations such as '*BBC*' and
'*EEC*' normally take [al] as they are simpler to articulate in certain
phonological identifications, especially when they are preceded by
prepositions like [mın] and [bı] ın SCA If this is the case, then the
result would lead to PT in phrases such as '*from* the *EEC*' (*cf* (115))

From a phonological point of view, the learner might have 'avoided' producing '*the*' due to two underlying reasons first, the prioritized production of '*the*' in the main clause and the pronunciation of '*the*', as discussed earlier, involves the phoneme /ɜ/ which constitutes phonological difficulty for learners whose dialect is, for example, SCD (*cf* section 6 1 1, sub-section (C)) Second, the phonological difficulty the learner experienced over the first '*the*' might dissuade him from experiencing another difficulty over the second '*the*' Again, if this is the case, then the omission of the second '*the*' would reflect two types of linguistic solutions *overtly* intralingual (syntax) and *covertly* interlingual (phonology) Consequently, from a syntactic point of view, the IL-utterance (115) is one of the attested errors which can be regarded as examples of **inter-intralingual errors** reflecting an *overt* combination of the two types of the learner's linguistic solutions

6.2.5   The Word-Order Formation

Concerning the interlingual identifications cited in this section, the literal translation of their L1-TEs will clearly illustrate transfer effects from the Arabic word-order strategies The nearest possible TEs to these interlingual identifications will be cited from both varieties (MSA/SCA) to show to what extent the mis-placement of certain L2-items (upon the learner's processing them in his IL) is attributable to the syntactic realization of the L1

```
(118)  *  If I can drive, two minutes and I'll be there        (AE)

(119)  a  [    da?ı ?te n w bku n hnı k]                       (NCD)
            (Lıt   two minutes and will be (I) there)
       b  [    bda?ı ?te n w'ku n hnı k]                       (NCD)
            (Lıt   in two minutes and be (I) there)
       c  [    ba?da daqı qataynı sa?aku nu huna k]            (MSA)
            (Lıt   after two minutes will be (I) there)
       d  [    sa?aku nu huna ka ba?da daqı qatayn]            (MSA)
            (Lıt   will be (I) there after two minutes)
       e  [    daqı qata n wa aku nu huna k]                   (MSA)
            (Lıt   two minutes and be (I) there)
```

As the above TEs illustrate, the adverbial phrase 'two minutes' is more
flexible in Arabic than it is in English   In MSA, both positions (that
is, initial and final positions in the subordinate clause) are
possible, whereas in SCA the occurrence of the initial position is the
more frequent of the two   In addition, the insertion of the
conjunction 'and' is more recurrent in SCA than it is in MSA
Therefore, the syntactic realization of SCA seems to be the strongest
precondition for the production of (118)

(120)   * I came to Dublin before Christmas in four days   (AE)

(121)   a   [?abl-il?i d b'?arba?t-iyya m]   (SCD)
        b   [qabla-l?i di bi-?arba?ati ayya m]   (MSA)
            (Lit   before the feast in four days)

As discussed earlier, the misuse of the L2-preposition 'in' suggests
the learner's resort to the L1-preposition [bi] (cf section 6 2 1,
sub-section (A)),   since it is usually realized in both varities
(MSA/SCA) as the TEs (121 a-b) illustrate Therefore,   in such a
particular word order the prepositional phrase [b'?arba?t-iyya.m]
usually occurs in final position which is exactly the same position in
the IL-utterance (120)

(122)   * You see how much it is difficult   (AE)

(123)   a   [ša yef ?adde š sa?be]   (SCD/WCD)
            (Lit   see (you) how difficult)
        b   [ala tara kam hiya sa?ba]   (MSA)
            (Lit   see (you) how it difficult)

Because both 'how much' and 'how many' in English are usually rendered
into [?adde š] (SCA) or [kam] (MSA), the learner, at a deep-structure
level, seems to treat 'difficulty' as an uncountable entity As the
L1-TEs illustrate, the MSA-utterance (123b) appears to be the deep
structure (or, rather, an utterance derived from the deep structure) of
the SCA-utterance (123a) because the pronoun [hiya] 'it (fem)' is
superficially inserted in the former and is only implied in the latter
In both cases, the pronoun [hiya] is the subject, or the beginning
[mubtada?], of the noun clause which follows the particle
[kam]/[?adde š] 'how', and the noun [sa?ba] is the predicate [kabar],
so that the normal order of the noun clause (NC) in Arabic is the
subject followed by the predicate It seems, therefore, the learner,

upon producing the IL-utterance (122), might well resort to the MSA-equivalent (123b) which is directly associated with the syntactic properties of the deep structure of the SCA-equivalent (123a)

    (124) * I won't break it, I'm careful *more* than you   *(AE)*

    (125) a [ana mintibih aktar minnak]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
            (Lit I careful more from you)
         b [ana aktharu intiba han minka]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit I more carefulness from you)
         c [ana ahrasu minka]   *(MSA)*
            (Lit I more careful from you)
         d [ana har s aktar minnak]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
            (Lit I careful more from you)

In the preceding section, the [ismu-ttafdi l] *'elative noun'* [akthar] has been discussed when forming a superlative degree *'most'* (*cf* examples (115) and (116 a-b)) The comparative degree in Arabic is usually formed by the pattern [af?al] —of which [akthar] *'more'* in (125 a-b) and [ahras] *'more careful'* in (125c) are examples— followed by the preposition [min] *'from'* There are certain derivative nouns of the pattern [fa?i l] such as [kari m] *'generous'*, [sa?i d] *'happy'*, [šari f] *'honest'* and so on These can be inflected according to the morphological pattern [af?al] in order to form a superlative degree as shown earlier and a comparative degree as is the case of the above examples These derivatives are in common use both in MSA and SCA and the pattern [af?al] can easily be derived [akram] *'more generous'*, [as?ad] *'happier'* and so on However, there are other derivatives which are not of the morphological pattern [fa?i l] such as [masru r]/[mabsu t] *'pleased'*, [muntabih] *'careful'* (*cf* this latter's SCA-equivalent in (125a)), and so on In order to form a comparative degree in MSA, these derivatives, as analogous with the superlative degree, are normally *accusatively specified* by [akthar] as in (125b) specifically where [akthar] is always followed by the newly *specified noun* [tamyi z] Such formation in SCA, however, is extremely rare and, instead, speakers tend to retain the original derivative like [mintibih] followed by [aktar] as in (125a), though this formation is also possible in MSA There are also other derivatives such as [hari s] *'careful'* (meaning [mintibih] and following the pattern [fa?i l]) which can take the pattern [af?al] as [ahras] (*cf* (125c)) but are less frequent in SCA The result is that speakers tend to resort to the original derivative as in (125d) following the same

formation of (125a) as discussed above, though this formation is also possible in MSA It appears the case that the frequent use of the comparative formation as in (125a) and (125d), where [aktar] follows the original derivative, was the L1-linguistic solution underlying the IL-utterance (124)

(126) * *What you want more?*   *(AE)*

(127) a [šu biddak kama n]   *(NCD/SCD)*
          (*Lit   what want (you) more?*)
       b [ma tha turi du aydan]   *(MSA)*
          (*Lit   what want (you) more?*)

This interlingual identification suggests direct cross-lingual tie-ups with its L1-counterparts (word-for-word translation) within two syntactic dimensions first, the non-inversion of the subject and its verb in interrogation and, second, the misplacement of '*more*' due to the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA

(128) NSE   You are rude   (*a joke*)
       NSA * *Who is the rude between us?*   *(AE)*

(129) a [mi n il-gali z be na tna]   *(SCD)*
       b [man il-jalfu baynana]   *(MSA)*
          (*Lit   who the rude between us*)

Analogous with the previous example, this interlingual identification reflect direct cross-lingual tie-ups with the sub-constituents of its L1-counterparts except the realization of the auxiliary '*BE*' which appears neither in MSA nor in SCA Although the word order   [man minna-l-jalfu] (*Lit   who of us the   rude*) is possible in MSA, the word order as cited in (129 a-b) seems to be the more frequent of the two particularly in SCA   Therefore, transfer effects are directly ascribable to the syntactic realization of the L1-counterparts (129 a-b) in MSA and SCA

6.3 Arabic-Transfer Identifications in Semantics

As noted in the previous chapter (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3 3), in order to check the validity of *Hypothesis Three,* interlingual identifications in the semantic domain of lexical selection will be analysed in terms of three parameters lexical representations (*cf* section 6 3 1), collocational representations (*cf* section 6 3 2), and contextual representations (*cf* section 6 3 3) Along these parameters, transfer mechanisms depend largely on the learner's potential knowledge of L2-vocabulary Therefore, most of the interlingual identifications cited in this section are said to be a reflection of *semantic avoidance,* that is, *either* the learner's **ignorance** of the **L2**-semantic idiosyncracy which places the L2-word within a specific semantic restriction and/or extension though it may exist in his linguistic repertoire but only as a lexical item (*cf* examples (1), (2), (3), (4), etc), *or* his **ignorance** of the L2-word as a lexical item (*cf* examples (5), (6), (8), (9), etc)

Further, the analysis will explore another type of avoidance in Schachter and Kleinmann's sense (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2), which can be called *lexical avoidance* in the context of the current study Paradoxically, *lexical avoidance* is said to be a reflection of the learner's resort to the L1-word in question not because of his ignorance of the L2-counterpart, but because of the highly automatized nature of the L1-word which activates the production of the IL-word, that is, the L1-based L2-lexical item in question Therefore, possibilities of paraphrase do not only exist in the syntax of the *avoided* L2-structure as shown in Schachter's argument (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 1 2), but also in the lexical distribution of the *attempted* **L2**-utterance (*cf* for instance, *'wrote'* in (18), *'know'* in (22), *'true'* in (48), etc.) Finally, those aspects that are related to *Hypothesis Two* in the domain of syntax —either in corroboration of or as an exception to the hypothesis— will be referred to where appropriate

Notice that, from a pedagogical perspective, the term *'complete* PT' indicates that the IL-item, or items, in question should be over-emphasized, since both the L1-L2 identifications being talked about coincide significantly in their lexical distribution (complete cross-linguistic similarity) Whereas the term *'crucial* **PT'** indicates

that the IL-item, or items, in question should be modified in the direction of the standard norm of the L2-identification as both the L1-L2 identifications being talked about coincide roughly in their lexical distribution (crucial cross-linguistic similarity) On the other hand, the term *negative transfer* (NT), which signifies an attested error as so judged from the viewpoint of the L2-identification, constitutes an established exception to *Hypothesis Three*, since the L1-L2 identifications being talked about do not coincide in their lexical distribution (radical difference or lack of cross-linguistic similarity)

6.3.1 *Lexical Representations*

(1) Let's turn a new *page*   *(AU)*

Upon using the L2-lexical item '*page*', this IL-utterance suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-lexical item [safha] as in the following L1-TE

(1a) [kalli na niʔlib safha jdi de]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*

Like the L2-utterance, this L1-utterance, whose lexical distributin is possible in MSA, is said when someone wants to make a fresh start Although the learner may have the L2-lexical item '*leaf*' at his disposal, his linguistic repertoire seems to lack the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which imposes the lexical use of '*leaf*' rather than '*page*' in this context (semantic avoidance) In SCA, the word [safha] is usually used if the context refers to one side of a leaf of a book or to an entire leaf of a copy-book and the like, whereas the word [waraʔa] is usually used when the context refers to an entire leaf (not one side) of a book, tree, bank-note and so on It may be the case that since the learner is assumed to have known the L2-word '*leaf*', as a lexical item, he does not seem to have had it as, at least, a reference to a book, but as a reference to a tree or a plant only (*cf* section 6 3 3, example (79) below) The result is that his lexical knowledge of '*page*' on the one hand and the cross-semantic tie-up he

made between L1-[ṣafḥa] and L2-'*page*' on the other may act as the strongest precondition for the production of the IL-utterance (1), because the word [ṣafḥa] in the ordinary use of MSA and SCA does not normally refer to a tree or a plant. Consequently, the L1-based L2-lexical item '*page*' is acceptable and leads to *crucial* PT.

(2) I made him stand on his *legs*.   (*AU*)

The lexical use of the L1-based L2-item '*legs*' seems to reflect an influence from SCA rather than MSA as it is apparent in the following L1-TE:

(2a) [ḳalle:to ywa??if ?arijle:]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)

Again, like the L2-utterance, this L1-utterance is said to refer to a person, that is the *patient* (him) in the IL-utterance (2), who has been made self-supporting and is no longer in need of help. The reason why the lexical use of '*legs*' reflects transfer from SCA rather than MSA is that the MSA-words [sa:q] '*leg*' and [qadam] '*foot*' are usually rendered into [rijil] in SCA, though this latter is also recurrent in MSA in the form of [rijl] but as synonymous with [sa:q] not with [qadam]. Thus, depending on the context, [rijil] in SCA means either a leg or a foot in that both [sa:quhu tu?limuhu] '*his* **leg** *is sore*' and [**qadam**uhu tu?limuhu] '*his* **foot** *is sore*' in MSA converge at one frequent utterance in SCA: [**rijlo** btuja?o] which carries both meanings. The convergent use of [rijil] in SCA is more observable in utterances such as [**rijle:** ṭwa:l] '*his* legs *are long*' and [issabba:ṭ dayye? ?arijli:] '*the shoe is tight on my* foot'. This indicates that the surface structure of [rijil] in SCA is '*leg*', whereas the deep structure is either '*leg*' or '*foot*' depending on the context.

It follows that the learner, upon producing the IL-utterance (2), seems to have had recourse to the surface structure of [rijle:] in (2a) resulting in an acceptable identification and leading to *crucial* PT. However, it would be *complete* PT if the deep structure —which involves [qadam] as is the case in MSA— was the direct trigger of transfer. Given that the words '*foot/feet*' exist in the learner's repertoire as lexical items, the lexical use of '*legs*' in (2) can also be viewed as an example of semantic avoidance due to his *ignorance* of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which involves the use of '*feet*' in this context.

(3) It's clear (*the problem*) like the *sun* *(AU)*

The lexical use of '*sun*' suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-lexical item [šams] which is frequently used in both varieties

    (3a)   [wa di̱ḥaton wuḏu ha-ššams]   *(MSA)*
             (*Lit* clear (it, fem) (as the) clearness of the sun)

    (3b)   [wa di̱ḥaton ka/mithla-ššams]   *(MSA)*
             (*Lit* clear (it, fem) as/like the sun)

    (3c)   [wa ḏ'he mitli-ššamis]   *(SCA)*
             (*Lit* clear (it, fem) like the sun)

Therefore, the lexical use of '*sun*' in (3) marks *crucial* PT from both MSA and SCA, since the L1-lexical adjective [wa di̱ḥ] '*clear (masc)*' is derived from the L1-lexical noun [waḏaḥ] '*light*' which can collocate with [naha r] as in [waḏaḥu-nnaha r] '*daylight*' Thus, the underlying meaning of [šams] in the above L1-TEs is (the appearance of the sun during *daylight*), that is, between sunrise and sunset, which is the same meaning underlying the word '*day*' in English Although it has been attested that the learner knows the L2-item '*day*', he appears to lack the L2-semantic knowledge which requires the lexical use of '*day*' rather than '*sun*' (semantic avoidance)

[N B With regard to *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the comparative form '*clear like*' marks NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA]

    (4)   The *air* turned the umbrella   *(AU)*

The lexical use of '*air*' appears to reflect the learner's resort to the L1-lexical item [hawa ʔ] (MSA)/[hawa] (SCA)as realized -to be the real *agent* which does not usually appear in the L1-TE due to the frequent intransitive use of the verb [inqalaba] '*turned (he/it)*' in this context

    (4a)   [inqalabati-l-miThalla]   *(MSA)*
    (4b)   [nʔalbet-iššamsiyye]   *(SCA)*

    [inqalabat]/[nʔaˈbet] *turned (it, fem), an intransitive verb*
    [al-miThalla]/[iššamsiyye] *the umbrella*

Thus, the real *agent* in the deep structure of the above TEs is normally conceived of as [hawa] '*air*' rather than [ri ẖ] '*wind*' This *agent* superficially appears when the verb in question is used transitively as is the case in English

(4c) [qalaba-l-*hawa* ʔu-l-miT̲halla]   (*MSA*)
(4d) ['l-*hawa*-ʔalab-iššamsiyye]   (*SCA*)

Although the word [ri ẖ] '*wind*' is possible in MSA in that both [ri ẖ] and [hawa ʔ] are semantically synonymous, the frequent lexical representation of [hawa] in (SCA) —particularly in utterances such as ['l-hawa t̲ayyar t̲a ʔi to] '*the wind blew his hat off*'— seems to be the underlying lexical representation of '*air*' in the IL-utterance (4) as an example of *crucial* PT Again, this is also an example of semantic avoidance as discussed in the preceding interlingual identifications

[N B With regard to *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the verb '*turned*' as a non-phrasal verb signifies NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA as shown above]

(5) Can we use a *finger* of dynamite? *(for fishing)*   (*AU*)

The lexical use of '*finger*' suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-lexical item [iṣbaʔ] which is borrowed from the military jargon in SCA

(5a) [iṣbaʔ diname t]/[aṣa biʔ diname t]   (*SCA*)
      (*Lit* '*a finger of dynamite*'/'*fingers of dynamite*')

Therefore, the learner's *ignorance* of the lexical representation of '*stick*' in this context indicates that both '*finger*' and '*stick*' coalesce into '*finger*' in his linguistic repertoire due to the lexical representation of [iṣbaʔ] in SCA This refers to what is known as *split* or *divergent phenomena*, that is, one item in the L1 becomes two items in the L2, whereas the preceding IL-utterance (4) refers to *convergent phenomena*, that is, two items in the L1 [hawa] '*air*' and [ri ẖ] '*wind*' coalesce into one L1-based L2-item '*air*' in the learner's IL (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 1) Consequently, the lexical use of '*finger*' in (5) leads to *crucial* PT from SCA and is an example of semantic avoidance

(6) The *referee* was bad and Lendl lost his *nerves*   *(AU)*

[Reference *watching a televized tennis match*]

The lexical use of '*referee*' and '*nerves*' suggests the learner's resort to the L1-lexical items [ḥakam] and [a?'ṣa b] respectively Concerning the use of '*referee*', there seems to be two reasons underlying such an interlingual identification   First, the learner might well lack the knowledge of '*umpire*' as a lexical item, so that the word '*referee*' was the only reference available to him (semantic avoidance)   Second, the two L2-items '*umpire*' and '*referee*' coalesce into one item [ḥakam] both in **MSA** and **SCA** *(split)*   Thus, such an available reference is a clear indication that the learner made a cross-lingual tie-up between [ḥakam] and '*referee*' whose resultant representation leads to *crucial* PT from both **MSA** and **SCA**

The lexical use of '*nerves*', on the other hand, seems to reflect influence from SCA rather than MSA, since [faqad a?'sa bo] '*he lost his nerves*' in SCA implies a feeling of anger and irritation whereas the MSA-equivalent is [faqada ṣawa bahu] '*he lost his* mind'   As the context of (6) refers to a feeling of both irritation and loss of self-confidence, the lexical use of '*nerves*' signifies *complete* PT from SCA

[N B   With regard to *Hypothesis Two*, the plural form of '*nerve*' marks NT from the syntactic realization of SCA as shown above]

(7) Put the watch in your *hand*   *(AU)*

Analogous with the lexical use of '*legs*' in (2) above, the L1-based L2-item '*hand*' indicates an influence from SCA rather than MSA because both [yad] '*hand*' and [thira ?] '*arm*' in MSA usually coalesce into [ı d] '*hand*' in SCA   Therefore, depending on the context, [ı d] means either '*hand*' or '*arm*' in that both [thira ?uhu maksu ra] '*his arm is broken*' and [yaduhu fı ɹaybıhı] '*his hand is in his pocket*' in MSA are usually rendered into [ı do maksu ra] and [ı do bɹe bto] in SCA respectively. This means that the surface structure of [ı d] in SCA is '*hand*', whereas the deep structure is either '*hand*' or '*arm*' depending on the context Thus, the lexical use of '*hand*' in the IL-utterance (7) may well reflect the learner's resort to the surface structure of [ı d]

which is attributable to *crucial* PT from **SCA**, though the position 'your *arm*' is usually implied in the deep structure of the L2-equivalent of (7)

[**N B**   In the domain of prepositions, the misuse of '*in*' has been discussed within the concern of *Hypothesis Two* (*cf* section 6 2 1, sub-section (A), example (8))]

(8) I want to buy a new *belt* for my watch   *(AU)*

The lexical use of '*belt*' suggests the learner's reliance on [se r] or [ʔšat̲], since both are interchangeably used for the waist and the wrist in **SCA** Therefore, in the learner's focus of attention, the coalescence of [se r] and [ʔša t̲] into '*belt*' and his *ignorance* of '*strap*' as a lexical item (semantic avoidance) seem to constitute the direct process (linguistic and psycholinguistic respectively) which may underly the production of '*belt*' in (8) Consequently, the learner's lexical knowledge of '*belt*' was the only reference which enabled him to make the necessary cross-lingual tie-up resulting in *crucial* PT from the interchangeable lexical use of [se r] and [ʔša t̲] in **SCA**

(9) I can drive the car without *jumping*   *(AU)*

The lexical use of '*jumping*' suggests the learner's resort to the L1-lexical item [tnatti?] '*stall (it, fem)*' or [tanti ?] '*stalling*' as they are usually used in the following SCA-TEs

(9a) [bah̲sin su ʔ issayya ra bidu n ma bi*tnatti?*]   *(SCA)*
     (*Lit* Can (I) drive (I) the car without not *stall* (it fem))

(9b) [bah̲sin su ʔ issayya ra bidu n *tanti ?*]   *(SCA)*
     (*Lit* Can (I) drive (I) the car without *stalling)*

It seems the case that the learner conceived the lexical meaning of [tnatti?] as '*jump*', since the L1-word [tnut̲] '*jump/spring/leap (it, fem)*' in **SCA** can also be used in this context Again, his *ignorance* of '*stalling*' as a lexical item (semantic avoidance) and his 'intralingual' conception of [tnatti?] as [tnut̲] within **SCA** might have been the strongest trigger of the lexical use of '*jumping*' which marks *crucial* PT from **SCA** rather than MSA

     (10) NSE: What time will you be back?
           NSA: Not *more* than 7.00.   *(AU)*

The lexical use of '*more*' seems to reflect the learner's reliance on the L1-word [aktar] which has been discussed when forming a *superlative degree* (*cf.* section 6.2.4, examples (115) and (116 a-b)) and when forming a *comparative degree* (*cf.* section 6.2.5, examples (124) and (125 a-d)) in the domain of syntax. Although the deep structure of the L1-TE [mu: aktar mn-issab?a] (*Lit.*: *not* more *than 7.00*) implies the lexical meaning of [aktar] as '*later*', the IL-utterance clearly shows the learner's falling back on the surface structure of [aktar] due to its lexical representation both in **MSA** and **SCA**, which leads to *crucial* **PT**. Given that the learner, as it has been attested, knows the L2-lexical item '*later*' and its semantic exigencies, his resort to '*more*' in (10) can be ascribed to lack of control rather than lack of knowledge.

     (11) She is *building* her hopes to marry him.   *(AU)*

[**Reference**: *talking about a film on TV*.]

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have had recourse to the figurative use of the **L1**-lexical item [tabni:]/[tibni] '*build (she)*' in the following **L1**-TEs:

     (11a) [*tabni:* a:ma:laha: ?ala:-zzawa:ji minhu]   *(MSA)*
           (*Lit.*: *build* (she) her hopes on the marriage from him)

     (11b) [?am *tibni* a:ma:lha minša:n tijjawwazo]   *(NCD/SCD/WCD)*
           (*Lit.*: particle (progressive) *build* (she) her hopes
           (in order) to marry him)

As the figurative use of [tabni:]/[tibni] is realized in both varieties, the L1-based L2-lexical item '*building*' is a clear indication of semantic avoidance reflecting the learner's *ignorance* of the figurative use of the L2-lexical verbs '*set*' or '*pin*' though they may exist in his linguistic repertoire for other lexical uses. Thus, the cross-lingual tie-up between [tabni:]/[tibni] and '*building*' appears to be the only opportunity that the learner had to convey the intended meaning. The resultant IL-use of '*building*', therefore, can be regarded as an example of *crucial* **PT** from **MSA** and **SCA**.

[N.B   With respect to *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the infinitive
'*to marry*' marks **NT** from the syntactic representation of (11b) in **SCA**,
since it would have been **PT** if the learner had resorted to the
structure of (11a) in **MSA**]

(12) Will you *put* the alarm at nine?   *(AU)*

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have relied on the lexical
meaning of the L1-verb [hut] '*put (imperative, sing masc)*' which is
more frequently used than [?ayyir] '*set (imperative, sing masc)* in
SCA

        (12a)   [hut-issa ?a ?a-ttis?a]   *(SCA)*
                (*Lit   put* the clock on nine)

        (12b)   [?ayr-issa ?a ?a-ttis?a]   *(SCA)*
                (*Lit   set/time* the clock on nine)

Again,   like his ignorance of the figurative use of the lexical verb
'*set*' in (11), the learner appears to have no knowledge of the flexible
meaning of this verb which can fit into the IL-utterance (12) Although
the two L1-verbs [hut] and [?ayyir] are internalized as synonyms in the
learner's **LLS**, the recurrent use of this utterance is proof enough that
both these verbs coalesce into one L2-verb '*put*' in his focus of
attention (*convergent phenomena*) In comprehension, therefore, the
more frequent use of [hut] in **SCA** acted as the strongest precondition
for the production of the L1-based L2-lexical verb '*put*' which,   in
this case, leads to *crucial* **PT**

[N B.   In the domain of syntax, the misuse of the preposition '*at*' may
indicate the learner's relative control over its rule restriction in
recurrent utterances such as '*see you at nine*', '*I got up at ten*' and
the   like   It appears that although the learner might have
overgeneralized the use of '*at*' in (12) from its correct uses in these
utterances,   he might well have perceived the cross-linguistic
similarity between '*at*' in (12) and [?a] in (12 a-b) —whose MSA-form
is [?ala]— as denoting *figurative onness* (*cf*   section 6 2.1,
sub-section (D))   In such a case, and in corroboration of *Hypothesis
Two*, the misuse of '*at*' can be viewed as an example of **covert**

inter-intralingual errors, since it would have marked an overt interlingual error if the learner had superficially rendered [ʔa] into 'on' as shown in the above TEs]

(13) This drink is nice It *kills* my thirst *(AU)*

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to rely on the figurative use of the L1-lexical verb [yiʔtol] '*kill (he/it)*' as in [yiʔtol il-ʔataš] (*Lit* kill (he/it) the *thirst*), a phrase commonly used in SCA Similarly, his *ignorance* of the L2-lexical verbs '*quench*' and, less frequently, '*slake*' might be the strongest trigger of his falling back on the cross-lingual tie-up betweem [yiʔtol] and '*kills*' which is acceptable and leads to *crucial* PT from SCA However, it would have been *complete* PT if the learner had known these L2-lexical verbs and perceived their cross-linguistic congruences (complete similarity) with the L1-lexical verb [yutfiʔ] (MSA)/[y'ṭaffi] (SCA) '*quench/slake*' which is equally used in both varieties

(14) This is a *heavy* coat It *kills* the cold *(AU)*

Like the L2-lexical item '*heavy*', the L1-lexical item [t'ʔi l] in SCA refers to something of good quality; so that '*a heavy coat*', here, is intended to be warm and to withstand bad weather Therefore, the lexical use of '*heavy*' marks *complete* PT from SCA Again, analogous with the lexical use of '*kills*' in (13), this IL-utterance reflects the learner's reliance on the figurative use of the L1-lexical verb [yiʔtol] (SCA)/[yaqtul] (MSA) in [yiʔtol/yaqtul-il-bard] (*Lit* kill (it) *the cold*), a phrase frequently used in both varities Thus, as an exception to *Hypothesis Three*, the lexical use of '*kills*' in (14) signals NT due to the learner's lack of perception of the cross-linguistic similarity between the L2-lexical verb '*keep out*' and the L1-lexical verb [yiṭrod] '*dismiss/keep out (he/it)*' in [yiṭrod-il-bard] (*Lit* keep out (it) *the cold*) which would lead to *complete* PT from SCA

(15) You'll *learn* this bad habit *(AU)*

[Reference *the speaker was referring to the habit of smoking*]

In this IL-utterance, the lexical use of the verb 'learn' seems to reflect the learner's automatized resort to the L1-lexical verb [tit?allam] (SCA)/[tata?allam] (MSA) 'learn (you, sing , masc)' which is equally used in both varieties to express the intended meaning Thus, the learner's ignorance of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which imposes the lexical use of verbs such as 'pick up', 'be in', 'fall into' or 'get into' (semantic avoidance) forced him to make a cross-lingual tie-up between [tit?allam] and 'learn' which signals crucial PT from both MSA and SCA

(16) I took an English course in London   (AU)

The lexical use of the verb 'took', here, suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-lexical verb [akadit] 'took (I)' which leads to complete PT from SCA as shown in the following L1-TE

(16a) [akadit dawra]   (SCA)
       (Lit   took (I) course)

Surprisingly, all the possible L1-lexical verbs that can be used in both varities (MSA/SCA) to express the same intended meaning will lead to complete PT if they happen to be transferred onto the learner's IL For example

(16b) [sa we t dawra]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
(16c) [?milit dawra]   (NCD/SCD/WCD)
(16d) [?miltu dawra]   (ECD)
       (Lit   did (I) course)

(16e) [ittaba?tu dawratan]   (MSA)
       (Lit   followed/pursued (I) course)

Surprisingly, too, in SCA the least frequently used lexical verb [akadit] in (16a) among the other synonyms cited in (16 b-e) seems to have been rendered into the least frequently used L2-lexical verb 'took' among other synonyms such as 'did', 'follow' and 'pursue'

(17) I bought a house and I wrote it in my father's name   (AU)

[Reference: for the duration of his study in Ireland, a Syrian student (1 e the speaker) deputed his father to act on his behalf]

In this IL-utterance, the learner appears to have recourse to the L1-lexical verb [katab] *'wrote (he)'* in [katabt-ıl-be t b'?ismo] (SCA)/ [**katabtu-l-bayta bısmıhî**] (MSA) (*Lit* wrote (*I*) *the house ın hıs name*), a phrase equally used ın both varieties to ındicate that the *patıent* ıs eıther heır to the house as ıs the case ın Englısh *'I put the house ın hıs name'* or deputy for the *agent* durıng his absence as the context of (17) suggests Therefore, the lexıcal use of the verb *'wrote'* marks *crucıal* **PT** from both **MSA** and **SCA**, and ıt would have marked *complete* **PT** ıf the learner had really perceıved the complete cross-lınguıstıc sımılarıty between the L1-lexıcal verb [ha̱t] (SCA)/[wa̱da?] (MSA) and the L2-lexıcal verb *'put'* for expressıng the ıntended meanıng

[N B As an exceptıon to *Hypothesıs Two*, the preposıtıonal phrase *'ın one's name'* leads to **PT** due to the syntactıc realızatıon of both **MSA** and **SCA** In support of *Hypothesıs Two*, on the other hand, the redundant use of the pronoun *'I'* with the joıned verb *'wrote'* suggests a carryıng over of the subject of [katab], whıch does not appear ın the surface structure but only ıs *ımplıed* ın the deep structure (*cf* sectıon 6 2 4, example (109)]

(18) **NSE** Dıd you go the doctor?
NSA Yes He *wrote* some medıcınes for me (*AU*)

Wıthın the strıctures of the learnıng dıffıculty and ease predıcted by trandıtıonal **CA**, thıs IL-utterance has already been analysed at the end of the fırst chapter to show that predıctıon of learnıng ease on the basıs of structural sımılarıty (that ıs, both [wa̱sfa] ın Arabıc and *'prescrıptıon'* ın Englısh are verbalızed ınto [wa̱safa] and *'prescrıbe'* respectıvely) ıs not always verıfıable (*cf* chapter 1, sectıon 1 4 2)

As the above IL-utterance ıllustrates, the lexıcal use of the verb *'wrote'* reflects the learner's relıance on the L1-lexıcal verb [katab] *'wrote (he)'* whıch is more recurrent ın **SCA** than the L1-lexıcal verb [wa̱saf] (SCA)/[wa̱safa] (MSA) *'prescrıbed (he)'* ın both varıetıes as ın the followıng L1-TEs

(18a) [*katab*-lı šwayyıt ıdıwye] (*SCA*)
(*Lıt* wrote (he) to me some medıcınes)

(18b) [wa̱saf -lı šwayyıt ıdıwye] (*SCA*)
(*Lıt* prescrıbed (he) to me some medıcınes)

(18c)   [wa<u>s</u>afa li ba<u>?</u>'<u>d</u>a-1-?adwiya]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lit*   prescribed (he) to me some (of) the medicines)

Given the fact that the L2-verb '*prescribe*', as has been attested, does exist in the learner's linguistic repertoire as a lexical item, it may be the case that, upon producing the IL-utterance (18), he adopted an *avoidance strategy* —in Schachter and Kleinmann's sense of the term— which can be called lexical avoidance for this particular instance There seems to be two reasons underlying the avoidance of '*prescribed*' and therefore the production of '*wrote*' in (18) Firstly, as shown in its analysis earlier, the more phonological effort that the articulation of '*prescribed*' requires While this lexical item involves three consonant clusters /pr-/, /-skr-/ and /-pt/ (which do not occur in the phonological system of Arabic) and a vowel /ɪ/ and a diphthong /aɪ/, the lexical item '*wrote*' only involves two consonants /r/ and /t/ (which exist in the form of *dento-alveolars* in Arabic) and a diphthong /əʊ/ (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 2, example (56a)) Secondly, the more frequent use of the L1-lexical verb [katab] and therefore its highly automatized nature appear altogether to strongly activate the learner's opportunity to make a cross-lingual tie-up between [katab] and '*wrote*' Consequently, the IL-lexical use of '*wrote*' in (18) can be viewed as an example of *crucial* PT from SCA rather than from MSA

(19) She is *growing* a cat   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the lexical use of the verb '*growing*' suggests the learner's automatized resort to the L1-lexical item [rabba] '*fostered/grew/reared/brought up (he)*' which is equally used both in MSA and SCA The resultant IL-use of '*growing*' might be acribed to the learner's ignorance of L2-lexical verbs such as '*rear*' (semantic avoidance) and, thus, can be viewed as an example of *crucial* PT from both varieties

(20) I think too much Maalox *makes* diarrhoea   (*AU*)

[Reference *Maalox is a kind of antacid drug*]

Analogous with the interlingual identification (16), the lexical use of 'makes' reflects the learner's reliance on the L1-lexical verb [bisa wi]/yiʔmal] 'make/do (he/it)' which is acceptable and leads to *crucial* PT from SCA

(20a) [*bisa wi/byiʔmil* is'ha l]   (*SCA/NCD/WCD*)
(20b) [*yiʔmal* is'ha l]   (*ECD*)
        (*Lit*   make (it) diarrhoea)

However, it would be *complete* PT if the learner realized the complete cross-linguistic similarity between the L2-lexical verb 'cause' and the L1-lexical verb [yusabbib] in MSA and its SCA-form [ysabbib] which is less frequently used than those cited in (20 a-b) above

(21) Will you *extinguish* that cigarette?   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the lexical use of 'extinguish' suggests the learner's ignorance of, for instance, the L2-lexical verbs '*stub*' and '*put something out*' (semantic avoidance) Therefore, his knowledge of '*extinguish*' seems to be the underlying trigger which gave him an opportunity to make a cross-lingual tie-up between the L2-lexical verb '*extinguish*' and the L1-lexical verb [yutfiʔ] (MSA)/[ytaffi] (SCA), a lexical verb equally used in both varieties (*cf* example (13)) Consequently, the IL-use of '*extinguish*' here can be taken as a result of *crucial* PT from MSA and SCA

(22) Can I *know* the reason?   (*AU*)

[Reference   *the speaker was asking about the reason for his interlocutor's refusal of an invitation*]

The learner, here, appears to have fallen back on the L1-lexical verb [aʔrif] '*know (I)*' which is equally used in both varieties

(22a) [mumkin *aʔrif*-issabab]   (*SCA*)
(22b) [a-yumkinuni an *aʔrifa*-ssabab]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lit*   Can (me) *know* the reason?)

Therefore, by perceiving the cross-linguistic similarity between the two verbs, the learner seems to have *avoided* the L2-lexical verb '*have*', that is, a lexical avoidance strategy in the sense mentioned

above (*cf*   example (18))   It should be noted, however, that such a
strategy is said to be adopted not because the L2-lexical verb '*have*'
in more difficult to produce,   but rather,   perhaps,   because the
L1-lexical verb [a?rif] is one of the highly automatized L1-items, and
thus its self-activation results in *complete* PT from both varieties

(23)   Can you *know* the time?   (*AU*)

[Reference *the speaker was asking an English-speaking child, who was
wearing a new watch, about his ability to tell or read the time*]

Again, the learner, here, relied on the L1-lexical verb [te?rif]
'*know* (*you, sing , masc*)' which is usually used in the following
L1-TEs

(23a)   [b'*te?rif* bissa ?a]   (*SCA*)
         (*Lit*   know (you) in/by the watch?)

(23b)   [b'*te?rif* bilwa?it]   (*NCD/SCD/WCD*)
         (*Lit*   know (you) in/by the time?)

Although the L2-verbs '*tell*' and '*read*' exist in the learner's
linguistic repertoire as lexical items, his ignorance of the
L2-semantic idiosyncracy which requires the lexical use of either verb
(**semantic avoidance**) can, at best, be looked upon as a precondition
for making a cross-lingual tie-up between the L1-lexical verb [te?rif]
and the L2-lexical verb '*know*'   The attempted utilization of such a
tie-up was, therefore, due to the highly automatized nature of the
L1-source lexical item as mentioned in the preceding example
Consequently, the L1-based L2-lexical item '*know*' is an indication of
crucial PT from SCA

(24)   My passport will *finish* in September   (*AU*)

This IL-utterance reflects *crucial* PT from the lexical use of the
L1-verb [yantahi] (MSA)/[yintihi] (SCA) '*finish (he/it)*' due to its
realization in L2-utterances such as '*have you finished*' and other
utterances such as the L2-equivalent of the above IL-utterance where
the L2-verb '*expire*' is more suitable   This indicates that, in such
contexts,   the semantic extensions of the L1-verb [yantahi] coincide
with those of the L2-verbs '*finish*' and '*expire*' (*divergent phenomena*)

(25) Next week she will *complete* five months   (*AU*)

[Reference *the speaker was referring to a baby's age*]

As an exception to *Hypothesis Three*, the lexical use of *'complete'* marks NT from the L1-lexical verbs   [tkammil] (SCA)/[tukmil] (MSA) and [ttammim] (SCA)/[tutammim] (MSA) *'complete (she)'* which are recurrently used in this context

(26) Did you *wound* yourself?   (*AU*)
(27) Did I *wound* your feeling?   (*AU*)

In these IL-utterances, the learner seems to have made a cross-lingual tie-up between the L1-lexical verb [jaraḥa] (MSA)/[jaraḥ] (SCA) and the L2-lexical verb *'wound'*   While in the L1-TE of (27) this L1-lexical verb is figuratively used more frequently in SCA, in the L1-TE of (26) it is equally used in both varieties Given that the L2- lexical verb *'hurt'* exists in the learner's linguistic repertoire, the IL-use of *'wound'* can be viewed as another example of lexical avoidance leading to *crucial* PT from the semantic realization of both MSA and SCA in (26) and of SCA in (27)

6.3.2 *Collocational Representations*

(28) I let his *hair stand*   (*AU*)

Analogous with the example *'He let my blood boil'* analysed earlier (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3 3, example (8)), this IL-utterance reflects two types of semantic representations   lexical in the use of *'let'* and collocational in the use of *'hair/stand'*   Along the first parameter, the lexical use of *'let'* suggests *crucial* PT from the L1-lexical verb [ḵalla] which is frequently recurrent in the following L1-TE

(28a) [ḵalle t ša?ir(ra s)o ywa??ef]   (*SCD/NCD*)
       (Lit   let (I) the hair of his (head) stand (it))

Concerning the second parameter, the collocational representation of
'*hair*' and '*stand*' indicates that, both in SCA and English, to make
one's hair stand (on end) is to fill one with fright or horror As a
consequence, whether the learner perceived such cross-linguistic
similarity or not, the actual IL-utterance (28) signifies *complete* PT
from the semantic realization of SCA

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the learner's non-use of the
L2-prepositional phrase '*on end*' reflects NT from the usual non-use of
the L1-counterpart in SCA]

> (29) You're right   I *withdraw* my *word*   (*AU*)

In SCA, both L1-lexical verbs [sa*h*ab] '*withdrew/pulled out/took back
(he)*' and [bala?] '*swallowed (he)*' collocate with [kilme] '*word*' to
indicate that the speaker expresses regret and apology for what he said
or admits that what he said was wrong It seems that the learner, upon
producing the IL-utterance (29), made a cross-lingual tie-up between
[sa*h*ab] and '*withdrew*' which leads to *crucial* PT from the usual
collocational representation [sa*h*ab kilimto] '*he withdrew his word*',
though it would have marked *complete* PT if the learner had had recourse
to [bala?] '*swallowed (he)*' which is also in common use in SCA

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the learner's resort to the
singularity of the L2-noun '*word*' suggests NT from the usual
singularity of the L1-counterpart in SCA]

> (30) NSE   Why don't you want to get married?
> NSA   Because marriage will *cut* my *wings*   (*AU*)

Both in MSA and SCA, the L1-lexical verb [qa*ss*a] '*cut (he/it)*'
collocates with [*j*ana *h*] '*wing*' to indicate that one's freedom or
activities will be limited Thus the cross-lingual tie-up the learner
made between [yaqu*ss*] '*cuts (he/it)*' and '*cut*' signifies *crucial* PT
from both varieties This is because the learner, it has been
attested, *ignores* the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which requires the
lexical use of the verb '*clip*' in this context (semantic avoidance)

> (31) *Stop* your *breath* and you'll get rid of *it*   (*AU*)

[Reference   *the addressee had the hiccups*]

Both in MSA and SCA, the lexical L1-verbs [ʔawqafa] 'stopped (he)'
and [qataʔa] 'cut (he)' collocate with [nafas] 'breath' to indicate
that the person in question stops breathing for a while   Thus,   the
learner's reliance on [ʔawqif]   (MSA)/[waʔʔif]   (SCA)   'stop (you,
imperative)' leads to crucial PT from both varieties   Again, this is
due to the learner's ignorance of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which
requires the   lexical use of either of the two verbs 'hold/catch' in
this context (semantic avoidance)

[N.B.   Since the L1-word [ha zu qa] 'hiccup (sing fem)' is usually
used in the singular form,   it seems that the learner, by using the
pronoun 'it', adopted the structural properties of the L1-pronoun [ha]
in [minha.] 'of it (fem)' referring to [ha zu qa]   Therefore, with
regard to Hypothesis Two, the use of the pronoun 'it' in (31) can mark
either NT when the reference is made to the plural form 'the hiccups'
and in this case the pronoun should be 'them', or PT when the reference
is made to the attack of hiccups]

(32)   The eyes are the mirror of the hearts   (AU)

In MSA, the L1-lexical item [ʔuyu n] 'eyes' can collocate with [qulu b]
'hearts' to indicate that the former may reflect what is hidden in the
latter, so that the   cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between
[qulu b] and 'hearts' signals crucial PT from MSA   As analogous with
the previous example, this can be ascribed to the learner's ignorance
of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which involves the lexical use of the
noun 'soul' (semantic avoidance)

[N B   Concerning Hypothesis Two, the plural form 'eyes' in English
refers to one's two eyes which 'are the mirror of one's soul', whereas
the plural form [ʔuyu n] 'eyes' in Arabic implies, at a deep-structure
level, at least three pairs of eyes in this context since the plural
form [qulu b] 'hearts' also implies at least three hearts due to the
existence of the dual form   Thus,   the L1-TE of (32) indicates that
'each pair of eyes (that is, the dual form [ʔayna n] 'two eyes') is the
mirror of one heart'. It follows that the learner, upon producing the
plural form 'hearts' in (32), seems to entertain the L1-deep structure
of [ʔuyu·n] as rendered into the plural form 'eyes' in (32)
Consequently, 'hearts' in this case marks NT from the syntactic

realization of MSA, since the plural form *'eyes'*, in the L2-equivalent of (32), refers to one's pair of eyes which reflects what is hidden in *his/her soul (sing)*]

(33)   You'll *eat* your *fingers* after this food   *(AU)*

In SCA, the L1-lexical verb [ta kul] *'eat (you, sing masc)'* can collocate with [asa b?ak] *'your fingers'* as in (33a) below to indicate that the food in question is very delicious   Thus, after finishing a good meal, this collocational representation figuratively suggests that the delicious flavour of the food can be re-tasted by *'eating the fingers'*   For example

(33a)   [ra h *ta kul asab?*ak wara ha]   *(SCA)*
        (*Lit   will eat* (you) your *fingers* after it (food))

Therefore, from the point of view of British English *'to lick one's fingers'*, the L1-based L2-lexical item *'eat'* in (33) signifies *crucial* PT from the lexical representation of [ta kul] which collocates with [asa b?ak] in SCA to convey the intended meaning   Whereas, from the point of view of Hiberno-English *'to eat one's nails'*, the L1-based L2-lexical item *'fingers'* also signifies *crucial* PT from the lexical representation of [asa bi?] which collocates with [ta kul] in SCA

(34)   The sound of this car (motor-horn) *beats on* my *nerves*   *(AU)*

In SCA, the L1-lexical verbs [yidrub]/[y'du?] *'beat/hit (he/it)'* and [y'fazziz] *'stir up (he/it)'* can collocate with [?asab] *'nerve'* or [?a?'sa b] *'nerves'* to indicate that the person in question is annoyed

(34a)   [yidrub/y'du? ?al ?asab/?a?'sa b]   *(SCA)*
        (*Lit   beat/hit (it) on the nerve/nerves*)

(34b)   [y'fazziz-il ?asab/?a?'sa b]   *(SCA)*
        (*Lit   stir up (it) the nerve/nerves*)

Thus, the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [yidrub]/ [y'du?] and *'beats'* in (34) leads to *crucial* PT from the collocational representation of [yidrub]/[y'du?] and [?a?'sa b] in SCA   Again, this

is due to the learner's *ignorance* of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which requires the lexical use of the phrasal verb *'get on'* in this context (semantic avoidance).

[N B   As an exception to *Hypothesis Two*,   both the 'L1-preposition [ʔal],   which indicates *figurative onness* (*cf*   section   6 2 1, sub-section (D)),   and the plural   form   [ʔaʔ'ṣa b] *'nerves'*   —as transferred negatively onto the IL-utterance (6) above   (*cf*   section 6 3 1)— are said to lead to PT   from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA.]

(35)   That work *broke* my *back*   (*AU*)

In   both varieties, the L1-lexical verbs [kasar] (SCA/MSA) and   [qaṣam] (MSA) can collocate with [d̲ahr]   (SCA)   or [T̲hahr] (MSA) to refer to a very strenuous type of work

(35a)   [kasar d̲ahrı]   (*SCA*)
(35b)   [qaṣama T̲hahrı]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lıt   broke (ıt) my back*)
        ('*ıt*' ----> *[šugul]/[ʔamal] 'work'*)

The   result ıs that the learner, upon producıng the IL-utterance   (35), seems to have had recourse to the   collocational   representatıon of the L1-lexıcal ıtems whıch sıgnal *complete* PT from both SCA and MSA

[N B.   As an exceptıon to *Hypothesis Two*, the *agent* of the IL-utterance (35) ıs *'work'* as ıs the case of [šugul]/[ʔamal] ın the L1-TEs (35 a-b) and   the   *patıent* ıs *'back'* ın (35) or [d̲ahrı]/[T̲hahrı] ın   (35 a-b) Whereas ın the L2-equıvalent the   usual   syntactıc realızatıon ıs that '*I*' ıs the real agent, *'back'* ıs the real patıent, and *'work'* ıs   the ınstrument   Thıs suggests that the   syntactıc   realızatıon of Arabıc also   leads   to   PT, albeıt the co-occurrence of cases ın   the   L1-TEs dıffers from the co-occurrence of cases ın the L2-equıvalent]

(36)   They *erased* the *traces* of the crıme   (*AU*)

[Reference   *talkıng about a fılm on TV*]

In both varieties, the L1-lexical verbs [mahu] *'erased (they)'*, [aza lu] *'removed (they)'* and [akfu] *'hid (they)'* interchangeably collocate with [a tha r] *'traces'* to express the meaning intended in this IL-utterance   Therefore, the learner appears to have relied on the collocational representation of [mahu] and [a tha r] which results in *crucial* PT from both **MSA** and **SCA**   This is another example of semantic avoidance since the learner, it has been attested, *ignores* the lexical use of, at least, *'evidence'* in this context, though he knows it as a lexical item

(37) He is nice, but he *puts* his *nose* in everything   *(AU)*

[Reference *the speaker was giving his opinion of his friend*]

In **SCA**, the L1-lexical verbs [hat] *'put (he)'* and [hašar] *'poked (he)'* can collocate with [anf] *'nose'* to indicate that the person in question interferes in other people's affairs

(37a) [*yhut anfo* b-kul ši]   *(SCA)*
       (*Lit*   put (he) his *nose* in everything)

(37b) [*yuhšur anfo* b-kul ši]   *(SCA)*
       (*Lit*   poke (he) his *nose* in everything)

Thus, the cross-linguistic tie-up the learner made between [yhut] and *'puts'* as collocating with [anf] *'nose'* leads to *crucial* PT from SCA when viewed from the perspective of British English, and to *complete* PT when viewed from the perspective of Hiberno-English

(38) She *stole* the *lights*   *(AU)*

In **MSA**, the L1-lexical verb [saraqat] *'stole (she)'* usually collocates with [adwa ?] *'lights'* as in the **L1-TE** [saraqat il-?adwa ?] (*Lit* *stole (she) the lights)* to indicate that the person in question attracts all the attention   Therefore, the learner seems to have resorted to such a collocational representation which leads to *complete* PT from **SCA/MSA**   However, the lexical use of *'lights'* marks *crucial* PT from the lexical use of [adwa ?]

(39) I *trod* on my *dignity*   *(AU)*

Like the L2-equivalent of this IL-utterance, the collocational representation of [dısıt] '*trod (I)*' and [kara ma] '*dignity*' is in common use in SCA to indicate that the person in question insists upon being treated with proper respect   It appears that the learner relied on such a representation as in the L1-TE   [dısıt ?al-kara mtı] (*Lit.* *trod (I) on my dignity*) which leads to *crucial* PT from SCA

[N B   As an exception to *Hypothesis Two*, the use of the   preposition '*on*' in (39), which indicates *figurative onness* (cf   section 6 2 1, sub-section (D)), marks PT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA]

    (40) My situation ıs *hanged* by a *hair*   *(AU)*

Like the L2-equıvalent of this   IL-utterance,   the collocational representation of [m?alla?] '*be hanged (he/ıt)*' and [šа?rа] '*a hair*' is commonly used in SCA to   indicate that the person in question is in a dangerous or precarious state   Thus, the resultant IL-collocation of '*hanged*' and '*a hair*' in (40) suggests *crucial* PT from SCA *(cf* example (45) below) This is another example of semantic avoidance sınce the learner, ıt has been attested, *ignores* the L2-semantic ıdıosyncracy which requires the lexical use of the noun '*thread*' in such a context

[N B.   As an exceptıon to *Hypothesis Two*, the use of the prepositıon '*by*',   whose L1-equıvalent [b] ın [ma?alla? b-ša?ra] indicates *figurative utılızation* (cf   section 6 2 1, sub-sectıon (A)), item (v), sub-sectıon (B)), sıgnals PT from the syntactıc realızation of both MSA and SCA]

    (41) The *blood* does not become *water*   *(AU)*

Although the structure of the L2-equıvalent ıs syntactically dıfferent from the structure of this IL-utterance, the cross-semantic sımılarity between the two ıs due to the same collocatıonal relatıonship between [dam] '*blood*' and [may] '*water*' which, ın both languages, ındıcates that the tıes of family relatıonshıp are   real   It appears that the learner, upon producıng the IL-utterance (41),   made cross-lingual tie-ups wıth the SCA-equıvalent [ıddam ma bṣı r may] (*Lıt the blood*

not become (it) water) by means of a word-for-word translation process as shown in the above IL-utterance Consequently, such cross-lingual tie-ups signify *complete* PT from the collocational representation of both items in SCA, not withstanding that the structural properties of the IL-utterance (41) should be modified in the direction of the L2-counterpart

[N.B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the definite article *'the'* in (41) with a generic noun suggests NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (*cf* section 6 2 2)]

> (42)   Come on now   Don't be lazy
> *Move* your *blood*   (*AU*)

Particularly in SCA, the L1-lexical verb [ḥarrak] *'moved (he)'* usually collocates with [dammo] *'his blood'* to indicate that the person in question is in a state of revival and activity after having been lazing away for a while

> (42a)   [ḥarrik dammak]   (*SCA*)
>   [ḥarrik]   *move (you, sing , masc , imperative)*
>   [dammak]   *your blood*

It seems the case that the learner, upon producing the IL-utterance (42), adopted a word-for-word translation strategy by relying on the L1-example (42a) Therefore, the L1-based L2-items *'move'* and *'blood'* mark *crucial* PT from the L1-equivalents in (42a) which are in common use in SCA Since it has been attested that the learner lacked the knowledge of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which imposes the collocational use of, for example *'pump'* or *'rouse'* with *'blood'*, his resort to *'move'* in collocation with *'blood'* can be viewed as another example of semantic avoidance

> (43)   Will you *open* the *umbrella*?   (*AU*)
> (44)   It's not raining now   You can *close* the *umbrella*   (*AU*)

In both varieties, the L1-lexical verbs [fta ḥ] (SCA)/[iftaḥ] (MSA) *'open (you, imperative, sing , masc)'* and [sakkir] (SCA)/[agliq] (MSA) *'close/shut (you, imperative, sing , masc)'* usually collocate with [miThalla] (MSA)/[šamsiyye] (SCA) *'umbrella'* to express the meaning intended in this IL-utterance It appears that the learner, upon

producing (43) and (44), made cross-linguistic tie-ups between [fta h̲]/[sakkir] and 'open/close' which lead to crucial PT from SCA as realized in MSA (cf chapter 5, section 5 2, Table 6) Again, this is due to the learner's ignorance of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which requires the lexical use of the phrasal verbs 'put up/put down' in these contexts (semantic avoidance)

(45) I'll open the tap for cold water   (AU)

In SCA specifically, the L1-lexical verb [afta h̲] 'open (I)' usually collocates with [h̲anafiyye] 'tap' to indicate the meaning intended in this IL-utterance (cf chapter 5, section 5 2, Table 6) Thus, as an exception to Hypothesis Three, the learner seems to have had recourse to this L1-lexical verb which leads to NT because, from the L2-semantic point of view 'to open a tap' and 'to run a tap' are quite different things

(46) There isn't even a thread of hope   (AU)

This IL-utterance reflects complete PT from the collocational representation of [k̲ayt̲ amal] 'a threat of hope', a common phrase equally used both in MSA and SCA (cf Wehr, 1961 267), even though this IL-utterance seems to be a verbatim translation of the L1-counterpart

(47) She was looking from the tip of her eye   (AU)

Both in MSA and SCA, the L1-lexical item [t̲araf] 'tip' usually collocates with [ʔayn] (MSA)/[ʔe n] (SCA) 'eye' as in [bit̲alliʔ min/b-t̲araf ʔe no] (Lit look (he) from/by tip (of) his eye) to indicate that the person in question glances furtively (i e looks out of the corner of one's eye) Therefore, the cross lingual tie-up the learner made between [t̲araf ʔe na] and 'the tip of her eye' signifies crucial PT from both varieties

[N.B.. In support of Hypothesis Two, the misuse of the preposition 'from' in (47) reflects the learner's resort to the L1-preposition [min] which leads to NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (cf section 6 2 1, sub-section (C))]

(48) I think his *moustache* is *not true*   (*AU*)

Both in MSA and SCA, the possible collocational representations of the
source L1-lexical items are illustrated in the following L1-TEs

(48a) [šawa rbo mu *ha?ı ?ıyye*]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lıt*   his moustaches not *true*)

(48b) [šawa rbo ist̲ina?iyye/mzayyafa/musta?a ra]   (*MSA/SCA*)
       'his moustache ıs *artıfıcıal/false/*(*Lit*   borrowed)'

As the context of the IL-utterance (48) suggests, the larner seems to
have been stressing the negative mode of the L1-based L2-lexical item
'*true*' (which reflects a dırect translation of [ha?ı ?ıyye] ın (48a))
rather than ıts antonym sınce he should have produced, at least, '*hıs
moustache ıs* false' which would lead to *complete* PT from MSA and SCA
Given that the L1-lexıcal ıtem [ha?ı ?ıyye] (SCA)/[haqı qiyya] (MSA) is
rendered ınto L2-lexıcal ıtems such as '*true*',   '*real*', '*genuıne*',
'*authentıc*' and so on, the cross-lıngual tie-up the learner made
between [ha?ı ?ıyye] and '*true*' —which marks *crucial* PT from both
varıeties— may reflect hıs lexıcal avoidance of at least '*real*', since
ıt has been attested that he had '*real*' but not '*authentıc*' at his
dısposal (*cf* examples (18) and (22) above)

(49) Her face became *red* from *shyness*   (*AU*)

This IL-utterance reflects the learner's reliance on the collocatıonal
representatıon of [ahmar] '*red*' and [kajal] '*shyness*' both ın MSA and
SCA

(49a) [s̲a r wıšša *ahmar* mnı-l-*kajal*]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lıt*   became (ıt) her face *red* from the *shyness*)

(49b) [ıhmarra wajhuha mın-al *kajal*]   (*MSA*)
       (*Lıt*   reddened/blushed (ıt) her face from the *shyness*)

(49c) [ıhmarra wajhuha *kajalan*]   (*MSA*)
       (*Lıt*   reddened/blushed (ıt) her face (wıth) *shyness*)

Therefore, thıs collocatıonal representatıon of both L1-lexıcal ıtems

can be seen as *crucial* PT from both varieties   Again, a type of transfer such as this can be viewed as another example of semantic avoidance since the learner, it has been attested, *ignores* the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which involves the lexical use of, at least, the verb *'blush'*

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the preposition *'from'*, which suggests the learner's resort to the L1-preposition [min] as in (49 a-b), marks NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (*cf* section 6 2 1, sub-section (C)), though [min], at a deep-structure level, means *'because of'* due to the grammatical function of [ka̱jalan] in (49c) which is known as [maf?u 1 lahu], that is, an object *'shyness'* triggering the effect of the action *'blushing'* This indicates that the learner did not realize the meaning implied in the L1-preposition [min] otherwise he would have produced the IL-utterance (49) as *'her face became red* because of *shyness'* which would lead to PT from the deep structure of [min] in this context]

(50)   This is a *clear robbery*   (*AU*)

[Reference   *the speaker was referring to the excessive price   charged for a meal*]

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have had recourse to the collocational representation of the L1-lexical items [sariqa] (MSA)/[sir?e] (SCA) *'robbery'* and [wa di̱ha] (MSA)/[wa d'he̱] (SCA) *'clear/plain'* (*cf* section 6 3 1, examples (3 a-c)) which indicate that such an excessive price is easily recognizable as robbery   Therefore, the resultant IL-utterance signifies *crucial* PT from both MSA and SCA

[N B   Since the noun *'robbery'* is usually used as uncountable in this context, the countability of [sariqa] in Arabic may be the underlying trigger of the learner's retention of the indefinite article *'a'* which, in support of *Hypothesis Two*, suggests NT from the syntactic realization of both varieties (*cf* section 6 2 2)]

(51)   Do you believe he's dead?
       They *shot false cartridges*   (*AU*)

[Reference *watching a film on TV*]

This IL-utterance reflects transfer along two semantic parameters. the lexical representation of '*shot*' and the collocational representation of '*false/bullets*' In terms of the first parameter, the learner seems to have made a cross-lingual tie-up between the Ll-lexical verb [atlaqu] and the L2-lexical verb '*shot*' which can be seen as *crucial* PT from both varieties Since it has been attested that the learner knows the L2-verb '*fire*' as a lexical item, his use of '*shot*' can be viewed as a type of lexical avoidance as mentioned above (*cf* examples (18), (22))

With regard to the second parameter, the Ll-lexical items [fašag], [rsa s] and [talaqa t] '*cartridges*' can collocate with [kullabı]/[kullabıyye] '*blank*' to indicate that the cartridges have no bullets in them Such a collocational representation is commonly used within the military jargon of SCA/MSA

(51a) [fašag kullabı]   (*SCA*)
(51b) [rsa s kullabi]   (*SCA*)
(51c) [talaqa t kullabıyye]   (*MSA/SCA*)
        (*Lit   cartridges blank)*

By rendering [kullabı] into '*false*', the learner seems to have adopted a semantic avoidance strategy due to his *ignorance* of the L2-lexical item '*blank*' Consequently, the Ll-based L2-lexical item '*false*' suggests *crucial* PT from both varieties as shown in the above Ll-examples

(52) I can't remember, my *mind* is *tired*   (*AU*)

In both varieties, the Ll-based L2-lexical item '*tired*' can collocate with [muk] '*brain/mind*' and [tha kıra] '*memory*' to indicate the meaning intended in this IL-utterance

(52a) [mukki taʔba n]   (*SCA*)
(52b) [dıma gı mutʔab]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lit   my brain/mind tired)*

(52c) [za kırtı taʔba ne]   (*SCA*)
(52d) [tha kıratı mutʔaba]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lit   my memory tired)*

Therefore, the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [taʔba n] and '*tired*' marks *complete* PT from the former's lexical representation both in MSA and SCA However, the IL-collocation of both '*mind*' and

'*tired*' suggests *crucial* **PT** from both varieties as shown in the above L1-examples Since it has been attested that the learner's linguistic repertoire lacks the knowledge of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which involves the collocational use of '*blank*' in this context (*cf* example (51) above), his use of the L1-based L2-lexical item '*tired*' in collocation with '*mind*' can also be taken as an example of semantic avoidance

(53) Will you give me a *white paper?*   (*AU*)

In both varieties, the L1-lexical item [be ḏa] (SCA)/[bayḏa ʔ] (MSA) '*white*' usually collocates with [waraʔa]/[ṭabaʔa] (SCA)/[safẖa] (MSA/SCA) '*a sheet of paper*' to indicate that the sheet is blank

(53a) [waraʔa/ṭabaʔa/safẖa be ḏa]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lit* (a sheet of) paper *white* (fem))

(53b) [safẖa bayḏa ʔ]   (*MSA*)
       (*Lit* (a sheet of) paper *white* (fem))

Thus, the L1-based L2-lexical item '*white*' reflects *crucial* PT from the collocational representation of (53 a-b) both in **MSA** and **SCA** Again, such an item can be seen as an example of semantic avoidance in the sense that the learner *ignores* the lexical use of '*blank*' in this context
[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the countability of [waraʔa], [ṭabaʔa] or [safẖa] seems to be the underlying precondition for the learner's misuse of the indefinite article '*a*' in (53) which marks NT from the syntactic realization of both varieties]

(54) I left this *card empty* for your notes   (*AU*)
(55) I'll bring you an *empty tape* to record it (*a song*)   (*AU*)

Similarly, in SCA in particular, the L1-lexical item [fa ḏi]/[fa rig] '*empty*' usually collocates with [karit] '*card*' or [šari ṭ] '*tape*' to indicate the blankness of the card or the tape Therefore, the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [fa ḏi]/[fa rig] and '*empty*' signifies *crucial* PT from the former's usual collocation with [karit] or [šari ṭ] in SCA Analogous with the interlingual identifications (51), (52) and (53), the L1-based L2-lexical item '*empty*' reflects a semantic avoidance strategy adopted by the learner

(56)   He has a very *long tongue*   (*AU*)

In SCA in particular, the L1-lexical item [ṯawi l] '*long*' can collocate
with [lsa n] '*tongue*' to figuratively indicate that the person in
question usually speaks sarcastically and bitterly   Therefore,   the
cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [ṯawi l] and '*long*' marks
crucial PT from the former's usual collocation with [lsa n] '*tongue*' in
SCA However, it would have marked *complete* PT from MSA if the learner
had   relied   on   the   L1-lexical item [ḥa dd] '*sharp*' which usually
collocates with [lisa n] '*tongue*' to express the same intended meaning
Since it has been attested that the learner knows the L2-lexical item
'*sharp*' and its usual collocation with '*tongue*' in English, the
L1-based L2-lexical item '*long*' can be taken as another example of
lexical avoidance (*cf* examples (18), (22) and (48) above)

(57)   Now my *appetite* is *open*   (*AU*)

[Reference   *the speaker was referring to a strong drink which made him
feel hungry*]

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have adopted a word-
for-word translation strategy by relying on one of the following
L1-TEs

(57a)   [halla? *infat'ḥet* šahi ti]   (*SCA*)
(57b)   [al-?a na *infataḥat* šahiyyati]   (*MSA*)

Therefore, as an exception to *Hypothesis Three*,   the cross-lingual
tie-up the learner made between [infat'ḥet] and '*is open*' suggests NT
due to a semantic avoidance strategy (*cf*   chapter 5, section 5 2,
Table 6)   That is, the learner's *ignorance* of the lexical use of verbs
such as '*stimulate*' and '*whet*' in this context

[N.B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the learner's resort to the
present-tense construction in place of the perfective construction
marks NT due to a syntactic avoidance strategy (*cf* section 6 2 3)]

(58)   He has *a* good experience in nuclear physics   If he
       works in France, his salary will be an *open cheque*   (*AU*)

Similarly, the learner, upon producing *'open cheque'*, seems to have adopted a word-for-word translation strategy by relying on the L1-lexical item [maftu h̲] *'open (nomen patientis)'* Such an item usually collocates with [šɪ k] *'cheque'* in SCA to indicate that the amount of the cheque in question is left for the payee to fill in Therefore, the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [maftu h̲] and *'open'* suggests *crucial* PT from the collocational representation of [šɪ k maftu h̲] in SCA Analogous with the above examples (*cf* (51), (52), (53), (54), and (55)), the L1-based L2-lexical item *'open'* in (58) reflects a semantic avoidance strategy due to the learner's lack of knowledge of the L2-semantic idiosyncracy which imposes the collocational use of *'blank'* in this context

[N B. In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the countability of the L1-noun [k̲ɪbra] *'experience'* as in [ʔɪndo k̲ɪbra t] (SCA)/[ʔɪndahu/ladayhɪ k̲ɪbra.t] (MSA) (*Lit have (he) experiences*) seems to act as a precondition for the learner's misuse of the indefinite article *'a'* in (58) and thus suggests NT from the syntactic realization of both varieties (*cf* section 6 2 2)]

6.3.3 Contextual Representations

(59) I can't see, you're *standing in front of me*   (*AU*)

[The situational context of this IL-utterance refers to the speaker who was watching TV The addressee was standing in the speaker's way and thus preventing him from watching The contextual meaning entails that the speaker, upon producing such an utterance, wanted the addressee to move]

The learner, upon producing this IL-utterance, seems to have had automatic recourse to the L1-adverbial phrase [udda mɪ] (SCA)/[qudda mɪ]/[ama mɪ] (MSA) *'in front of me/before me'* which leads to *crucial* PT, since the contextual representation of *'in front of me'* in (59) does not entirely destroy the semantic system of the possible L2-equivalents holding the same intended meaning It appears that the underlying factors which caused the learner to produce such an

L1-adverbial phrase were incorporating into a semantic field different from that which underlies the L2-counterparts usually produced in English. In other words, the suggestion is that the internal processes triggered by these factors operated outside the semantic field which underlies the English counterparts, simply because the adverbial phrase 'in front of me' is not usually used as a substitute for the L2-equivalents within such a situational context to convey such a contextual meaning. Therefore, the L1-TE [wa:?if udda:mi:] (*Lit.: standing (you) in front of me*) seems to act as an *utterance initiator* for two underlying reasons. First, the adverbial phrase [udda:mi:] is normally rendered into either 'in front of me' or 'before me', so that its contextual representation was the only available linguistic knowledge which the learner could draw upon. Second, in Arabic, this L1-adverbial phrase is usually used within such a situational context to convey such a contextual meaning. Consequently, the L1-based L2-adverbial phrase 'in front of me' reflects a **semantic avoidance** strategy due to the learner's *ignorance* of the L2-equivalents such as 'in my way', 'in my line of vision', and so on, albeit his linguistic repertoire may have the subcomponents of these prepositional phrases as individual lexical items.

(60) You wear your jumper *upside down*.   (*AU*)
(61) Your jumper is *the other way round*.   (*AU*)

[The **situational context** of the IL-utterance (60) is that the addressee was wearing the jumper with the inner side out (*inside-out*); whereas in the IL-utterance (61) it indicates that the jumper was on back to front; that is, its label was to the front. The **contextual meaning** indicates that the speaker in both utterances wanted the addressee to put on the jumper right way round.]

The learner, here, seems to have relied on either of the two L1-prepositional phrases [bil-?akis] and [bil-ma?lu:b] (SCA) which, depending on the situational context, are interchangeably used to express the meaning intended. These L1-prepositional phrases, whose MSA-forms are [bil-?aks] and [bil-maqlu:b] respectively, are usually rendered into 'upside-down', 'wrong side out', 'the other way round', 'reversely', 'conversely', 'vice versa', and so on (*cf*. Wehr, 1961: 631 and 785). Therefore, the cross-lingual tie-ups the learner made between L1 and L2 in both IL-utterances lead to *crucial* PT from SCA and

reflect semantic avoidance strategies due to his *ignorance* of the L2-items which are usually used as the second part of the phrasal verb, that is, '*inside-out*' for '*wear*' in (60) and '*back to front*' for '*Be on*' in (61)

[N.B   Concerning *Hypothesis Two*,   the learner's avoidance of the progressive aspect of the verb '*wear*' in (60) has been discussed earlier (*cf* section 6 2 3, example (96))   Again, the omission of the preposition '*on*' in (61), which is the first part of the phrasal verb, suggests NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA]

(62)   I laughed at him *in my heart*   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance,   the learner seems to have resorted to the contextual use of the L1-prepositional phrase [b'?albı] '*in my heart*' as in the following L1-TE

(62a)   [d'hıkıt ?ale b'?albı]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lıt*   laughed (I) at him *in my heart*)

This indicates that the person in question (*the agent*) laughs at someone secretly (i e. laughs at someone to himself)   Therefore, the word-for-word translation strategy the learner adopted leads to *crucıal* PT from the contextual use of [b'?albı] in SCA   Again, the L1-based L2-prepositional phrase '*in my heart*' reflects a semantic avoidance strategy due to the learner's *ignorance* of the contextual use of L2-phrases such as '*to myself*', '*up my sleeve*', '*under my breath*', and so on

(63)   This woman behaves *behind her husband*   (*AU*)

This IL-utterance suggests the learner's reliance on the contextual use of the L1-prepositional phrase [mın wara] as in the following L1-TE

(63a)   [btıtsarraf mın wara ɟo za]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lıt*   behave (she) from behind her husband)

The contextual meaning of this L1-utterance indicates that the person in question (*she*) is doing something unpleasant without her husband's knowledge (i e goes behind his back)   Thus, the IL-use of '*behind her*

husband' signifies *crucial* **PT** from the contextual meaning of (63a), a common utterance produced in **SCA** Further, the lexical use of *'behaves'* also signifies *crucial* **PT** from the L1-lexical verb [btitṣarraf] in (63a)

(64)   **NSE**   I don't know what to do with Barbara
       NSA   Just *turn your back to her*   (*AU*)

In this piece of dialogue, the native speaker of English (NSE) was referring to an obnoxious or a difficult friend and the native speaker of Arabic (NSA) was advising his interlocutor to ignore such a friend The contextual use of *'turn your back to her'* suggests the learner's resort to the L1-TE (64a) rather than (64b) though both are equally used in SCA

(64a)   [dı r*la* ḏahrak]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lit*   turn (you, sing , masc) *to her* your back)

(64b)   [?'ṭı *ha* ḏahrak]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lit*   give (you, sing , masc) *her* your back)

Therefore, the IL-use of *'turn your back to her'* signals *complete* **PT** from the lexical distributin of (64a) which holds the same contextual meaning intended by the NSA ın (64)

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the preposition *'to'* in (64) marks **NT** from the L1-preposition [l] in (64a) due to the syntactic realization of both **MSA** and **SCA**]

(65)   Let me remember you *with the good things*   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have had automatic recourse to the contextual use of the L1-prepositional phrase [bı-ıššı lıkwayyes]/[bı-ššı lımnı ḥ] *'with the good thing'* which is commonly used in SCA as derived from MSA   [bı-ıššay?ı-l-hasan/malı ḥ]   Thus, the contextual representaiton of *'with the good things'* in (65) marks *complete* **PT** from both **MSA** and **SCA**

[N.B.   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the preposition *'with'* —which suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-preposition

[bı]   as indicating *figurative association* (*cf*   section   6 2.1,
sub-section (B))— marks NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA
and SCA]

(66) Everyone behaves *according to his origin*   (*AU*)

The learner, here, seems to have adopted a word-for-word translation
strategy by relying on the following L1-TE

(66a) [kul wa ẖıd bıtsarraf ẖasab as̱lo]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lıt   every one behave (he) according to his origin*)

Thus, the contextual use of '*according to his origin*' sıgnıfıes
complete PT from the contextual use of [ẖasab as̱lo] ın SCA whıch ıs
derıved from [ẖasba as̱lıhı] ın MSA   Further,   the lexical use of
'*behaves*' suggests *crucial* PT from the L1-lexıcal verb [bıtsarraf] ın
(66a) or ıts MSA-form [yatas̱arrafu] (*cf* example (63) above)

(67) I don't feel *at rest* when I look at him   (*AU*)

The contextual use of '*at rest*' suggests the learner's reliance on   the
L1-prepositional phrase [bırra ẖa] (*Lıt   with the rest/ease*) whıch ıs
equally used ın MSA and SCA   Such a phrase, when used ın L1-utterances
like [ma bış?ur bırra.ẖa] (*Lıt   not feel (I) with the rest/ease*),
ındıcates that the person ın questıon ıs not psychologıcally or
physıcally comfortable (ı e   at ease)   What ıs ımplıed ın (67),
therefore, ıs the psychological feelıng whıch ıs more apparent ın
L1-utterances lıke [nafsı ma   btırtaẖlo] (SCA) (*Lıt   my self/psyche
not relax/feel comfortable (it) with him*)   Therefore, the contextual
use of '*at rest*' ın (67) marks *crucıal* PT from both MSA and SCA

(68) She was lookıng at everyone *with hate*   (*AU*)

Thıs IL-utterance suggests the learner's resort to the contextual use
of the L1-prepositional phrase [b'kuruh] (SCA)/[bıkurh]/[bı ẖıqd] (MSA)
'*with hatred/hate*' whıch leads to *complete* PT from both varıeties

[N B   As an exception to *Hypothesis Two*, the use of the prepositıon
'*wıth*' —whıch reflects the learner's resort to the L1-preposıtıon [bı]

as indicating *figurative association* (*cf* section 6 2 1, sub-section (B))— also signals PT from the syntactic realization of both varieties]

  (69) I'm really *shy from you*   *(AU)*

[The situational context of this IL-utterance refers to the speaker who borrowed some money from the addressee The contextual meaning, therefore, indicates that the speaker was in a state of apology for not giving the money back on time as promised]

  The learner, here, seems to have adopted a word-for-word trans-lation strategy by relying on the following L1-TE

  (69a) [ana fi?lan <u>k</u>aɉla n mɪnnak]   *(SCA)*
  (69b) [ana bɪl-fi?ɪl <u>k</u>aɉla n mɪnnak]   *(SCA)*
    (*Lɪt* I really/indeed *shy from* you)

Thus, depending on the context, the L1-lexical item [<u>k</u>aɉla n] '*shy*' can be used to indicate

a Self-consciousness and uncomfortableness in the presence of others,

b Hesitation about something such as speaking to others,

c A feeling of awkwardness or ashamedness,

d Mental discomfort or anxiety (embarrassment),

e Distressed feeling, or feeling of apology, caused by undesirable behaviour, and so on

Since this L1-item is usually rendered into '*abashed*', '*ashamed*', '*shy*', '*embarrassed*' and so on (*cf* Wehr, 1961 228), the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between [<u>k</u>aɉla n] (SCA/MSA) and '*shy*' —within such a situational context— can be viewed as an example of *crucial* PT from both varieties

[N B In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the preposition '*from*', which suggests the learner's resort to the L1-preposition [mɪn], marks NT from the syntaction realization of both varieties (*cf* section 6 2 1, sub-section (C))]

  (70) I washed my hands *from that problem*   *(AU)*

[The situational context of this IL-utterance refers to the speaker who had already got involved in a particular problem   The contextual meaning connotes his statement that he was no longer responsible for such a problem]

Similarly,   the learner, here,   seems to have applied a word-for-word translation strategy by recourse to the following L1-TE

(70a)   [g̲assalt ı day mın hadı k-ıl-mıšıkle]   (SCA)
        (Lıt   washed (I) my hands from that the problem)

Therefore, wıthın the collocatıonal representatıon of [g̲assalt] 'washed (I)' and [ı day] 'my hands' ın SCA,   the IL-utterance reflects *complete* PT from the contextual meanıng ındıcated by these two L1-lexıcal items

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the mısuse of the preposıtıon '*from*' whıch suggests the learner's resort to the L1-preposıtıon [mın], sıgnals NT from the syntactıc realızatıon of both MSA and SCA (*cf* sectıon 6 2 1, sub-sectıon (C))]

(71) a   NSA   What happened to hım?
      b   NSA   They tıed hıs *hands and legs*   (AU)

[The sıtuatıonal context of thıs pıece of dıalogue refers to both ınterlocutors who were watchıng a fılm on TV   The speaker ın (71a) left the room for a whıle and when he came back he asked to know what he had mıssed of the fılm   The contextual meanıng ıs apparent ın the speaker's IL-utterance (71b)]

In thıs IL-utterance (71b), the learner seems to have had recourse to the followıng L1-TE

(71c)   [rabba_t_u ı *de* w rıjle]   (SCA)
        (Lıt   tıed (they) *hıs hands* (dual) *and hıs legs* (dual))

From the poınt of vıew of the L2-utterance,   '*they tıed hıs* arms *and legs*' whıch ıs possıble ın thıs context,   the L1-based L2-lexıcal item '*hands*' ın (71b) suggests *crucıal* PT from the lexıcaul use of [ı *de*] ın SCA specıfıcally (*cf*   sectıon 6 3 1, example (7))   However, from the poınt of vıew of the L2-utterance '*he was tıed/bound hand and* foot' whıch ıs more recurrent ın thıs context, the L1-based L2-lexıcal item

'*legs*' in (71b) marks *crucial* PT from the lexicaul use of [rɪjle] ɪn SCA (*cf* section 6 3 1, example (2))   It appears that the contextual use of '*hands and legs*', wɪthɪn the alternately collocatɪonal representatɪon of both L1-based L2-lexɪcal ɪtems, sɪgnɪfɪes *complete* PT from SCA

[N B.   Sɪnce the questɪon ɪn (71a) focuses on the object '*hɪm*', the passɪve constructɪon whɪch requɪres such an object to functɪon as a subject would be more logɪcal as an alternatɪve to the answer ɪn (71b) Therefore, the learner's tendency to produce the actɪve constructɪon rather than the passɪve constructɪon suggests another example of **syntactɪc avoɪdance** ɪn Kleɪnmann's sense (*cf* chapter 4, sectɪon 4 1 2, and sectɪon 6 2 3, example (100)), though the resultant IL-utterance (71b) does not mark an *overt* syntactɪc error]

(72)   I know you from *your head to your feet*   (*AU*)

The contextual meanɪng of thɪs IL-utterance ɪndɪcates that the *agent* (I) knows the *patɪent* (you) completely The learner, here, seems to have relɪed on the followɪng L1-TE

(72a)   [mɪn ra sak la *rɪjle k*]   (*SCA*)
        (*Lɪt*   from your head to *your legs*)

If thɪs ɪs the case, then the learner, by recourse to the L1-lexɪcal ɪtem [rɪjle k], appears to have realɪzed ɪts 'correct' meanɪng wɪthɪn Arabɪc sɪnce, dependɪng on the context, the sɪngular form [rɪjɪl] ɪn SCA means eɪther '*leg*' or '*foot*' as dɪscussed earlɪer (*cf* sectɪon 6 3 1, example (2)) Thɪs can be seen more explɪcɪtly ɪn the L1-equɪvalent (72b) as usually used ɪn MSA

(72b)   [mɪn-arraʔsɪ ɪla-l-qadam]   (*MSA*)
        (*Lɪt*   from the head to the foot)

The reason why the possɪbɪlɪty of transfer from (72a) ɪs greater than from (72b) ɪs that the redundant use of the possessɪve pronoun [k] '*your*' ɪs more frequent ɪn SCA than ɪt ɪs ɪn MSA Therefore, the resultant IL-utterance (72) suggests *crucɪal* PT from the contextual representatɪon of (72a) ɪn SCA   However, wɪthɪn the 'correct'

realization of [rıjıl] as '*foot*', ıt would have been *complete* PT ıf the
learner had rendered [ısba?-ırrıjıl] (SCA) ın (72c), which orıgınates
from [akmas-ıl-qadam] (MSA) ın (72d), ınto the L2-lexıcal ıtem '*toes*'

(72c) [mın ra sak la ısba? rıjlak]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lıt*   from your head to *fınger* of your *foot*)
(72d) [mın-arra?sı ıla   *akmas-ıl-qadam*]   (*MSA*)
       (*Lıt*   from the head to *hollow of the sole of the foot*)

(73) I am frozen *untıl the bone*   (*AU*)

In thıs IL-utterance, the learner seems to have adopted a word-for-word
translatıon strategy by relyıng on the L1-phrase [hatta-1-?adm]
(SCA/MSA)   Lıke the L2-equıvalent,   the contextual meanıng of such a
phrase ındıcates that the actıon (*freezıng*) ıs modıfıed to be
completely penetratıng   Thus,   the resultant IL-utterance (73) marks
complete PT from the contextual representatıon of the L1-phrase ın both
varıetıes

[N.B   In support of *Hypothesıs Two*, the mısuse of the IL-prepositıon
'*untıl*', which suggests the learner's relıance on the L1-preposıtıon
[hatta], sıgnıfıes NT from the syntactıc realızatıon of both SCA and
MSA   However, ıt would have been PT ıf the learner had adopted a
lıteral translatıon strategy by recourse to the L1-preposıtıon [lı]
whıch ıs more recurrent ın SCA wıthın such a context]

(74) Wrıte them *on my account*   (*AU*)

[The sıtuatıonal context of thıs IL-utterance refers to the speaker who
usually buys on credıt from a corner shop   The contextual meanıng
ındıcates that the speaker wanted the addressee (the shop-keeper) to
put the bought goods onto the former's account]

Sımılarly, the learner, here,   seems to have adopted a word-for-
word translatıon strategy by recourse to the followıng L1-TE

(74a) [sajlon ?ala-h'sa bı]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lıt : Wrıte (ımperatıve sıng , masc) them on my account*)

Therefore, from the point of view of the possible L2-equivalents, both the lexical use of *'write'* and the contextual use of *'on my account'* suggest *complete* PT from SCA and MSA, since both uses are possible in both varieties   However, the collocational use of both *'write'* and *'on my account'* reflects *crucial* PT as they do not usually collocate with each other to form an established L2-identification

    (75) Can we buy it (*a television*) *in debt?*   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have resorted to the L1-prepositional phrase [bidde n] (SCA)/[fiddayn] (MSA) (*Lit   in debt*) whose contextual meaning indicates that the television in question would be either bought *on credit* or payed for *by instalments* [bittaq'si t] (MSA/SCA)   Thus, the resultant IL-use of *'in debt'* in (75) suggests *crucial* PT from both varieties   This can also be viewed as an instance of semantic avoidance

[N B   The misuse of the preposition *'in'* has been discussed earlier (*cf* section 6 2 1, example (9))]

    (76) If she continues *in this behaviour*,
          she will bring *shame to* herself   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have resorted to the contextual use of the L1-prepositional phrase [b'ha-ttasarruf] (SCA)/[bi ha tha-ttasarruf] (MSA) *'in this behaviour'* which leads to *crucial* PT from both varieties   Further, the collocational representation of *'bring'* and *'shame'* can be seen as an example of *complete* PT from the collocational use of the L1-lexical items [tajlib] *'bring (she)'* and [al-?a r] *'the shame'* which are usually recurrent in MSA specifically

[N B   In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the preposition *'to'*, which suggests the learner's reliance on the L1-preposition [l], signifies NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA]

    (77) You should go to *the* hospital   *It's not a game!*   (*AU*)

In the second part of this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have adopted a word-for-word translation strategy by recourse to the L1-phrase [mi li?be] (SCA) '*it's not a game*' The contextual meaning of such a phrase indicates that the matter in question (*infection*) is serious and the addressee should *not* neglect proper treatment Therefore, within this situational context, the resultant IL-use of '*it's not a game*' suggests *crucial* PT from its L1-equivalent as it is normally used in SCA

[N.B In support of *Hypothesis Two*, the misuse of the definite article '*the*' marks NT from the syntactic realization of both MSA and SCA (*cf* section 6 2 2)]

(78) NSA (A)   Do you know Mazin Ashter?
     NSA (B)   This name *is not strange to me*   (*AU*)

Similarly, the learner (B), here, seems to have applied a word-for-word translation strategy by relying on the following L1-TE

(78a) [hal isim mu gari b ?alay]   (*SCA*)
       (*Lit   this name not strange to me*)

Thus, within this context, the resultant IL-use of '*is not strange to me*', which indicates that the name in question is familiar to speaker (B), suggests *crucial* PT from (78a) in SCA and its L1-equivalent [laysa ha tha-l-?ismu gar ban ?alay] in MSA Again, this can be looked upon as an instance of semantic avoidance

(79) Next month it (*a house-plant*) will *have leaves*   (*AU*)

In this IL-utterance, the learner seems to have made a cross-lingual tie-up between [yitla?la wara?] (SCA) (*Lit   appear (he) to it (plant) leaves*) and '*have leaves*' in that both lexical items [wara?] and '*leaves*' are not verbalized Although there is nothing wrong with the contextual use of '*have leaves*' which clearly leads to *complete* PT from SCA, the learner's lack of knowledge of the L2-phrasal verbs '*be in leaf*' and '*come into leaf*' as well as the less frequent use of the verbalized MSA-form of '*leaf*' [tu riq] in SCA than the non-verbalized form may be the logical impediment of making the relevant cross-semantic tie-ups (semantic avoidance)

      (80) I said a word and *that's all*   *(AU)*

Again, the learner, here, seems to have made a direct cross-lingual tie-up between [ḵala s̲] as in the L1-TE (80a) and '*that's all*'

      (80a) [ʔılıt kılme w *ḵala s̲*]   *(SCA)*
           (*Lıt*   said (I) word and *that's all*)

Thus, depending on the context, the L1-word [ḵala s̲] means either '*that's all*' or '*that's enough*', and, in this particular context, it indicates that the '*word*' in question will be kept Although it has been attested that the L2-idiom '*to keep one's word*' exists in the learner's linguistic repertoire, the cross-lingual tie-up made between [ḵala s̲] and '*that's all*' can be ascribed to the more automatized nature of [ḵala s̲] on the one hand and to the greater effort demanded by the cross-lingual tie-up between [ana ʔında] as in (80b) and, at least, '*I am upon ıt*' or '*I'll keep ıt*' on the other

      (80b) [ʔılıt kılme w *ʔana ʔ̲ında*]   *(SCA)*
           (*Lıt*   said (I) word and *I* (be) *upon ıt*)

Consequently, the resultant IL-use of '*that's all*' can be viewed as an example of *crucial* PT from the contextual representation of [ḵala s̲] ın SCA

      (81) *Be wıth me, please*   *(AU)*

The learner, here, seems to adopt a word-for-word translation strategy by recourse to the L1-phrase [ḵallı k maʔı] (SCA) (*Lıt* *Let yourself (be) wıth me*) or [ku n maʔı] (SCA)/[kun maʔı] (MSA) '*be wıth me*' ‹Thus, depending on the context, such a phrase may mean either '*be ın my presence/company*' or '*lısten to me attentively and patiently*' The contextual meaning of the IL-utterance (81) suggests the latter and therefore marks *crucial* PT from both MSA and SCA

      (82) He seems *empty*   *(AU)*

Sımılarly, this IL-utterance reflects a word-for-word translation strategy applied by the learner ın his reliance on either of the two L1-lexical items [fa ḏ̲ı] and [fa rıḡ] which are equally recurrent ın

MSA and SCA   One of the contextual uses of these items in SCA refers figuratively to a witless or stupid person who is extremely silent due to lack of common sense   Therefore, the contextual representation of the L1-based L2-lexical item *'empty'* can be seen as an example of *complete* PT from SCA, since, at a deep-structure level, the L1-lexical items [fa <u>d</u>ı] and [fa rı<u>g</u>] figuratively modify one's head, mind, and so on, ın such a context

(83)   She kept sılent *from the fear*   (*AU*)

A further word-for-word translatıon strategy adopted by the learner ın his resort to the followıng L1-TE

(83a)   [<u>k</u>ırset *mn-ıl-<u>k</u>o* f]   (*SCA*)
         (*Lıt*   became/kept (she) sılent *from the* fear)

Thus, the cross-lıngual tıe-up the learner made between [<u>k</u>ırset] and *'kept sılent'* leads to *crucıal* PT from the contextual representatıon of (83a) ın SCA and ıts L1-equıvalent ın MSA   As it has been attested, the lexıcal representatıon of *'kept sılent'* can be vıewed as a result of a **semantic avoidance** strategy

[**N B.**   In support of *Hypothesıs Two*, the mısuse of the preposıtıon *'from'*, whıch reflects the learner's relıance on the L1-preposıtıon [mın], marks NT from the syntactıc realızatıon of both MSA and SCA (*cf* sectıon 6 2 1, sub-sectıon (C))   Agaın, the mısuse of the defınıte artıcle *'the'* suggests NT from the normal use of [al] wıth *generic* nouns (*cf* sectıon 6 2 2)]

(84)   *Look at thıs weather!*   (*AU*)

As ıts contextual meanıng ındıcates,   this IL-utterance suggests *complete* PT from both MSA and SCA ın whıch the L1-TE [<u>t</u>allı? ?a/šu f ha-l'jaw] *'look at/see this weather'* ıs usually used as an exclamatory utterance about the unreasonably changeable weather

(85)   When I love a certaın tune, *ıt stıcks to my tongue*   (*AU*)

[The situational context of this IL-utterance refers to the speaker in question who heard a song and admired it   The contextual meaning indicates that the speaker keeps singing it]

The learner, here, appears to have adopted a word-for-word translation strategy by recourse to the following Ll-TE

   (85a)   [til'zaʔ/tiʔ'laʔ bi (taraf) l'sa ni]   (*SCA*)
           (*Lit   stick* (it) *to* (tip of) *my tongue*)

Therefore, the cross-lingual tie-up the learner made between at   least [til'za bil'sa ni] (*cf*   (85a)) and '*it   sticks to my tongue*' suggests *crucial* PT from the contextual use of the former which is recurrent   in SCA to convey the meaning intended   This   also can be viewed as an instance of semantic avoidance

7

CONCLUSIONS AND
PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

With respect to the intended methodology for the empirical research in this study, a combination of CA *a priori* (transfer potential) and CA *a posteriori* (transfer pattern) has been maintained in an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of language transfer Further, by means of the re-oriented position of the constant TE (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 3 2), a selective number of the *concrete* IL-data have been discussed and analysed within the two distinct dimensions language product (transfer pattern) and language process (transfer process) Such an interdisciplinary approach is felt to be utilizable for scrutinizing the tangible as well as the *less* tangible preconditions which are said to be the strongest triggers of language transfer With the identification of the two major categories of errors [first, *interlingual errors* which comprise instances of L1-error NT, and second, *inter-intralingual errors* (*cf* chapter 2, section 2 4)] and of the IL-utterances that do not signify errors from the viewpoint of L2-syntax, a few preliminary remarks on the three provisional hypotheses have been made and exemplified by an attempted analysis of some attested interlingual identifications (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3) These have been followed by detailed psycholinguistic analyses of the selected IL-data which essentially constitute Part Two of this thesis (*cf* chapter 6)

In this final chapter, the opening section (section 7 1) will be taken up with a reconsideration of the three provisional hypotheses which have been formulated at the end of Part One of the current study By drawing upon the results of the empirical research as evidenced by

the detailed psycholinguistic analysis of the concrete IL-data in the previous chapter, the section will identify the exact type of L1-knowledge whose underlying 'preoccupation' is prone to language transfer and will, therefore, re-issue the statements of the three hypotheses from a more explicit perspective

The second section (section 7 2) will make some comments on the natural order of language learning skills, and will offer some tentative suggestions for L2-teaching, particularly to Arab learners of English, since Arabic and English are totally unrelated languages Given that active production cannot be attained without a necessary predisposition to active comprehension, special emphasis will be placed on the development of receptive competence for more efficiency of learning For this reason, *Delayed Oral Practice* (which appeared as one of the extensions to the Communicative Approach and mainly a reaction against the Audiolingual Approach) will be recommended to Arab students as a necessary procedure for activating and improving listening comprehension at least at the initial stages of L2-learning In addition, extensive reading will also be recommended to Arab students as a complementary procedure for widening their receptive competence Thus, active reading, together with active listening, can be taken as constituting a favourable starting point for the productive skills of speaking in particular and writing in general

The third and final section (section 7 3) will estimate the role of the L1 both in L2-learning and L2-teaching manifestations With the changing climates across linguistics and language teaching methodology, the section will refer to some of the negative and positive attitudes towards the use of the L1 and will conclude that the role of the L1 should not be trivialized but at the same time should not be overused in the classroom setting It will show that to exploit the L1 fruitfully depends largely on the effectiveness of the language teacher whose mastery of the L1 (besides his mastery of the L2) is indispensable to the treatment of those transferable spots on the one hand, and to the control of L1-utilization in the classroom setting on the other This chapter is followed by the appendix in which the L2-equivalents or possible equivalents of all the IL-examples cited and analysed in the previous chapter are listed under the same numbers.

7.1   A Reconsideration of the Three Hypotheses

At the end of Part One of the present study, three central provisional hypotheses have been enunciated in the light of the theoretical assumptions behind the new direction of transfer-based research (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 3) These hypotheses concern the potential for Arabic-influence upon the spoken production of the Syrian learners' English ILs at the three linguistic levels phonology, syntax and semantics (lexical selection) Each of these linguistic levels has been identified within its own taxonomy due to the specific nature of the IL-data which were collected from a number of Syrian adult learners (*cf* chapter 5, sections 5 1 and 5 2) The three hypotheses have also emerged from the perceived, though highly intricate, parameters of Arabic which offers enormous variations between the Standard Variety (MSA) and the Colloquial Variety (SCA) at one end, and between the regional dialects of the latter variety at another, a seemingly unique language situation in the world Thus, for a rather systematic methodology of research, these regional dialects have been classified into four main dialects (ECD, NCD, SCD and WCD) which are adduced to constitute the Colloquial Variety (SCA) and to represent the home dialects of the learners in question (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 1, **The Map of Syria**) This classification is felt to be necessary to illustrate to what extent and at what linguistic level MSA, SCA, or a mixture of both, are conducive to negative and/or positive transfer Therefore, following the detailed discussion of the selected IL-data in the previous chapter, it seems appropriate to return to the three hypotheses and to reconsider the tentative assumptions which underlie their general principles

So far as *Hypothesis One* is concerned, it seeks to establish the potential for SCA-influence in the learner's attempted articulation of phonological aspects such as consonants/phonemes, vowels/diphthongs, and some other suprasegmental units to be a significantly stronger trigger of language transfer than the potential for MSA-influence (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1) Given that the term SCA refers to the four main regional dialects mentioned above, any attested interlingual identification reflecting phonological transfer from one or two, or more, of these regional dialects is assumed to be in corroboration of *Hypothesis One* The analysis of the selected IL-data has illustrated that, in most

cases, attested examples of phonological transfer result in erroneous
interlingual identifications as so judged from the viewpoint of the
RP-identifications of the L2-counterparts (cf. the appendix). Some
negative effects, therefore, are ascribable to the learner's lack of
control rather than lack of L2-knowledge; others to his lack of
L2-knowledge (that is, his *ignorance*);   and others to his unavailable
perception of the crosslinguistic similarities between specific L2-items
and the L1-counterparts which occur either in the phonological system of
the MSA-dialect or in the phonological systems of SCA-dialects other
than his home dialect. Yet, had the learner indeed relied on these
L1-counterparts (which have the potential for crosslinguistic
similarity), the resultant interlingual identifications would have
reflected positive transfer as likely as not.

Moreover, the discussion of the attested transfer-based
identifications in phonology has also illustrated that the potential for
SCA-influence does not always function in isolation, or even, as an
unavoidable exception to *Hypothesis One*, does not function at all.
Thus, some particular examples actually produced by the Syrian learners
are said to be a reflection of transfer from an overlapping existing
between SCA and MSA (cf. chapter 6, sectoin 6.1.2, examples (63
a-e)); others are indications of transfer from MSA rather than SCA due
to an Arabic-reading strategy inherently applied by the learner even at
advanced stages of development (cf. chapter 6, section 6.1.1, examples
(28 a-c); section 6.1.2, examples (67 a-c) and (69 a-c)). These are,
in many respects, attributable to the learner's lack of L2-knowledge
(that is, his *ignorance*) of the phonological patterning demanded by the
L2-items in question.

Therefore, given the unique nature of the tremendous variations
Arabic offers between MSA and SCA and between the regional dialects of
the latter, it appears that what the learner usually falls back on, when
performing the L2 phonologically does not necessarily entail what he
previously knows about the phonological system of SCA as a whole to be a
permanent reference frame. Rather, what the learner usually tends to
transfer from the L1 seems to actually correlate with his past
experience (that is, what he really knows) of the phonological system of
his home dialect due to its highly automatized nature in his focus of
attention compared with any other regional dialects of SCA and the

standard dialect of MSA. Consequently, in the light of this justification, the statement of *Hypothesis One* can be relocated as follows:

Hypothesis One: Phonology

The potential for the phonological knowledge of Colloquial Arabic [that is, the learner's actual previous knowledge of the phonological system of his home dialect *not* any other regional dialects] rather than the potential for the phonological knowledge of Classical Arabic is mostly discernible in the *negative-transfer-based identifications* which result from the learner's lack of control over, his lack of knowledge about, and/or his lack of psychotypological cross-lingualization of the phonological distributions of the English sound-system upon processing the target material in his interlanguage continuum.

In the domain of syntax, *Hypothesis Two* addresses itself to the attested interlingual identifications reflecting transfer from the grammatical structure of Arabic as evidenced by the discussion of the selected IL-data (*cf.* chapter 6, section 6.2). Hence, Arabic-transfer effects have been detected in the learner's attempts to employ several structural devices of English such as prepositions (section 6.2.1), articles (section 6.2.2), verb-form construction (section 6.2.3), relative-clause formation (section 6.2.4), and word-order formation (section 6.2.5). Unlike *Hypothesis One* in the domain of phonology, the assumption behind *Hypothesis Two* does not intend to constantly specify which of the two varieties (MSA/SCA) of Arabic is a stronger trigger of transfer than the other, since what the learner already knows about the grammatical system of Arabic is basically associated with (or rather, is basically internalized from) the Standard Variety (MSA). This can be identified either with the Syrian speaker's attempt to perform spoken MSA, or with the tendency to modify his colloquial speech in the direction of MSA (*classicization*), or even with the every-day use of his regional dialect which constitutes part of SCA (*cf.* chapter 3, section 3.1.1). Therefore, transfer-manifestations from Arabic, whether it be MSA or SCA, are well

examinable in the learner's use of the English prepositions and articles in the first place They are also examinable in the learner's use of other English structural devices Among them are.

(a) The simple past form in place of the present perfect form suggesting an *avoidance strategy* (*cf*   section 6 2.3, examples (89-92))

(b) The simple present form in place of the present progressive form suggesting an *avoidance strategy* (*cf* section 6 2 3, example (96))

    [N B : The learner's resort to the active construction in place of the passive-construction also suggests an *avoidance strategy* (*cf.* section 3, 6 2 example (100)).]

(c) The modal present in place of the modal past after '*I wish*' and in *if*-clauses (*cf* section 6 2.3, examples (105) and (108))

(d) The retained *object* of the verb in the relative clause (*cf* section 6.2 4, examples (110) and (111))

(e) The deleted *relative pronoun* which links both the main clause and relative clause modifying the *antecedent* (*cf* section 6 2 4, example (115))

(f) Some other structures reflecting Arabic *word-order* identifications (*cf* section 6 2 5, examples (120), (124), (126) and (127))

It should be noted,   however, that there appear some specific interlingual identifications   which are said to be an indication of transfer from MSA rather than SCA. These identifications bring to light the learner's inherent reliance on either systematic deviation from MSA as thought to be correct (*cf* L1-*error transfer*, chapter 2, section 2.2 3, examples (20) and (22)) or the deep structure of a given SCA-identification as correctly realized within MSA (*cf*   chapter 6, section 6 2 4, example (109), section 6 2 5, example (122)) Conversely, the discussion of the IL-data has explored some other attested interlingual identifications which are viewed as instances of transfer from SCA rather than MSA These can be ascribed to several psycholinguistic factors such as   (a) the learner's automatized resort to the surface structure of a given SCA-identification (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 2 3, example (100)), (b) the learner's automatized resort to a L1-error typically occurring in SCA (*cf* section 6.2.3, example (103)); (c) the flexible rules of SCA and, therefore, the higher recurrence of SCA-items than MSA-items in the learner's every-day use of his L1 (*cf*   section 6 2 5, example (118)), and so on

The conclusion to be drawn from this perspective is that *Hypothesis Two* appears to restrictively concern the learner's IL-utterances which are attestedly established as evidence of grammatical transfer from Arabic (MSA/SCA) Moreover, these utterances clearly indicate that the learners in question possess fairly acceptable knowledge of the L2-syntax such as the linguistic categories and their grammatical functions, phrase construction, sentence construction, and so on It follows that any of these utterances which result in typical deviations from the standard norm of the L2 are said to be in support of *Hypothesis Two* Thus, some deviations are due to the learner's lack of L2-knowledge (*ignorance*), which is mainly noticeable in his attempts to utilize prepositions and articles, other deviations are attributable to the learner's lack of control rather than lack of knowledge, particularly when being involved in relatively long utterances, and others are explicable in terms of the absence of crosslinguistic similarity (*covert* CLI) such as those structural devices which cause the learner to adopt *avoidance strategies* These factors (ignorance, lack of control and avoidance), among others, appear to be quite strong preconditions which provide a proper atmosphere for L1-knowledge to be self-activated as a reference frame. Nevertheless, there are a number of interlingual identifications which do not bear in them structural deviations from the standard norm of the L2. These, in many respects, stem from the learner's perceived crosslinguistic similarity (complete similarity) between certain L2-structures and their L1-counterparts (*cf.* for instance chapter 6, section 6 2 1, sub-section (C), examples (36-43) and sub-section (D), examples (51-52); *cf* also section 6 3.1, example (17 N B.), section 6 3 2, examples (35 N B) and (39 N B); section 6 3 3, example (68 N B)) Consequently, like *Hypothesis One* in the domain of phonology, *Hypothesis Two* can be re-stated as follows:

Hypothesis Two· Syntax

The potential for the syntactic knowledge of Arabic [that is, the learner's actual knowledge of the syntactic system of either Classical Arabic in *suis generis* terms, or Colloquial Arabic within some restrictions of the Classical rules as in *classicization*, or Colloquial Arabic within its flexible rules originally derived from the Classical rules] is mostly discernible in the *negative-transfer-based*

identifications which proceed from the learner's lack of control over, his lack of knowledge about, and/or his lack of psychotypological cross-lingualization of the syntactic realizations of the English grammar-system upon processing the target material in his interlanguage continuum

In the domain of semantics as specified in the present study, *Hypothesis Three*, on the other hand, is concerned with the learner's IL-utterances which are looked upon as instances of lexical transfer from Arabic (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 3) These utterances have been allocated in terms of three parameters

(a) **Lexical representation** where the semantic features of a given L2-lexical item are realized or extended by recourse to the source model of the corresponding L1-lexical item (*cf* section 6 3 1)

(b) **Collocational representation** where two or more L2-lexical items are collocationally restricted or extended by recourse to the habitual co-occurrence of the source L1-lexical items within the intended meaning (*cf* section 6 3 2)

(c) **Contextual representation:** where a given IL-utterance employs a L2-lexical item, or items, whose semantic features are realized or extended within a particular situational context and/or a contextual meaning by recourse to the L1-counterpart (*cf*. section 6 3 3)

Again, like *Hypothesis Two* in the syntactic domain, but unlike *Hypothesis One* in the phonological domain, the proposal of *Hypothesis Three* does not seek to maintain either of the two varieties of Arabic to be the strongest trigger of lexical transfer Some attested interlingual identifications appear to be a reflexion of lexical transfer from SCA, others from MSA, and others from a mixture of both varieties As noted at the beginning of Part Two of this thesis, the criterion for deciding what IL-identifications are errors and what others are non-errors has nothing to do with the L2-grammar which is the task of *Hypothesis Two*. Rather, the semantic extensions of IL-lexical items (that is, L1-based L2-lexical items) can be taken as instances of positive lexical transfer since they lead to more or less the same meaning intended by the L2-counterparts, regardless of the structural

shapes of IL-utterances (*cf*   chapter 5,   section 5 3) Hence, there are
at   least *two* recognizable dimensions within which lexical transfer   may
operate   In Ringbom's words

> *One* is when semantic features   are   taken over, i e   the semantic
> range of a target language word is modified on the model of an
> equivalent source language word,   which in some contexts can be
> used as an equivalent The *other* is when translation equivalence
> is assumed between source language and target language, so that
> existing lexical items in the target language are   combined into
> compounds or phrases analogical with the source language structure
> (Ringbom, 1983 207, emphasis added)

It appears that all   the   interlingual identifications reflecting
lexical   transfer in such a perspective depend largely on the   learner's
extensive knowledge of L2-vocabulary and,   therefore, cannot be viewed
as examples of borrowing due to *pseudorelexification* or unanalysed
L1-knowledge (*cf*   chapter 4,   section 4 2 2)   Rather, the learner's
self-activated control over particular features in the syntactic domain
may cause him to consciously adopt a meaning-oriented approach to
IL-lexical items Furthermore, the analysis of the selected IL-data has
explored two distinct types of avoidance   First,   semantic avoidance
which concerns either the learner's *ignorance* of the semantic extension
of a given L2-word though he may know it but only as a lexical item (*cf.*
chapter 6,   section 6 3 1, examples (1), (2), (3), (4),   etc)   or his
ignorance of the L2-word as a lexical item (*cf*   section 6 3 1 ,
examples (5),   (6),   (8),   (9), etc) Second, lexical avoidance,   on
the other hand, does not entail the learner's ignorance of the L2-word
or its semantic extension (as is the case of the first type), but it
pertains to the highly automatized nature of the source L1-word which
activates the production of the IL-lexical item (*cf*   section 6 3 1,
'*wrote*' in (18),   '*know*' in (22),   section 6 3 2,   '*true*' in (48),
etc)   It follows that, in order to process lexical approximations by
recourse to the potential knowledge of L1-vocabulary, the learner may
apply one, or more, of the following strategies in his choice of words
(*cf* Ringbom, 1978a 88 by extension)

(a)   **Synonymy.**   the learner may select an IL-lexical item that has the
      same meaning of the L2-lexical item as in '*page*' for '*leaf*' (*cf*
      section 6 3 1,   example (1)), '*took*' for '*did*' or '*followed*' (*cf.*
      section 6 3 1, example (16)),   '*cut*' for '*clip*' (*cf* section 6 3 2,
      example (30)), and so on

(b) **Antonymy**:   he may select the opposite by *'not'* rather than the
lexical opposite of the L2-lexical item as in *'not true'* for
'false' or *'artificial'* (*cf* section 6 3 2, example (48))

(c) **Co-hyponymy**· he may select an IL-hyponym which, together with the
L2-hyponym, belongs to the same *superordinate* as in *'legs'* for
'feet' (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example (2)), *'hand'* for *'wrist'* or
'arm' (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example (7)), *'fingers'* for *'nails'* (*cf*
section 6 3 2, example (33))

(d) **Overspecification**· he may choose an IL-lexical item which is too
specific compared with the L2-lexical item as in *'shelf'* for *'sill'*
or *'ledge'* (*cf* chapter 5, section 5 3, example (7)), *'referee'* for
'umpire' (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example (6)), *'belt'* for *'strap'* (*cf*
section 6 3 1, example (8)), *'wound'* for *'hurt'* (*cf* section 6 3 1,
examples (26) and (27)), and so on

(e) **Underspecification** he may choose an IL-lexical item which is too
general compared with the L2-lexical item as in *'sun'* for *'day'*
(*cf*   section 6 3 1 , example (3)), *'air'* for *'wind'* (*cf*   section
6 3 1, example (4)), *'jumping'* for *'stalling'* (*cf* section 6 3 1,
example (9)), *'finish'* for *'expire'* (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example
(24)), and so on

(f) **Analogy** he may coin IL-lexical items analogous to familiar
L2-lexical items as in *'finger'* for *'stick'* (*cf*   section 6 3 1,
example (5)), *'makes'* for *'causes'* (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example
(20)), *'beats on'* for *'gets on'* (*cf* section 6 3 2, example (34)),
and so on

(g) **Paraphrase** he may resort to an interpretation of an unknown
L2-lexical item (*complexification*) as in *'a small lake in the*
desert' for *'oasis'* (*cf* chapter 3, section 3 2 1, example (13))

From the above strategies, it can be concluded that the learner,
when relying on his potential knowledge of L1-vocabulary, successfully
establishes specific lexical approximations whose semantic relations,
though basically drawn upon the semantic relations of the source
L1-lexical items, are still recognized as similar to those of the
L2-laternatives   In so doing, the learner seems to inherently
accommodate his IL to communicative exigencies when he is confronted
with a situation where he does not know a particular L2-lexical item
and/or its semantic extension, where he feels that the lexical

resources of what he knows about the L2-vocabulary are inadequate, or rather where he is not in full control of the *extemporaneous* activation of a given L2-lexical item

Apparently, besides the previously existing knowledge of L1-vocabulary, accommodation, in such a view, correlates with at least a threshold level of fluency in the lexical domain of the L2 and fairly automatized proficiency in its semantic restrictions and extensions, otherwise the learner would not be able to make the necessary crosslingual tie-ups   Perhaps with few exceptions inescapable from negative transfer (*cf*   for instance, section 6 3 1, examples (14) and (25), section 6 3 2, example (45)), this indicates that the potential knowledge of L1-vocabulary —be it MSA, SCA or a mixture of both— does not preclude the learner from achieving his communicative ends successfully Nor do the resultant lexical approximations, which are basically drawn upon the semantic extensions of the source L1-words, lead to a significantly negative impact on the semantic extensions of the L2-alternatives Rather, the positive effects of lexical transfer (*crucial* or *complete*) which are well noticeable in the learner's IL-utterances may be due to the fact that, in the semantic domain of lexical selection, congruences, or *language universals*, across languages are boundless (compared with any other linguistic domains which are amenable to finite description such as phonology and syntax) and, therefore, contributory towards much more opportunities for the learner to make the relevant crosslingual tie-ups From this point of view, the discussion of the selected IL-data has shown that, unlike the case in the domains of phonology and syntax, the typological distance (real and perceived) between Arabic and English in the semantic domain of lexical selection is much more conducive to positive transfer than it is to negative transfer This is precisely what the assumptions behind *Hypothesis Three* are actually addressing   Consequently, the statement of such a hypothesis can be re-issued in the following way

Hypothesis Three: Semantics

The potential for the lexical knowledge of Arabic [that is, the learner's actual knowledge of the lexical domain of either Classical Arabic within its semantic extensions in *suis generis* terms, or Colloquial Arabic within some semantic restrictions of the Classical

lexis as in *classicization*, or Colloquial Arabic within its semantic extensions in *suis generis* terms] is mostly discernible in the *positive-transfer-based identifications* which emerge from the learner's attempts to successfully utilize what is already known about and/or his available psychotypological cross-lingualization of the semantic representation of the English vocabulary-system upon processing the target material in his interlanguage continuum, albeit he may not know the English lexical item in question and/or its semantic extension, or he may know it within its semantic extension but he may not have control over its extemporaneous activation

7.2 The Relevance for Language Teaching

As noted at the end of Part One of this study, the generally accepted order of the learning process is that comprehension skills normally precede production skills (*cf* chapter 4, section 4 2 3) This order of skills had long been recognized with consensus even before the generative-cognitive model came into existence Within the constructs of *habit formation*, behaviourists also postulated this general order "Understanding always precedes speaking" to be one of the global analogies drawn between L1-acquisition and L2-learning/acquisition (*cf* Stern (1970 57f), chapter 1, section 1 2 2, item 4) Further, mention has also been made of how the availability as well as lack of crosslinguistic similarities plays a more important role in comprehension than in production, merger, if the learner is able to perceive crosslinguistic similarities, where they exist between L1 and L2, then this perception will facilitate the comprehension process If, however, crosslinguistic similarities are not available for the learner to perceive (or if the learner is not able to perceive available crosslinguistic similarities), he will, then, be in a position to draw upon 'extralinguistic cues for inferencing' (*cf* Ringbom (1987 136), chapter 4, section 4 2 3) According to this view, comprehension provides the transfer mechanism, whatever the linguistic value of its effects, with a much more 'congenial' atmosphere to function than does production, since the trigger and constrainer of language transfer are largely determined by the learner's perception and non-perception of crosslinguistic similarities respectively Given the fact that language

transfer is a central internal mechanism and many of the stipulations underlying the L2-learning process are still vague in current research, a better understanding of the transfer mechanism would without question yield more fruitful insights into the L2-learning process, and would, therefore, help language teaching methodologists (who often rely on abstract suppositions of what this process is all about) to derive their teaching perspectives from more tangible parameters.

As the main concern of the present study has been to investigate (along the two distinct dimensions: language *process* and language *product*) the potential for Arabic transfer in the spoken IL-production of English by a group of Syrian-Arab adult learners, it seems that many of the up-to-date views on L2-teaching methodology are inherently pertinent to what this argument seeks to suggest with reference to the new direction of transfer-based research (*cf*. chapter 3 and chapter 4). Apart from the multitudinous number of existing ideas which appear to stand most at odds with each other, there has been a considerable focus on research into the cumulative process of comprehension to be a feasible yardstick for more efficiency of learning and, therefore, of *productive* skills such as speaking in the first place.

Within a typical **Audiolingual Approach** to L2-teaching (*cf*. chapter 1, section 1.4.2), language students are usually exposed to the natural speed rendition of *oral* production and, subsequently, are required to speak in the L2 right away. From a generative-cognitive perspective, however, experimental observations have substantially demonstrated that asking the student to practice L2-material orally as soon as he attempts to develop listening comprehension does in fact lead to serious *interference* with his learning as a whole process. This seems to be one of the major sources from which fossilizable structures may re-emerge as established instances of transfer of training (*cf*. Selinker's third central process, chapter 3, section 3.2.1). In this respect, beginning with the mid 1970s, several researchers have thoroughly and convincingly worked out an approach to L2-teaching known as *Delayed Oral Practice* which has proved and is still proving to be extremely effective (*cf*. for example, Postovsky, 1974, 1975; Nord, 1976; Asher, 1977; Davies, 1978; Gary, 1975, 1978). Essentially, *Delayed Oral Practice* emerged as one of the extensions to the Communicative Approach and mainly as a reaction against the **Audiolingual Approach**. The rationale

and strategies of *Delayed Oral Practice* rely heavily on expanding the student's receptive competence by primarily prioritizing active listening not as a process of merely hearing meaningless sounds, but as "a process whereby the student is actively attempting to understand and respond effectively to oral communication carefully presented in a meaningful context" (Gary, 1978 186) Therefore, carefully organized and selected L2-material which places a premium on different tasks associated with aural comprehension appears to be so significant a testing ground, since what the student already knows about the L2 normally permits him conscious and/or sub-conscious access to such material even if he responds nonverbally The assumptions underlying *Delayed Oral Practice* as an indispensable approach to L2-learning comprise the following

1   Language is not speech It is a set of principles establishing correlations between meaning and sound sequences or other overt forms of communicative language such as sign language

2   Learning a L1 or L2 does not occur through habit formation Rather, it occurs by an inductive-deductive process whereby the learner starts with a general theory of grammar and, given the linguistic data of a particular language, constructs a grammar for the language based on this theory

3   The development of receptive skills is necessary for the development of productive skills That is, speaking is a *result, not a cause* of language learning, and therefore should be postponed, at least in the early stages of language learning

4   Effective listening comprehension training must be meaningful, challenging, require learner response, and provide immediate feedback to the learner as to the correctness of his response

<div align="right">(Gary, 1978· 192, original emphasis)</div>

It follows from the above assumptions that, for a *prolonged* implementation of nonverbal responses activating and enhancing a variety of listening strategies, several possible techniques have been set in motion as mediums of instructions There are at least three recognizable techniques in this scheme

(i)   Pictorial-audio matching

(ii)   Physical response-audio matching

(iii) Graphic-audio matching

Within these techniques, carefully organized and selected sets of tape-recorded L2-utterances accompanied by related pictorial items for visual reinforcement could be utilized to test the student's ability to match what he hears with what he sees without speaking The utterances employed are unequivocal speech acts, mainly *directives* such as commands, orders, requests, questions and *so* on (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 3 2) Thus, when the student is asked to match a given audible utterance with the appropriate pictorial item, he can respond nonverbally by marking (technique (i)), pointing to or touching (technique (ii)) the relevant pictorial item on a worksheet containing a set of different items Further, depending on the first two techniques, the student may be simultaneously exposed to an audible utterance, not necessarily a *directive*, and a pictorial item which 'correctly' visualizes the action being talked about The student is, then, given a set of different written responses to an audible question concerning that action, and is asked to nonverbally check (technique (iii)) the appropriate written response Correct nonverbal responses indicate that the student does in fact demonstrate comprehension of the speech act in question Therefore, in order to inherently familiarize the student with a wealth of received structural shapes, the selected sets of utterances should always employ *novel* combinations of familiar lexical items which have been previously learned through this approach (*cf* Gary, 1978 186f)

Prioritizing listening comprehension, in such a perspective, still stems from the obvious fact that one cannot produce what one does not know, or rather, one cannot have control over the production of items or rules that one already has no control over their assimilation in comprehension In Ringbom's words "Control is more important for oral than for written communication, because of the constant time pressure in an oral situation We may therefore assume that the difference in the relation between comprehension and production between learners of related and unrelated languages would appear even more clearly if it were tested in spoken language" (Ringbom, 1987 138) This leads to suggest that a defect in processing a given item or rule in *aural*

comprehension may well entail a subsequent defect in processing that item or rule in *oral* production, albeit correctly produced items or rules to be in token of full control over their comprehension are not always warranted For instance, within his superficial receptive competence, the learner's perception of the orally produced contracted form '*can't*' as the strong form of '*can*' (/kæn/) is clear evidence that he does not pay much attention to pragmatic exigencies where the distinction between the weak and strong forms of one-syllable words such as '*can*' ought not to be negligible in oral communication (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 2, sub-section (F), example (63)) Whereas, at a production level, relatively correct restrictions on a certain item, which signify positive transfer (*cf* for instance, the preposition '*from*', section 6 2 1, examples (36-43)) do not necessarily turn out that, at a comprehension level, the learners know and/or have control over the relevant distributions of the same item, since examples of negative transfer have already been detected in its use by the same learners (*cf* section 6 2 1, examples (24), (26-29) and (30-33)) Therefore, *Delayed Oral Practice*, as an effective approach to L2-teaching/learning, seems to be indispensable, particularly to learners of totally unrelated languages such as Arab learners of English Hence, the following characteristics are said to be the main advantages of a delayed-oral-practice approach to L2-teaching/learning (*cf* Gary, 1978 190f)

(i) The affective advantage

It has been argued that many of the adult learners, when required to orally produce L2-material immediately in the presence of others, feel embarrassed and self-conscious under the stress of overemphasizing verbal performance This leads to a reduction in the learner's concentration and, eventually, to a reduction in successful learning Thus, the disrecpancies between what the learner cannot learn and what he prefers not to learn would, in this case, become very serious as mere production of linguistic items, whatever the simplicity of the task, demands considerable effort, particularly when these items are undesirable (*cf* Dulay and Burt's notion of the *socio-affective filter*, chapter 3, section 3 2 2)

(ii) The cognitive advantage

Empirical research has strongly demonstrated that overemphasizing oral production and listening comprehension simultaneously results in the learner's distraction from the principal objective of initial learning, that is, his active perception of the language system underlying the aural material he is exposed to Hence, researchers like Postovsky (1975) have pointed out that asking the learner to orally produce L2-items or rules he has not yet absorbed would lead to overburdening of his short-term memory and, thus, *interlanguage* interference and/or *intralanguage* interference would be anticipated (*cf* Newmark and Reibel's *ignorance hypothesis*, chapter 4, section 4 1 1) Further, the overload of short-term memory would, in this case, be a trigger of *extralanguage* interference (transfer of training) between listening comprehension and other language skills

(iii) The efficiency advantage

Again, experimental studies have shown that learning proves to be much more efficient in cases where the learner is induced to rely heavily on receptive skills (decoding) and *not* to bother about encoding all the data he is receiving as a lag between the development of receptive competence and that of productive competence is inevitable for any language learning situation (*cf* Ervin-Tripp, 1974) Thus, when the learner is not required to speak for an extended *lag*, the development of receptive competence would be much faster as the time of exposure to much more of L2-material is very short compared with the time needed for verbal retrieval

(iv) The utility advantage

Many researchers have pointed to the fact that, even in oral communication, the scope of listening exceeds the scope of speaking That is, the learner normally employs a very limited number of *simplified* IL-structures upon speaking to native speakers of the L2, whereas the need for listening comprehension seems by far much greater as he would be in a position to decode much more *complexified* L2-structures produced by his native interlocutor (*cf* Selinker, chapter 3, section 3 2 1) Another utilitarian merit is that, after a certain period of delayed oral practice, the learner can improve his receptive competence on his own by listening to the radio/tapes, watching L2-speaking programmes or films, and by extensive reading

From the above sketch of the techniques and advantages of *Delayed Oral Practice*, it appears that prioritized active listening plays the most significant role in the development of receptive competence, and is, therefore, an integral part of the whole process of efficient learning Carefully organized and selected L2-material as well as a battery of comprehension tests has been widely emphasized, in recent years, as a pre-requisite for this objective No doubt, neat organization and selection of L2-material depend on the shrewdness of the researchers and fully-fledged teachers who are highly competent in the two languages, the learner's L1 and the L2 he is learning, and are well aware of the learner's difficulties and of those transferable aspects that would occur either overtly or covertly in his IL-continuum It may be assumed, therefore, that, for learners of totally unrelated languages such as Arab learners of English, to design L2-material carefully on the basis of the reseracher and the teacher's experience of transferable areas would seem more fruitful if such material were put in action for *Delayed Oral Practice* This assumption is derived from the fact that the scope of language transfer, be it positive, negative or a mixture of both, is much larger in comprehension than it is in production In such a case, the learner's receptive competence may be somewhat safeguarded against the negative effects of L1-influence in that his evolving perception of the L2-system would, at least at a comprehension level, enable him to know more about his interlingual errors, and thus effort can be made for self-rectification in *later* production tasks The development of receptive competence should, therefore, be strongly encouraged through active listening comprehension as well as through extensive reading due to its constant significance in the learner's IL-experience Ringbom states

> The receptive skills of listening and reading are more important than the productive ones of speaking and writing in the sense that without having a basic ability to understand a language you cannot keep up a conversation in it, whereas it is perfectly possible to understand a language without being able to speak it
>
> (Ringbom, 1978b 21)

Receptive competence undeniably and incontestably implies a necessary interface between listening and reading abilities in the sense that the learner, by means of the already existing linguistic knowledge and the mental activities involved in comprehension, can access the text at *either* phonemic levels through recorded or spoken material *or*

graphemic levels through written material (cf Sticht, 1972), albeit
there may well exist differences between spoken text and written text
that have significant implications for listening and reading as separate
receptive skills (cf   Widdowson, 1984)

It seems, therefore, whatever the differences that may exist
between the two skills, active reading, analogical with active
listening, has also its important role to play in the development and
improvement of receptive competence   During the past ten years there
has been an increased interest in thinking about the nature of reading
and in investigating experimental evidence for the competing hypotheses
concerning such a complex activity which subsumes a variety of
strategies and subskills   The unique compilation edited by Alderson and
Urquhart (1984) is a clear indication of the awe-inspiring volume of
research into the formidable question "What is reading?"   As explicitly
as possible, Alderson and Urquhart's compilation goes deeply into this
question and, by drawing on a myriad of past and recent empirical
research, tends to carefully mark out the salient features of three
centres· (1) the reader, an active organism whose psychological and
socio-cultural background needs special attention as it is far from
adequate generalization by the writer of the text and the teacher, (ii)
the text and to what extent its readability provides the learner with an
identifiably meaningful and informative message, and (iii) the
interaction between the reader and the text which, beyond the writer of
the text, has been thoroughly addressed and explained in terms of
cooperation and negotiation for a residual quantum of meaning within the
ongoing text (cf Alderson and Urquhart, 1984 xvf)

Therefore, a highly procedural scrutiny into this triangulation
appears to be of paramount significance for the language teacher
specifically to encourage his students to actively interact with the
text as another indispensable source contributary towards enlarging
their receptive competence and, subsequently, towards more efficiency of
learning   Extensive reading also helps learners towards the great need
to widen their potential knowledge of L2-vocabulary, since experimental
studies have demonstrated that, for foreign language readers in general,
the lexical and conceptual difficulties of the reading text are much
more tenacious than the grammatical or syntactic difficulties, though

several readers who do not have considerable linguistic problems still experience some inherent difficulty over text processing (*cf* Alderson and Richards, 1977, Alderson, 1984).

From this point, it can be stated that, for readers of totally unrelated languages, particularly the case with Arab learners of English, lexical and conceptual difficulties would appear to be far greater than those encountered by learners of related languages Apart from the individual problems with eye fixations and regressions whose high frequencies are normaly symptoms, rather than causes, of poor comprehension (*cf* Alderson and Urquhart, 1984 xx), the lexical and conceptual difficulties that Arab learners face in reading are ascribable to a number of existing variables Among them are absence of cognate elements (Semitic *vs* Germanic) and morphological congruences across the L1 and L2 lexical systems (infixation *vs* affixation), the easily noticed graphemic differences between the L1 and L2 alphabetical systems (Arabic *vs* Latin), the polarity of writing/reading directions in the L1 and L2 orthographic systems (right ----> left *vs* left ----> right), and so on These are among other variables which tend to gradually and constantly augment the elusiveness of even easy-to-recall words (not to mention words that are elusive in nature) if no continuous effort to promote direct access to the reading text is made at high levels of elaboration One of the main purposes of such continuous effort is, therefore, to activate and enhance automatized familiarization of the reader's eye-span with much of the orthographic shapes of L2-words, thus, leading to implant their lexical and conceptual dimensions in his mind

Here, again, with the importance of active reading comprehension, the responsibilities of the language teacher seem to be much heavier to encourage and stimulate the students to gain a lot of profit from extensive reading is not a quite easy task, but certainly is one of the best characteristics in a good language teacher Hence, analogous with the numerous advantages of active listening adumbrated above, the strategies and subskills underlying active reading should also be set in motion for such advantages as both skills take part in the development of receptive competence Thus, active reading, both in formal and naturalistic settings, enables the learner to extend his receptive competence not only in vocabulary, but also in grammar and *syntax* In

this context, it is argued that active reading, too, provides useful and *ad hoc* foundations for listening comprehension and, subsequently, for productive skills   In Ringbom's words

> Extensive extra-curricular foreign language reading enlarges the learner's knowledge of the language   Exactly how much it also contributes to improving the efficiency with which this knowledge is retrieved, the learner's control, is not fully clear   We may assume that a good reading knowledge facilitates listening comprehension   Listening, however, is more demanding in the sense that it also requires considerable automatization and thus better control, than does reading   Further, if a learner's knowledge is sufficiently thorough and extensive, even though it is available only for reading purposes, there should be no doubt that it will facilitate production too, although practice in the production skills is absolutely necessary for turning good readers into good speaker or writers
>
> (Ringbom, 1987 141-142)

In sum, a better understanding of the L2-learning process would undoubtedly lead to much improvement in L2-teaching methodology   Although the L2-acquisition researchers of today concede that many of the parameters underlying L2-learning are still vague, a better understanding can be achieved by a highly sophisticated scrutiny into language transfer since it is indeed a pivotal internal mechanism that overrides many of the considerations associated with L2-learnnig as a total process   It is quite true that current research overemphasizes the theoretical and practical studies into the skills and subskills incorporated into the comprehension process as much of the vagueness of L2-learning lies at the heart of comprehension   One of the practical incentives to this overemphasis is the great importance of listening and reading comprehension, particularly for learners who study a L2 for academic purposes   Another incentive is that, in language tests, merely 'produced' material does not fully bring to light the learner's *real* command of the L2   The learner, in this case, may *lack knowledge* of an item or rule, he may *avoid* an item or rule he is not able to handle; he may unconsciously rely on a highly automatized L1-item or rule which leads to *completely* positive transfer, or even he may lack control over a known item or rule due to other psychological factors which create some constraints in the production process   After all, mastery of good comprehension would in the long run lead to mastery of good production, however, 'good' production does not necessarily entail mastery of good comprehension   The possibility of being able to understand a language without being able to produce it is certainly a token of the initial

stages of efficient learning no matter how long the time has been spent to arrive at these stages Since the purpose of *Delayed Oral Practice* is to activate and enhance the learner's ability to understand, this possibility indicates that the purpose has been achieved as efficient learning, at these stages, has in fact proceeded and, therefore, should be encouraged and developed in the sense discussed above.

7.3 The Role of the Mother Tongue

Within the rigorous tradition of the behavioural-structural model, one of the common beliefs was that the old 'habits' of the L1 are, in most cases, looked upon as obstacles to the learning of the new 'habits' of a subsequent L2 According to this view, successful L2-learning cannot thrive without completely forgetting about the old 'habits' of the L1 (*cf* Stern (1970 57f), chapter 1, section 1 2 2, item 6) With the emergence of the generative-cognitive model, particularly when the 'crisis' of the CA-Hypothesis was brought to a climax, recognition of the strictures of the behaviouristic paradigms (from which the transfer theory first derived its principles) led to an extreme down-playing of the role of the L1 in L2-learning/acquisition (*cf* Dulay and Burt, chapter 2, section 2 2 3 and chapter 3, section 3 2 3), even though researchers like Ausubel (1964) had already foreshadowed the facilitative effects of L1-influence from a cognitive perspective (*cf* chapter 1, section 1 4 2) This indicates that interlingual errors were, according to traditional contrastivists, assumed to be a reflection of *proactive inhibition* triggered by L1-influence, and, in order to overcome such inhibition, language teachers were advised to focus their teaching plans on the areas where negative transfer would be anticipated (CA *a priori*) or would actually occur (CA *a posteriori*) From a pedagogical point of view, this seems to be the ultimate objective of transfer-based research, however, the conspicuous and dramatic change of linguistic theory has resulted in no more than a different perspective on language transfer and subsequently on teaching tactics to arrive at such an objective Thus, with the resurgence of language transfer —as it has undergone multiple forms of revitalization— the negative attitudes towards L1-influence have not

received unanimous approval, since L1-knowledge occupies a central position in the learner's past experience on the one hand, and not all interlingual identifications lead to errors on the other.

In this connection, it is argued that if L1-influence were globally accepted as an *inhibitive* factor, then there would be no remarkable distinction between the learning of related and unrelated L2s so far as the *facilitative* role of the L1 is concerned. Hence, researches such as Ringbom and Corder among others subscribe to the view that the real distinction between these two learning situations is basically determined by the indigenous crosslinguistic similarity and lack of crosslinguistic similarity, rather than the existence of difference, between L1 and L2. In such a case, when the negative effects of L1-influence on L2-learning are discernible, as they quite probably are, the internal mechanism of L1-experience cannot be regarded as a source of proactive inhibition, but generally as an adjunct to linguistic facilitation whose scope correlates with the potential for crosslinguistic similarity. Ringbom reports:

> Even if it is inevitable that students produce a fair number of erroneous constructions in the foreign language through direct influence of the mother tongue, the mother tongue is above all an aid, not an obstacle, to learning another language. This aid is all the more tangible, the more closely related the two languages are.
>
> (Ringbom, 1978b: 21)

In support of this view, Corder, with reference to his notion of the *built-in syllabus* (*cf*. chapter 3, section 3.1.1), has already suggested that 'failure to facilitate' does not necessarily coincide with 'inhibition/interference' (*cf*. Corder (1983: 88), chapter 4, section 4.2.2). In other words, Corder prefers to use the polarity of *facilitation* and *non-facilitation* rather than that of *facilitation* (positive transfer) and *inhibition* (negative transfer) in the sense that L1-influence furthers L2-learning through the *built-in syllabus* when L1-L2 structures are similar; however it has no effect when L1-L2 structures are different. In this latter case, Corder argues, the learner does not need to feel chagrined at a different L2-structure, but has to figure out its nature by manoeuvring his own cognitive capacities. Yet, an inescapable proviso dictates that neutralizing L1-influence in terms of linguistic difference is not always warranted

as the comprehension process *always* plays an important role in L2-learning   This is explicable by reference to Schachter's hypothesis of *avoidance* where there is an extremely radical difference between a given pair of L1-L2 structures (Chinese/Japanese *vs* English relative clauses)   At a production level, and` if it were to be abstracted from comprehension, the learner's resort to paraphrasing as a result of this difference (mainly in the prenominal position) may lead to believe that Corder's conviction is not at all vulnerable   However,   since the learner's avoidance of the English relative clause was largely determined by his L1 at a comprehension level, it seems misleading to envisage a global generalization that the L1 has no influence when there is a difference between L1 and L2   More explicitly, even in the case of crucial similarity, there is still a tendeny to transfer *negatively* where there is **crucial difference** (Arabic/Persian *vs* English relative clause), that is, **similarity** in the postnominal position which acted as a precondition for the learner's attempts to make the necessary crosslingual tie-ups, and **difference** in pronominalization which was the strongest trigger of negative transfer (*cf.* chapter 4, section 4 1 2).

Hence, researchers such as James point to the fact that Corder's notion of *non-facilitation* is not hard to find in the behaviouristic paradigms of transfer   Osgood himself referred to this notion as *zero transfer* and *neutral transfer* in terms of Paradigm C,   though under different conditions (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 2 1, **Figure 1**)   James asserts,   however, that the learner's long experience of error-making will inherently cause him to gradually evade negative transfer as his knowledge of the L2 increases and so does his consciousness of interlingual errors   Yet, Corder does not appear to have a willingness to 'reify' these stipulations as a set of feedback mechanisms, though his dichotomy (facilitation *vs* non-facilitation) has gained corroboration from researchers like Kellerman (1977,   1978a,   1982, 1983) in that the learner —through the procedure of grammaticality judgements— does normally have previous intuitive knowledge of what L1-words are transferable and what others are not (*cf*   chapter 1, section 1 3 2, *cf* also chapter 4, section 4 1 3)   James concludes

> But it is still difficult to see why only positive transfer should
> be amenable to Behaviourist explanation, and zero transfer has to be
> accommodated by Cognitive psychology Corder claims this is so in
> saying that where L1 and L2 forms are different the learner has to
> figure out the nature of the L2-rule "with his own unaided cognitive

capacities" Of course he must, ultimately, if he is to learn the
L2, but these are not grounds for denying that the learner's *initial*
tendency is to transfer from L1

(James, 1980 145, original emphasis)

It seems that the cumbersome controversy does not engage the
credibility of the inevitable fact of L1-influence (this is not in
dispute), but lies in the use of the appropriate term or terms to
describe this fact (*cf* also James (1971), chapter 4, section 4 1 1)
Therefore, whether it be behaviouristic or cognitive interpretation,
the greater the potential for corsslinguistic similarity between L1 and
L2, the larger the scope of facilitation (positive transfer) there will
be in the process of L2-learning, merger, this scope of facilitation is
also conditioned by the learner's perception of such similarity. In
this case, the possibilities of negative transfer decrease and the
pedagogical issue should place special emphasis on the utilization of
the L1-items or rules that are considerably similar to their
L2-counterparts, thus, widening the learner's perception of these
tie-ups, since the ability to associate incoming data with already
existing linguistic knowledge is a natural tendency In Ringbom's
words

[ ] it may be good for the foreign language teacher to
over-emphasize the cross-linguistic similarities between the
learner's L1 and the target language at the early stages of
learning by explicit reference whenever possible to the relevant
aspects of the L1 This will facilitate learning in that the
learner can draw more upon what he already knows The learner's
natural tendency is to relate new material to existing linguistic
knowledge, which at the early stages of learning is primarily
L1-knowledge The relevance of this L1-knowledge depends on how
much cross-linguistic similarity to the target language the learner
can perceive Over-simplification in the establishing of
cross-linguistic equivalences are inevitable in the learner, but
during the whole process of L2-learning cross-linguistic relations
are constantly being modified

(Ringbom, 1987 143-144)

With respect to the closed system of L2-phonology whose learning
problems are less tenacious at advanced stages compared with syntax and
semantics (lexical selection), it is the task of the language teacher to
affirm the facilitative role of Arabic (the Colloquial as well as the
Standard) by inducing his students to make crosslingual tie-ups between
the difficult phonological items of the L2 and their *similar*
L1-counterparts, since the data reported from Arab learners of English
and those collected from the Syrian-Arab learners for analysis in the

current study indicate that, in most cases, the attested interlingual identifications are erroneous (negative transfer) due to direct influence of Colloquial Arabic rather than Standard Arabic (*cf Hypothesis One*) For this reason, most of the phonological items that were actually produced by these learners have been accompanied by the L1-equivalents and/or approximate equivalents of the standard L2-items taken from the viewpoint of RP (*cf* chapter 6, section 6 1 and the appendix) Thus, to relate, for instance,the L2-phoneme /tʃ/ to the L1-phoneme [tš] as a **dark** phonemicized juncture of [t] and [š] as in ECD/NCD is much better than to leave the student to his own devices to pick up the fricative [š] or the clear phonemicized juncture of [t-š] instead (*cf* section 6 1 1, sub-section (A)) Further, the role of Arabic will prove facilitation if the student has already perceived the crosslinguistic similarity between the L2-phoneme /ŋ/ and the L1-phoneme [ŋ] as in [gunna] '*nasalization*' in MSA (*cf* section 6 1 1, sub-section (D)) Arabic will also enhance efficient learning if the student has realized the crosslinguistic congruences between pairs of L2-L1 diphthongs such as /eɪ/ in English and [ay] in MSA/WCD (*cf* section 6 1 2, sub-section (A)),/əʊ/ in English and [aw] in MSA/WCD (*cf* section 6 1 2, sub-section (B)), /ɪə/ in English and [ie] in RED or [iya] in MSA (*cf* section 6 1 2, sub-section (C)), and so on Given that a limited number of phonological items are to be learnt at initial stages and therefore evading the constraints of the L1 is attainable in later modification, the learner is still in need of controlled effort, even at advanced stages, to develop his automatized competence both receptively and productively in utilizing those suprasegmental units which are characterized by an unpredictable nature in connected speech such as intonation, rhythm, stress pattern and the like (*cf* section 6 1 2, sub-section (F)).

In relation to L2-syntax which demands much greater effort to achieve successful learning, the language teacher's task of exploiting the inherent crosslinguistic similarities between Arabic and English should neither be seen as banal nor be detracted from their pedagogical merits Such similarities, particularly in highly untractable domains such as articles and prepositions, will constitute tangible exceptions to *Hypothesis Two* (that is, the possibilities of positive transfer will be greater) if the learner does in fact make the relevant crosslingual tie-up in actual speech behaviour As it is readily observable that most

of the attested interlingual identifications reflect negative transfer from the Standard and/or Colloquial varieties of Arabic, the learner's automatized perception of crosslinguistic similarities will indubitably accelerate the control aspects against some syntactic devices that have the potential for positive transfer and will, therefore, act as a necessary precondition for figuring out the syntactic natures of other devices that are superficially different. This includes the confusing grammatical functions of certain articles and prepositions (*cf*. sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 respectively) in addition to those of structural devices such as verb form, relative clause and word order (*cf*. sections 6.2.3, 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 respectively). It is argued that, even in the case of learning a related language, *formal accuracy* in the learner's utterances is unatainable without a fairly controlled quantum of explicit knowledge of L2-grammar. Hence, in the case of learning an unrelated language, Ringbom adds, the learner "is probably in more need of explicitly formulated rules and may find it too difficult to cope solely on the basis of memorized examples" (Ringbom, 1987: 143). Therefore, to place a premium on well-selected grammatical examples for pedagogical purposes is certainly one of the most significant qualities in the foreign language teacher.

In the domain of L2-semantics (lexical selection), on the other hand, the lexical and conceptual difficulties the Arab learner experiences seem by far greater than the phonological and grammatical difficulties, particularly at a comprehension level, a point referred to in the preceding section. The remarkably discernible positive effects of lexical transfer (*crucial* and/or *complete*) in most of the attested interlingual identifications purport that, whether the learner has perceived the linguistic values of his attempted tie-ups or not, there is indeed a surprisingly large number of crosslinguistic congruences in the use of lexis between Arabic and English (*cf*. *Hypothesis Three*). Therefore, the language teacher's task of over-emphasizing these congruences (especially those which would lead to *complete* PT) should occupy a central position due to the paramount significance of lexical items for the comprehension process specifically, since "grammaticality and acceptability are concepts far less important to the reader or listener than to the speaker or writer" (Ringbom, 1987: 55). Again, such over-emphasis will activate and enhance the learner's automatized perception of lexical items which

intrinsically allow him efficient access to the text (spoken or written) and will, eventually, act as a necessary precondition for self-modification (in the case of those congruences which would lead to *crucial* PT) at later stages Thus, the learner, at later stages, will be well-prepared to keep abreast with the natural rendition of hierarchical complexification in that, after having had sovereign control over the most familiar and salient lexical items, he will find much opportunity for handling difficult as well as elusive words This includes synonyms, antonyms, co-hyponyms, overspecified items, underspecified items, and so on *(cf section 7 2)*

It follows from the above that the teacher of an unrelated language should be highly competent in the two languages, the learner's Ll and the L2 he is learning, and in the case of Arab learners of English, the Arabic-speaking teacher should be in possession of extensive knowledge not only about the Standard Variety of Arabic but also about the main regional dialects of the Colloquial Variety, particularly when teaching Arabic-speaking students who have different home dialects Therefore, extensive knowledge of the learner's Ll, in such a perspective, is a must especially for those teachers who indulge in contrastive studies to grapple with the transferable areas and to supplement their teaching methods and strategies with more crystallized objectives Teachers who are highly competent in the learner's Ll are well qualified to detect and analyse positive/negative interlingual identifications, a similar point had already been made by Lee (1957) who suggested a mutual cooperation between, what he called, the 'local' teacher and the English-speaking teacher *(cf chapter 2, section 2 1 1)*

In the Arab World in general, it is widely believed that the English-speaking teacher is able to teach English to Arabic-speaking students more efficiently and effectively than the Arabic-speaking teacher *(cf El-Sayed, 1988 67)* If such a belief were tenable, then knowledge of the Ll, in the sense referred to above, would not play a significant role, and knowledge of the L2 (as well as the methodologies and techniques usually derived from general assumptions) would be a sufficient stipulation for a successful language teacher In El-Sayed's words

> This fallacy has been recently called in question   It is not true
> that every speaker of English, like every speaker of Arabic, is
> capable of teaching his [L1]. This is due to the fact that, in
> addition to the knowledge of a [L2] required to be taught to
> students, teachers who teach that specific [L2] should be
> adequately prepared for that task and should also be familiar with
> the [relevant] methodologies and techniques of teaching the [L2]
> Thus, knowledge of the [L2] concerned is not enough to make an
> efficient and effective teacher
>
> (El-Sayed, 1988: 67)

By reference to a number of researchers such as Wilkins (1975),
Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) and Strevens (1984), El-Sayed asserts that,
besides the significance of the linguistic variable as discussed above,
the need for an Arabic-speaking teacher (who masters the two languages)
is justifiable in terms of at least two other important variables

Firstly, the socio-cultural variable in that L2-learning/teaching
must *not* be completely divorced from the 'local' cultural values (such
as traditions, conventions and customs) of the students in question
With a few modifications, the English-speaking teacher often tends to
impose his native cultural values (which are above all too
culture-specific) on such students. In effect, the students find these
western values quite 'alien' and incommensuarable, and therefore
unacceptable, to their native culture This will inherently attenuate
efficient learning as the students' natural reaction leads them to
grumble over many of these western values or even to reject them (*cf*
Wilkins, 1975 49) One possible solution to such a problem is that
curriculum and syllabus designers are advised to carefully organize and
select L2-material essentially based on *culture-neutral* considerations,
and to place more emphasis on the learner (*cf* Alptekin and Alptekin,
1984 14f, El-Sayed, 1988 66) This position is, of course,
different from the *socio-cultural* *level* in Lado's sense which has been
re-addressed from a linguistic perspective (*cf* chapter 1, section
1 3 2)

Secondly, the psycho-affective variable whose part in activating
and enhancing the whole process of L2-learning/teaching can never be
generalized or trivilialized by language teaching methodologists
Commonsense and specialized experience demonstrate that, from the
cognitive and affective standpoint, the most effective and successful
language teacher is the competent bilingual, that is, the one who

possesses wide and extensive knowledge of his L1 (which is the same L1 of the students) in addition to his mastery of the L2 he teaches. According to this view, the competent Arabic-speaking teacher of English is the most convenient model for teaching Arabic-speaking students in that he would be in a better position to stimulate and motivate his students to enlarge their knowledge of English on their own, particularly outside the classroom setting (*cf.* also Ringbom, 1987: 140). Further, the Arabic-speaking teacher, in such a perspective, is better aware of the psychological and linguistic difficulties the Arab students have in learning English. Thus, his knowledge of Arabic would enable him to conceive a great deal of transfer-based identifications and would, therefore, contribute to a proper treatment of an inevitable proportion of these difficulties (*cf.* Strevens, 1984: 30f; El-Sayed, 1988: 69f).

More recently, a comprehensive field-study seriously conducted by Kharma and Hajjaj (1989) has lent credit to the use of the L1 (Arabic in this case) as an aiding factor in L2-teaching classrooms (English in this case). By reviewing the place of the L1 in past and present approaches to L2-teaching/learning and identifying the positive and negative attitudes towards its *actual use* in L2-teaching classrooms, Kharma and Hajjaj come to the conclusion that the crucial distinctions between English-speaking teachers and Arabic-speaking teachers have not been given sufficient attention by language teaching methodologists. one of these crucial distinctions is the Arabic-speaking teachers' utilization of their L1 which plays an important part in the whole process of L2-learning/teaching. These researchers point to the fact that language teachers have been, and are still, employing their L1 whatever the approach or method they adopt to L2-teaching. Further, the dramatic changes in linguistic theory and subsequently in pedagogical tactics (e.g. from the *Audiolingual* Approach, which came as an extension to the *Direct Method* and a reaction against the *Grammar-Translation Method*, to the Communicative Approach within its extensions such as the *Silent Way*, the *Natural Approach*, *Suggestopedia*, etc. and its versions as in ESP, EAP or EOP) may in principle have reflected changing attitudes towards learner needs but not necessarily towards strategies of L2-learning provided that the learner's reliance on his L1 represents one such strategy (*cf.* Kharma and Hajjaj, 1989: 231). Therefore, far from extreme and rigid arguments for or against

the use of the L1, the researchers recommend language teachers to carefully systematize and control L1-utilization for a maximum benefit of L2-teaching/learning. On this account, Kharma and Hajjaj suggest several teaching strategies where the L1 may be discreetly and moderately utilized in the L2-teaching classroom:

(1)   In the early stage, as a "framing function, at the beginning and end of the lesson, chatting with students, establishing contact and a relaxed atmosphere in which the core of the lesson is embedded" (Aston, 1983: 105). However, as soon as a few phrases and expressions have been learnt by the students, e.g. greetings, routine expressions, it is advisable to start with these as a means of "warming up" for the new activity.

(2)   To provide context for presentation and practice where otherwise the use of the L2 would be time-consuming.

(3)   To provide explanation for certain new items (e.g. abstract words) or complicated grammatical structures.

(4)   To draw comparisons between the structure of the L2 and that of the L1.

(5)   As comprehension checks where the sole purpose of reading/listening exercise is purely comprehension.

(6)   As partial checking of students' out-of-the classroom reading e.g. supplementary or free reading.

(7)   For explaining some of the L2 cultural aspects which would otherwise be difficult for the students to understand or appreciate.

(8)   As a parallel activity, e.g. translation.

(9)   In code-switching as a technique of language learning (*cf.* Cloze tests).

(Kharma and Hajjaj, 1989: 231-232)

In conclusion, it is generally accepted that the learner's past experience of his L1 constitutes a central internal mechanism or strategy among others. From a learning perspective, this mechanism has its relative effects at any stage of development whether there may exist structural similarities or differences between L1 and L2. The quality and quantity of such effects, however, are conditioned by a highly complicated network of boundless variables such as the learner's knowledge of the L1, his knowledge of the L2 (or any other language), his perception/non-perception of crosslinguistic similarity, his language aptitude, motivation, intelligence, personality, age, style, and so forth. Therefore, apart from the linguistic value of L1-influence on L2-learning (that is, apart from its negative effects and/or positive effects that have to be modified in the direction of the L2), the learner's L1-experience is an aiding factor, particularly in cases where the sole purpose of learning is mere communication. Hence,

it is much better to fall back on interlingual solutions (when the learner does not have any other linguistic solutions at his disposal) than to reluctantly cease from communicating at all. For instance, the learner's resort to *paraphrasing* when he finds it difficult to process the relative clause structure due to its radical difference (*cf.* *avoidance*, chapter 4, section 4.1.2) or to *complexifying* an IL-code '*a small lake in the desert*' when he does not know a specific L2-word '*oasis*' (*cf.* chapter 3, section 3.2.1, example (13)) is much more communicatively purposeful than to make *no* attempt at producing any other alternatives.

From a teaching perspective, on the other hand, it would be the responsibility of the teacher (that is, the bilingual teacher in the sense discussed above) to reinforce the facilitative role of the L1 by enlarging the student's perception of crosslinguistic similarities where they exist between L1 and L2: similarities that would lead to *complete* PT for activated automization, and similarities that would result in *crucial* PT for self-modification at later stages (*cf.* particularly the domain of lexical selection, chapter 5, section 5.3; chapter 6, section 6.3). No doubt, perception of crosslinguistic similarity is of paramount importance to the student to be in automatized control of particularly a fairly aligned quantum of *oral performance* where time pressure puts him under abrupt constraint. Perception of crosslinguistic similarity can thus be viewed as an initial filtering device for accessing more of the L2 so long as this perception is augmented, and therefore as a necessary precondition which stimulates the student to figure out, on his own, the linguistic natures of L2-structures that are superficially different from their L1-counterparts. In formal settings, again, it is the task of the teacher to systematize and control L1-utilization where he feels that the use of the L1 is both inevitable and contributory towards efficient L2-teaching. Consequently, apart from a strict adherence to a specific approach to language teaching, the role of the L1 cannot be deteriorated, whilst at the same time its linguistic as well as extralinguistic cues should *not* be overused in any teaching strategy or tactic, since the student's requisites for L1-mediation will become fewer as his knowledge and experience of the L2 become wider.

APPENDIX

In this appendix, the possible L2-equivalents, or sets of L2-equivalents, of all the interlingual identifications cited and analysed in Chapter Six are listed consecutively under the same numbers These may serve as a key guide to further CA-based analyses by those Arabic-speaking researchers and language teachers who are interested in language transfer studies With regard to the interlingual identifications in phonology (*cf* section 6 1), the L2-equivalents are allocated by recourse to the Received Pronunciation (RP) In relation to the interlingual identifications in syntax (*cf* section 6 2) and in semantics (*cf* section 6 3), the criterion for the L2-equivalents is essentially taken as the standard norm of British English In addition, a few options in the semantic domain of lexical selection, which are said to be characteristic of Hiberno-English, are included

L2-Equivalents in Phonology (section 6 1)

(1)   a   /tʃæptə(r)/
       b   /tʃeɪndʒ/
       c   /tʃop/
       d   /tʃestəfɪ ld/

(4)   a   *cf* (1a)
       b   /tʃeə(r)/
       c   /tʃæt/
       d   /tʃælɪndʒ/

(5)   a   /daɪkotəmɪ/

        b   /ʃɪvlrɪ/

        c   /ʃu t/

(6)   a   /dʒon/

        b   /kolɪdʒ/

        c   /dʒɜ m/

        d   /dʒeɪ/

(9)   a   *cf* (6a)

        b   /dʒʌdʒ/

        c   /dʒeɪl/

(10)   a   /θæŋk ju /

       b   /θɔ n/

       c   /ʒem/

       d   /ʒæt/

(15)   b   /θɪŋk/ + *cf* (10e)

       c   /græθ/

       d   *cf* (10d)

(16)   a   /brɪŋɪŋ/

       b   /θɪŋkɪŋ/

       c   /sɪŋk/

(20)   a   /preʃəs/

       b   /præktɪs/

       c   /sʌplɪmənt/

       d   /stju pɪd/

(21)   a   /pəʊst/ + /bəʊst/

       b   /paʊnd/ + /baʊnd/

       c   /pa k/ + /ba k/

       d   /preɪ/ + /breɪ/

(22)   a   /rɪpʌblɪk/

       b   /keɪpəbl/

       c   /pa tɪsɪpeɪt/

(23)   a   /fɜ.m/

        b   /lɜ n/

(27)   a   /konvesɛɪʃn/

        b   /kəmpærɪsn/

        c   /ɪnkrɪ sɪŋ/

(28)   a   /pəzes/

        b   /ɪndənɪ zɪə/

        c   /smɪʤɪks/

(29)   a   /meɪk/

        b   /breɪk/

        c   /weɪt/

        d   /reɪz/

(32)   a   /sɜ v/

        b   /mɜ də(r)/

        c   /pɜ s/

        d   /fɜ.ʤə(r)/

(33)   a   /weə(r)/

        b   /feə(r)/

        c   /keə(r)/

        d   /beə(r)/

(34)   a   /həʊm/

        b   /dʒəʊk/

        c   /bəʊt/

        d   /aprəʊtʃ/

(37)   a   /flɔ (r)/

        b   /fɔ k/

        c   /fɔ dʒ/

        d   /pɔ k/

        e   /sɔ /

(38)   a   /wɜːd/

        b   /wɜːk/

        c   /dɪveləp/

        d   /əloŋ/

        ə   /lost/

(39)   a   /brɪəd/

        b   /bɪə(r)/

        c   /dɪə(r)/

        d   /fɪə(r)/

        e   /hɪə(r)/

        f   /klɪə(r)/

(44)   a   /kjʊə(r)/

        b   /pʊə(r)/

        c.   /ʃʊə(r)/

(49)   a   /bɔ n/

        b.   /spɜ m/

(50)   a   /wɜ kt/

        b   /ma kt/

(51)   a   /a skt/

        b   /mʌnθs/

(53)   a   /skrɪ n/

        b   /sprɪŋ/

        c   /strɪŋ/

(54)   a   /ɪkskju z/

        b   /ɪkspreʃn/

        c   /ɪkspleɪn/

        d   /ɪksplʊəʒn/

        e   /ɪkstri mlɪ/

(63)   a   /ka nt/

        b   /kænət/

(67)   a   /prɪlɪmɪnərɪ/

        b   /baɪlætərəl/

        c   /rɪlarəbrɪlətɪ/

(68)   a   /zəʊdɪæk/

(69)   a   /kɒmpɪtəns/

        b. /prefrəns/

L2-Equivalents in Syntax (section 6 2)

(1)   He is good *at* Maths

(2)   You are quick *at* reading

(3)   He was *at* ---- work.

(4)   We travelled *by* ---- day to Sligo

(5)   I saw him *on* that day.

(6)   He is *on* a mission

(7)   Put it *around* your neck

(8)   Put it *on* your *arm*   (*cf*   section 6 3 1, example (7))

(9)   Can we buy it *on credit/tick*   (*cf*   section 6 3 3, example (75))

(10)   I bought my TV *at a* cheap price

(11)   Stop playing *with* your teeth

(12)   He wants to subscribe *to* the newspaper

(19)   He's going to subscribe *to* the newspaper

(21)   You can dry your hands *on* this towel.

(22)   I dreamed *of/about* my father *last night*.
   or. I had a dream *of/about* my father *last night*

(23)   I was amazed *at* the Irish accent

(24)   I was really astonished *at* the Irish accent

(26)   I got bored *with/of* them.

(27)   He is tired *of* studying

(28)   I am frustrated *with/by* the education in this college

(29)   I complain *of/about* the pain

(30)   He entered *through* the window

(31)   *At* ---- first sight

(32)   Do you pass *by* Botanic Road?

(33)   Anyway, it is better *than* nothing

(37)   *From* --- childhood

(43)   It is made *of/from* ---- wood

(44)   Let me read this letter *to* you
   or Let me read you this letter

(45)   We have no hatred *of/for* anyone
   or We don't have hatred *towards* anyone

       cf   We don't have/bear a grudge *against* anyone
       cf   We have/bear no grudge *against* anyone
       cf   We bear no one a grudge
       cf   We don't bear anyone a grudge.

cf   We don't have/bear malice *towards* anyone

cf   We have/bear no malice *towards* anyone

cf   We act with malice *towards* none

cf   We don't act with malice *towards* anyone

cf   We don't have/bear a spite *against* anyone

cf   We have/bear a spite *against* none/no-one

cf   We have/bear no spite against anyone

cf   We bear no one a spite

cf   We feel no spite *towards* anyone

cf   We don't have/bear/feel resentment *against* anyone

cf   We don't have/bear/feel resentment *towards* anyone

cf   We have/bear/feel no resentment *against* anyone.

cf   We have/bear/feel no resentment *towards* anyone

(46)   He went for a walk *by moonlight*

(47)   Let me sleep *with* the music

(53)   He threatened her *with* death

  or   He threatened to murder her.

  or   He threatened to kill her

  or   He gave her a death threat

(57)   I only know her face

  or   I only know her to see

  or   I only know her *by* sight

(60)   ---- Man will not live forever

(61)   All ---- birds are beautiful

(62)   ---- Petrol is very expensive in Ireland

(63)   *cf example (43)*

(64)   *cf example (37)*

(67)   *cf example (3)*

(68)   *cf example (4).*

(69)   We travelled ---- day and ---- night

(70)   All ---- day *I have been* on my feet
  or   I *have been* on my feet all --- *day*

(71)   I came from England by ---- boat

(72)   He went to ---- college

(73)   My wife is still in ---- hospital

(74)   Mandela *has stayed* in ---- prison for 27 years
  or   Mandela *has been* in ---- prison for 27 years

(75)   *cf example (31)*
(76)   I have *a* headache
(77)   I saw *a* big carnival in the city centre
(78)   *cf example (10).*

(82)   It's ---- very strong beer.
       cf · I want to drink a (bottle/a can/a glass of) beer
       cf   I want to drink some beer

(83)   It's really ---- nice coke
       cf   Can I have a (bottle/a can/a glass of) coke?
       cf   Can I have some coke?

(86)   I want to give you ---- advice
       cf   I want to give *a* piece/bit/word of advice

(87)   It's ---- lovely weather, isn't it?

(88)   I need ---- fresh air

(89)   *I haven't seen* him for more than three years

(124)   I won't break it, I'm *more* careful than you (are)

(126)   What *more do* you want?
   or   What *else do* you want?

(128)   Who is the rude *one*?
   or   *Which one of us* is rude?

L2-Equivalents in Semantics (section 6.3)

(1)   Let's turn over a new *leaf.*

(2)   I made him stand on his (own two) *feet*
   or   I set him on his *feet*

(3)   It's as clear as *day/day-light*
   or   It's as plain as *day/day-light*

(4)   The *wind* turned the umbrella inside-out
   or   The *wind* blew the umbrella inside-out

(5)   Can we use *a stick* of dynamite?
   or   Can we use a ---- dynamite?

(6)   The *umpire* was bad and Lendl lost his *nerve*   (*self-confidence*)
   or   The *umpire* was unjust and Lendl lost his *nerve*   (*self-confidence*)
   or   and Lendl lost his *temper*   (*self-control*)
   or   and Lendl lost his *head/cool reason*   (*irritation*)
   or   and Lendl couldn't control his *temper*   (*self-control*)
   or   and Lendl couldn't keep his *temper*   (*self-control*)
   or   and Lendl got/flew into a *temper*   (*anger*)
   or   and Lendl was out of *temper*   (*anger*)

(7)   Put the watch on your *arm/wrist*
   or   Put your watch on
   or   Wear your watch

(8)   I want to buy a new *strap* for my watch

(9)   I can drive (the car) without *stalling*
   or   I can *change gear* without *stalling*

(10)   Not *later* than 7 00

(11)   She is *pinning* her hopes on marrying him/getting married to him
        She is *setting* her hopes on marrying him/getting married to him
   or   She is *setting* her heart on marrying him/getting married to him
   or   She is *setting* her mind on marrying him/getting married to him

(12)   Will you *set* the alarm for nine?

(13)   This drink is nice   It *quenches* my thirst
   or   This drink is nice   It *slakes* my thirst

(14)   This is a heavy coat   It *keeps out* the cold
   or   This is a heavy coat   It *keeps* the cold *out*

(15)   You'll *pick up* this bad habit.
        You'll *be in* this bad habit
   or   You'll *fall into* this bad habit
   or   You'll *get into* this bad habit

(16)   I *did* an English course in London
   or   I *followed* an English course in London
   or   I *pursued* an English course in London
   or   I *took* an English course in London

(17)   I bought a house and *put* it in my father's name
   or   I bought a house and *made* it *over* to my father

(18)   He *prescribed* some medicines for me
   or   He *prescribed* me some medicines.
   or   He *wrote a prescription* for me
   or   He *wrote* me a *prescription*.

(19)   She **is** *rearing* a cat

  or   She *has got* a cat

  or   She *keeps* a cat as a pet

(20)   I think too much Maalox *causes* diarrhoea

(21)   Will you *stub* that cigarette *out*?

  or   Will you *put* that cigarette *out*?

(22)   Can I *have* the reason?

  or   Can you *give* me the reason?

  or   Can I *know* the reason?

  or   Will you let me *know* the reason?

(23)   Can you *tell the time*?

  or.   Can you *read the time*?

  or: Can you *read the watch*?

  or·   Can you *read the clock*?

(24)   My passport will *expire* in September

(25)   Next week she will *be* five months

  or   Next week she will *be* five months already

(26)   Did you *hurt* yourself?

(27)   Did I *hurt* your feelings?

(28)   I made his *hair stand* on end

(29)   You're right   I *take* my *words* back

  or   Your're right   I *swallow* my *words*

  or   You're right   I *eat* my *words*

(30)   Because marriage will *clip* my *wings*

(31)   *Hold/catch* your *breath* and you'll get rid of *them/it.*

  or   *Hold/catch* your *breath* to get rid of *them/it*

(32)   The *eyes* are the mirror of the *soul*

(33)   You'll *eat* your *nails* after this food   (Hiberno-English)
   or   You'll *lick* your *fingers* after this food   (British English)

(34)   The sound of this car *gets on* my *nerves*

(35)   I *broke* my *back* in that work
   or   That *work broke* my back

(36)   They *got rid of* all *evidences* of the crime
   or   They *got rid of* all the *evidence* surrounding the crim

(37)   He is nice, but he *pokes* his *nose* into everything
   or   He is nice, but he *sticks* his *nose* into everything
   or   He is nice, but he *puts* his *nose* into everything

(38)   She *stole the limelight*
   or   She *stole the show*
   or   She *took the spotlight*
   or   She *held the spotlight*
   or   She *was in the spotlight*

(39)   I *stood on/upon* my *dignity*
   or   I *abandoned* my *dignity*
   or   I *swallowed* my *pride*

(40)   My situation is *hanged* by a *thread*
   or   My situation *hangs* by a *thread*
   or   I'm *hanging* by a *thread*

(41)   *Blood* is thicker than *water*

(42)   *Pump* the *blood*   (Hiberno-English)
   or   *Rouse* the *blood* cells   (Hiberno-English)
   or   *Get* the *circulation going*   (British English)
   or   *Wake* the *circulation*   (British English)
   or   *Work* the *circulation*   (British-English)

(43)   Will you *put the umbrella up?*

(44)   You can *put the umbrella down*

(45)   I'll *run* the *tap* for cold water

    or I'll *turn on* the *tap* for cold water

(46)   There isn't even a *glimmer* of *hope*

    or· There isn't even a *ray* of *hope*

    or There isn't even a *spark* of *hope*

    or There isn't even a *shred* of *hope*

    or There isn't even a *thread* of *hope*

(47)   She was looking (at me) out of the *corner* of her *eye*

(48)   his *moustache* is *not real*

    or.   his *moustache* is *artificial*

    or   his *moustache* is *false*

    or   his *moustache* is *not authentic*

    or   he's wearing a *false/ an artificial moustache*

(49)   Her face *was red* with *shyness*

    or Her face *went red* with *shyness*

    or Her face *blushed* with *shyness*

    or She *blushed* with *shyness*

(50)   This is *daylight robbery*

(51)   They fired *blank cartridges*

    or They fired *blanks*

(52)   I can't remember, my *mind is blank/a blank*

    or I can't remember, my *memory is blank/a blank*

    or I can't remember, my *mind/memory* has gone *blank*

    or I can't remember, my *brain is tired/worn out*

(53)   Will you give me a *blank* sheet of *paper?*

(54)   I left this *card blank* for your notes

(55)   I'll bring you a *blank tape* to record it

(56)   He has a very *sharp tongue*

  or He has a very *caustic tongue*

(57)   This drink has (really) *stimulated* my *appetite*

  or This drink has (really) *whetted* my *appetite*

  or This drink has (really) *sharpened* my *appetite*

(58)   He is well experienced in nuclear physics

        If he works in France, his salary will be a *blank cheque*

 , or He is a highly qualified nuclear physicist

        If he works in France, he will *write his own salary cheque*

  or If he works in France, he will *earn/make a fortune*

(59)   I can't see, you're *standing in my way.*

  or I can't see, you're *in the way*

  or I can't see, you're *(standing) in my line of vision*

  or I can't see, you're *blocking my vision/view*

  or I can't see *through you; please move*

(60)   You're wearing your jumper *inside-out*

  or Your jumper is on *inside-out*

(61)   Your jumper is on *back to front*, (it should be the other way
        round)

  or You're wearing the jumper *back to front*

(62)   I laughed at him *to myself*   (British English)

        I laughed *up my sleeve* at him.   (British English)

  or I laughed at him *under my breath* (British English)

  or I laughed at him *behind his back* (Hiberno English)

(63)   This woman goes *behind her husband's back*

  or. This woman does that *behind her husband's back*

(64)   Just *turn your back on her*

(65)   Let me remember you *by the good things*

   or   Let me remember *the good time I had with you*

   or   Let me remember *the good time we had/spent together*

   or   Let me remember you *fondly.*

   or   Let me have *good/fond memories of you*

(66)   Everyone *shows his origin*

   or   Everyone *shows his up-bringing.*

   or· Everyone *shows what he comes from*

   or   Everyone *shows where he comes from*

   or   Everyone *shows what he is made of*

(67)   I don't feel *at ease* when I look at him

   or   I don't feel *comfortable* when I look at him.

   or   I can't *relax* when I look at him

   or   I feel *uneasy* when I look at him

   or   I feel *ill-at-ease* when I look at him

   or   He makes me feel *uneasy*

(68)   She was looking at everyone *with hatred*

   or   She was looking at everyone *with hate*

(69)   I'm really *embarrassed* because I'm late.

   or   It *embarrasses* me not to be on time

   or· I'm really *ashamed of* my lateness

   or· I'm really *ashamed at* being late

(70)   I *washed my hands* of that problem

(71)   He was tied *hand and foot* /They tied him *hand and foot*

   or   He was tied up /They tied him up

   or   He was bound *hand and foot* /They bound him *hand and foot.*

   or   His *wrists and ankles* were tied up /They tied up his *wrists and ankles*

(72)   I know you *from head to toe.*

   or   I know you *from top to toe*

   or   I know you *like the palm of my hand.*

   or   I know you *like the back of my hand*

   or   I know you *inside-out*

(73)   I am *frozen to the bone.*

(74)   Write them *on the slate*

   or   *Put* them on the slate.

   or   Put them *on my account.*

   or   *Credit* them to me.

(75)   Can we buy it *on credit?*

   or   Can we buy it *on tick?*

   or   Can we buy it *in instalments?*

   or   Can we *pay for it by instalments?*

(76)   If she continues *to behave in this way*, she will bring shame *on* herself

(77)   You should go to hospital   *It's not funny!*

   or   You should go to hospital   *It's serious!*

(78)   That name *rings a bell*

   or   *I have heard of* that name

   or   *He sounds familiar.*

(79)   Next month it will *be in leaf*

   or   Next month it will *come into leaf*

   or   Next month it will *have leaves.*

(80)   I gave you my word and *I'll keep it*

   or   I gave you my word and *I won't break it*

   or   I gave you my word and *I won't go back on it*

   or   My word *is my bond.*

(81)   *Bear with me*, please

   or   Give me your *attention*, please

   or   May I have your *attention*, please

(82)   He seems *empty-headed*

(83)   She *was struck dumb* with fear

   or   She *was dumb founded* with fear

(84)   Look *at this weather?*

   or   Look *at this* for *weather!*

(85)   When I love/admire a certain tune/song, *it stays on my lips*

   or   When I love/admire a certain tune/song, *it stays in my head*

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