

# Form and Function: Language-learning Strategies of a Second Born

## 形式與功能：老二的語言習得策略

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### Abstract

*English-speaking children have been reported to apply both referential/analytic and expressive/gestalt strategies in learning their first language (Nelson, 1973; Peters, 1977). The former strategy is used when children acquire language by focusing on the learning of words and thus passing through a series of one-word, two-word, and multi-word stages. It is found in naming situations and seems to be preferred by the first-borns. The latter is employed when children attempt at whole chunks of utterances which are characterized by salient suprasegmentals and unstable linguistic segments. It occurs in social interactions and seems to be used more by the second-borns.*

*Based on the naturalistic data from a Mandarin-learning second-born child at the age from 3 months to 2 years (divided into six periods), this paper reports that (1) although seemingly an expressive/gestalt learner, the second-born can readily make use of the referential/analytic strategy, and (2) both strategies, observed through the linguistic forms of the child's utterances, exemplify the various functions of the child's language. The paper also speculates the reasons why the second-born tends to be an expressive/gestalt learner.*

### 摘要

英語兒童習得母語的策略有二，一為逐步漸近的分析方式(referential/analytic strategy)，一為整體籠統的表達方式(expressive/gestalt strategy)(Nelson 1973; Peters, 1977)。第一種策略見於以詞彙為學習單位的孩子的語言，其發展過程經一句一詞，一句二詞，而至一句多詞的不同階段；這種習得方式多用於學習以名詞來指涉事物的情況，且多見於老大的語言習得過程。第二種策略則常見於多詞組成的整句話語，其語言的超音段之特色及音段的不穩定性極引人注意，這種習得方式多用於與人打交道的社會性語言，且多見於老二的語言中。

本文針對一個以國語為母語，出生序為第二的中國孩子，由三個月至兩歲的自然語料，分六個時期，探討其語言習得策略之發展。結論是：(1)雖然大體上看似屬於以整體籠統表達方式來習得語言的孩子，也一樣能夠使用逐步漸近的分析方式習得語言。(2)由該老二的語言可以看出，不同的策略實乃以不同的語言形式來表現不同的語言功能。本文亦推測了為何第二個孩子的語言較具籠統性的原因。

## I. Introduction: Assumptions About Analytic and Gestalt

### Strategies and Their Relationship to Birth Order

Modern study of first language acquisition since late 1950s has indentified two distinctively different language-learning styles, or strategies, that are used by young children when acquiring their first language. These two strategies are now recognized as the *analytic* and the *gestalt* strategies (Peters, 1977; McLaughlin, 1984).

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Analytic strategy is used when children acquire language by focusing on the learning of words, or morphemes, and thus passing through a series of one-word, two-word, and multi-word stages. It is characterized by the clearly articulated terms, mostly nouns, in naming situations such as the labeling of objects. It also seems to be preferred by the first born. Gestalt strategy, on the other hand, is observed in children's utterances containing whole chunks of unanalyzed phrases or sentences which are characterized by social words and pronouns. In the terminology of other researchers, the *analytic* and the *gestalt* can be the *referential* and the *expressive* (Nelson, 1973), the *analytic* and the *synthetic* (Bloom et al., 1975), the *code-oriented* and the *message-oriented* (Dore, 1974), or the *noun-lovers* and the *noun-leavers* (Horgan, 1985).

Since it is easier to observe children's language that shows a clear progression from the simple to the complex utterances, it is not surprising that studies before mid 1970s had assumed that children's early language develops in a remarkably similar fashion. It was not until Peters' (1977) classic study of a second-born child named Minh<sup>1</sup>, that another type of frustratingly unintelligible, "mush mouth" speech was also identified. This type of speech has since been labeled the gestalt speech.

According to Peters (1977: 564), "although the segmental fidelity (of the gestalt speech) was not very great, the combination of number of syllables, stress, intonation, and such segments as could be distinguished combined to give a very good impression of sentencehood." With Peters' now classic study of Minh, it has been recognized that some children, e.g., the second born, would approach language very differently from others, e.g., the first born.

An earlier study that has made a point on the language-learning styles and the birth order can be found in Nelson's (1973) study of the first 50 words of 18 children learning English as their first language. Nelson noticed that there was a tendency for first-born children to adopt a referential style and the second-born an expressive style. However, this relationship was not significant in the sample. Nevertheless, when the educational level of the parents was taken into account, it was found that all of the first-born children from families with college education or more were in the referential group.

Why is it that some children apply a predominately analytic/referential strategy while others tend to be more gestalt/expressive? One answer to this question relates to the input language to which the child is exposed. Della Corte, Benedict, and Klein (1983) examined the speech of mothers of one-year-old referential and expressive children. They found that mothers of referential children spoke more and used more descriptives, whereas mothers of expressive children in their study used more prescriptives. They also noted that, in general, the mothers of expressive children were less well-educated than the mothers of referential children.

<sup>1</sup> Minh was the second child from a family of two boys in which the mother had attended college and the father had a graduate degree. The mother was Vietnamese and had come to the United States at the age of 12. The father was born in the United States and was a native speaker of English. The family lived in Hawaii and the children were exposed primarily to Standard English, with some secondary exposure to Hawaiian English and Vietnamese.

If the educational level of the parent is related to the language-learning strategy of the child, how would one explain the difference between the language development of different children in the same family? Why is it that children of different birth order would approach the task of language acquisition quite differently, i.e., most of the first-born children would be more analytic/referential while some of the second born would be more gestalt/expressive? In particular, why is the language of the second born tend to be more gestalt?

This paper attempts to pursue the last question a little further by examining the language environment of a second-born child so as to find out how the input language and the interaction between the child and those around her would contribute to the more gestalt nature of this second born's language.

## **II. Methodology: Subjects, Language Environment, and Data**

### **Collection**

The subject of this study, whose English name is Yvonne, is the second child of a middle-class 2-girl family from Taiwan. Mandarin is the native language of the family and is used in daily life. Therefore, Yvonne acquired Mandarin as her first language and grew up in a Mandarin environment.

The language data in this study consist of 32 audio-tapes running from 16 to 30 minutes in length<sup>2</sup>, from the child's 3rd month to 24th month. Spontaneous, naturalistic data were collected from the child's daily life. Activities recorded in the tapes range from cooing, babbling, laughing; crying when angry with other people, drinking milk, diaper changing, imitating older sibling and parents, learning to name persons and label objects, playing with toys, singing, etc. The transcription of the tapes was first done by paper and pencil work. At the present stage, all of these tapes have been computerized. Appendix I lists the 32 tape/files, the date of recording, and the age of Yvonne from 3 to 24 months.

## **III. A Child with Both Strategies**

According to the most characteristic traits found in the tape recording, six periods concerning the development of language-learning strategy between the child's 3rd and 24th month will be identified and discussed.

### **1. Responding to parents with cooing sounds -- Data from the 3-month period**

Very early on, Yvonne's parents talked to her as if she could understand what others were saying. When Yvonne was 3 months old, she was already making a lot of cooing

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Tseng Chiu-yu of the Academia Sinica for lending me her recording equipment and for her constant encouragement. Of these 32 cassette tapes, 29 were originally made on 16-minute reel-to-reel tapes.

sounds. Furthermore, she was able to respond to her parents with these cooing sounds as if she was "conversing" with them. She seemed to be experimenting with intonation patterns and tried to express herself at such times like after drinking her milk and being changed diaper, when she was watching the dining-room lights, or when she was paying attention to her own hand, etc. At this stage, every utterance, if it can be regarded as one, seemed to consist of one sound segment with intonation pattern approximated to that of adult's whole utterance. Also, each utterance appears to have a well-formed interpretation, e.g., "yes" to a statement. For example:

(A little while after Yvonne had her milk)

- 101 F\*: wo-men ziji zuo-zhe da bao-ge le ye.  
我們自己坐著打飽嗝了耶。  
*we can sit there and burp by ourselves*  
*(the baby herself).*
- 102 Y\*: [e, e, ə], ...
- 103 M\*: jiang-hua le, xianzai hao hui jiang-hua le.  
講話了, 現在好會講話了。  
*talking, now (you're) good at talking.*
- 104 Y: [e, ə], ...
- 105 M: hui jiang-hua le.  
會講話了。  
*good at talking.*
- 106 Y: [ə, e, o], ... (0; 3.0)
- (\*F: Father, M: Mother, Y: Yvonne)

The same sound and intonation pattern may be varied in pitch and volume so as to get other's attention.

- 210 Y: [e, e, e], (then raise to higher  
pitch and volume), [e, e, e],
- 202 M: yao jiang shenme? Yi-yi?  
要講什麼? 怡怡?  
*what do you want to say? Yi-yi?* (0; 3.0)

At this stage, although unable to understand their little daughter, Yvonne's parents took her as not only capable of understanding others but was also deliberately trying to communicate with others; and they often praised the child for being good at talking. Nevertheless, even though the parents regarded the child as potential conversational partner, they did not modify their speech so as to elicit any intelligible response. Rather, they talked to Yvonne, gave their own comments, and answered their own questions. The following conversations (301-306, 311-315) illustrate this point.

- 301 F: Yi-yi, Yi-yi zai jiang-hua le, shi-bu-shi?  
怡怡, 怡怡在講話了, 是不是?  
*Yi-yi, Yi-yi is talking, right?*

- zhua-zhe chuang-langan.  
抓 著 床 欄杆。  
*holding to the crib bars.*
- 302 M: Yi-yi  
怡 怡
- 303 Y: [a-].
- 304 M: ren dou zhuan chu-qu yi-ban le,  
人 都 轉 出 去 一 半 了,  
*(your) body has turned half way over,*  
yao fan-shen le.  
要 翻 身 了。  
*about to turn your own body over.*  
kan-zhe xiao shou-shou, jiang-hua,  
看 著 小 手 手, 講 話,  
*watching the little hand, talking,*  
zhe shi zi-ji de shou.  
這 是 自 己 的 手。  
*this is your own hand.*
- 305 F: Yi-yi, zenme bu jiang-hua ne?  
怡 怡 怎 麼 不 講 話 呢?  
*Yi-yi, what not saying some words?*
- 306 Y: (almost a sigh) [ha-].
- 311 M: Yi-yi, jiang shenme hua?  
怡 怡, 講 什 麼 話?  
*Yi-yi, what are you saying?*  
shenme shi-hou women ke-yi  
什 麼 時 候 我 們 可 以  
ting-de-dong ni de yisi?  
聽 得 懂 妳 的 意 思?  
*when can we understand you?*
- 312 Y: (much higher pitch) [a-, a-].
- 313 M: chi shou, chi shou.  
吃 手 吃 手  
*eating hand, eating hand.*
- 314 R\*: shou shang you mi-tang.  
手 上 有 蜜 糖。  
*(there's) honey on her hands.*
- 315 M: (to Y) Jiang shenme hua?  
講 什 麼 話?  
*What are you saying?*  
shi-bu-shi shuo "wo yao chilai"?  
是 不 是 說 "我 要 起 來"?  
*Are you saying "I want to get up" ?* (0; 3.21)

(\*R: Romy, Yvonne's elder sister)

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

The language input for the child during her early months is characterized by whole sentences/phrases and long utterances. The prevailing portion of the high-pitched whole

phrases and long utterances then can be viewed as the basis of input from which the child acquires a gestalt sense of what a whole utterance in the target language should sound like. At this stage, the child responds to her parents with cooing sounds which seem to begin to assume a "conversational" role.

## 2. Keeping up with the first born -- Data from the 8-month period

When Yvonne was eight months old, she was heard to try to imitate and/or keep up with her sister who was reading a rhymed storybook.

(R is reading a rhymed storybook, Y is trying to keep up.)

01 F: Xiao Hu-die kan wan le, o,  
小 蝴 蝶 看 完 了, 哦,  
*finish reading Little Butterfly, o,*  
yao kan shenmo?  
要 看 什 麼 ?  
*what's next? (what to read?)*

02

R: (1st-born at 2;5.16) Xiao Huang-gou.  
小 黄 狗  
*Little Yellow Dog.*

03 F: yao kan Xiao Huang-gou,  
要 看 小 黄 狗,  
*want to read Little Yellow Dog.*  
xiao huang-gou zenme yang?  
小 黄 狗 怎 麼 樣 ?  
*what about little yellow dog?*

04

R: (begin to read the story)  
xiao huang-gou, shou menkou, (**STANZA 1**)  
小 黄 狗, 守 門 口,  
*little yellow dog guards the door,*

05 F: ə, shou menkou, zai lai lei?  
守 門 口, 再 來 咧?  
*ə, guards the door, and then?*

06

R: huang-gou you peng-you,  
黄 狗 有 朋 友,  
*the yellow dog has a friend,*  
peng-you shi lao niu,  
朋 友 是 老 牛,  
*the friend is an old ox,*  
lao niu you huo ban,  
老 牛 有 夥 伴,  
*the old ox has a partner,*  
huo ban shi lao ma.  
夥 伴 是 老 馬。  
*the partner is an old horse.*

07 M: jin-ru qing-kuang le,  
進 入 情 況 了,  
*into the situation (of the picture book),*  
na-me xia yi ye.  
那 麼 下 一 頁。  
*so the next page.*

- 08 I\*: Rou-rou, xia yi ye.  
柔柔, 下一頁。  
*Rou-rou, next page.*
- 09 R: kan! kan! zhe huang-gou zai gen ta wo-shou.  
看! 看! 這黃狗在跟他握手。  
*look! look! this yellow dog is shaking hands with him.*
- 10 F: a, huang-gou zai gen shenme ren wuo-shou?  
黃狗在跟什麼人握手?  
*a, with whom is the yellow dog shaking hands?*
- 11 R: lao niu!  
老牛!  
*the old ox!*
- 12 Y: a-----
- 13.. R: lao ma!  
老馬  
*the old horse!*  
tien liang le, (STANZA 2)  
天亮了,  
*the day is dawn,*  
lao ma (niu) chu (qu) gong (geng) tien,  
老馬(牛)去耕田  
*the old horse (ox) goes to plow the field,*  
lao ma qu na (la) che,  
老馬去拉車,  
*the old horse goes to pull the wagon,*  
huang-gou zuo you-xi.  
黃狗做遊戲。  
*the yellow dog plays games.*
- 14 Y: a-----
- 15 R: chi fan le, (STANZA 3)  
吃飯了,  
*to eat meal, (for lunch)*
- 16 Y: o-----,  
o-----
- 17 F: lao niu  
老牛  
*the old ox*
- R: lao niu chi qing cao,  
老牛吃青草,  
*the old ox eats green grass,*  
  
lao ma ye chi cao,  
老馬也吃草,  
*the old horse also eats the grass,*  
huang-gou hen (ken) gu-tou.  
黃狗啃骨頭。  
*the yellow dog gnaws on the bone.*
- 18 R: xiou-xi le, (STANZA 4)  
休息了  
*to rest,*

- 19  
20
- Y: o-----  
R: lao niu he qing shuei,  
老牛喝清水，  
*the old ox drinks the clear water,*  
lao ma ye he shuei,  
老馬也喝水，  
*the old horse also drinks the water,*  
huang-gou tang di shuei  
黃狗躺地睡。  
*the yellow dog lies down to sleep.*
- 21 I: ai-yo.  
唉唷  
*ai-yo.*
- 22 F: hai-you ne?  
還有呢?  
*and more?*
- 23
- R: tien hei le, (STANZA 5)  
天黑了，  
*the day is dark, (at nighttime,)*
- 24
- 25
- Y: o-----  
R: lao ma shuei ma fang,  
老馬睡馬房，  
*the old horse sleeps in the stable,*  
lao niu shuei niu fang,  
老牛睡牛房，  
*the old ox sleeps in the barn,*  
huang-hou shou-dao da tien liang.  
黃狗守到大天亮。  
*the yellow dog guards until daybreak.*
- 26
- R: shan-xia you nong-chang, (STANZA 6)  
山下有農場，  
*at the foothill, there is a farm,*
- 27
- 28
- Y: a-----  
R: nong-chang mei-you di,  
農場沒有地，  
*the farm doesn't have field,*  
mei-you fang,  
沒有房，  
*doesn't have a house,*  
zhi-you yi-zhi hua hu-li.  
只有一隻花狐狸。  
*(there's) only a colored fox.*
- 29 F: hua hu-li, m, hua hu-li zenme le?  
花狐狸，m，花狐狸怎麼咧？  
*a colored fox, m, what about the colored fox?*
- 30 M: hua hu-li hao-bu-hao?  
花狐狸好不好？  
*is the colored fox (a) good (guy)?*
- 31 F: (comments on Rou-rou) ta bu ren-shi ji-ge zi.  
她不認識幾個字。  
*she knows only a few characters.*
- 32
- R: (silent)



- 33 F: hua hu-li zenme yang ne?  
花 狐狸 怎麼 樣 呢?  
*what about the colored fox?*
- 34 R: Rou-rou shi bu-yao kan hu-li ma!  
柔 柔 是 不 要 看 狐 狸 嘛!  
*Rou-rou does not want to see the fox!*
- 35 F: hao, bu-yao kan hu-li,  
好 不 要 看 狐 狸,  
*ok, don't want to see the fox.*  
hu-li tai huai shi-bu-shi?  
狐 狸 太 壞 是 不 是 ?  
*the fox is too wicked, isn't it?*
- 36 M: hu-li shi huai dong-xi.  
狐 狸 是 壞 東 西。  
*the fox is a bad guy.*
- 37 I: wan le ma? yao-bu-yao huan yi-ben?  
完 了 嗎 ? 要 不 要 換 一 本 ?  
*finished? want to change to another one?*  
hai-shi ni yao gao-su wo zhe shi shenme?  
還 是 妳 要 告 訴 我 這 是 什 麼 ?  
*or you want to tell me what this is?*
- 38 Y: (crying)
- 39 R: xiao gou!  
小 狗  
*a little dog!*

I: Investigator, R: Romy (1st-born, 2;5.16), Y: Yvonne (2nd-born, 0;8.2)

In the above episode, Romy, the first born, read<sup>3</sup> only the first six stanzas of the rhymed story *Little Yellow Dog*. Except for the opening stanza, each of the rest stanzas consists of four short sentences. Starting from the third stanza, Yvonne tried to join in her sister's reading (starting with line 14). Throughout this episode, she made only six "utterances" (12, 14, 16, 19, 24, 27). Although each one of these six utterances contains only one greatly prolonged sound segment, the intonation pattern of these utterances seem to stretch beyond the first short sentence of that stanza. It is likely that the child was attempting at the whole stanza rather than just at a single sentence in each stanza. If this is the case, these utterances then indicate an expansion of the gestalt strategy from the approximation of the whole sentence to that of the whole stanza.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Although Romy was concentrating on the book while reading this rhymed story, it was possible that she was only reciting from her memory because it was unlikely that she had known all the Chinese characters in the book.

<sup>4</sup> This is similar to the "solo telephone speech" of many young children, who would make interestingly long and seemingly well-structured "conversation" when they hold up the phone to their ear and talk into it to some imaginative person on the other end. If one listened to their "speech" carefully, one would be impressed by their use of a variety of international and/or tonal patterns which dramatized their emotions. Nevertheless, the content of such "speech" is usually far from the minimum comprehension of anyone outside of these children's immediate life circle.

At the end of this episode, the sudden crying of Yvonne (38) is also quite revealing. It may be that, when Romy decided to quit the story after she finished the sixth stanza because she disliked the fox, Yvonne was still in the mood of continuing the reading. Therefore, when Romy stopped the reading, Yvonne seemed to have been taken away something she was enjoying at the moment. Since she was not yet able to make herself understood through words, it is not surprising that she would resort to crying.

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

The language around Yvonne at this stage, similar to that of the previous one, is still characterized by long and unmodified utterances from those around her. This long, unmodified, yet melodiously rhymed utterances of the first born's story reading provide an effective environment for the second born to become familiar with the rhythms of her language. And the suprasegmentals remain the most salient elements in her language at this stage.

### 3. Interruption from the dominant first born -- Data from the 9-month period

One of the most significant challenges a second born needs to face, probably ever since birth, is the fact that an older sibling is already there in the family. The second born, therefore, has to share, or even to compete, with the first born the parents' attention. The following three examples show how the first born child Romy would dominate the scene.

101 M: Yi-yi, lai, ni lai jiang.  
 怡怡，來 妳來 講。  
*Yi-yi, come, you talk.*

102

**Y: hn-, ma-. (clears throat)**  
 噁，媽—。

103 M: ma-ma ne?  
 媽媽呢?  
*where's ma-ma(mom)?*  
 ba-ba ne?  
 爸爸呢?  
*where's ba-ba (dad)?*  
 gong-ji che, Yi-yi, zuo gong-ji che.  
 公 雞車，怡怡，坐 公 雞車。  
*rooster cart, Yi-yi, sit on rooster cart.*

104

R: (comes to the rooster cart).

105

**Y: (upset, about to cry) a-, ha-.  
 啊，哈。**

106

R: wo lai qi gong-ji che.  
 我來騎公 雞車。  
*I'll ride the rooster cart.*

107 F: Rou-rou, ni jiao mei-mei xiao-xiao ma.  
 柔柔，妳叫 妹妹 笑笑 嘛。  
*Rou-rou, you let mei-mei smile.*  
 mei-mei.  
 妹妹  
*mei-mei (the little sister)*

- 108 M: Yi-yi, jie-jie ba gong-ji che qi-zou le,  
 怡怡, 姊姊把公雞車騎走了,  
*Yi-yi, jie-jie rode away the rooster cart,*  
 ni qu wan shenmo?  
 妳去玩什麼?  
*what are you going to play?*
- 109 R: Yi-yi wan lan-zi.  
 怡怡玩籃子。  
*Yi-yi plays with the basket.*
- 110 M: lan-zi, Yi-yi wan hua-lan.  
 籃子, 怡怡玩花籃。  
*basket, Yi-yi plays with the flower basket.*
- 111 Y: (softly) hm. (0;9.17)  
 哼

In the beginning of the above episode (line 101), M(other) indicates that it is now Y (vonne)'s turn to talk, i.e., record her voice, and Yvonne was heard one of her very first words, ma "mom". M then talks to Y in short sentences (103), trying to elicit response from her. When M invites Y to sit on the toy rooster cart, R(omy) comes to it (104), apparently wanting to ride on it (106). Knowing that she will be taken away the right to sit on the rooster cart, Y becomes upset (104). However, since she can not express herself freely through speech yet, her anxious response (105) becomes more like crying than words for "no." Fortunately, this event ends with the alternative for Y to play with the flower basket (109-111).

Two more instances that follow the above event also indicate how the first born can easily dominate the younger sibling. When M asks Y, "Yi-yi, ba-ba ne? 怡怡, 爸爸呢? Yi-yi, where's daddy?" (201), R takes away Y's turn by telling M twice, "ba-ba zai na-li. 爸爸在那裏。daddy is (over) there." (202) Shortly after having praised R for writing characters well, M turns to Y, asking, "ma-ma ne? Yi-yi? 媽媽呢? 怡怡? where's mommy? Yi-yi?" (304) Again, R quickly interrupts by saying "ma-ma zai zhe-li. 媽媽在這裏。mommy is here." (305) To R's first interruption (202), Y's reaction was an unhappy loud cry (203); to R's second interruption (305), Y merely replies with a soft *a-* sound (306).

- 201 M: Yi-yi, ba-ba ne?  
 怡怡, 爸爸呢?  
*Yi-yi, where's ba-ba?*
- 202 R: ba-ba zai na-li,  
 爸爸在那裏,  
*ba-ba is there,*  
 ba-ba zai na-li, ma-ma.  
 爸爸在那裏媽媽。  
*ba-ba is there, ma-ma.*
- 203 Y: (upset, about to cry)  
 a-, ha-, a-. (cries out loud)  
 啊, 哈, 啊。
- 301 R: ma-ma, wo yao xie-zi.  
 媽媽, 我要寫字。  
*ma-ma, I want to write characters. (writes)*

- 302 M: hao, xie-de-hao.  
好，寫得好。  
*good, you write well.*
- 303 R: ma-ma, wo xie-zi.  
媽媽，我寫字。  
*ma-ma, I write characters.*
- 304 M: ma-ma ne? Yi-yi?  
媽媽呢？怡怡？  
*where's ma-ma? Yi-yi?*
- 305 R: ma-ma zai zhe-li.  
媽媽在這裏。  
*ma-ma is here.*
- 306 Y: (softly) a-. (0;9.17)  
啊

It may be worthwhile to notice that not all the dominance from R should be a cause of trouble. For example, when M asks Y to *jiao ba-ba* "say daddy" (401), R's interruption *ba-ba* "daddy" (402) may also help to elicit Y's *ba-* "dad" (403).

- 401 M: (to Y) yao-bu-yao jiao (ba-ba)?  
要不要叫(爸爸)?  
*want to say (ba-ba)?*  
yao-bu-yao jiao ren? uh?  
要不要叫人?  
*want to call somebody? uh?*  
jiao ba-ba.  
叫爸爸  
*say ba-ba.*
- 402 R: ba-ba.  
爸爸  
*ba-ba*
- 403 Y: ba--.  
爸  
*ba(dad)* (0; 9.17)

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

From a linguistic and acquisitional point of view, the first born can often be very helpful to the second born in that the older one's speech, like that of the parents', also serves as a model for the younger sibling (401-403). Nevertheless, when the older sibling is a dominant little person, the second born would often be in a disadvantageous situation. If she was upset, as seen in lines 105 and 203 of the previous examples, her speech would become even more gestalt, i.e., the combination of crying and speaking would only increase the degree of unintelligibility. And this is probably an important reason for many second borns to become more gestalt than the first born.

#### 4. Analytically oriented social-interaction words -- Data from the 12- to 16- month period

By the time Yvonne was one year old, she began to walk on her own. It was also around this age that she was heard her first one-word utterances. The following interaction between Yvonne and her mother is one of such examples illustrating how the child imitates the adult in learning to speak the language (102, 104) and how she is able to initiate<sup>5</sup> (106) the conversation as well.

- 101 M: zao-shang ba dien yi ke,  
 早 上 八 點 一 刻,  
*in the morning, eight fifteen,*  
 gei Yi-yi lu-yin.  
 給 怡 怡 錄 音。  
*make recording for Yi-yi.*  
 Yi-yi, good morning, zao.  
 怡 怡, good morning, 早  
 Yi-yi, good morning, morning.
- 102 Y: ta.  
 早  
*morning.*
- 103 M: huei zou-lu la! m,  
 會 走 路 啦! m,  
*can walk now! m,*  
 zuo-tien wan-shang bu-ken shuei-jiao o,  
 昨 天 晚 上 不 肯 睡 覺 哦,  
*last night (you) didn't want to sleep,*  
 lei-si ren!  
 累 死 人!  
*(we're) exhausted!*
- 104 Y: te.  
 累  
*(tired)*
- 105 M: Yi-yi, Yi-yi, ji-suei lo? ji-suei? ji-suei?  
 怡 怡, 怡 怡, 幾 歲 囉? 幾 歲? 幾 歲?  
 Yi-yi, Yi-yi, how old? how old? how old?
- 106 Y: (clapping hands)
- 107 M: pai-shou, o, pai-shou,  
 拍 手, 哦, 拍 手,  
*clap hands, oh, clap hands,*  
 yi-suei! yi-suei, m!  
 一 歲! 一 歲, m!  
*one year (old)! one year, m!*

<sup>5</sup> This self-initiated form is a learned one which has been retained in Yvonne's mind for sometime. Two days before, on February 3, Yvonne had her first birthday party in Taichung where her grandparents live. There, she was taught by a neighbor, Zhang nei-nei "Grandma Chang", to show her right index finger to indicate that she was one year old. Together with the gesture, Yvonne learned the expressions (*duei* or *dei* according to the old lady) that Zhang nei-nei had repeatedly said to encourage her while teaching her to do the pointing.

- ni de shou zhi chu-lai, yi, yi,  
 妳的手指出來，一，一，  
 (stick) your finger out, one, one,  
 Zhang nai-nai jiao de, shi-bu-shi?  
 張奶奶教的，是不是？  
 Zhang nai-nai taught (you this), isn't it?
- 108 Y: de.  
 對  
 right.
- 109 M: duei, o, duei.  
 對，哦，對  
 right, oh, right.
- 110 Y: a-de, a-de-a, de-, a-. (1;0,2)  
 啊對，啊對啊，對，啊  
 a-right, a-right-a, right, a-.

It is noted that the child has shown better grasp of tones than segments (Mandarin initials and finals), e.g., 3rd-tone *ta* (102) for *zao* (101) "morning", 4th-tone *te* (104) for *lei* (103) "tired", and 4th-tone *de* (108, 110) for *duei* (109) "right". More examples are listed below.

Examples of Stable Tonal Value but Unstable Segmental Value

Target forms		Actual forms
jiao jiao (call)	叫叫	diao diao
wang wang (dog bark)	汪汪	vo vo vo, vao
tu tu (rabbit)	兔兔	te te
zhe zhe (this)	這這	tcie tcie, tcia tcia, tciou tciou
diao diao (lost, gone)	掉掉	diau diau, jia jia
bao bao (hold)	抱抱	ba ba

(1;1.17)

Depending on the nature of the input language, Yvonne's utterances can be both analytic and gestalt. In the following short dialogue between the two little sisters, Romy asks Yvonne how a cat (201), dogs (203, 205, 207, 209, 211), and a bird (213) would sound. Yvonne's responses are the pragmatically appropriate *miao* (202), *vao* (for *wang*, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212), and *de* (for *jiu*, 214). These expressions are interesting in that they can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, Yvonne's *miao*, *vao*, and *de* can be analytic words because she has analyzed (understood and used properly) the meanings of the words, in particular the *vao* which was correctly used after a series of the neighborhood dogs' names. On the other hand, utterances such as *vao* (for *wang*), and *de* (for *jiu*) can also be gestalt because their segmental values have not reached the adult norm, because they are obvious social-interaction words, and because the child was not specifically instructed to copy her sister.

- 201 R: Yi-yi, Yi-yi, xiao-mao jiao zenme jiao?  
 怡怡，怡怡，小貓叫怎麼叫？  
 Yi-yi, Yi-yi, how does kitty sound?

- 202 Y: miao.  
喵 (cat's miewing)
- 203 R: xiao-gou le?  
小 狗 咧?  
*puppy?*
- 204 Y: vao.  
汪 (dog's barking)
- 205 R: Shirley le?  
Shirley 咧?  
*shirley (the dog of the Wang family)*
- 206 Y: vao.  
汪
- 207 R: Happy le?  
Happy 咧?  
*Happy (the dog of the Tang family)?*
- 208 Y: vao.  
汪
- 209 R: Xiao-hu le?  
小 虎 咧?  
*Little-Tiger (the dog of the Tsai family)?*
- 210 Y: vao.  
汪
- 211 R: Xiao-hei le?  
小 黑 咧?  
*Little-Black (the dog of the Tai family)?*
- 212 Y: vao.  
汪
- 213 R: uh, xiao-niao le?  
哦, 小 鳥 咧?  
*uh, little bird?*
- 214 Y: de.  
(imitating bird's call)  
(1;4.9)

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

Between 12 and 16 months, Yvonne was observed to respond to different types of input language properly. For examples, to the parent's longer and more complex utterances, her response can be imperfect imitation (102, 104) or her own comment as an imitation (108). And to her sister's short questions (201, 203, etc), Yvonne's replies (201, 204, 214) are one-word utterances that are also concise and appropriate.

During this period, Yvonne's utterances are still more gestalt in that most of them are concerned with social interactions rather than naming or labeling and that the child has shown better grasp of tones than segments (initials and finals), e.g., 3rd-tone *ta* (102) for *zao* 早 (101) "morning", 4th-tone *te* (104) for *lei* 累 (103) "tired", 4th-tone *de* (108, 110) for *duci* 對 (109) "right", 4th-tone *vao* for *wang* 汪 (204, 206, 208, 210, 212) "dog barking", and the various examples of stable tonal value but unstable segmental value at the age of 1;1.17.

In Peters' classification (1977), poor segmental fidelity but good suprasegmental features is a typical trait of the gestalt speech. Nevertheless, since Mandarin is a tonal language, the correct tones for the words in the above examples present less difficulty, in proper contexts, for others to understand the child. Therefore, such child utterances seem to be moving from the more gestalt ones to those that witness the combination of the gestalt and analytic strategies.

## 5. Names, Labels, and Social Words -- Data from the 18-month period

By the time Yvonne was 18 months old, she was heard to do naming or labeling much more frequently. Examples in category A include her imitation of kinship terms, names of body parts, animal names, names of various kinds of beans, and others. Sometimes she would add words that are semantically related to the forms she was just instructed to say, e.g. the kinship terms *wai-geng*<sup>6</sup> 外公 "grandpa" in addition to *puo* 婆 "grandma" and *jie-jie* 姊姊 "older sister" in addition to *Yi-yi* 怡怡 "Yvonne".

### A. Imitating names and labels

	Adult forms		Child forms
Kinship terms	1. ma-ma ( <i>mother</i> )	媽媽	ma-ma
	2. ba-ba ( <i>father</i> )	爸爸	ba-ba
	3. ye-ye ( <i>grandpa</i> )	爺爺	ye-ye
	4. Rou-rou ( <i>Romy</i> )	柔柔	you-iu
	5. jiu jiu ( <i>uncle</i> )	舅舅	do-dio, jio-jiou
	6. wai-puo ( <i>grandma</i> )	外婆	(wai) puo wai-geng ( <i>grandpa</i> *) 外公
	7. Yi-yi (Yvonne)	怡怡	i-i jie-jie ( <i>elder sister</i> *) 姊姊
Body parts	1. tou-fa ( <i>hair</i> )	頭髮	tou-f <sup>h</sup> a
	2. er-duo ( <i>ear</i> )	耳朵	he-do
	3. shou ( <i>hand</i> )	手	diou jiao <i>foot</i> 腳
	4. bi-zi ( <i>nose</i> )	鼻子	bi-di
	5. zuei-ba ( <i>mouth</i> )	嘴巴	e-di <i>tooth</i> * 牙齒 mei-mao <i>eyebrow</i> * 眉毛 jin <i>eye</i> * 睛
Animals	1. gou-gou ( <i>doggie</i> )	狗狗	gou-gou
	2. yu ( <i>fish</i> )	魚	i mao <i>cat</i> * 貓

<sup>6</sup> This is the form both Yvonne and Romy learned from their grandfather, whose Mandarin carries his native Hunanese accent. The form *gong* in Mandarin *wai-gong* is uttered by the children not only as *geng* but also in third tone rather than first tone.



Beans (book-reading)	1. dou-dou ( <i>bean</i> )	豆豆	dou-dou	
	2. hua-hua ( <i>flower</i> )	花花	wa-wa	
	3. cai-dou ( <i>vegi bean</i> )	菜豆	dai-dou	
	4. da-do ( <i>giant bean</i> )	大豆	da-dou	
	5. wan-dou ( <i>wan bean</i> )	豌豆	wan dou or wei-dou	
	6. lu-dou ( <i>green bean</i> )	綠豆	dy-dou	
	7. hong-dou ( <i>red bean</i> )	紅豆	ou-dou	
	8. fa-ya ( <i>sprouting</i> )	發芽	ya	
Others	1. wa-wa ( <i>doll</i> )	娃娃	wa-wa	
	2. nien-tu ( <i>play dough</i> )	黏土	tu 土	
	3. xie-xie ( <i>shoes</i> )	鞋鞋	wa-wa ( <i>socks</i> ) 襪襪	
	4. bing-qi-lin ( <i>ice cream</i> )	冰淇淋	in 淋	(1;6. 10)

\*Terms without corresponding adult forms are initiated by the child herself.

Another type of utterances that could be classified as analytic expressions concerns the reciting of poems, which appears rather frequently in the family interactions between adults and the children. Example B in the following shows how the parent and the child would take turns to finish a poem. The father says the first four characters of each of the four five-character lines and the child finishes up each of the poetic line by providing the last character for that line.

#### B. Finishing up poetic lines

Father	Child*
bai-ri yi-shan 白 日 依 山 <i>the white sun along the mountain</i>	(*Child actual utterance in bold-faced forms)
	<b>din</b> (jin) 盡 <i>disappears</i>
Huang-He ru hai 黄 河 入 海 <i>Yellow River into the sea</i>	
	<b>iou</b> (liu) 流 <i>flows</i>
yu qung qien-li 欲 窮 千 里 <i>want to see (things) thousand miles away</i>	
	<b>u</b> (mu) 目 <i>with the eye</i>
geng shang yi-ceng 更 上 一 層 <i>(go) up one more</i>	
	(l) <b>ou</b> 樓 <i>floor</i> (1;6. 10)

While the appearance of more names and labels in Yvonne's utterances may suggest that she is moving toward the analytic approach of language-learning, her speech often is still quite gestalt because there may be quite a number of different pronunciation for the same utterance. The following social expressions, all basic and important for a second born, are

such examples that show great variety both in terms of segmental and suprasegmental values because they are closely connected with the child's need and the mood at the time when she had to say them.

Intended Form	Actual Forms & Tones
yi yao 怡要 ( <i>Yi-yi want</i> )	i yao (high-level, high-falling) i yao (high-level, rising)
hai yao 還要 ( <i>still want</i> )	ai yao (high-level, high-falling) ai yao (mid-level, high-falling)
wo ye yao 我也要 ( <i>I want, too</i> )	we ye yao (high-level, high-level, rising-falling)* we ye yao (high-level, high-level, mid-level) we ye yao (high-level, high-level, rising higher) we ye yao (mid-level, mid-level, mid-level) we ye yao (mid-level, mid-level, rising) we ye yao (mid-level, low-falling, high-level) we ye yao (mid-level, low-falling, rising) we ye yao (mid-level, mid-level, high-falling) we ye yao (rising, high-level, rising higher)

\*An example of the Fis Phenomenon

One thing that may be interesting to notice is that the *wo ye yao* 我也要 "I want, too" can also serve as a good example of the Fis Phenomenon. Somewhere in the middle of this tape, Yvonne's grandfather (GP) began to imitate her to say this phrase. The child, understanding that Grandpa was teasing her for her tones, began to cry. Although both Yvonne's grandfather (104) and mother (205) realized shortly afterwards that the child was unhappy about being imitated (teased) and they tried to direct her attention away by saying other things to her (103, 301, 302, 210), until the end of the tape, she would either avoid answering her grandpa's questions (203, 302, 304) or deliberately ignore him (211). The following transcript illustrates this point.

101 GP: wo ye yao (rising, low-falling, high-level)  
我 也 要  
*I want, too.*

102 Y: wo ye yao  
我 也 要  
(rising, high-level, rising higher)  
(upset by GP, cries)

103 GP: Yi-yi a, wai-, wai-geng de  
怡 怡 啊, 外, 外 公 的  
*er-duo ne? wai-geng de er-duo zai na-li?*  
耳 朵 呢? 外 公 的 耳 朵 在 那 裏?  
Yi-yi, where's wai-geng's (Grandpa's) ear?  
*where's wai-geng's ear?*

104 Y: (crying)

- 105 GP: ai-yo, ai-yo, zao-gao.  
唉唷, 唉唷, 糟糕  
*ai-yo, ai-yo, (I) messed (it) up.*  
  
(after a while)
- 201 GP: Yi-yi, jiao me.  
怡怡, 叫我。  
*Yi-yi, call me.*
- 202 M: Yi-yi, jiao wai-gong.  
怡怡, 叫外公。  
*Yi-yi, say wai-gong.*
- 203 Y: (silent)
- 204 GP: wai-geng.  
外公  
wai-geng.
- 205 Y: m-.
- 206 M: m, m, m, bu-gan le.  
不幹了  
*m, m, m, don't want to.*  
wai-puo ne? jiou-jiou ne?  
外婆呢? 舅舅呢?  
*grandma? uncle?*
- 207 Y: jio jio<sup>u</sup>.  
舅舅  
*uncle.*
- 208 M: ba-ba?  
爸爸?  
*ba-ba (dad)?*
- 209 Y: ba ba.  
爸爸  
*ba-ba (dad).*
- 210 M: wai-gong.  
外公  
*wai-gong (Grandpa).*
- 211 Y: bao bao.  
抱抱  
*hold (me).*
- 212 M: (laugh) hai zai bao bao,  
還在抱抱,  
*still (saying) "hold hold"*  
hao, hao, hao, bao bao,  
好好好抱抱,  
*ok, ok, ok, hold hold,*  
Yi-yi, ni yao-bu-yao nian shi  
怡怡你要不要唸詩  
*gei wai-gong ting?*  
給外公聽?  
*Yi-yi, would you like to recite*  
*a poem for grandpa?*  
bai-ri yi-shan--  
白日依山  
*the white sun along the mountain--*

213

Y: jin.  
盡  
*disappears.*

(after a while)

301 GP: Yi-yi, wai-geng de shou zai na-li?  
怡怡，外公的手在那裏？  
*Yi-yi, where's wai-geng's hand?*

302

Y: (silent)

303 GP: wai-geng de jiao ne?  
外公的腳呢？  
*wai-geng's foot?*

304

Y: (turning over the storybook pages)

305 M: qing qing fan, bu-yao si shu o.  
輕輕翻，不要撕書哦。  
*turn gently, don't tear the book.*

(1;; 6.10)

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

As Yvonne grows older, her language seems to move further toward the analytic type, although the gestalt features are still quite common. Peters (1977: 570-571) observed that "there is probably a continuum of children, varying from those who are very Analytic right from the beginning, through those who use mixes of Analytic and Gestalt speech in varying proportions, to those who may start out with a completely Gestalt approach and have to convert slowly and painfully to a more Analytic approach to language." During this period, Yvonne seems to fall into the middle group, i.e., the one who mixes analytic and gestalt strategies in learning the first language.

## 6. Imitating the language of the first born -- Data from the 24-month Period

Along with the parents, the first born child is often a no less important model for the second child. Ever since Yvonne was very little, one of her favorite activities has been imitating Romy for almost everything she did. In terms of language activities, it can be either total or partial imitation of the first born's utterances and singing. This is an effective way for Yvonne, around the age of two, to produce longer utterances. The following examples A and B respectively show how closely Yvonne would copy Romy, regardless of whether Romy's utterances would make much sense to her (A, 301-304). The imitation on the part of the second born is also observed and commented by others, e.g., mother's "*ai-yo (xiao), gen jie-jie xue-yang*. 唉唷(笑)，跟姊姊學樣 *ai-yo, (laugh), copying (your) sister.*" (A, 103).

### A. Total/partial imitation of phrases/sentences

1st-born

2nd-born

101 R: hao bang, fan-qie-jiang lai le.  
好棒，蕃茄醬來了  
*good, here comes the ketchup.*

- 102 Y: fan-jie-jiang tai. (1)\*  
蕃茄醬來。  
*ketchup comes.*  
ta ta fan-jie-jiang lai le. (2)\*  
大大蕃茄醬來了。  
*(big?) ketchup comes.*  
hao bang, fan-jie-jiang dai de. (3)\*  
好棒，蕃茄醬來了。  
*good, here comes the ketchup.*  
\*at different times
- 103 M: ai-yo, (xiao), gen jie-jie xue-yang.  
唉唷，(笑)，跟姊姊學樣。  
*ai-yo, (laugh), copying (your) sister.*
- 201 R: zai z(h)an s(h)u tiao.  
在沾薯條。  
*is dipping French fries.*
- 202 Y: zai z(h)an z(h)u diao.  
在沾薯條。  
*is dipping French fries.*
- 301 R: ya z(h)u.  
鴨豬  
*duck pig.*
- 302 Y: ya ya ya (?)u.  
鴨鴨鴨豬  
*duck duck duck pig.*
- 303 R: z(h)u sheng ya. (xiao)  
豬生鴨(笑)  
*pigs give birth to ducks. (laugh)*
- 304 Y: z(h)u sheng ya. (xiao)  
豬生鴨(笑)  
*pigs give birth to ducks. (laugh)*
- 401 R: chu tai-yang.  
出太陽  
*the sun is out.*
- 402 Y: tai-yang.  
太陽  
*sun.*

## B. Singing the kindergarten song along with the 1st-born

1st-born

2nd-born

wo xiang zhi xiao-niao fei-dao tien-kong qu,  
我像隻小鳥飛到天空去，  
*I, like a little bird, fly to the sky,*

Y: ...xiang zhi xiao-niao .....qu,  
像隻小鳥去，  
*...like a little bird .....to,*

ni xiang zhi bai-tu tiao-dao zao-cong li,  
妳像隻白兔跳到草叢裏，  
(jumping)  
*you, like a white rabbit, jump into the grass,*

ni xiang zhi bai-tu tiao-dao ...cong li,  
妳像隻白兔跳到叢裏  
(laugh)  
*you, like a white rabbit, jump into  
the (grass),*

ta xiang zhi xiao hua-mao miao miao miao.  
他像隻小花貓喵喵喵。

*he, like a little colored cat, (goes) miao miao miao*

.....mao (miao) miao miao.  
貓 喵喵

.....cat (miao) miao miao.

la la la la la, la la la la la,  
啦啦啦啦，啦啦啦啦，

kuai-le di yuan-di,  
快樂的園地，  
*happy land,*

.....la, .....la la al,  
啦 啦啦，

.....di yan di,  
的園地，  
.....(kinder) garten,

Zhong-Yen you-zhi-yuan shi wo-men di yuan-di.  
中研幼稚園是我們的園地。  
*Zhong-Yen Kindergarten is our land.*

Yen you-di-yen s(h)i ..... di----- i-----  
研幼稚園是 的——地——  
*Yen Kindergarten is ..... land----*

(2; 0.10)

### Characteristic of the input language and the second born's language

While the interaction between Yvonne and her parents remains a major input for her language development, the kind of interaction between Yvonne and her older sister Romy has become even more important. The most interesting phenomenon during this period is clearly the imitation on the part of the second born. However, whether this imitation would lead her to a more analytic or a more gestalt approach to learn the language still remains a debatable issue. One thing that is certain is that when the language-learning child is so observant of her older sibling, she is highly concentrated on the task of language learning. This willingness of closely following other's steps makes the learning all the more effective because it is learning in a happy and playful context. And it is not surprising that, during this period, there is a considerable amount of similarity between the language of the first born and the second born.

### **IV. Conclusion**

Why is it that the speech of the second born tend to be more gestalt? This is a question that can be approached from many perspectives. One important perspective concerns the language around the child, i.e., how the input language would influence the child's language-learning strategy/style. In the previous section, various examples drawn from a second-born child Yvonne (from the 3rd month to the 24th month) are classified into six periods to show the development of her language-learning strategy.

It is found that there is a gradual shift from a predominantly gestalt approach to a mix of the gestalt and the emerging analytic strategies. As to the reasons why the language of the second born would be more gestalt, the following findings can be offered to explain why the second born would adopt a more gestalt strategy in acquiring her mother tongue.

First, the language environment for the second born is often a very rich one, primarily because of the addition of the language of an older sibling. This rich, yet more complicated, input is not easy for a young child to follow, to analyze, to understand, or to imitate. Be-

sides, before the child could produce intelligible utterances, people may not always deliberately modify their speech for the second born to develop along the analytic line.

Secondly, parents usually spend more time, patience, and energy on their first born than on their second born. In middle-class families where parents have received college education or more, it is not uncommon that they spend quite considerable amount of time teaching their first child to be acquainted with the world through naming and labeling activities. This is a crucial factor in creating the environment for analytic strategy to develop. With the second child, parents often can not provide the same amount of time, patience, and energy, which implies less teaching of specific names or labels. Furthermore, along with the reduction of naming and labeling, there is often an increase of the use of language for social and communicative purposes, hence fosters more use of gestalt strategy by the second-born children.

Thirdly, although Della Corte, Benedict, & Klein (1983) have pointed out that parents of more analytic/referential children tend to use more descriptives and be more well-educated whereas parents of more gestalt/expressive children tend to use more prescriptives and be less well-educated, we would still be in need of some explanations for the difference between the different language-learning strategy of children of different birth order in the same family. The findings of this paper suggest that the language input for the child, i.e., whether language is used primarily for communicative/social purposes or more often for the teaching of names and labels, is reflected through the language the parents use and has influenced the child's language-learning strategy. Therefore, it should be the case that children of both well-educated and less well-educated parents are equally capable of using both types of language-learning strategies. Language mirrors the state of the mind of its user. Linguistic forms embody and reflect their functions.

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**APPENDIX I      AGE RECORD FOR YVONNE FROM 0;3 TO 2;0**

FILE	Date of Recording	Age of Yvonne
Yvon 01	3- May- 1984	0- 3- 0*
Yvon 02	12- May- 1984	0- 3- 9 (100 days)
Yvon 03	24, 25- May- 1984	0- 3- 21, 22
Yvon 04	5- Oct- 1984	0- 8- 2
Yvon 05	29- Oct- 1984	0- 8- 26
Yvon 06	20- Nov- 1984	0- 9- 17
Yvon 07	22- Jan- 1985	0- 11- 19
Yvon 08	5- Feb- 1985	1- 0- 2
Yvon 09	20- Mar- 1985	1- 1- 17
Yvon 10	4- Apr- 1985	1- 2- 1
Yvon 11	19- Apr- 1985	1- 2- 16
Yvon 12	1- May- 1985	1- 2- 28
Yvon 13	15- May- 1985	1- 3- 12
Yvon 14	29- May- 1985	1- 3- 26
Yvon 15	13- Jun- 1985	1- 4- 10
Yvon 16	12- Jul- 1985	1- 5- 9
Yvon 17	29- Jul- 1985	1- 5- 26
Yvon 18	13- Aug- 1985	1- 6- 10
Yvon 19	22- Aug- 1985	1- 6- 19
Yvon 20	2- Sep- 1985	1- 6- 30
Yvon 21	20- Sep- 1985	1- 7- 17
Yvon 22	31- Oct- 1985	1- 8- 28
Yvon 23	24- Nov- 1985	1- 9- 21
Yvon 24	2- Dec- 1985	1- 9- 29
Yvon 25	9- Dec- 1985	1- 10- 6
Yvon 26	23- Dec- 1985 (1)	1- 10- 20
Yvon 27	23- Dec- 1985 (2)	1- 10- 20
Yvon 28	31- Dec- 1985	1- 10- 28
Yvon 29	15- Jan- 1986 (1)	1- 11- 12
Yvon 30	15- Jan- 1986 (2)	1- 11- 12
Yvon 31	23- Jan- 1986	1- 11- 20
Yvon 32	13- Feb- 1986	2- 0- 10

\*Age of Yvonne in the pattern of year-month-day.