# Interlanguage Development in English Interrogatives by Two Korean Children

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English Interlanguage Development in Eun-Mi. 2000. Interrogatives by Two Korean Children. Linguistics 8-1, 379-401. The purpose of this research is to compare the development of English question formation by the two Korean children who were attending elementary school and acquiring English in America for about 1 year and whose age difference is two years. (One is 7 years and the other is 9 years old then.) They were acquiring English mainly at school in natural environment and used Korean after school at home. Through this study I examined some prevailing hypothesis which argues for that older children are faster than younger children in acquiring second language and studied the order of acquisition of English structures according to age differences. longitudinal study showed that both of them used 'overgeneralization' strategy for processing their interlanguage and produced systematic and rule-governed question forms, which support the hypothesis that universal cognitive mechanisms of strategies are the basis for the child's organization of the L2 system. (Paichai University)

### 1. Introduction

This small study investigates the development of the English question formation by my two children as their second language. They are native speakers of Korean, and have been attending school in Bloomington, Indiana, therefore, acquiring English in a naturalistic setting. Data obtained during a period of six weeks (March 6 to April 17, 1995) were used for studying their development of English question formation.

Basically, on the hypothesis that second language (L2) acquisition is

like the first language (L1) acquisition in that general language processing and/or acquisition strategies determine the development, what I am expecting to discover in my children's production data is their acquisition strategies and interlanguage development. In other words, if it is true that universal cognitive mechanisms of strategies are the basis for the child's organization of the L2 system that guides the acquisition process, then the general sequence in which certain English syntactic structures are acquired by my children should be the same and they should produce systematic interlanguage forms, with only minor individual variation.

With the above hypothesis in mind, questions I was hoping to answer are summed as follows:

- (1) What is their interlanguage like in the development of question formation? Do my children go through a similar process when acquiring second language?
- (2) What kind of strategies do they use in the process of acquiring second language?

Although this study has been done within a short period, the results may have implications for the field of second language teaching.

### 2. Review of the Literature

### 2.1. Primary Literature

Search for related study was started from Ervin-Tripp's (1974) article which studied the relationship between first and second language acquisition and between age and rate of learning. Using data from American children learning French in Geneva, Ervin-Tripp found that L2 learner strategies were quite like those mother-tongue learners employ and older children were more successful. Since her subjects were aged from 4 to 9, analysis of my children aged 7 and 9 should be comparable to her study.

Another important research study that dealt with children's L2 data is

found in Ravem's (1974) study of his two children. He discussed the acquisition of negatives and question forms in English by his two Norwegian speakers, and his finding is that L2 learners make use of their L1 competence in L2 acquisition and their transitional errors cannot always be predicted on the basis of a contrastive analysis. He concludes that we can still adopt an 'active mental organization theory' and view transfer as the learner's active use of his L1 competence—as one of the learner's processing strategies. His finding is quite similar to my basic assumption and I expected to look for similar findings in my children's production data.

Henkes (1974) conducted the study of the acquisition of English by three children who had different L1 backgrounds as a longitudinal case study and one of her findings were that the developmental trends were very similar in the three subjects studied regardless of their L1 backgrounds. Her study provided me with a good example of research framework with clear analysis of children's production data.

Cancino, Rosansky & Schumann (1974) studied the acquisition of English as L2 by six Spanish speakers: two children, two adolescents and two adults. Theirs is an observational-longitudinal study that looked at age differences in the rate of acquisition of negation and question forms and found general developmental sequence in them. Those data were interesting because I could compare them to my children's production data, especially the representation of their findings on graphs was helpful from which I could get ideas about the method on representation of my findings.

The Adams' study (1971) shows how elicitation techniques can test the child's comprehension and production of structures which may not appear in the observation data. Her study was about the auxiliary system of L2 interlanguage through 10 Spanish speaking children, and her methodology using spontaneous speech data alongside translation and imitation data in combination supported her in collecting various and necessary data. This study gave me insight in eliciting the data of various question forms from my children. Because my subjects had

been exposed to English over one year and their English had already passed the beginning stage, I tried to find out a literature dealt with the data of advanced L2 learning children (who are exposed to L2 more than 1 year) for direct comparison. The Adams' two year longitudinal study provided good examples of advanced stage data.

#### 2.2. Secondary Literature

Dulay and Burt's article (1975) 'Strategies of Child Second Language Acquisition' provides a basis of my study to investigate learning strategy in L2 acquisition. They argue that the notion of learning strategy as an explanation of acquisition cannot rely on a description of what is to be learned, and the rigorous and systematic observations of the speech and that environments of L2 learners should be the basis for the adoption and refinement of general learning theories. Their assertion on the importance of a strong empirical statement in support of a creative construction process in L2 acquisition gave me a theoretical foundation of the purpose of my study.

Some recent studies that argue that there are fundamental differences between L1 and L2 acquisition drew my attention, but they were mainly conducted on the comparison of child L1 and adult L2 acquisition. Studies of Clahsen (1990) and Bley-Vroman (1989) would fall under this They argue that L1 and (adult) L2 developments are fundamentally different and this difference can be accounted for by assuming that adult L2 learners cannot use principles of Universal Grammar (UG) as a learning device in the same way as L1 learners use them, instead they use just the consequences of L1-exercised parametric choices and non-UG learning strategies (native language knowledge and general abstract problem-solving system). articles were interesting because their argument is reverse to my hypothesis regarding Universal Grammar in L2 learners, although in that they focused on the language learning process of adult L2 learners which is beyond my extent for my present research. However

Bley-Vroman's argument (1989, p.54) is supporting the child's knowledge of Universal Grammar and a Learning Procedure designed specifically to construct grammars indirectly.

### 3. Procedure

### 3.1. Subjects used for my study

The subjects used for my study are my own two sons, Hangil and Hanbyul. The age of Hangil was 8:4 and Hanbyul was 6:8 when they came to the United States in January of 1993 with no previous exposure to English. Their father was visiting Purdue University for one year and returned to Korea after his one year period and I had been studying and living with my children since January 1994. My children had been exposed to English since their arrival in the U.S. at a public elementary school.

They usually used Korean at home, but their amount of English spoken at home increased surprisingly around the time this study was conducted. For about ten months ESL teaching was provided at school (20 minutes per day), however the focus was on vocabulary using mainly card games not on syntactic features of this study as far as I know. Therefore their English was acquired mainly through classroom interactions with teachers and peers spending seven hours a day at school. According to their school teachers, although they were rather quiet at school, they were trying hard to be good at every subject and their English didn't make any problem for their normal school work. After 14 months' exposure to English, it seemed that they were in an advanced stage in their second language.

#### 3.2. Date Collection

The data used for this study was obtained during six weeks (from March 6 to April 17, 1994) over six recording sessions. Every week I

elicited my children's interrogatives for about 20 minutes from each one separately at home, and tape-recorded and hand-recorded their production. The amount of each one's production (question forms) data is about from 30 to 40 sentences per session. The reason why I elicited my children's speech data separately is because I found that they sometimes were influenced by each other's speech consciously or unconsciously.

The method I used to elicit their interrogatives is similar to role-play. I provided them with picture books as stimuli, and let them ask me everything in their mind in English considering me as a teacher, father, or sometimes just as a mother. Sometimes I gave them a theme such as a special kind of animals that they are interested in and let them ask me about them. Then I gave answers to them in order to keep their interest.

Because sometimes they just asked similar type of 'what' questions or 'why' questions, whenever I couldn't get enough various question forms through this work to compare the data, I used translation task from Korean to English. I asked them to say some questions in English, which I gave them were about their friends, family members, and school in which they are interested and I answered to their questions every time to keep their interest continuously. They seemed to enjoy this work with me, because they were glad and proud to show me how good they were at English speaking.

When I compared the two types of elicitation method through the data which I obtained from both of the methods, the same results were found in the development of interrogatives for the two children. Therefore I used them all for my study. Although the data presented in this study was not obtained in a natural context, but rather was elicited, and because I didn't use English when working with them and I did the work with my children separately, their elicited production was not influenced by others. Therefore the problem that Henkes (1974, p.42) pointed out about elicited data in her study did not occur in my children's speech data. In her study her notion was that eliciting

procedure might provide misleading information because subjects' utterance is influenced by adult eliciting language.

# 4. Analysis of Data

### 4.1. How the data was analyzed?

The data for this study, collected during a period of six weeks, was analyzed by the six recording sessions. I divided the question forms into 3 question types which are yes/no questions, wh- questions, and embedded questions. Though this is basically a study of the syntactic feature of interrogatives of my children, I examined and analyzed some salient and emergent morpho-syntactic features (including tense and subject-auxiliary agreement) and tried to find out their development and sequence, because in Hangil's case for his yes/no and wh- questions there were few salient interlanguage forms (they were more target-like forms) except a certain morphological feature (tense).

I have explained their development with example sentences and represented some of their important features on graphs and tables (fig.1 to 5), sometimes comparing the production of two subjects. For the figures looking at the development of variables of past tense question formation and yes/no inversion question formation, the numbers in each cell on tables represent percentage of specific case, number of specific case and number of total case respectively. For the figures looking at the development of correct form of does/do distinguishing, simple whquestion and embedded whquestion, the numbers in each cell on tables represent percentage of correct form, number of correct form and number of total case respectively.

# 4.2. Description of the data

With the hypothesis of L1=L2 that L2 learner will use the same strategies as the L1 learner differing from the contrastive analysis

which rests on the assumption the language learning is habit formation and which predicts interference from first language structures in the L2 learner's speech, at first I would like to discuss the difference of question formation between Korean and English. Question formation in Korean is quite different from that in English. There is no change of verb position and no insertion of an 'auxiliary' characteristic of English in yes/no questions. Only the final predicate particle (or sometimes only the intonation) is the device for marking questions. In the whquestion, too, the word questioned is simply replaced by an appropriate wh- question pronoun in its original position. It does not have to occur initially. In my subjects' speech data, I couldn't find any evidence of direct interference from their mother tongue. Only in the first and third session of Hangil's speech, there appeared three uninverted yes/no question forms, but this is interpreted as a form which L1 speakers and L2 learners with different L1 backgrounds use rather than a form from L1 interference, e.g.,

You mean Moon-Soo made that? Hanbyul likes art? Dad go to the lab everyday?

There's no evidence that they used any word-for-word translation from Korean to English although sometimes I provided question forms in Korean for their translation.

### 4.2.1. yes/no questions

From the beginning of my study, Hangil and Hanbyul produced subject-verb (copula) inversion and do-support question forms.

One of their salient interlanguage forms was found in past tense question formation. What they used for past tense question formation is double tense marker, e.g.,

Hangil: Did he bought that book?

Did the baby dinosaur drank milk from their mother?

Hanbyul: Did you ate all the cheese cake?

Did aunt called you?

Hangil used this double tense marker form for past tense questions at a higher frequency until the 4th session (April 3) although the rate fluctuated according to the session, but at the 5th he produced correct tense forms in all of his questions. However, surprisingly he again began to produce double tense marker at the last (6th) session in most of his past tense questions. In Hanbyul's speech he constantly used this double past tense marker with other syntactic forms for past tense questions until the end of the recording session. The data of the 4th and 5th session does not seem to be reliable because the amount of relevant data was quite little (2 and 3 respectively). See figure 1-1 and 1-2 for the development and variability of their past tense question formation.

At the beginning session (until 3rd session) Hanbyul's another favorite question formation was 'Do-supporting' to the sentence initial position of any question types even for the questions with 3rd person singular subject and for the past tense questions (see fig. 1-1) although sometimes he used 'does' and 'did' correctly. For example;

Do Dad will come at summer vacation?

Do Kun like computer game?

Do Kun is Hangil's best friend?

Do Dad bought that book?

Do I am good at violin?

However, in Hangil's production this kind of question formation didn't appear from the beginning session and he used correct forms, e.g.,

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Will they go to school tomorrow?

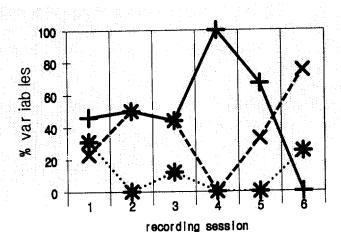
Does Kun like to play computer games?

Is my aunt tall?

Did I brush my teeth?

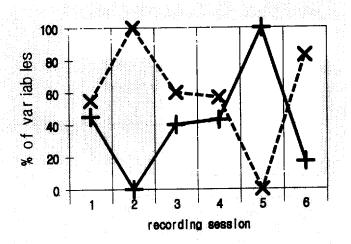
From the 4th session Hanbyul's 'do-fronting strategy in all question forms' appeared in few cases, instead he started to differentiate do-supporting question with subject-copula/modal inversion question more frequently.

Figure 1-1. Variables of Past Tense Question Formation of Hanbyul in Yes/No and Wh- Question



recording session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Did+S+V(root) - + -	46 (6/13)	50 (3/6)	44 (4/9)	100 (2/2)	67 (2/3)	0 (0/4)
	23 (3/13)					75 (3/4)
	31 (4/13)			F	0 (0/3)	25 (1/4)

Figure 1-2. Variables of Past Tense Question Formation of Hangil in Yes/No and Wh- Question



recording session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Did+S+V(root) - + -	<b>4</b> 5 (5/11)	0 (0/6)	40 (2/5)	43 (3/7)	100 (5/5)	17 (1/6)
Did+S+V(past) - x -	55 (6/11)	100 (6/6)	60 (3/5)	57 (4/7)	0 (0/5)	83 (5/6)

% (specific case/total case)

While Hangil produced 100% correct do/does auxiliary during my research period, Hanbyul's distinguishing 'does' from 'do' for 3rd person singular subject was becoming stable from 4th session. See figure 2 for Hanbyul's development of auxiliary 'does' in question forms. At the last session Hanbyul differentiated the do/does insertion questions and inversion (copula/modal) questions precisely in all of his production, e.g.,

Is this baby sleeping?

Does she like riding roller skate?

Does aunt Hyunhee want to come here?

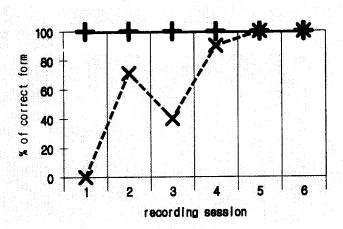
Can you play football at the busway?

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Do you have lots of homework?

See figure 3 for the development and variability of their inversion type question (copula/modal bearing) formation.

Figure 2. Differentiating Auxiliary 'Does' from 'Do' for 3rd Person Singular Subject



recording	session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hangil	- + -	100 (7/7)	100 (8/8)	100 (3/3)	100 (3/3)	100 (2/2)	100 (6/6)
Hanbyul	- x -	0 (0/5)	71 (5/7)	40 (4/10)	90 (9/10)	100 (10/10)	100 (10/10)

%(correct form/total case)

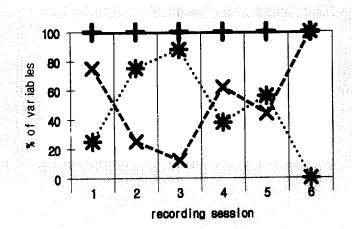


Figure 3. Variables of Yes/No Inversion Question (Copula/Modal) Formation

recording session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hangil (cop+S)	100 (13/13)	100 (17/17)	100 (17/17)	100 (10/10)	100 (10/10)	100 (10/10)
Hanbyul (cop+S)	75 (6/8)	25 (1/4)	12 (1/8)	62 (5/8)	44 (4/9)	100 (10/10)
Hanbyul (do+S+cop)	25 (2/8)	75 (3/4)	88 (7/8)	38 (3/8)	56 (5/9)	0 (0/0)

% (specific case/total case)

#### 4.2.2. Wh- questions

In Hangil's wh- questions, he mostly produced target-like whquestions in dealing with 'do/does' insertion and subject-verb inversion in copula/modal bearing wh- questions, only his non-target-like production was double tense marker for past tense wh- questions as in his yes/no questions. Therefore, the development of his production of this feature is just the same as in yes/no questions. (see fig. 1-2)

In Hanbyul's case, at the 1st session the auxiliary and the modal were placed in second position in wh- questions, and the copula/modal and the subject were inverted in wh-questions at a higher frequency. Examples of his wh- questions at the 1st session are:

When do Hiroto come to our home? Why do you like to eat that food? Why are you going there? When are dad gonna come? Why he like to do piano? What book Nanhee read?

However, at the 2nd and 3rd session he almost didn't invert subject and verb in wh- questions bearing copula/modal except in 'what' questions, e.g.,

What is this two people doing?
Why this Santa Clause is here in the morning?
How this man can skate on the broken ice?
How come this sand has water in it?
Why you don't know much English?

In 'what' questions, he seems to have memorized 'what is' in a chunk because he produced 'what' question with copula correctly from the first to the last session unlike in other wh- pronoun questions. From the 3rd session to 5th he produced 'do-supporting' type wh- questions correctly at a higher frequency, although still he didn't frequently invert copula/modal bearing wh- questions, e.g.,

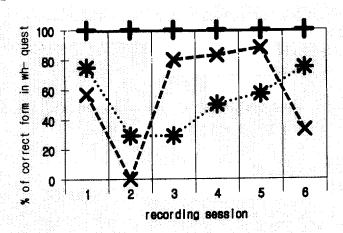
Why does frog like to eat mosquito?
Where does snake live?
Why didn't you read about that book?
What picture there was in the shark book?
What animal is the weakest?
What animal do you like best?

At the 5th session Hanbyul produced inverted copula/modal bearing wh-

questions and 'do-support' type wh- questions mostly in target-like forms, e.g.,

When are we gonna go to camp in summer vacation? How tall is that bell tower?
When is that tower built?
Why didn't you go up there with us?
Why does she got a bad headache?
Why can't we buy a fish?
How did you get the recipe of that soup?

Figure 4. Development of Simple Wh- Question Formation



recording session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hangil (do-ins. & cop. inv.) - + -	100 (9/9)	100 (17/17)	100 (11/11)	100 (15/15)	100 (10/10)	100 (12/12)
Hanbyul (do-insert.)	57 (4/7)	0 (0/3)	80 (4/5)	83 (5/6)	88 (7/8)	33 (1/3)
Hanbyul (cop. inv.)	75 (3/4)	29 (5/17)	29 (2/7)	50 (3/6)	57 (4/7)	75 (18/24)

% (correct form/total case)

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At the last (6th) session Hanbyul's production regressed a little with his 'does' omission forms, though his copula inversion forms were increasing. See figure 4 for the development of their wh- question formation.

#### 4.2.3. Embedded questions

In Hangil's case, because he had been already producing target-like yes/no and wh- questions in dealing with 'do-support' and subject-copula inversion, I wondered what his embedded questions were like. At the 1st session he produced 'do-insertion' type embedded question forms, e.g.,

Do you know what book does Hanbyul read? Do you know what *did* I do? Do you know what *do* I like best?

At the 2nd and 3rd session he produced uninverted forms which doesn't include 'do-insertion' at a higher frequency, e.g.,

Do you know what these person's doing? Do you know what I like best?

No relevant data was available at the 4th session, however at the 5th session he again produced 'do-support' embedded questions with uninverted embedded questions as an evidence of backsliding, e.g.,

Do you know what kind of job does she has? Do you know what grade did I got? Do you know what is the name of her friend? Do you know what we learned from Julie?

At the last session his production was more target-like with uninverted

embedded questions., e.g.,

Do you know when summer session starts?

Do you know what the teacher's name is?

Do you know how many points I got?

Do you know who is the major of Bloomington?

After the last session I provided Hangil with several ungrammatical embedded questions (which has 'do-insertion') with grammatical embedded questions (uninverted) and asked him whether these are right or not. His answer was 'do-insertion' type of embedded questions were odd. With this evidence, at this point of time, he seems to have acquired this question form. See figure 5 for the development of Hangil's embedded wh- questions.

In Hanbyul's case, at the 1st session he produced 3 uninverted embedded wh- questions of the 5. At the 2nd and 3rd sessions all of his 8 embedded wh- questions were uninverted. There was no relevant data at the 4th session, however at the 5th session his production regressed with two uninverted forms and two inverted forms, e.g.,

Do you know what's her friend's name?

Do you know what her friend's job is?

Do you know what points do I got in spelling test?

Do you know what we learned from Julie yesterday?

At the last session he produced 4 correct forms out of the 6 utterances. (See fig. 5)

Figure 5. Development of Embedded Wh- Question

recording	session	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hangil	- + -	0 (0/3)	100 (2/2)	80 (4/5)	(0/0)	20 (1/4)	100 (6/6)
Hanbyul	- x -	60 (3/5)	100 (3/3)	100 (5/5)	(0/0)	50 (2/4)	67 (4/6)

% (correct form/total case)

#### 4.3. Discussion

The first question of this paper was what my children's interlanguage looks like and whether my children go through a similar process in the development of their question formation. Because Hangil and Hanbyul's interlanguage were different in that Hangil's was more target-like during my research period, I couldn't provide evidence for the similarity of their process in a general sense, although some features showed very similar curve on a graph. Hangil produced almost 100% correct forms in yes/no and wh- questions. His non-target-like forms were found in past tense question formation (double tense marker) and embedded wh-question formation. Hanbyul's interlanguage was more complex showing variable forms. As I presented in the previous section, Hanbyul's inversion type question formation in yes/no and wh-

questions seems to be going toward more target-like forms drawing a although its process is variable (fig. 3 and 4). U-shape curve. However, in embedded wh- questions Hangil and Hanbyul's production represented very similar development showing a little higher correct forms in Hanbyul's until 5th session (fig. 5). Interestingly their past tense question formation graph (fig. 1) also showed very similar curves except Hanbyul's one salient formation (do/does + Subj. + past tense Hanbyul's distinguishing 'does' from 'do' for 3rd person singular subject in present tense questions was not stable at first, but from the 4th through 6th session he seems to have acquired almost target-like forms, while Hangil produced 100% correct forms from the beginning session. This indicates that Hangil is more advanced than Hanbyul, and Hanbyul is going toward an advanced stage. From the above findings, I could roughly induce the following two developmental sequences in the interrogatives of my children.

- i. do/does auxiliary differentiation do-fronting type question inversion type (copula, modal) question
- ii. embedded wh- question past tense question

My children's development of yes/no and wh- question formation showed very similar appearance to Adams' subjects' as she (1971) has shown in her study. She divided the development of question rules into three main stages. Therefore if I follow her dividing stages, Hangil falls into the third stage (double tense marker is an only error type in this stage) and Hanbyul falls into the advanced second stage (unstable inversion question and 'do' plus any type of declarative sentences).

As I indicated above, there is a certain rate difference in their L2 development. Then how can I explain this rate difference? Their English learning period, L1 background, and learning context were all the same. According to their school teachers, Hangil seems to be a little

more quiet than Hanbyul at school. In my view, they have similar personalities as ordinary children (neither too much extrovert nor too much introvert). Therefore I could predict that their personality did not make that much difference. Then their 2 year age difference seems to be the most important factor to influence on their rate difference. This finding corresponds to Ervin-Tripp's (1974) finding in her study of children aged among 4 and 9. In her study older children learned morphology and syntax faster than younger children. Her reasoning for this difference is that the older child has a fuller semantic system and more efficient memory heuristics related to his greater knowledge, and the child's capacity to solve problems, to make sub-rules, to carry in mind several principles increases with age. This reasoning is also applicable to my children's case.

The second question of this paper was what kind of strategies they use in the process of acquiring second language. The most common strategy they used in the process of acquiring interrogatives is 'overgeneralization'. Their past tense question formation (double tense marker) shows this strategy representatively. Hanbyul's 'do-fronting' to all question forms (even to copula/modal inversion question and past tense question) is an interesting example of this strategy, too. For the embedded wh— question formation both of them overgeneralized the rules of simple wh—questions and applied them to embedded wh—questions. As the above examples have shown, their interlanguage variables in question formation had rules and they were systematic. It is a strong indicator that my subjects are using a language processing strategy which is used by every language learner supporting my hypothesis.

### 5. Summary

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the development of interrogatives in their English as a second language by my two children, particularly the L2 processing strategies and interlanguage

systematicity. My findings on this purpose are summarized as follows:

- (1) Comparing my two children's data, I found that Hangil is more advanced than Hanbyul in interrogatives, the reason of which seems to be in their age difference. Hangil's interlanguage was more target-like, although past tense questions and embedded who questions showed similar interlanguage variables with Hanbyul.
- (2) Generally, their interlanguage at each time point seems to be systematic and rule-governed with two or three variables including a target form in each aspect of question formation. Hanbyul's developmental curve on graph for his auxiliary 'do'/'does' distinction and yes/no inversion question formation showed that his interlanguage was going toward more target-like one.
- (3) They used 'overgeneralization' strategy for processing of their interlanguage and produced systematic and rule-governed question forms, which supports the hypothesis that universal cognitive mechanisms of strategies are the basis for the child's organization of the L2 system.

#### 6. Conclusion

One of the limitations of my study is that since my studying period was short (only 6 weeks) my conclusion would be somewhat arbitrary as a result of the fact that language development is a slow, continuous process. If I could study their productions for a longer period, there might appear a clearer developmental trend and I could also catch their other strategies, such as how they overcome this variable interlanguage and move toward target language.

Another limitation of my study is that because sometimes the data obtained for specific feature is not sufficient they couldn't show reliable percentage on graphs. As a consequence, I found that more careful designing to obtain sufficient data for reliable conclusion from the beginning of the study is necessary for this kind of longitudinal study.

Carrying out this study, sometimes I felt like correcting my children's error, though I couldn't do so because it might influence on my study. Their rule-governed interlanguages with variables have implications for language teaching. L2 learners start to produce a certain form with a (overgeneralized) rule to express their semantic notion. As the input increases, they differentiate the rules and move toward more target-like forms. It means that they have a possibility for producing target forms with more plausible rules through instruction. Therefore it is suggested that further research on whether language instruction or error correction at a certain point may influence the learner's interlanguage might provide valuable insights on language teaching.

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