they are. We expect that the same innate mechanism which guided
the discovery of the rules of the first language will operate in
learning the second. We expect to find the same processes at
work: overgeneralization, production simplification, growing
approximation to target language structures through stages of
increasing rule complexity.

Subject and Methods

The subject of the study, Rebecca, was the three-year-old
daughter of a Pakistani father and American mother and had been
brought up in the United States speaking English. Up until the
age of eighteen months she had frequently heard spoken Urdu,
but a family move at 1;6 terminated this contact. Beginning at
2;10 for a period of six weeks the child was systematically
exposed for about a half hour daily to simple stories and games
in Urdu. The purpose of this language 'instruction' was to
elicit sufficient output for a study of her second language
phonological strategies. At 3;9 Rebecca moved from her English
speech milieu to Lahore, Pakistan where she was enrolled in
an Urdu nursery school. For several hours of the day at home
she also interacted with Urdu speakers, principally with her
aya 'nanny' and with neighborhood children of from three to
seven years old.

The data for the study consist of three forty-five-minute
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A CHILD'S CREATION OF A SECOND LANGUAGE

Lynne Hansen-Bede

ABSTRACT

Three stages of the developing second language of a
3;9-3;11 year-old English-speaking child in an Urdu speech
milieu were examined and compared with findings that have been
accumulated about the order and process of first language
acquisition. The study showed that in the development of many
syntactic and morphological features the child used strategies
characteristic of mother-tongue learners; an exception, the
development of the negative, was. interpreted as evidence that
knowledge already available to a second language learner from
learning a first may contribute to an acceleration of progress
in some details of acquisition.

A CHILD'S CREATION OF A SECOND LANGUAGE

Lynne Hansen-Bede

Recent studies of mother-tongue acquisition have shown that a large measure of creativity enters into the learning of a first language (McNeill 1966; Ervin-Tripp, 1973a, b; Brown, 1973). Children do not simply imitate adult speech; they structure it and create their own rules, less complex than adult rules. The child's competence at a given age is a self-contained structurally cohesive system distinct from the model language towards which it is gradually restructured in successive stages.

Several studies have recognized the relation between first and second language learning and have suggested that the processes involved are essentially the same for both (Cook, 1969; Corder, 1971; Nemser, 1971; Selinker, 1972). These scholars have developed the notion of the spontaneous speech of a second language learner as a separate language, an 'interlanguage' having a genuine grammar. This is defined as being a structurally organised linguistic system distinct from both the source language and the target language which, like a child's mother-tongue, develops through stages during the learning process.

Within this framework the process and order of acquisition

of a second language learner are seen to be similar to those of a child learning his first. In confirmation of this hypothesis a growing number of studies analyzing the speech of children learning second languages show that their strategies while learning certain structures do approximate those of mother-tongue learners. Raven (1969) reports this for the developing negation structures of his two Norwegian children; as does Milon (1974) for a Japanese child's. Dulay and Burt (1974) : analysis of 513 syntactic errors extracted from the speech of Spanish-speaking children who were learning English found that 87.1% of the errors reflected the same developmental structures used by children learning English as a first language; only 4.7% reflected native Spanish interference. Ervin-Tripp's (1974) investigation of English-speaking children learning transitive clauses in French reveals an apparent recapitulation of the acquisitional stages that first language learners pass through. Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) also report first language strategies for the acquisition order of English plural allomorphs by native Spanish-speaking children

This study is an exploration of processes involved in the rapid learning of a child's second language grammar during her initial period in a foreign speech milieu. It attempts to bring additional data to bear on the issue of whether the same processes of development used in the creative construction of a first language are used in the second. The hypothesis is that

they are. We expect that the same innate mechanism which guided the discovery of the rules of the first language will operate in learning the second. We expect to find the same processes at work: overgeneralization, production simplification, growing approximation to target language structures through stages of increasing rule complexity.

Subject and Methods

The subject of the study, Rebecca, was the three-year-old daughter of a Pakistani father and American mother and had been brought up in the United States speaking English. Up until the age of eighteen months she had frequently heard spoken Urdu, but a family move at 1;6 terminated this contact. Beginning at 2;10 for a period of six weeks the child was systematically exposed for about a half hour daily to simple stories and games in Urdu. The purpose of this language 'instruction' was to elicit sufficient output for a study of her second language phonological strategies. At 3;9 Rebecca moved from her English speech milieu to Lahore, Pakistan where she was enrolled in an Urdu nursery school. For several hours of the day at home she also interacted with Urdu speakers, principally with her aya 'nanny' and with neighborhood children of from three to seven years old.

The data for the study consist of three forty-five-minute recordings of Rebecca's interaction with her aya taped at 3;9

on January 20, 1974; at 3;10 on February 10, 1974; at 3;11 on
March 19, 1974; two, five and ten weeks after arrival in Lahore.
Henceforth these will be referred to as Periods 1, 2 and 3;
numbers prefixed to quotations from the data indicate the time
each utterance was made. The tapes were transcribed by the inves-
tigator, and everything said by or to the child was included,
together with contextual notes.

Analysis of the transcripts yielded sufficiently extensive
data in some aspects of grammar for contrastive analysis with
findings of first language acquisition studies. Possessive con-
structions, gender, word order, verb forms and negation were
chosen because a good deal is now known about their patterns of
development in native speaking learners, thus facilitating such
comparison. Postpositions and questions were selected for closer
scrutiny because of their contrast in word order with equivalent
English constructions; possible first language interference being
the point of particular interest. As major components of the
developing new language, the phonology and lexical borrowing were
also examined.

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The target language

Urdu, the official language of Pakistan, is practically identical with Hindi, the official language of India. Whether a speaker uses Urdu or Hindi is based on cultural considerations, the primary distinction being between Muslims who prefer Urdu and Hindus who prefer Hindi. Urdu depends on Persian and Arabic for its literary and technical vocabulary and is written in a modified form of the Arabic script; Hindi draws its learned vocabulary from Sanskrit and is written in Devanagari.

A few words about the grammar of Urdu are in order. There are two genders, masculine and feminine; and two cases, nominative and oblique. Nouns and pronouns are said to be in the oblique case when followed by a postposition. Postpositions mostly translate English prepositions. Nouns and adjectives are either marked (taking inflections) or unmarked (having the same form in all circumstances). The following classes of nouns have special oblique forms: (1) singular marked masculine nouns, ləRka[1] 'boy' nom., ləRke ko 'boy-to' obl.; (2) all plural nouns, ghər 'houses' unmarked nom., ghəroN məyN 'houses-in' obl. Most pronouns have oblique forms, yɪ 'this, he, she, it' nom., ɪs ko 'it-to' obl. The possessive postposition ka, agreeing in

[1]The system of phonemic notation is essentially that of Barker (1967).

gender, number and case with a following noun, is equivalent to English 's possessive, ləRkioN ki bılli 'girls-'s cat'. Marked adjectives agree with a modified noun in gender, case and number, baRi kıšti 'big boat' fem. nom. sing.; bəRa kwtta 'big dog' masc. nom. sing. Possessive pronouns function as marked adjectives agreeing with the possessed noun, meri beTi 'my daughter'; mera beTa 'my son'.

Verb forms consist of a stem with or without one or more suffixes and with or without one or more auxiliary verbs. Verbs are conjugated for person, gender and number, often in agreement with the subject. Past tense transitive verbs require ne following the subject, and the agreement in most cases is then with the object. Word order is freer than in English, but S O V is considered 'normal' for isolated sentences which do not emphasize any particular word. Yes-no questions may be introduced or followed by an optional unstressed kra, serving as a question marker. In wh-questions the question word comes in the same place as the word which answers the question, often sentence medially, vw kəb aegi? 'she when will-come'. In negative sentences the negating particle, nəhiN, nə or mət, occurs immediately preceding the verb.

Possession

The early expression of possession for Urdu (Dilvi, 1972) and numerous other languages (English: Brown, 1973; Finnish:

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Bowerman, 1973; Russian: Gvozdev, 1949) is through a juxtaposition of two inflectionless nouns. For example Daddy chair and dog tail from Brown's English data. In Rebecca's Period 1 the omission of the ka possessive particle results in similar N + N constructions, (1) yɪ Rebecca house 'this Rebecca house' instead of yɪ Rebecca ka ghər 'this Rebecca-'s house'; (1) Mama bed 'Mama bed' instead of Mama kɪ bɪstər 'Mama-'s bed'. At this time the Urdu possessive pronouns were generally replaced by their English equivalents, (1) yɪ my school hɛy 'this my school is' instead of yɪ mera school hɛy 'this my school is'; (1) yɪ mine, yɪ yours 'this mine, this yours' instead of yɪ mera, yɪ tera 'this mine, this yours'.

In the second speech sample the only pronominal possessive forms are two occurrences of the Urdu first person nominative pronoun substituting for the first person possessive, (2) yɪ məyN and yɪ məyN krɪšti instead of yɪ mera 'this mine' and yɪ meri krɪšti 'this my boat'. One notes here the similarity of məyN to English 'my, mine' as a possible influence on her incorrect choice of the form. The ka possessive construction does not occur. There seems to be an avoidance phenomenon operative here of the sort that was reported for the phonological level of the speech of a three-and-a-half year old boy learning Italian. According to Engel (1965) the child was able to pronounce all of the phonemes of Italian except /r/; conscious of the deficiency

he frequently avoided words with /r/ or substituted various
other sounds. When expression of possession did occur in this
period it was contained in switches to English within the Urdu
discourse, (2) yɪ dekho your finger 'this look (at) your finger';
(2) yɪ- this is Hassan's kɪšti 'this- this is Hassan's boat'.

By Period 3 the use of Urdu possessive forms was esta-
blished. The child's one instance of a slip into English was
immediately corrected, indicating recognition of a violation of
her rules for separation of the two systems, (3) my name lɪkha,
meri name '(she) my name wrote, my name'. Rules for the ka
construction had been acquired, including the change of a noun
or pronoun preceding ka to the oblique case, (3) ɪs ka? 'this-'s';
(3) Alice ka name lɪkho 'Alice-'s name write',

Gender

Gender in child language is initially characterized by over-
generalization to one gender for all cases. This is exemplified
by the order of acquisition in Russian as reported by Popova
(1958): first, predominance of feminine gender; second, predomi-
nance of masculine gender; third, confusion of both genders;
and fourth, correct usage. The feminine gender was thought to
be earliest because it has just one type of ending in the nomina-
tive (-a or -ya) and is more frequent, while the masculine form
has various endings. In Urdu the masculine nominative singular
ending is -a; the feminine -i. In Rebecca's speech all of the

marked adjectives and most verbs had the masculine form, (2) bəRa
krsti 'big boat' (lack of agreement with feminine noun); (3) bəRa
əccha bəna 'very well made'. In Rebecca's case also a determining
factor in the choice was likely the more frequent occurrence in
the target language of the form. The first person possessive pro-
noun, however, was always feminine, having presumably been learned
as a lexical item equivalent to 'my' in English.

Word Order

For languages in which word order is relatively inflexible,
such as English, most children always use the dominant order.
For languages in which there is more freedom in word order, such
as Urdu, two general outcomes have been recorded: 1. selection
of one order from among those heard; 2. variation in word order
corresponding with the range of variation heard or even going
beyond it (Brown, 1973). Rebecca's utterances reflected the SOV
order considered 'normal' in Urdu. Table I shows sentence types
and their frequency of occurrence for each period. Examples
are O + V, (2) blocks le-ke ao 'blocks having-taken come';
Adv + V, (3) əyse lrkh-kərna 'in-this-way write'; Dem + $\begin{Bmatrix} adj \\ N \end{Bmatrix}$ +
(cop), (1) yr building, 'this building'; y_ kh rab h y 'this
ruined is'; S + V, (3) khansama c la-g ya 'cook went'; S + O + V,
m yN bracelet b na 'I bracelet made'. The following variations
from the SOV pattern were noted, all possible in standard Urdu:
S + V + O, (3) m yN b nani name 'I made name'; O + S+ V, (2) y_

TABLE I

SENTENCE-TYPE FREQUENCIES

	Dem $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{adj}\\N\end{matrix}\right\}$(cop)	0 + V	Adv + V	S + V	S + 0 + V
Period 1	84	24	2	0	0
Period 2	27	43	2	11	2
Period 3	13	54	29	39	5

I banao 'this I made'; O + V + S, (3) picture bana Alice 'picture
made Alice'.

Verb Forms

The verb in child grammar begins with simple, frequently
heard forms. In Rebecca's second language we first see V-stem
+ -o, the familiar request form which was frequently addressed
to her by the aya, (1) building banao 'building make' (bana-
caus. stem of banna 'to make'); (1) yɪ do 'this give' (do fam.
imp. of dena 'to give'). In Period 2 this form still occurred
most often; the past tense also appeared frequently, though with-
out its -ne construction, (2) mayN kɪšti bana 'I boat made'
(bana masc. past part.) instead of mayN-ne kɪšti bani 'I boat
made' (bani fem. past part. agreeing with kɪšti). By the last
taping session the future tense was also used productively,
(3) Alice bhi jaega 'Alice also will-go' (ja- V-stem, ega mas.
sing. fut. suffix). In addition a wide spectrum of other Urdu
verb forms appeared: present and conjunctive participles;
neutral request and conditional forms. The continuous tenses
were conspicuously absent.

Postpositions

Interest in Rebecca's use of Urdu postpositions was peaked
by their word order contrast with English prepositions, but no
first language influence was found. All postpositional

Lexical Borrowing

In Period 1 Rebecca's second language contained the follow-
ing English elements: nouns and pronouns, okay appended to yes-no
questions, the negative particle, and a few verbs. The adjectives,
postposition (a few occurrences of mayN 'in') and most verbs were
Urdu. In Period 2 the pronouns 'you' and 'I' and most of the
nouns were the remaining first language lexical elements. By
Period 3 English was limited to nominal forms. Of seventy-three
spontaneous noun occurrences on this tape, sixty-six of them were
English words. One observes here an unusual coincidence, or
possibly a phenomenon with suggestive implications in the area
of lexical storage: all of the seven Urdu nouns, with the excep-
tion of bambiri 'a paper fan' for which Rebecca had no English
equivalent, were among the few lexical items, seemingly forgotten
before the visit to Pakistan, that she had been systematically
exposed to in the Urdu 'instruction' nine months earlier. A
sociolinguistic factor which apparently facilitated the child's
retention of English nouns to such an extent was the favorable
attitude of her Urdu-speaking contacts toward her first language.
Rebecca often told her aya and neighborhood children the English
word for an object which they in turn would then use in their
conversation with her.

Conclusions

The three periods of the 'interlanguage' described in this study
are summarized in Table IV. The evidence cited here lends support
to the hypothesis that first and

an end-rising intonation to differentiate an otherwise statement
pattern, (2) piar hey? 'pleasing is'; meri bambiri? 'my paper-
fan'.

Negation

The first strategies used by children in the development of
negation have been shown to be similar across languages. The
Stage 1 rule for English negation formulated by Klima and Bellugi
(1966) merely states that a Sentence Nucleus can be followed or
preceded by a negative element. This rule also accounts for
Rebecca's A and B type utterances presented in Table II. In
Period 1 the negative element is English no; in Periods 2 and 3
no was replaced by neiN, the panjabi-ized form of nahiN the repre-
sentative negative particle in Urdu, or by na which in certain
constructions is required and in other constructions is a stylis-
tic variant of nahiN. The third Urdu negative particle, nat, is
used with imperative verbs, and did not occur. There is some
question about the interpretation of some of the utterances in
column B because of an optional rule in Urdu which deletes the
copula following a negator. This rule generates sentences of the
type marked with an asterisk. The question is whether the child
employed the primitive S + Neg strategy in these instances or did
she understand yi neiN as yr neiN hey with the copula deleted.
No support is given the latter interpretation in the data by
comparable utterances with the copula present.

TABLE II

NEGATIVE SENTENCE-TYPES

A

(1) no yi
'not this'

(2) nɪ kɪ̆ti
'not boat'

nə məyN bənao, you bənao
'not I make, you make'

(3) nə əyse lɪkɔ̆-kərna
'not like-this write'

nəiN picture bənao
'not picture make'

B

(1) yɪ no
'this not'

(2) yɪ nəiN*
'this not'

ɪs məyN nəiN*
'this-in not'

(3) ek nəiN*
'one not'

yɪ dekho nəiN
'this look not'

C

(1) yɪ no əcchə
'this not good'

yɪ no building
'this not building'

(2) Mama nə gəndi
'Mama not dirty'

yɪ nəiN Berkeley həy
'this not Berkeley is'

(3) yɪ nəiN khərab həy
'this not ruined is'

məyN nəiN building bəna
'I not building made'

D

(2) əyse nə bəno
'like-this not make'

ɪs məyN nəiN bənta
'this-in not makes'

(3) əbhi nəiN bənaega
'now not will-make'

Eric nəiN ata
'Eric not comes'

Mowry nəiN dekha
'Mowry not saw'

məyN dudh nəiN piuNga
'I milk not will-drink'

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In Klima and Bellugi's next stage the Stage 1 rule still
operates. In addition there is a new system with a basic structure
NP -Neg - VP. In Urdu this structure produces a NP - Neg - Obj - V
pattern accounting for Rebecca's type C sentences.

In her Period 2 Rebecca began applying a new rule which pro-
duced utterances exemplifying normal placement of the negative
element in Urdu, immediately preceding the verb. The type D sen-
tences typify these. Table III gives the frequencies of negation
types in each period. Rather than using a sequence of strategies
for negation as first language learners do, from the beginning
Rebecca simultaneously employed several. This is an important
point which will be discussed at length in the conclusion.

Phonology

By the time of her arrival in Pakistan at 3;9 Rebecca
had largely mastered the phonological oppositions of English.
Exceptions were occasional substitution of /w/ for initial /r/,
(1) ə big wæbɪt 'a big rabbit' (but also (2) yɪ ræbɪt 'this
rabbit'); and of /d/ for initial and medial /ð/, (2) də əðərz
ar main 'the others are mine'; also positional instability in
the voiceless stops, (1) dont cac ɪt 'don't touch it'; (2) ɪks
going 'it's going'. A study of the child's production of Urdu
sounds at 2;11 had shown a separation of systems in which features
differentiated in one language were differentiated in the other.
Distinctions which evidenced instability in English had also
been problem areas in her second language. This does not hold

TABLE III

FREQUENCY OF NEGATIVE SENTENCE-TYPES

	A Neg + S	B S + Neg	C $N + \left\{\begin{matrix} Adj \\ N \end{matrix}\right\}$ (cop)	D N (N) Neg + V
Period 1	2	6	10	0
Period 2	4	5	5	4
Period 3	4	4	2	11

true for the later period, however. The phonological deviations
in her English at 3;9-3;11 did not reflect the productive dis-
criminatory ability which was brought to the new learning task.

The main distinctions found in Urdu that are missing in
English are between dental and retroflex stops; between aspirated
and unaspirated stops, voiced as well as voiceless; between oral
and nasalized vowels; between short and long vowels. Clusters
of two or three vowels are common. There are velar fricatives,
voiced and voiceless, and a velar stop.

The Urdu voiceless back velar fricative /x/ presented
difficulty. Medially, Rebecca tended to substitute /h/ for it,
(2) bəhada for bwxara; initially the phoneme was realized as the
aspirated stop /kh/, (3) khwda for xwda. In one instance she
corrected herself, yr hərab- khərab həy. The other velar sounds
did not occur. The voiced aspirates and the retroflex sounds
which are notoriously difficult for English-speaking adult learn-
ers were no problem; nor were the vowel clusters and nasalised
vowels. What was more striking than points of deviation from
the target language was the lack of deviation. By Period 3
English loan words were mapped onto the Urdu phonological system
and her accent was perceived as 'native' by native speakers.

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Lexical Borrowing

In Period 1 Rebecca's second language contained the follow-
ing English elements: nouns and pronouns, okay appended to yes-no
questions, the negative particle, and a few verbs. The adjectives,
postposition (a few occurrences of mayN 'in') and most verbs were
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TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF THE THREE PERIODS

	Period 1 Age: 3;9 MLU: 1;85 a	Period 2 Age: 3;10 MLU: 1;98	Period 3 Age: 3;11 MLU: 2;34
Possessives ka construction	N + N, ka omitted	avoided by switches to Eng.	adult model (usually masc.)
pronouns	all English	mayN 'I' for 1st pers., others En	adult model (meri always fem.)
Gender	mostly masc.	(no change)	(no change)
Word order	relatively inflex.	(no change)	(no change)
Verb forms	familiar request	familiar request past	familiar request past future
Postpositions	mayN 'in' approp. order	(no change)	mayN 'in' per 'on' approp. order
Questions wh-	kɪc, neologism approp. order	kɪa 'what' kɪdhar 'where' approp. order	(no change)
yes-no	okay appended	rising intonation	(no change)
Negative	Neg initial, med. and final	Neg initial, med. and final Occas. pre-V	Neg initial, med. and final Pre-V predominate
Phonology	Eng. pronun. for Eng. loans	near-native pronunciation	native pronunciation
Lexical borrowing	nouns and pron. neg. part. no okay with yes-no a few verbs	you, I most nouns	most nouns

aThe MLU's given for each period refer to mean length of utterance, a concept used by Brown (1973) in segmenting the continuous language acquisition process so that samples of children's speech may be analyzed and compared.

second language learning in the young are similar in natural
situations. Although the English equivalents of the syntactic
structures examined were well established, neither word-for-word
translation nor L^1 interference was found in the new language.
The postpositional and wh-question constructions which display
sharp word order contrasts between Urdu and English offered
no examples of first language order. The child's first strategy
for expressing possession was one of the first mother-tongue
learners use. The initial overgeneralisations to one gender
(masculine) and to a simple frequently occurring verb form
(familiar imperative) exemplify a common process seen in first
language acquisition.

In the learning of negation, however, Rebecca's strategies
do not seem to confirm our $L^2 = L^1$ hypothesis. Rather than
passing through the well-documented early stages of negation in
sequence, she simultaneously applied several rules that she
had used and discarded on the way to English proficiency. This
is in marked contrast to the case of a seven year old Japanese
boy learning English reported by Milon (1974). The boy's stages
of English negation occurred in exactly the same sequence and
within almost identical syntactic parameters as did the English
mother-tongue learners whose development of negation was char-
acterized by Bellugi and Klima (1966).

A crucial factor in the difference in strategies used by

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the two children may be the comparatively simple syntax of negation in the boy's first language. The surface structure of a negative Japanese sentence is NP NP V Neg and, as opposed to English, there are no order-changing transformations required to carry the negative aspect to the surface. Thus, as reported by McNeill and McNeill (1968), first language Japanese learners did not produce grammatically deviant negative sentences; presumably since their primitive negative utterances, S + Neg, are correct in their language. Perhaps the larger number of rules initially experimented with by the English speaking child in the negation of her second language was influenced by the larger number of rules traversed in learning her first. This then would illustrate that knowledge already available to a second language learner from acquisitional processes in his mother-tongue may contribute to an acceleration of progress. Herein lies the implication that all details in order of acquisition of first and second language learners are not the same.

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