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Saute ça: The Acquisition of the *Faire Faire* Causative
by First and Second Language Learners of French

Mekhala Sarkar[✉]

A Thesis

in

The Doctoral Programme

in

Humanities

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
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ABSTRACT

Saute ça: The Acquisition of the *Faire Faire* Causative
by First and Second Language Learners of French

Mela Sarkar, Ph.D. in Humanities
Concordia University, 2000

Do young Bengali-speaking children learning French as a second language at preschool follow the same developmental path as French first language children with respect to the acquisition of the French *faire faire* causative? As an initial step toward answering this question, a flexible semi-structured play protocol was developed for the elicitation of the *faire faire* causative from both first and second language learners. In the first part of the study, longitudinal data were collected from eight monolingual children acquiring French as a first language in Montreal. The children were audio- and video-taped in their homes for 30 to 45 minutes every two to four weeks for at least six months, and their data were analyzed for occurrences of causative constructions, such as *Je fais sauter la grenouille*, and single-agent infinitival complement constructions such as *Je veux jouer* in which the same argument (agent or actor) applies to both modal and infinitive. Causative constructions are double-agent; the grammatical subject of the sentence (and semantic agent of the verb *faire*) and the grammatical object of *faire* (and semantic agent of the following infinitive) are two distinct arguments. The argument structure of causative constructions is therefore more complex than that of single-agent infinitival complement constructions. Both kinds of constructions emerged at the same time in the speech of the French-L1 children, sometime between the second and fourth birthdays.

In the second part of the study, cross-sectional data from 24 Bengali-L1 children aged 5 and 6 were analyzed. A standardized measure of receptive vocabulary in French was taken from each L2 child, as well as a 30-minute naturalistic speech sample incorporating the causative elicitation procedure. The L2 children's receptive vocabulary and their ability to form single-agent infinitival complement constructions resembled that of the 2- and 3-year-old French monolingual children, but their ability to form causative constructions

lagged far behind. Some possible explanations for this finding are suggested. Differences in the input to the two groups, aspects of the syntax of causativization in French, and first language influence may all be implicated.

DEDICATION

to my most salient interlocutors in Bengali, French or English for so long:

my father, my children's father, my children

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Although the children who participated in this doctoral project all spoke only French or Bengali and French, the individuals who had the greatest influence in shaping the project over the course of the six years it took to complete are all people with whom I interacted in English. Foremost among them is Patsy Lightbown, principal supervisor of this dissertation and of my coming of age—as a scholar and in several other capacities. I am only beginning to fully appreciate how fortunate I was that she took me on. By the example Patsy has provided, of intellectual engagement combined with passionate involvement in both the academic community and *le milieu scolaire*, she has demonstrated not only that it can be done, it *must* be done.

The other members of the thesis committee, Diane Poulin-Dubois and Florence Stevens, were unfailingly generous with their time and their perceptive commentary on the work. Their willingness to put up with last-minute requests for yet *more* feedback, and then to spar with me with grace and good humour, puts them in the top rank of supervisors.

Laura Collins and Vicki Murphy have more responsibility for this project reaching completion than they can ever know. I could never have made it to the end of the long Ph.D. haul without the constant (and now, alas, long-distance) support, encouragement, and all-around intellectual stimulation and emotional security provided by the two best of companions along the doctoral road. In this endeavour they were greatly aided by the other members of the McGill-Concordia SLA Research Group, who helped me learn how to approach research and the presentation of it, by listening, commenting, groaning, laughing, and occasionally throwing things.

Randall Halter was and is courtesy itself, and often stopped whatever he was doing to help a desperate graduate student with graphs, tables, computer bailouts, and oodles of noodles whenever she needed them. Working with the combination of Randall and

Christine Brassard in the same research office was a never-to-be-forgotten experience. No other corner of Academe will ever provide quite the same mixture of the sublime and the hilarious.

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This project was conducted in the homes and schools of French-speaking Montreal. Over a dozen parents invited me into their children's lives, sometimes for many months on end, and made my visits occasions of celebration for all of us. The children and I were all

sorry when the visits had to stop. Sixteen kindergarten teachers and three primary school principals all adjusted their schedules willingly to accommodate my requests for access to classrooms, children, testing rooms and time. It was a privilege to be allowed to observe in those classrooms. I owe a special debt of thanks to Marielle Chagnon, who has indulged me by letting me come back to meet new groups of children, year after year. *C'est de l'enrichissement mutuel*. Anie Desautels pitched in with library research and transcription with characteristic thoroughness and enthusiasm. Help with written French was freely and generously provided whenever I needed it, by Pierrette Benoit, Lucie Benoit, André Bourbonnais and Isabelle Girard. Georges Hadzocos and Yve Laviolette of the former *Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal* were my guides through the *accueil* system.

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My own former 2-year-olds have had a grad student mom for their entire lives. I *told* you I would finish before you were both in high school! Thank you, Nina and Kobir, for being so gracious about how unavailable I have been so often. I know now why I needed to play with all those other children. It was because when I realized I'd been too busy studying to play with *you* when you were 2 and 3, you'd already moved on.

In many ways this project was a family enterprise. Martin Benoit contributed the other half of the child care and most of the technical support during a crucial part of this project. We were a good team. We have been many things to each other over the years, in a relationship that has gone beyond being friends and life partners. If I am now an adopted member of Montreal's French-speaking community, it is because you invited me in.

The other community I got to know better during this project was Montreal's Bangladeshi community. Rowshan Ara Begum was not only the ideal native-speaking research collaborator, she also became a friend. She and Farida Alam put up with endless requests for explanations, introductions and encroachments upon their time at home, and then insisted on feeding me some of the most extraordinary meals I have ever had into the bargain. Thank you, Nila and Yasmin.

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PREFACE

The study described in these pages constitutes a midway point in a lifetime's work of reflecting on the experience of being a second-generation Canadian of partly South Asian parentage who is also a bit of a language nut. Had it not been for my Bangladeshi father, I would never have become interested in learning Bengali in my late teens and might never have discovered the Indo-Aryan morphological causative. The purely *linguistic* fallout of that discovery led me on a direct path to this doctoral project—and promises to lead far beyond it. Had it not been for my curiosity about living in French in Canada, I might not have ended up as an adopted member of the French-Canadian community in Montreal, through marriage to a “*Québécois de vieille souche*”. That journey, too, continues to surprise me with its unexpected turnings and byways. And it was my good fortune to arrive in Quebec in the same year as an interesting piece of language legislation, Bill 101, *la Charte de la langue française*, which has had a profound effect on the demographic makeup of my adopted city. As a result of this legislation, thousands of immigrant children—who would otherwise probably have been schooled through the medium of English—now go to school only in French. It is interesting to note that the French educational system in Quebec was conceived for, and for many decades virtually *restricted* to, children of *pure laine* French-Canadian Catholic background. But for over twenty years now, Montreal French-language schools have been receiving more and more children who speak no French upon arrival. The number of such children in the system might be said to have reached some kind of critical mass that is beginning to warrant serious investigation of their rather special second language learning situation.

The fortuitous combination of causatives (in linguistics), integration into francophone Montreal (while studying and socializing), and a preoccupation with schools and children in my life (through teaching and parenting) has brought me to this point. I hope that the work presented here may lead to a better understanding of the complex interaction of young children, first and second languages, and language learning situations

both in schools and in homes. I know that the tenacity required to see the project through to the end has taught *me* a great deal—not only about the several areas of study involved in doing the research, but also about research itself and how it may most usefully and enjoyably be done.

If in carrying out this research project I have also been able to arouse a particular kind of interest in other people—in causatives (in whichever language!); in how to elicit specific syntactic structures from two-year-olds; in stages of early language development; in kindergartens as second language learning environments; in immigrants of South Asian origin and the intricate process of adaptation they must undergo after arriving in the West—and above all, if through this work I have sounded any chords in other hearts and minds about *children*, these children, children from minority-language backgrounds who are plunged into “sink-or-swim” educational settings with very little time in which to add a new and necessary language to their repertoire—then I will have accomplished the purpose with which I set out.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

The lexical meaning of the French verb *faire* is “to make” or “to do”. but *faire* has functions in the grammar of French that go beyond its lexical meaning. One of these functions is to add a causative meaning to a verb phrase. *Faire faire* means “to cause to do”, and a causative formed in this way, by adding *faire* to the verb phrase immediately before the infinitive, is often called a *faire faire* causative. The acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by young learners of French has not previously been the object of systematic inquiry. In the present study a baseline is first established for the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative in monolingual first-language (L1) learners of French. The use of the *faire faire* causative by a group of French second-language learners is then compared to the first-language baseline. All the second-language (L2) learners had Bengali as their first language. The French-L2 learners were all five or six years old and had just completed either their first or their second year of exposure to French in preschool classrooms in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Why French?

Educational concern

Children in Quebec schools are required to complete their entire primary and secondary education in French only, with very few exceptions. An English school system exists in Quebec, but access is restricted to children who have at least one parent who was schooled in English in Canada. This provision excludes most French-Canadian children and all recent immigrant children. Most Quebec children who speak a language other than

French or English in the home must be schooled in French. The early acquisition of French as a second language by these “allophone” children has not been well studied.¹

It is when allophone children in Quebec enter kindergarten that the intensive process of *francisation* (as the acquisition of French L2 is called by Quebec educators) begins for most of them. It will continue throughout their school career in Quebec. Early oral fluency at kindergarten is *the* main priority (along with early aural comprehension) of all kindergarten teachers who find themselves teaching non-Francophone children. There is little or no writing practice before Grade One for these children, beyond the requirement that they be able to recognize and possibly write their first names. The emphasis by the school on oral fluency at kindergarten—in an attempt to get the children comfortable enough with French that they will be able to move to the more demanding atmosphere of the Grade One classroom with a minimum of difficulty—is the educational motivation underlying the research decision to look for the emergence of the *faire faire* causative in minority-language children at this level.

The French-L2 children in the study were in three different preschool programs: *Maternelle 5 ans*, *Maternelle 4 ans*, and *Maternelle-accueil*. The regular full-day senior kindergarten *Maternelle 5 ans* program is the one that French-speaking children would normally attend. The school day consists of a morning period of about two and a half hours and an afternoon period of the same or slightly shorter duration. Children may go home for lunch, but many spend the lunch hour at school under supervision. *Maternelle 4 ans* are half-day programs only, so a kindergarten teacher typically has a morning group and an afternoon group, each for 2 hours and 20 minutes a day. *Maternelle 4 ans* programs exist only in neighbourhoods that have been identified by the Ministry of Education as underprivileged, where there is a greater number of children at risk for school failure. Two

¹ “Allophone” in this special Quebec sense of the word means “a person whose first language is neither English nor French” (the two official languages of Canada).

of the three schools where participants for this study were found served neighbourhoods in this category. The third type of preschool program is the full-day *Maternelle-accueil* program.² The *accueil* system was put into place in the early 1970s to provide the necessary support in French as a second language for children in the French system who were new to Montreal and to French. Prior to that time, most newly arrived immigrant children attended English school, but provincial legislation designed to encourage immigrant parents to send their children to French school had recently been implemented. The French schools had just become aware of the novel need to provide second language support. The need increased severalfold a few years later, with the passing of Quebec's Bill 101, *la Charte de la langue française*. As of September 1977, *all* newly arrived immigrant children *had* to go to school in French. Many school districts hurried to set up *accueil* programs that would be accessible to local children. Children whose families have lived in Quebec for less than five years and who therefore qualify for *accueil* are allowed to be in the program for a maximum of ten months, after which time they are integrated into the regular classroom at a grade level as close in age to their own as they are judged able to handle (there are a few exceptions made to the ten-month rule). The supply of *accueil* classrooms has consistently failed to keep up with the demand, and many children are bussed to *accueil* outside their own school district. Many schools in neighbourhoods of large immigrant concentration do not have *accueil* classes. For kindergarten children whose parents have lived in Canada for more than five years, and who therefore were born in Canada but who can be shown to speak no French, there is a special category of *accueil* classes called *francisation*, classes which are identical to *accueil*.

Three features make *accueil* different from the regular program: First, all the children in the class are French second language beginners. They have no French-L1 peers.

²*Accueil* ("welcome") programs technically ceased to exist at the end of the 1997-1998 year in which I conducted the study described here. As of September 1998, children in need of "welcome classes" receive this special help with French in classes labelled *SAF* (*Soutien à l'apprentissage du français*). At the time of writing, the difference between these and the former *accueil* model is in name only.

Second, the teachers have all received some training in second language pedagogy (“some” meaning, anything from a two-day seminar at the outset of their *accueil* careers, to a full-fledged degree or diploma in *Enseignement du français, langue seconde*). And third, the student-teacher ratio is lower than that in regular classrooms: at kindergarten level, a maximum of 18:1, in contrast to the regular ratio of 22:1.

The knowledge gap in our understanding of the way in which Quebec children from immigrant backgrounds acquire the language of schooling needs to be filled in so that the children may benefit from improved language education policy and planning. If educators have more information about the L2 acquisition of these children, they will be in a better position to establish realistic expectations and to plan and implement educational programs that draw on the strengths and compensate for the weaknesses of these students. As we move into the twenty-first century, the population of Quebec continues to undergo profound changes in its demographic makeup. More and more residents of this populous Canadian province will be second-language speakers of French in the coming century. It is imperative that educators become as well-informed as possible about the implications of this fact for curriculum design and delivery, teacher training, and community involvement in public education.

The acquisition of argument structure in French

A knowledge gap also exists with respect to our understanding of the acquisition of verbs and their complements in French. Certain aspects of the acquisition of French as a first language have been under investigation by the Geneva School for many years; Piaget’s early work dates from the third decade of the twentieth century (Piaget, 1926). Indeed, the study of the acquisition of French as a first language in Europe could be said to date back even earlier, to Ronjat’s 1913 study of a child acquiring French and German as two first languages. However, as Martinet points out, “La façon dont les enfants produisent les différents arguments compléments du verbe en français n’a pas fait l’objet d’investigations

linguistiques....[il] n'existe pas, semble-t-il, de recherches portant sur l'ensemble de la construction argumentale des verbes français." (1998, pp. 61-62)

The acquisition of French as a second language, especially by Anglophone children in French immersion classes, has received considerable research attention from Canadian scholars over the past three decades. Nonetheless, when the amount of information available on the acquisition of French as either a first or a second language by very young children is compared to the wealth of information available on the acquisition of English, it becomes clear that a great deal of work remains to be done. This is especially true where the topic under investigation concerns the acquisition of narrowly defined aspects of argument structure (rather than more general features such as word order).

As more becomes known about the way in which specific syntactic structures are acquired in French and in other languages, language acquisition theory and linguistic theory generally will be enriched. The findings of the present study have the potential to inform both first language acquisition theory and second language acquisition theory.

Why the causative?

The acquisition of the mechanisms of causativization

Causativization is a phenomenon of interest from both the cognitive and the linguistic points of view. The complex and overlapping mechanisms involved have been the object of linguistic analysis in a small number of the world's languages, but the way in which these mechanisms are acquired has received relatively little research attention. The question, "How do different languages causativize?" has considerable intrinsic interest, given the diversity that exists among the world's languages with respect to causativization. In addition, the further question, "How do speakers of a given language acquire control over causativization?" has the potential to stimulate research that may feed back into the task of linguistic analysis itself, as well as forward into applied areas such as second language pedagogy. Nevertheless, very little research exists on this topic.

Comparisons with other constructions

In French, a series of infinitival complement constructions exists that is formally similar to the *faire faire* causative in that a tensed verb and an infinitive must both be present. Despite the structural similarity, these constructions are very different in function and in semantic content from *faire faire* causative constructions. They are also simpler in argument structure. The principal difference is that most infinitival complement constructions are "single-agent" constructions, i.e., both the tensed verb and the infinitival verb have the same semantic actor or agent. Causatives are more complex, in that the tensed verb and the infinitival verb do not have the same semantic actor or agent. The question of whether causative and non-causative infinitival complement constructions are acquired by first and second-language learners in similar or different ways has not been previously studied. A comparison of the acquisition of these formally similar constructions might provide insights into the relationship between aspects of the linguistic and cognitive development of causal relationships.

Causative constructions in classrooms

Causative constructions are frequently heard in directive, teaching contexts in primary-school classrooms. The "make it do this" type of structure is a useful and necessary one for the teaching of young children. It is the prototypical demonstrating structure. Learning when and how young second-language children begin to manipulate this structure may give us valuable insights into their early experience of schooling in and through the L2. If children are not in fact able to understand and produce causative constructions fairly early in the process of second language acquisition, certain key opportunities for classroom interaction and learning in the second language may not be available to them at that point.

Why Bengali-L1 preschool-age subjects?

Cross-linguistic contrasts in causativization

Bengali and French differ markedly in the nature of the causative-forming mechanism. Choosing a group of learners with Bengali as a first language may result in findings that shed light on the phenomenon of cross-linguistic transfer where this complex aspect of morphosyntax is concerned. The fact that the learners in question are pre-literate and are learning the second language in a near-naturalistic setting makes it more likely that any first-language effects that are found will tell us something about transfer in naturalistic, untutored settings for second language acquisition (SLA).

Bengali-speakers in Montreal schools

At the time of writing, Bengali-speakers are a large and rapidly growing proportion of new arrivals in Montreal. This particular immigrant group is of very recent settlement and suffers from problems of poverty, lack of education and insufficient access to resources, all of which put the children in a high-risk category where educational outcomes are concerned. Any information about the *francisation* of Bengali-origin children will be useful to educators as they grapple with the challenge of planning adequate program delivery to this population.

It was decided to limit this study to the youngest group of Bengali-L1 children old enough to have already acquired the causative in Bengali who could be found in a situation of classroom L2 learning—that is, to preschool-age learners—where they were sure to have started the process of acquiring the L2 (French is not typically spoken in the children's homes). Children in Montreal classrooms were also more likely to have had some experience in interaction with adults in a Western-style fashion, and therefore were more likely to respond positively to the research procedure. In traditional Bengali culture, adult caregivers attend to children's needs and interact with them in a number of ways, but they do not normally play with them using children's toys. The role of playing with babies

and very young children using children's playthings is taken by older siblings or other children. A research procedure in which the adult researcher presents herself as a play partner will not work with very young children whose socialization has been restricted to the traditional Bengali context. This was confirmed during a very early stage of piloting for this study. (See the collection of papers in Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986, for more information on the differences between Western and non-Western cultures in the ways in which adults interact with children in play and other contexts.)

OVERVIEW

A review of relevant theoretical work and empirical studies follows in Chapter 2 and paves the way for the research questions and the assumptions that underlie the present study. Predictions for findings are set out at the end of Chapter 2. The study itself was carried out in two phases. The first phase, Study 1, consisted of longitudinal observations of French monolingual children who were in the process of acquiring the *faire faire* causative between the ages of two and four. A baseline for the monolingual acquisition of the *faire faire* causative was established on the basis of these observations. This phase of the research is described in Chapter 3. During the second phase, Study 2, cross-sectional data on the use of the *faire faire* causative were gathered from Bengali-speaking children who were learning French at kindergarten. This phase of the research is reported in Chapter 4. A summary and synthesis of the findings of Study 1 and Study 2 appear in Chapter 5. Answers to the research questions and a summary of the evidence that was found to support or disconfirm the initial predictions for findings, along with comments on some possible limitations of this study and suggestions for future research, make up Chapter 6, the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Scope of the review

A review of the literature on the acquisition of causative constructions will be preceded by a brief introduction to the theory of argument structure that underlies the present study, and by a comparison of the morphosyntactic characteristics of causative constructions in French and Bengali. Literature on the acquisition of French as a first and early second language will be touched upon as it relates to the topic of this research.. Studies in which the early second language of preschool-age children is investigated will be reviewed, with special attention being given to the literature on morphosyntactic transfer between the two languages of pre-literate bilingual children. We turn first to a brief consideration of the concept of stages of language acquisition as it has developed in applied linguistics research.

The acquisition of syntax: proceeding by stages

The idea that many aspects of language acquisition proceed by stages is one of the main assumptions underlying this research project. Brown's pioneering work (1973) with three children learning English as a first language is the cornerstone upon which all subsequent work on stages in first language acquisition rests; indeed, the title of Brown's work makes the assumption explicit ("*A first language: the early stages*"). As Brown points out, he did not intend the five stages he originally delineated as "true stages in Piaget's sense; that is, they may not be qualitative changes of organization forced on the investigator by the data themselves....The original stages were points on an MLU distribution" (p. 58). However, Brown and many subsequent investigators have found that his five stages do indeed group together features of the acquisition of syntax that develop in a similar way in

children learning English. Each stage is characterized by an increase in the child's ability to process and express additional syntactic complexity, and those increments in complexity can be quantified and studied. There is every reason to believe that a syntactic structure like the French *faire faire* causative would also be acquired in stages by child learners of French L1. I will therefore take as testable Brown's hypotheses that

the order of progression in knowledge of the first language, both semantic and grammatical, will prove to be approximately invariant across children learning the same language [and]....the primary determinants of acquisition order will prove to be cumulative complexity, both semantic and grammatical. (1973, pp. 403-404)

The evidence that will be presented in this study for French monolingual children acquiring the *faire faire* causative construction can be seen as a test of those hypotheses with respect to a particular syntactic structure.

Evidence that *second* language acquisition also proceeds in stages was first presented for word order in L2 German by Pienemann and his colleagues within a decade of the publication of the major findings of Brown and his colleagues (for example, Pienemann, 1980). There is a useful discussion of the difficulties of attempting to define stages in naturalistic SLA in Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann (1981). Pienemann has consistently adopted, and brought forward empirical evidence for, a position similar to the one taken by Brown and his colleagues; namely, that "the constraints imposed by language processing play a decisive part in determining the specific order in which given sets of L2 items are acquired by different individuals" (1989, p. 54). Stages of language acquisition, whether in L1 or in L2, will therefore have a certain internal logic determined by the nature of the processing constraints that have to be accommodated at any given point in development. It follows naturally that stages of language acquisition will not be discrete (in Brown's phrase, not "monolithic"). Processing constraints operate on-line, and a learner who is able under optimal circumstances to produce a syntactic string at a certain level of complexity may easily revert to a less complex level when circumstances are not optimal—

when sentence elements must be added and manipulated, for example, or additional discourse requirements are present, such as the need to convert a declarative into an interrogative because the situation requires that one ask a question. It is typically a journey of some weeks or months from the first emergence of a new syntactic structure to its mastery by the learner in the most challenging contexts. Furthermore, the path taken by L2 learners will not necessarily resemble that taken by L1 learners in all respects. The evidence that will be presented in this study for Bengali-L1 children acquiring the *faire faire* causative construction in second language French goes some way toward exploring the possible implications of such an assumption.

Causative constructions

Causative constructions as argument constructions

Argument structure, valence and causativity. Central to an understanding of what constitutes verb use and the acquisition of verb use is the concept of argument structure. Using language necessarily involves saying something (the predicate) *about* something (the argument or arguments). Arguments exist in relation to a predicate and to each other. Nouns are often examples of arguments, and verbs are often examples of predicates; but the concept of argument structure goes deeper than the categories of any one language. Braine (1992, p. 80) suggests that the predicate-argument distinction is “built into our thinking processes....there is good reason to think that the predicate-argument distinction must be cognitively primitive....aspects of an innate format for recording information”. It is important to note that “innate” here does not have language-specific connotations, but refers rather to basic perceptual processes. In the child language field, Braine and his colleagues have devoted considerable attention to the primacy of the predicate-argument relationship in language acquisition. Braine, Brody, Fisch, Weisberger and Blum (1990) point out that understanding the acquisition of argument structure “is a significant part of understanding

language acquisition” because a verb and its surrounding noun phrase arguments “provide much of the body and meaning of simple sentences” (p. 314).

In his book-length study of the role of argument structure in grammar (cross-linguistic and non-generativist), Alsina states the situation very clearly: “A predicate expresses a relation (or relations) among participants: these participants are called the *arguments* of the predicate” (1996, p. 4). Arguments are related to each other and to their predicate through argument structure.

A useful way of conceptualizing argument structure can be found in the work of Dixon (1972, 1994), who proposes that in all languages, argument structure is built around three “universal syntactic-semantic primitives”, which he calls S, A and O. Each has its own relationship to the predicate (the verb or verb phrase). O (for “object”) corresponds to the object of a transitive sentence. A (for “agent”) corresponds to the subject of a transitive sentence; if a sentence has A, it must have O. S (for “subject”) corresponds to the subject of an *intransitive* sentence—what many linguists would call its Theme. If a sentence has S it cannot have O. This way of looking at argument structure has been used by Dixon to explain the facts of ergativity, a property of around one-quarter of the world’s languages whereby S is treated like O by the grammar for some aspects of morphology or syntax (rather than being treated like A, as is the case for English and all other Western European, Indo-European derived languages). Dixon’s account is completely data-driven, having been formulated initially in the mid-sixties in order to make sense of data about the structure of some of the Australian aboriginal language families, and considerably extended in the three decades since Dixon did his pioneering early work.

The framework for linguistic analysis formulated by Dixon in one context, that of anthropological/typological linguistics, can be said to have a child language counterpart in the semantically based research by L. Bloom (1970) that challenged the purely structural emphasis of the early child language studies on pivot grammar (e.g. Braine, 1966). The approach to the analysis of early child utterances taken by L. Bloom and her colleagues has

explicit theoretical underpinnings in the case grammar approach outlined in the classic paper by Fillmore (1968). Actor and Agent are clearly distinguished in the emerging child grammars; Agent, but not Actor, requiring an Object (which may or may not be overtly expressed in children's early utterances). The European studies carried out at about the same time by the Geneva School (e.g. Sinclair & Bronckart, 1972) similarly probed for young children's understanding of transitive and intransitive utterances.

The fundamental building blocks S, A and O proposed by Dixon in the mid-60s have been used in more recent years by theoretical linguists of the cognitive-functional school, and the framework for analysis which was thus derived has been newly applied to child language research by Kelly (1999), Lieven (1999), and Tomasello (1999), among others. In this approach to language acquisition research, functionally based distributional analyses of forms in arguments (e.g. S, A, O) are applied to both language input and language output data in an attempt to account for children's development of argument structure without having recourse to innate syntax-generating mechanisms.

Dixon's orientation is made clear by him at the outset of his book-length study of ergativity, and is worth quoting in full, as it corresponds to the principles that have guided the design and interpretation of the present study:

The discussion in this book is in terms of the established theoretical ideas of linguistics, as these have developed over the past two thousand and more years—the ideas of clause and sentence, syntactic relations, relative clauses and so on. My own theoretical basis includes taking as primitives the universal syntactic relations S, A and O, and describing systems of morphological marking and syntactic operations in terms of them. I have not cast the discussion in terms of any of the more restricted theoretical models that are now current (GB, LFG, GPSG, HPSG, RG, APG, RRG¹, etc.). To

¹I.e., government and binding, lexical-functional grammar, relational grammar, restricted relational grammar (to gloss only those terms with which this writer is familiar).

have chosen any one of these would have constrained the presentation. (1994, p. xvi).

An understanding of S, A and O is essential to any discussion of the concept of *valence*, which in turn is one of the key elements of an understanding of causativization. *Valence* refers to the number of arguments taken by a predicate. It is a property of the predicate and its arguments taken together (normally the clause or simple sentence) and is related to the more commonly recognized concepts of transitivity (mono- and di-) and intransitivity. A sentence that is AVO (in Dixon's, and also cognitive-functional linguistic, terms) is what we would call monotransitive; it has a valence of two/is bivalent. This type of sentence is what many other grammarians would call SVO, the canonical sentence structure in English, as in *The baby squashed the bug; I broke the glass*. English AVO canonical word order is used here for the sake of convenience, but of course there are other possibilities, such as AOV (as for Bengali/Indo-Aryan) or VAO (some Celtic languages). A sentence that is SV (in Dixon's terms) is necessarily intransitive; it has a valence of one/is univalent. English examples would be *She ran; He fell; The glass broke*. The valence of a sentence is determined by the argument structure entailed by the use of a particular predicate with particular arguments; it is not a property of the verb alone, but of the verb as it is used in a given situation (as the examples with *break* demonstrate). Some situations require a valence of three; an English example of this is provided by most uses of the verb *put*. You can't just *put*, or *put something*; you have to *put it somewhere*. Another example is any situation of transfer as exemplified by most uses of *give*; you normally *give something to somebody*. Sentences with *put* and *give* are usually trivalent.

A good summing up is given by Magier in his discussion of transitivity in Hindi (a language with many structural similarities to Bengali, to which it is closely related):

Valence is defined as the number of obligatory participant roles present in the cognitive organization of the scene conveyed by a particular verb. That is, each verb evokes a cognitive scene which

has a certain minimum number of participant roles. (Magier, 1987, p. 187)

In any language, causativization necessarily increases the valence of an utterance by one, since an argument is added in A (or agent) position. The transitivity of the utterance must therefore change, typically from intransitive to transitive or from monotransitive to ditransitive. Going back to the examples given above for transitive and intransitive situations, we see at once that *The glass broke* and *I broke the glass* have something important in common. In the first sentence, no agent is specified (and *glass* is S in Dixon's sense—what many grammarians would call Patient or Theme). In the second, there is an agent (Dixon's A), and *glass* is O in Dixon's sense. But *broke* means the same thing in both sentences. The difference is that in *I broke the glass*, a causing element has been added. The valence has been increased by one. Not only is this sentence transitive as opposed to intransitive, it is causative. We understand by the sentence that the action of the glass breaking would not have happened unless I had done something to make it happen.

The ability of many verbs to function in an univalent intransitive/non-causative sense, with one argument, and a bivalent transitive/causative sense, with two, has been termed the *causative alternation*, and has undergone exhaustive analysis for a subset of English verbs (see, for example, Juffs, 1996; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1994; Pinker, 1989). *Break* is one example: others in English would be *melt*, *boil*, *roll*, *move*, and a host of other verbs denoting manner of motion or change of state or location. Verbs that are said to “alternate” in this way in English do so without any concomitant morphological modification. There is some terminological confusion in the literature on this point; some writers (Maruta, 1999; Pye, 1994) speak of alternation when discussing causativization in languages which necessarily require the addition of an explicit causative marker on the verb (e.g., Japanese, for Maruta, and K'iche' Maya, for Pye). In such languages, the causative and non-causative forms of a verb are morphologically distinct. Other writers reserve the term “alternation” for causativization in languages such as English, where the causative and

non-causative (sometimes called the inchoative) uses of a verb take exactly the same form and are not morphologically distinct. The latter convention is preferred for the purposes of the present report. “Alternating” will be narrowly defined as meaning that the causative and non-causative forms of a verb have the same form, and can be distinguished in meaning only by taking the argument structure and the overall meaning of the sentence into consideration.

The classificational analyses that have been carried out for alternating verbs in English have no counterpart in French linguistics. French verbs function somewhat differently. Where an English verb will often alternate (for example, *I'm opening the window/The window is opening*), a French verb will typically require a middle passive construction involving the pronominal form *se*, used with what is technically a middle-passive rather than a reflexive interpretation (*J'ouvre la fenêtre/La fenêtre s'ouvre*). This is touched upon in Comrie (1976, 1981, 1985), and analyzed in more detail in Barrière, Lorch, and Le Normand (in press).

The construction grammar framework and language acquisition research. Before proceeding to some further discussion of causative constructions in French as well as in Bengali, and to a review of the literature on the acquisition of causative constructions, it is necessary to look more closely at the term *construction*. One framework for analysis that is particularly useful for understanding constructions and the way they function in the grammar of a language is Construction Grammar, as it is presented in the work of Goldberg (1995). Goldberg's approach to construction grammar, as a development in non-generativist theoretical linguistics, aroused considerable interest in the community of child language researchers with the publication of a review article by Tomasello, with peer commentary, in the *Journal of Child Language* (Tomasello, 1998). The central fact about constructions in Goldberg's view (and that of more well-known linguists of this school—see, for example, Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor, 1988) is that they carry meaning independently of the words that make them up. Made up of conventional meaning-carrying

linguistic symbols (phonemes, morphemes, words), constructions are themselves conventional meaning-carrying linguistic symbols at a higher level of abstraction. Skeletal syntactic constructions are recognized as “meaningful in their own right” (Goldberg, 1995, p. 21). In the construction grammar interpretation preferred by cognitive-functional linguists, many shades of gray obtain between the level of the single-morpheme memorized word and the sentence-level construction, and meaning may inhere in any of the levels. In this view, nearly *everything* is a construction: a combination of bound and free morphemes such as *cats*, which carries the meaning “there is more than one of these”, and equally a conventionalized combination of predicates and arguments such as *They laughed the poor guy off the stage* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 173). The sorts of constructions analyzed by Goldberg are “...sentence-level patterns such as, in English: the imperative, the ditransitive, the passive, the resultative, the yes-no question...” (Tomasello, 1998, p. 431). I would argue that causatives of the “Make it go” type could be added to this list.

Unlike most theoretical linguists, Goldberg goes to some pains to establish that the approach to syntax embodied in construction grammar fits with research findings in first language acquisition. She bases her statements on an analysis of several different studies by Bowerman, Clark and Slobin, in which children do indeed seem to come to the acquisition of syntax with the “scene-encoding” or “event-encoding” template postulated by Goldberg as the abstract basis for constructions:

Support for the hypothesis that the central senses of argument structure constructions designate scenes which are semantically privileged in being basic to human experience comes from certain language acquisition facts. In particular, verbs that lexically designate the semantics associated with argument structure constructions are learned early and used most frequently (Clark, 1978); certain grammatical markers are applied earliest to “prototypical” scenes—that is, scenes which are claimed to be associated with the central senses of constructions (Slobin, 1985);

and children's first utterances are about the particular scenes claimed to be associated with constructions (Bowerman, 1989). (p. 40)

The construction grammar view "holds that children's initial learning does not consist of linguistic elements that are small and abstract, but rather it consists in some measure of whole linguistic constructions that are large but concrete" (Tomasello, 1998, p. 439). Tomasello, working from a cognitive-functional linguistic perspective, characterizes linguistic competence in terms of "an inventory of constructions" (Tomasello, 1999) which the young child must gradually build up. Tomasello also points out that for adults as well, "much of language is not abstract but concrete, and much of language is not canonical but idiosyncratic—witness the many idioms and metaphors that are an integral part of all human languages" (1998, p. 440).

Indeed, it has been suggested even more recently by Wray and Perkins that "possibly as much as 70% of our adult native language may be formulaic" (2000, p. 2). Not only idioms and metaphors, but a host of types of constructions may be said to be relevant when considering the phenomenon of formulaicity, which is "manifested in strings of linguistic items where the relation of each item to the rest is relatively fixed, and where the substitutability of one item by another of the same category is relatively constrained" (Wray & Perkins, 2000, p. 1). The French *faire faire* causative is a good example of this phenomenon. Elsewhere, Wray defines *formulaic sequence* as

a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar (1999, p. 214).

While the French *faire faire* causative is not wholly prefabricated in the way a set idiom is, at the level of syntax it consists of predictable elements, some of which *are* prefabricated, and which must be combined in "relatively constrained" ways. Wray and Perkins point out that there is a recent trend in linguistics to "incorporate into the lexicon

much of what was once thought to be grammatical” and that “this progressive lexicalisation of grammar finds its ultimate expression in the approach known as Construction Grammar...in which formulaicity is a central principle” (2000, p. 11). With respect to first language acquisition, they further suggest that between about age 2 and age 8, children go through a stage of first language development which is “marked by a preference for analytic over formulaic language processing” (2000, p. 21), during which period children create a generative grammar for their L1. This remains to be proven; but the implications of support being found for this hypothesis for the study of *second* language learning by children in this age range (such as the group of French-L2 subjects in the present study) would be far-reaching. If some children in this age range are better at building a generative grammar than at exploiting the potential of formulaic sequences, they might be expected to have difficulty with formulaic aspects of certain argument structure constructions in a way that would not necessarily be true of either younger learners of the language as L1 or older learners of the language as L2.

Constructions, as defined by Goldberg (1995) and applied to problems in developmental psycholinguistics by Tomasello (1998), would seem to offer L1 and L2 language acquisition researchers the promise of a reconciliation between linguistic formulaicity (in Wray and Perkins’ sense) and linguistic creativity (in the sense usually emphasized by generativist linguists). It is my thesis here that causative constructions *are* constructions in Goldberg’s sense, and I look forward to the day when construction-grammar theorists extend their analyses to the case of causative constructions.

Causative constructions in French and in Bengali

For the purposes of the present review, the linguistic fact to be explained is the way in which causative constructions are formed and used in French, at a level of complexity that would be expected to characterize young first- and second-language learners. The relevant comparison is to causative formation in Bengali, at a similar level of complexity.

A useful analysis of the phenomenon of causativization is that of Comrie (1976, 1981, 1985), working within a cross-linguistic, language-typological framework. Comrie distinguishes three types of causatives:

1. Analytic causatives (also sometimes called “syntactic” or “periphrastic”), as in *Make it go*; an additional causativizing element (such as “make” or “*faire*”) must be added to the utterance, and it stands outside the causativized verb. This type of causative will always be referred to as “analytic” in the present report.
2. Morphological causatives, as in *Lay it down*, in which *lay* contains a causative-forming morpheme, no longer productive in English, relating it to intransitive *lie* by internal vowel change; the causativizing element is typically a bound morpheme that attaches to the causativized verb.
3. Lexical causatives, either by *suppletion* in which a different verb must be substituted, as in French *Je te montre quelque chose*, English *I’ll show you something* (cause you to see it), where the non-causative verb is *see*, or by *alternation* in which the one verb does double duty, as in *I broke the glass* (caused it to break).

Causative constructions in French. The prototypical way of creating a causative utterance from a non-causative utterance in French is to form an analytic causative by adding *faire* to the verb phrase. Within highly predictable parameters the relations are fixed and the items substitutable, in a way that conforms both to Goldberg's definition of “construction” (1995) and Wray and Perkins' definition of “formulaicity” (2000), as discussed above.

The causativizing function of *faire* in French is one of four different functions of *faire* analyzed by Giry-Schneider (1978). The other three functions of *faire* are: lexical verb, in which *faire* retains its original meaning of “make”, as in “fabricate, create”; proform, in which *faire* replaces an unspecified verb; and support verb, in which *faire* is

used as a dummy verb to compensate for a gap in the French lexicon. A short fictional dialogue may help the reader sort out these four functions:

- A: *Qu'est-ce que tu as fait?* (PROFORM, replacing unknown main verb)
- B: *J'ai fait un château de sable.* (LEXICAL VERB in sense of "fabricate". "create")
- A: *Fais-le pas tomber!* (or *Ne le fais pas tomber!*) (CAUSATIVE-FORMING)
- B: *Ah, j'ai fait un dégât.* (SUPPORT VERB, filling lexical gap (there is no verb "dégâter"))

Giry-Schneider's analysis has been used in subsequent recent work on the emergence of "support verbs" in early child French (e.g. by Ibrahim (1996) and Martinot (1996, 1998) of the Besançon group of French child language researchers), and has proved valuable as an aid in untangling the overlapping, often tangled uses of *faire* in the emergent production of very young French-acquiring children (C. Martinot, personal communication, July 13, 1999).

Some examples of French non-causative and causative sentences, showing the predictability of the increase in valence, are shown in Table 2.1.

We see that in the case of the intransitive situation *Il marche* (where no direct object is possible), the addition of a causing element in A function, as transitive subject, leaves the original subject in S function semantically with respect to the original verb *marcher*, however, morphosyntactically it has gone to direct object form and position. The valence has gone from 1 to 2. From being SV, the sentence has become AOV where the O has an underlying S relationship to the second verb. The only overt morphosyntactic expression this argument takes is that of O with respect to *faire*.

Table 2.1 Examples of French non-causatives and causatives

Non-causative	Causative
<i>Il marche</i> S V	<i>Je le fais marcher</i> A O[SV] V
<i>Il voit</i> S V	<i>Je le fais voir</i> ² A O[SV] V
<i>Il voit la photo</i> A V O	<i>Je lui fais voir la photo</i> A O _i [AV] V O

Similarly, in the case of the optionally transitive verb *voir*, if the direct object is not expressed, the original A remains in A function semantically with respect to the original verb. However, as the “causee agent”, it has changed to direct object form and position with respect to *faire*. We note here that the agent of the caused action can usefully be referred to as the causee agent (Comrie, 1976). In an analytic causative utterance in either English or French such as *Make it go/Fais-le marcher*, the causee agent must be in non-subject position, since subject position is occupied by the causing agent. In the example *Je le fais voir*, another A is added in subject position as the causing agent. The valence has gone from 1 to 2. From being AV (with omitted O), the sentence has become AOV, but here the O has an underlying, morphosyntactically unexpressed A relationship to the second verb.

²Prescriptive grammars of French require *lui* rather than *le* in this position. Since there is a transitive object of *voir* implied, though not expressed, the formal register requires that the semantic subject of *voir* be in the dative with respect to *faire*. In this register, *Je le fais voir* means “I show him [to someone]”, rather than “I show him [something]”. However, in informal spoken Quebec French (the only kind available as input for the participants in this study), the semantic subject (causee agent) in such a causative construction is normally in the accusative if the transitive object of the infinitive is not expressed. See Labelle, 1984, for a discussion and several examples.

In the third example, a monotransitive situation where the argument *la photo*, the direct object of *voir*, is expressed, adding a causing agent increases the valence from 2 to 3. In this case, since the sentence already had an argument occupying direct object position, the causee agent (original A) cannot go to object position; instead it is morphosyntactically demoted to indirect object position. Its underlying A relationship to *voir* is not affected. The sentence has gone from being AVO to AO_iVO.

Infinitival complements in French are of two kinds: those in which the addition of an auxiliary verb does not change the valence, because the same grammatical subject applies to both auxiliary and infinitive—I will call these “single-agent” infinitival complement constructions—and those, like the causative, in which the addition of an auxiliary verb increases the valence by one, which I will call “double-agent” infinitival complement constructions. To the best of my knowledge, this terminology is an innovation. Other linguists do not seem to have been interested in comparing the two types of infinitival complement construction in any kind of explicit way, and certainly not in the context of young children’s acquisition of argument structure in French. See Pearce (1990) for a comparison of the two types in Old French; her perspective is generativist, to do with establishing the existence of certain parameters in Old French, and her argument is not relevant here. A few examples will show that of the several different types that are common in the single-agent and in the double-agent category, only the *faire faire* causative construction does not permit an object to come between the auxiliary and the infinitive. This is shown in Table 2.2.

The requirement that *faire* and its infinitive remain glued together in this way with respect to additional arguments is what prompts Comrie to treat the construction as “quasi-morphological”. Comrie suggests that the French *faire faire* causative is “[a]n excellent example of a type intermediate between analytic and morphological” (1981, pp. 161-162), since it “appears to be an analytic construction, as with English *cause* or *make*, but...behaves like a single predicate, i.e. like a morphological causative” (1976, p. 33).

Table 2.2 Separability of French infinitival complement constructions

Single-agent, aux+infinitive	Single-agent, aux+O+infinitive
<i>je vais manger</i>	<i>je <u>vais</u> les <u>manger</u></i>
<i>je veux voir</i>	<i>je <u>veux</u> la <u>voir</u></i>
<i>je peux lire</i>	<i>je <u>peux</u> le <u>lire</u></i>
<i>je sais faire</i>	<i>je <u>sais</u> le <u>faire</u></i>
Double-agent, aux+infinitive	Double-agent, aux+O+infinitive ³
<i>je laisse faire</i>	<i>je <u>laisse</u> Martin <u>faire</u> ce qu'il veut</i> (but <i>je le <u>laisse</u> <u>faire</u> ce qu'il veut</i>)
<i>j'entends sonner</i>	<i>j'<u>entends</u> la cloche <u>sonner</u></i> (but <i>je l'<u>entends</u> <u>sonner</u></i>)
Causative, aux+infinitive	*Causative, aux+O+infinitive (disallowed)
<i>je <u>fais</u> voir le bébé</i>	<i>*je fais le bébé voir</i>
<i>je le <u>fais</u> voir</i>	<i>*je fais le voir</i>
<i>je <u>fais</u> voir la photo au bébé</i>	<i>*je fais la photo voir au bébé</i>
<i>je lui <u>fais</u> voir la photo</i>	<i>*je fais lui voir la photo</i>
<i>je la <u>fais</u> voir au bébé</i>	<i>*je fais la voir au bébé</i>
<i>je la lui <u>fais</u> voir</i>	<i>*je fais la lui voir</i>

The Latin antecedents of this constructional inseparability are explored at length in Chamberlain, 1986. It is also a feature of causatives in other languages descended from Latin, although not always to the same extent as in French. This is underscored in one generative treatment of causatives in the Romance languages:

³Non-causative double-agent infinitival complement constructions do not permit a clitic-pronominal direct object immediately before the infinitive, but they do permit nominal direct objects in this position, in contrast to the *faire faire* construction.

One of the most salient features of the Romance causative construction is what we can refer to as its *monoclausality*: it behaves in many ways as if it consisted of one single clause in the syntax. Perhaps the clearest indicator of this monoclausality is the fact that the two predicates involved in the causative construction, the causative verb and the base verb...behave as one single verb with respect to case assignment. (Alsina, 1996. pp. 186-187.)

In her 1984 study of the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by adult second language learners of French, Labelle (following Comrie) assigns to the *faire*-clause the status of "*phrase enchassée*" and notes that "les deux verbes [*faire* and the following infinitive] fonctionnent sous certains aspects comme une unité...surtout parce que les pronoms objets du verbe infinitif cliticisent de façon générale...sur le verbe *faire*" (1984, p. 26).

It should be noted that the inseparability does not apply in the case of adverbs or the negative particle *pas*. The other exception to the constructional inseparability noted above where objects are concerned, which would seem to derive from the constraints that govern object cliticisation in French. When a causative construction is in the imperative mood and the causee agent is a clitic pronoun (pronominal *le, la, les*), it *must* come between *faire* and the infinitive. Thus,

<i>Tu le fais marcher</i>	<i>Fais-le marcher!</i>
<i>Tu la fais sauter</i>	<i>Fais-la sauter!</i>
<i>Tu les fais courir</i>	<i>Fais-les courir!</i>

One possible explanation would be that a clitic pronoun, by definition, has to stay with the verb to which it cliticizes. In an imperative, the grammatical subject is not overtly expressed, so the object clitic cannot come before the tensed verb. An utterance cannot normally begin with an object clitic. The clitic must therefore come immediately after the tensed verb; this requirement overrides (or at one time overrode) the presumed reluctance of speakers to have the causee agent intervene between *faire* and the infinitive. The

phonological familiarity of constructions in which *fais/faîtes* is followed by *le/la/les* in non-causative contexts (as clitic objects or as determiners) would have been likely to reinforce the tendency to override the inseparability. Such constructions are extremely frequent, given the varied functions of the verb *faire* in French.

The literature on causative constructions in French is quite large, but for the purposes of this review, very little of what has been written has any direct relevance. Most linguists who have written about causative constructions in French have done so from a generativist perspective. The anomalous placement of object clitics comes in for very spirited discussion in some circles; the problem of clitic raising in French causatives has occasioned considerable anxiety among generativists, whose concern has been to find ways of modifying their theoretical frameworks so as to account for the inseparability of *faire* and the infinitive. Some examples of studies in which this preoccupation is evident are Goodall, 1987; Kayne, 1975; Maier, 1993; Picard, 1984; and Rooryck, 1992. (In particular, Kayne's classic and thorough treatment of many aspects of French grammar remains useful despite its adherence to the generative canons of the time).

On the topic of clitic raising, the other feature of causatives to have engendered theoretical interest has been the placement of clitics in double-object causative constructions of the type *Je fais voir la photo au bébé/Je la lui fais voir*. The studies mentioned above all devote considerable energy to the attempt to account for the placement of the clitic in this case. Further discussion of the way in which this contrasts with other verbal constructions in French is unnecessary in the context of the present review; the phenomenon does, however, come in for lengthy treatment by theoretical linguists. In their analysis of embedded topics in French, Hyman and Zimmer undertake a thorough analysis of clitic placement in French causative constructions and offer an explanation founded on the assumption that "the (on-going) grammaticalization of the lexical verb *faire* 'to make' leads to syntactic and semantic complications in the grammar" (1974, p. 191). Their semantically based analysis offers a useful counterpoint to the generative treatments of French

causativization that predominated in linguistic analysis until recently in which non-syntactic constraints are disregarded. An interesting approach to dative cliticization, from a similar, semantically based perspective, can be found in Authier and Reed (1991), who offer some useful insights on the way in which selection of the dative or the accusative pronoun interacts with the degree of control on the part of the causee agent. The examples provided by Hyman and Zimmer, and by Authier and Reed, are less useful for present purposes, as they are all from the adult language and are considerably beyond the level of complexity of which a very young child is capable. Indeed, it is apparent from a reading of the extant literature on French causative constructions of any kind that many of the examples were taken from the written language and not from the spoken language—at any rate, probably not from any naturally occurring spoken corpus. Some examples, from Picard, 1984, are:

Je fais accompagner Marie au commissariat par les policiers

J'ai fait douter Marie de ça

Marie fera lire le livre à Jean

Je le lui ai fait lire

Pierre fera acheter ces livres à Jean

Pierre les fera acheter à Jean

In spoken language, double-object ditransitive causatives in which both objects are pronominalized are rarely heard; the tendency I have observed informally is for one of the objects to remain in right-dislocated nominal or tonic-pronominal form. There seems to be a desire to avoid producing sentences such as *Je la lui ai fait voir*, and to prefer *Je lui ai fait voir ça/la photo* or *Je l'ai fait voir à X/à lui*. I have found this to be true even when pressure is being put on adult speakers to produce grammatically correct sentences in a formal spoken register. This observation is in accordance with other work discussing the differences between the grammar of spoken and of written French (for example, Galichet & Leriche, 1965).

Causative constructions in Bengali. An intensive search of the literature revealed no specialized work in theoretical or applied linguistics that would have a direct bearing on the question of how causative constructions function in Bengali for adult speakers or how children learn to manipulate causative constructions during first language acquisition. Such information might have indicated how preschool children would tend to approach the task of learning similar constructions in French L2.

My comments on causative constructions in Bengali are therefore based on three sources: my own experience of learning Bengali as a second language in a traditional grammar-translation classroom during my undergraduate years and then being immersed in the language for several months soon afterwards during a visit to Calcutta; conversations with fluently bilingual native Bengali-L1 informants, who were able to spot occasional errors in my own, very non-native judgements about what kinds of causative sentences were acceptable; and a number of texts in which causative constructions in Bengali are mentioned in passing, either as part of a course of Bengali-L2 instruction (Radice, 1994; Ray et al., 1966) or as part of a longer linguistic analysis in which causative constructions in Bengali play a peripheral role (Chatterji, 1970; Gangopadhyay, 1990; Masica, 1991). A number of linguists have published on the topic of causative constructions in Hindi, and their insights have been useful (for example, Kachru, 1976; Saksena, 1982); however, although Bengali and Hindi are so closely related as to be partly mutually intelligible, where causative formation is concerned the grammar of Bengali diverges sharply from that of Hindi in certain important respects.

Bengali, like most other Indo-Aryan languages, has a morphological causative; the causative form of a given verb is morphologically distinguished from the causative version by the addition of a causative affix. The Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages is made up of languages descended from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit morphological causative has been retained in most of its descendants, but the form and function differ somewhat from one member of the group to the next. The most comprehensive recent

analysis of the Indo-Aryan group as a whole has been done by Masica (1991). In this encyclopaedic work, Masica undertakes a very detailed cross-linguistic analysis of many aspects of Indo-Aryan phonology, morphology and syntax. Masica explicitly excludes causative constructions from this in-depth treatment because of their transformational complexity (they do, however, undergo some comparative typological analysis in Masica, 1976). Masica's comments on causative constructions in Indo-Aryan add little to what native-speaker intuitions supply, and less specialized teaching grammars can provide. He notes, citing examples, that causative constructions

have received a fair share of attention, but remain a tough nut to crack...Despite the undeniable relationships between causative and non-causative sentences, and the morphological relationships of their verb forms, it is probably best to see the construction as a special type of simple sentence, the verb of which (like *give*) happens to entail an additional argument. (Masica, 1991, p. 419)

The classic historical survey of the grammar of Bengali is by Chatterji, 1970 (originally published 1926). The framework adopted for linguistic analysis is derived from Jespersen. Chatterji includes causatives in his discussion of "secondary or derivative roots", and points out that they are the most common type of secondary root: "Almost every primary root and denominative which is not already a causative in form can have its causative in '-a-'" (p. 880). The syntactic functioning of causative verbs is not considered problematic: Chatterji treats them like ordinary (non-derived) verbs. Indeed, this is the tendency of older grammarians writing in the Western tradition, and of more recent scholars as well if they happen to be native speakers of an Indo-Aryan language.

Gangopadhyay (1990) suggests that more useful than any Western-derived syntactic categories for an analysis of the noun phrase in Bengali is classical Indian *karaka* theory, which is several hundred years old. Unfortunately, Gangopadhyay does not stray from her topic, the noun phrase, into a detailed consideration of verb phrases as well. She does, however, provide an intriguing introduction to *karaka* theory, which seems to define

roles that nominal units may have in relation to a verb, such as agent, object, recipient or beneficiary, location, or instrument. As far as a non-Sanskrit-speaking reader can judge at such a distance, *karaka* theory seems to be a theory of argument structure. In a brief mention of “causative subject and causative object affiliations of sentences”, Gangopadhyay translates the Sanskrit terms as “causative agent” (*prayojakakarta*) and “provoked agent” (*prayojyakarta*). She notes that “the well-known syntactic criterion that the indirect object never becomes a subject in another affiliated sentence fails in the case of a language like Bengali, where a causative verb has a relation to three nominal units” (p. 76). Her discussion of causative constructions in Bengali stops at that point.

The morphological causative in Bengali is maximally productive; it can be used to causativize almost any verb phrase. The few exceptions, all listed in Chatterji (1926/1970, p. 880), are some non-causative verbs which through historical accident already contain a fossilized causative morpheme—they had a causative meaning at one time, but have undergone semantic shift. The causative morpheme cannot be duplicated on these verbs. A double causative is not permissible in Bengali (in contrast to Hindi). The causative morpheme consists of the syllable *-a-*, and is added after the verb stem and before the inflections for tense, aspect, and person (Bengali verbs do not inflect for number). In some phonological environments—certain past tense forms and all vocalic stems—the causative morpheme has the allomorphic variant *-iye-* for euphony and ease of articulation. The functioning of the Bengali causative morpheme in the simple present is shown in Table 2.3. (Bengali word order is AOV, and understood grammatical subjects may be freely omitted).

The rather simple examples in Table 2.3 are well within my productive competence as an intermediate level second-language learner of Bengali, as are more complex forms involving vocalic stems and past tense forms. The formation of causative sentences in Bengali is extremely regular and predictable, with complete morphological and semantic transparency; the only, very minor complication is the allomorphic variant of the causative morpheme (*-a-* to *-iye-*) in some regular and predictable contexts. (A parallel case in

Table 2.3 Causatives in Bengali (with comparison to French)

Bengali	French rendering	Linguistic analysis
<i>Chole.</i>	[Il] marche.	[he] go+PRES-SIMP-3rd
<i>Ami oke cholai.</i>	Je le fais marcher.	I him go+CAUS+PRES-SIMP-1st
<i>Dekhe.</i>	Il voit.	[he] see+PRES-SIMP-3rd
<i>Ami oke dekhai.</i>	Je le fais voir.	I him see+CAUS+PRES-SIMP-1st
<i>Ami bacchake chobi dekhai.</i>	Je fais voir la photo au bébé.	I baby+ACC photo see+CAUS+PRES-SIMP-1st
<i>Oto.</i>	Lève-toi.	(rise+PRES-SIMP-2nd)
<i>Oi khelar-jinis-guli otao.</i>	Ramasse ces jouets-là. ("Fais lever ces jouets-là.")	(those play-thing+PL rise+CAUS+PRES-SIMP-2nd)

English would be the allophonic variation between the /s/ and /z/ forms of the plural morpheme in English, which is similarly phonologically conditioned and easy for young children to learn.) The Bengali examples given are all utterances I have heard produced in the presence of children, and are considered very simple and easy for children to produce by adult native speakers. For the purposes of the study reported on here it was not possible to collect production data on the use of causatives by Bengali-speaking preschool children in their L1, but native-speaking informants have assured me that sentences of the kind given above would not cause any difficulty for kindergarten-age children. This tallies with my own informal observations of young children in the Bangladeshi community in Montreal and Toronto, as well as in homes where I was a guest in Calcutta.

The acquisition of causative constructions

Very few studies exist on the acquisition of causative constructions. Of the studies that have been carried out, several focus exclusively on alternating verbs in English. A number of different theoretical models to account for causative errors and causative development have been proposed by researchers. Many of them are highly speculative; there are numerous disagreements and contradictions between models. The conflicts have often arisen from tensions between different theories of language, many of which are no longer current in 1999.

Early research: longitudinal diary studies. In an early, ground-breaking study, Bowerman (1974; also reported on in Bowerman, 1982) examined her daughter Christy's spontaneous production data between ages two and four for evidence of errors in causative verb use. Christy was audiotaped weekly, with copious diary notes added. Bowerman found about 100 examples of causative errors. It has been estimated (Maratsos, 1979) that these were culled from approximately 750,000 utterances, indicating that errors in spontaneous causative production do not represent a high proportion of total speech production in children this age. The proportion of causative errors to correctly formed causative utterances at any given point in data collection is not given; Bowerman states only that her daughter "produced a great many sentences which from the adult point of view involve errors in verb usage" (p. 142). Bowerman's main finding was that at a certain point in her development Christy made errors in which she used an intransitive verb transitively and causatively. When Christy was already able to produce utterances like *Open the door*, she started to say things like *Daddy, go me round* (2;8) and *I'm gonna just fall this on her* (2;9). There were very few such errors between 2;0 and 2;3. After 2;3 there were many. The last such errors reported were at 3;8. Bowerman notes instances of "U-shaped development" in Christy's causative errors, in that the verbs *bring*, *keep*, *leave* were all used correctly for some time, then replaced by *come* and *stay* (in utterances like *I come it closer so it won't fall* (at 2;3), *Mommy, can you stay this door open?* (at 2;6). After that a

period was observed during which Christy seemed to have free variation between, for example, *bring* and *come*. During this period of free variation utterances in which *bring* and *come* were correctly used (transitively and intransitively, respectively) might occur around the same time as utterances like *She came it over there* (at 3;4) and *I want to stay this rubberband on* (at 3;7). Christy's errors were overwhelmingly in the intransitive-to-transitive direction. Bowerman's explanation of these errors is semantically based: she postulates an underlying zero-morphemic CAUSE component that Christy assumes can be added to the meaning of a verb such as *come* to convert it from an intransitive into a monotransitive verb. The model adopted by Bowerman postulates just such an underlying CAUSE component in the case of alternating English verbs such as *open* or *break*. The underlying semantic representation of the verb *qua* verb, as this representation develops over time in the child's mind, thus constitutes the key element in Bowerman's explanation of Christy's errors.

A study a few years later by Lord (1979) also reports on spontaneous errors in production data. Both Lord's daughter and her son produced errors from about 2;6 on (Lord does not report on her method of data collection). In contrast to Bowerman's findings, Lord's children produced errors in both directions. They said things like *I did fall my vitamin* (2;5), *Let's stay him in the car* (2;7), and *Yuck! it coughs me* (3;1). But they also said things like *It [a clock] can hear now* (2;9), *Corn doesn't crunch, it eats!* (3;3), and *I think I better put it down there so it won't lose* (3;7). As Lord points out, the first kind of error involves using two arguments in a situation that calls for one (and all these errors had the effect of creating novel transitive-causative uses for verbs that are intransitive in adult use). In this respect her children's errors were like those of Bowerman's daughter. The second kind of error, however, involves using one argument in a situation that calls for two. These are errors of transitivity, but not of causativity. Lord draws on Comrie's work in language typology and valence increase and decrease, and concludes that a transformational interpretation along the lines of Bowerman's (where a deep-structure

element CAUSE is postulated) does not accurately describe her data. Lord suggests that it would be more productive to explore young children's understanding of transitivity, and proposes an explanation for her children's errors rooted in their developing notions of argument structure—that is, of the verbs as used in a syntactic-semantic context that includes their arguments. Following Jespersen and Fillmore, Lord outlines “a grammar model in which the same lexical item [e.g. *open, break*] can have two different functions, depending on the number and nature of the noun phrases involved” (1979, p. 83) A crucial fact of Lord's data prompting her to this explanation is the presence in her children's speech of transitivity errors in both directions. Two-argument transitive verbs are used intransitively with one argument, as well as non-causative one-argument verbs being used causatively with two. She concludes that

...using evidence from the children's spontaneous errors, we can represent the child's knowledge of variable-valence verb pairs most accurately as a paradigm, not in terms of deep case roles or semantic primitives, but in terms of syntactic positions. The regular relationships between transitive and intransitive verb meaning are a function of the syntactic composition of the sentence. (p. 87)

A very similar argument is put forward by Figueira (1984), who conducted a diary study on causative errors in the developing Brazilian Portuguese of her daughter Anamaria. Audio recordings were made (intervals not mentioned) between 2;8 and 3;4, and notes taken until 5;0. Like French, Portuguese is a Romance language. On Figueira's report, it contains both alternating verbs and a productive, syntactically-based process of causative formation requiring the addition of the verb *fazer* (“to make”, parallel to French *faire*). It would therefore seem to be very similar to French. Like Lord, Figueira observed bidirectional errors: “Type 1 errors” (intransitive verbs used causatively) and “Type 2 errors” (causative verbs used intransitively). Figueira proposes a syntactic explanation whereby the child assumes for a time that “transitive structure expresses causativity” (p. 116). Under this interpretation, the verbs the child knows are slotted into transitive frames

when she needs to express a causative meaning with two or three arguments, and into intransitive frames when there is only one argument that requires expression. The way in which *fazer* is used to express causativity is briefly discussed, but does not play an important role in Figueira's analysis. Figueira's "semantically motivated syntactic hypothesis" resembles Lord's account of her children's errors; both conclusions prefigure later research endeavours that were to bypass transformational interpretations in favour of explanations rooted in more transparent surface features of argument structure, as these become salient to the young language-acquiring child.

Berman (1982) reports on intransitive-to-transitive/causative and transitive/causative-to-intransitive errors produced by her Hebrew-acquiring daughter Shelli between 2;6 and 2;11. The longitudinal data from Shelli are supplemented by cross-sectional data from several dozen children aged between 1;8 and 4;0. All the data were naturalistic; no attempt was made to elicit particular verb forms. Hebrew is very unlike English in that it has no causative alternation. Causatives are formed by a process of regular internal vowel change, a process that characterizes Semitic morphological inflections in general (the *binyan* system). The causative-forming mechanism in Hebrew is productive and transparent, although it is not exceptionless (there are gaps in the lexicon, sometimes filled by the child's error). The subjects, like Lord's children, produced errors in both directions. Verbs with transparent causative form were used in intransitive situations, and verbs with transparent intransitive form were used in causative situations. These errors did not persist after age 4. Berman also looks at a number of other developmental *binyan* errors, and her conclusions have to do with the nature of lexical acquisition in Hebrew, rather than with the acquisition of causative constructions *per se*.

Other studies of the acquisition of causative constructions. Hochberg (1986) revisits territory initially mapped out by Bowerman, Lord, Berman and Figueira in their diary studies, using a grammaticality judgement task to probe for children's willingness to accept three different types of transitivity errors in English, as exemplified by the three

sentences *I'm gonna jump the frog*, *I'm gonna fall the rock*, and *My clothes are putting on* (p. 333). Only the first two types also involve causativity. The causative sentences were chosen so as to include both English analytic causatives (the correct form of the first error type cited would be *I'm gonna make the frog jump*, an analytic causative) and English lexical suppletive causatives (the correct form of the second error type would be *I'm gonna drop the rock*, a lexical suppletive causative). The research question was: would the children choose the correct adult form of these causatives, or would they treat the verbs as alternating verbs and accept forms such as the erroneous ones cited? 20 children aged between 3;4 and 5;5 completed the task, which involved choosing between two puppets. The first type of error (failure to supply a correct analytic causative) was the most easily accepted, and was accepted by the older as well as the younger children. The second type of error (failure to supply a correct lexical suppletive causative) was not as readily accepted). The third (non-causative) type of error was only accepted by children younger than 3;8. Hochberg suggests that her results can be best accounted for by a combined semantic/syntactic model such as that proposed by Figueira, which Hochberg refines and extends. She emphasizes the importance of incorporating information on what children know about transitivity into any explanatory model of causativity.

Maratsos, Gudeman, Gerard-Ngo, and DeHart (1987) discuss the problematic nature of the causative in English; it qualifies as one of several "semi-productive" constructions, and as such may be assumed to pose special challenges to children acquiring English. In many cases the causative form of an intransitive verb must be learned, and presumably stored in memory, separately from its non-causative form. This would apply to suppletive or lexical forms, such *kill/die*, *show/see*. Production of analytic causative constructions such as *make it go* would, on the other hand, presumably require understanding of the underlying agentive relationship and of the corresponding quite regular syntactic pattern in the language. Thus, the English causative is productive in the case of some verbs but not others. Maratsos et al. carried out an ingenious experiment

designed to find out whether 40 children aged four and a half to five and a half would spontaneously extend a new (invented) verb from the uses presented by the experimenters, to causative uses, in a story-retelling task. Groups of subjects heard the new verb in three different transitivity conditions, with type of presentation of the verb being the only variable under investigation. The new verb was presented as a full transitive verb with expressed object; as an intransitive verb; and as an intransitive verb with adjunct phrase. There were no significant differences between groups whatsoever, indicating that the manner of presentation of the new verb did not affect the children's tendency to use it causatively or not. Maratsos et al. conclude that in their study, *individual* differences turned out to be much more interesting than group differences. The various statistical procedures and results across the experimental groups are reported in detail. What emerges from the data is clear evidence that some children readily extended a new intransitive verb in a causative sense, while others never did, "under fairly ideal eliciting circumstances" (p. 107).

Maratsos et al. next turned their attention to the naturalistic data available in Bowerman (1974) and Lord (1979), and added other observations taken from Maratsos' own child and from Brian MacWhinney's child (no published data on causatives are available on these latter two children as far as I know). They conclude that the "semantic idiosyncrasy of the [English] causative" has "a special explanatory role" (p. 111). Since causative formation is so *irregular* in English, with the various causative forms of noncausatives being generated so unpredictably and on so many different models of valence change, there would appear to be no reason for English-acquiring children to approach it in any kind of regular way (in contrast to the way they approach the creation of new plural forms, for example). Different children therefore will bring different kinds of strategies into play at a certain point in cognitive-linguistic development, when the underlying agentive relationship is understood and children start to incorporate the corresponding formal devices of their language into their active word-forming repertoire.

Although from a hypothesis-testing point of view the experiment carried out with such methodological ingenuity and statistical sophistication by Maratsos et al. was not a great success, it enables the experimenters to make the very useful point that “all other things held equal, derivational processes that involve an idiosyncratic, unpredictable extra addition of meaning to the stem will be comparatively less productive than those which add meaning in a completely predictable way” (pp. 111-112). The implications of these findings from Maratsos et al. for the present study are that in languages where causative formation *is* regular (as in Bengali, and, to a lesser extent, French), the variety of strategies observed in English-acquiring children by Maratsos et al. should *not* be as likely to be observed in young learners. Some kind of regular way might indeed characterize the approach to the acquisition of the causative.

Braine et al. (1990) advance the hypothesis that during the early stages of acquisition of a given verb, young children (between two and four) are likely to impose a canonical sentence schema on the use of that verb when they have not as yet had much practice with less typical aspects of its argument structure. They suggest that this explanation might plausibly account for the variety of causative error types reported in the studies by Bowerman (1974), Lord (1979), Berman (1982), Hochberg (1986) and Maratsos et al. (1987). The canonical schema will be Agent-Verb-Object in the case where an agent is clearly perceived as acting on an object. In cases where the verb has one argument that corresponds to a Patient/Theme (Dixon's S), the canonical schema will be intransitive. According to Braine et al., this canonical schema will exert a pull on newly learned verbs and increase the chances that they will be used inappropriately (by adult standards) if their argument structure in adult use corresponds to a non-canonical schema. This hypothesis is very appealing, and the evidence presented by Braine et al. certainly seems to support it. Braine, in his published work, has repeatedly argued for alternatives to the innatist proposals for very complex built-in syntax; the syntax he proposes as canonical

is, in contrast, simple, plausible and explainable by invoking fundamental non-linguistic cognitive processes rooted in the nature of perception.

The actual experiment presented by Braine et al. used familiar English verbs, of both fixed and flexible (causatively alternating) transitivity, and used some made-up verbs as well, to explore the effect of the verb acquisition being recent, in that the verb had been learned immediately before the children were asked to use it. Fifty-one children between 2;0 and 5;6 (grouped into an older and a younger group) were presented with 13 verbs in three different kinds of contexts: causative, intransitive, and neutral. Carefully constructed elicitation stimuli probed for the children's tendency to use the verbs in various contexts of causativity, transitivity and intransitivity. The results indicate that "children are willing to use novel verbs with a transitivity not modelled in the input" (p. 335), i.e. to revert to the canonical schema when the carefully designed elicitation context for output made it tempting. There were also strong individual differences, as previous studies would lead one to expect: "...some children reacted with immediate interest to hearing a novel word; they obviously found the new words fun...a few children reacted with notable caution and circumspection" (p. 334). There was a control group of adult subjects as well as the two groups of children, and "all groups were willing to use the new verbs both ways regardless of how they had heard them used" (p. 336).

Braine et al. conclude that Bowerman was premature in attempting to account for her daughter's noncausative-for-causative errors by means of a zero derivation rule (i.e. that any intransitive verb can be used transitively). They suggest that *discourse pressure* is more important, and will result in both causative-for-noncausative and noncausative-for-causative errors, depending on which context is present in the discourse, i.e. which canonical schema is likely to influence the child's use. Thus, they conclude that the question they ask in the title of their report can be answered in the affirmative, i.e., in answer to "can children use a verb without exposure to its argument structure?", they find that "argument structure CAN be assigned from canonical sentence schemas" (p. 340),

before the child has been exposed to the argument structure that characterizes a particular verb. All that is necessary is that the discourse context call clearly for a given type of schema. This result provides strong support for the interpretations of both naturalistic and elicited data put forward in earlier studies by Lord, Figueira and Hochberg.

The most recent published study on causative acquisition that I am aware of is Pye's 1994 report on the acquisition of causative constructions in K'iche' Maya, a language of the Guatemalan highlands. After combing through naturalistic longitudinal data from three subjects between two and three years old, Pye found only 24 instances of verbs with the causative morpheme in over 20,000 utterances. In an additional two instances, the child (aged 2;10) clearly intended causative meaning, but failed to supply the causative morpheme. Pye concludes that "the finding of 2 overgeneralizations in 26 utterances...suggests that K'iche' children have an accurate knowledge of verb transitivity that is susceptible to occasional lapses in performance" (p. 250). Moving to a cross-sectional design that included 80 children between 4 and 13, Pye probed further for evidence of a developmental stage in which children would use verbs in a causative sense without marking them appropriately (K'iche' has a morphological causative with partial productivity). His most significant finding was that "we actually succeeded in eliciting some causative overgeneralizations from the children" (p. 252). Pye's elicitation strategy involved using a set of stimuli to try to induce the children to produce (among other things) causativized forms of verbs for which no regular causative exists in K'iche'. The experiment is interesting, but ultimately Pye fails in his attempts to extract developmental patterns from the data. The age of the children is likely to be partly responsible for this; most of the causative errors in naturally occurring first language data found in previous studies came from children younger than four, and often younger than three. Furthermore, Pye acknowledges that he had to put considerable pressure on the children to get them to produce sentences of the kind he was looking for, and he mentions that "children only

produce causative overgeneralizations in extraordinary circumstances (such as elicitation experiments), and then only in a certain percentage of instances” (1994, p.260).

In an elicited production experiment designed to test 3- and 4-year-olds’ willingness to use intransitive verbs in English in transitive/causative situations—in effect, to treat them as alternating verbs—Gropen et al. (1995) used a carefully chosen set of English verbs. Their goal was to test a neural net model of argument structure; they had hoped to find between-group differences between the older and the younger children. The results were inconclusive; as in the experiment conducted by Maratsos et al. (1987), individual differences seemed to play a key role.

In a study of the acquisition of passive constructions by Canadian Inuit children acquiring Inuktitut as a first language, Allen (1996) refers briefly to the children’s use of causative constructions. Inuktitut “exhibits a high degree of polysynthesis including prolific verbal and nominal inflections” (Allen, 1996, p. 131) and the morphological causative-forming mechanism seems regular and transparent despite the fact that it is “internally complex in that the causative morpheme is affixed to the verb root” (p. 147). Allen reports that Inuit children acquire productive control over this mechanism well before the age of 3. Causative constructions are not, however, the main focus of the report.

The only published research report to investigate young children’s ability to understand causatives cross-linguistically is Ammon and Slobin (1979). This large-scale cross-sectional study compares children’s performance on a comprehension task across the age range 2;0 to 4;4 for four different languages—English, Italian, Serbo-Croatian and Turkish. There were 48 children in each language group. The study was part of the early work that went into the massive Berkeley Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition, for which Slobin was principal investigator. In this experiment, children were given sets of toys and asked to act out sentences provided by the experimenter. English, Italian, and Serbo-Croatian all use periphrastic constructions—analytic causatives—to express a meaning such as the one used in the cross-linguistic experiment, *The horse makes the*

camel run. Turkish, like Bengali, uses a causative morpheme, referred to here as a “causative particle” and encodes the causative meaning directly on the verb. Ammon and Slobin note that the Turkish causative particle “is used by children as young as 2;4 in free speech, and is overgeneralized at an early age” (p.116). They contrast the delay experienced by the English- and Italian-speaking children, in particular, with the speed and ease with which the Turkish children incorporated causatives into their productive lexicons. The Turkish children were able to both understand and produce causative constructions at a significantly younger age.

This finding *re* Turkish is consistent with Slobin’s other published work on the L1 acquisition of Turkish; the complete and transparent regularity of the morphological system seems to make it remarkably easy for young children to successfully manipulate structures (such as causatives) the cross-linguistic counterparts of which pose problems for very young learners of less consistent languages. Ammon and Slobin suggest in conclusion that “sentence processing is especially aided by what we have called *local cues*—that is, surface markings which identify the roles of particular words, such as case inflections on nouns and particles affixed to or immediately adjacent to verbs” (pp. 126-127). There are clear implications for the study of the acquisition of causative constructions by young speakers of Bengali, a language which also uses local cues to mark the causative. This early study by Ammon and Slobin prefigures Slobin’s later arguments (for example, Slobin, 1982) that morphological transparency of a given feature of language will in general enable children to acquire it earlier in development. The cognitive prerequisites for that feature—here, an understanding that one agent can cause another agent to act—may considerably precede the encoding of the feature in productive language if (as is the case for causatives in English and, to a lesser extent, French) that feature is expressed using confusing circumlocutions.

The only study to date of the acquisition of the French *faire faire* causative looks at *second-language* learners; it was conducted by Labelle (1984) in Ottawa, Canada, using 20 intermediate-advanced university-age learners of French as a second language. Roughly

half had English as their first language, and the other half, Spanish. Both comprehension and production were tested. Labelle presented her subjects with an array of toys and other objects, and asked them to act out a set of stimulus sentences that included *faire faire* causatives;. After they had done this for each stimulus, they were required to tell the experimenter what they had done, using a *faire faire* causative (and being explicitly asked to do so if they tried avoidance strategies). The stimuli ranged from fairly simple (*fais-la pousser*) to quite complex, with double objects and cliticization (*tu le leur fais lire; fais-leur offrir le livre à la fille*). It could be argued that these latter stimuli are more characteristic of the written than the spoken register in French, but this issue is not addressed by Labelle. Non-causative distractors were included as well. Labelle found that the Anglophone and the Hispanophone subjects made some similar types of errors in comprehension and clitic placement, but that other types of errors were different for the two L1 groups, and could be explained by invoking some form of L1 influence. The extreme difficulty experienced by Labelle's subjects when trying to manipulate causee agent objects and multiple cliticization testifies to the challenge that these complex aspects of French causativization pose for learners.

Causative acquisition studies: summary. One conclusion that can be readily drawn from a look at the state of our knowledge about the acquisition of causative constructions thus far is that the way is wide open for investigation. The available diary study data on causative errors in the spontaneous speech of children aged two and three are very valuable as pointers indicating where such investigation should be directed. Christy, Shelli and Anamaria *did* use intransitive sentences in a transitive/causative frame, and sometimes they made the reverse kind of error. So far there has been no fully satisfying explanation. The comprehension studies by Ammon and Slobin and by Hochberg bring us closer to an understanding of what actually occurs during development. Ammon and Slobin's cross-linguistic data are especially useful in the present context; they did not actually look at children acquiring Bengali and French, but the findings from Turkish (because of its

productive causative morpheme) and from Italian (so closely related to French) are suggestive. Their subjects were also in the very young age range (between two and four) that make it more likely that true developmental data will be observable.

The other elicitation studies reviewed here tended to use subjects older than three, for reasons that language acquisition researchers will sympathize with: it is very difficult to elicit specific syntactic structures from children under three (see, for example, the review in Thornton, 1996). Based on the diary study evidence, it seems probable that the period during which children are likely to make intransitive-to-causative transitivity errors starts before three for most children. If this is the case, then much of the research effort to date, directed largely at probing for this developmental stage in children over four, may have been expended in vain. The only elicited production study reviewed in which some of the subjects were under three is Braine et al. (1990). The study is especially valuable in that it incorporates insights from several prior studies. The design shows a well-developed understanding of the various phenomena associated with causativity at both the structural-linguistic level and the semantic-functional level. However, one of the most revealing findings to come out of this study concerns the individual differences between children in the responses to the test items. The confounding factor introduced by individual differences is also discussed at length by Maratsos et al. (1987).

On the whole, the elicitation-based causative acquisition research to date is inconclusive. If researchers are to get at the developmental facts of causative acquisition, one of the methodological challenges to be overcome lies in the fact that there seems to be so much unpredictable individual variation in the development of the causative. How are generalizable data to be obtained? A second challenge, scarcely less daunting, is the need to devise a reliable way of eliciting causatives from children young enough that they can still be said with some certainty to be in the process of acquiring the causative—that is, from children younger than 3, and as close to 2 as possible. It is clearly quite feasible to elicit from children older than 3 with a little ingenuity, but the developmental status of the data

thus obtained may be said to be questionable. It is clearly possible to glean *some* developmental data on causative errors from children younger than 3 by combing through large naturalistic corpora collected longitudinally, but the random and unpredictable nature of these data makes this method unsatisfactory as well.

The acquisition of French as a first and early second language

Studies of the acquisition of French as a first language date back to the early years of the twentieth century. The pioneering work done by Piaget and the Geneva School used largely French-L1 subjects, although the main object was not to study the acquisition of French *per se*, but rather to investigate the developmental bases of cognition and language more generally .

The acquisition of French argument constructions

Word order and transitivity in L1/early L2 French. The classic experiment on the acquisition of word order and transitivity in L1 French was carried out nearly three decades ago by Sinclair and Bronckart (1972). Three-word utterances each containing two object names and a verb (in the infinitive) were presented to children aged between 3 and 7; for example, *vache cheval partir* and *camion avancer voiture*. The children were required to act out the experimental sequences using the toys provided; the results provided insight into the children's developing understanding of word order in the expression of transitivity. This experiment was replicated for French L2 with English-L1, French-L2 speakers aged between 7 and 13 by Stevens (1984). The results for these two studies show that there is a developmental progression in the way in which French-acquiring children come to understand the transitive status of utterances and the various roles that can be assigned to noun phrases associated with them; Stevens shows that the L2 children approach this task with considerably more linguistic sophistication. These studies and others in this tradition focus on children's comprehension of transitivity rather than on their emergent production.

In a brief comparative review of the evidence from L1 English and French studies, Zobl (1983) concludes that French children take longer to approximate adult word order than English children because of the fact that “dislocation provides children with word order models in which lexical subject and object noun phrases do not occur in their canonical SVO order....the misleading [VOS] word order model provided by right-dislocation is reinforced by the low perceptual salience of the non-stress-bearing clitic subject pronouns” (p.208).

The acquisition of subject and object clitics and the emergence of functional categories in French have been the focus of several empirical studies, most of them within the generative framework (for example, Côté, 1999; Deprez & Pierce, 1991; Köppe, 1994; Meisel & Müller, 1992; Pierce, 1989). Further empirical evidence for the fluidity that French-acquiring children may perceive to be present in word order in the input is brought forward by Köppe, who analyzes subject raising and NP-movement in the early speech of two children acquiring German and European French as two first languages. Her theoretical framework for analysis is generative, and her initial suggestion is that, for reasons to do with the internally generated structure of the children’s grammars,

postverbal subjects in early child [French] language cannot automatically be classified as resulting from verb raising without subject raising....we must consider the possibility that postverbal subjects have been moved to the right (with the clitic element missing), or...that VS structures are simple VPs with both verb and subject remaining in their base positions (1994, p. 218).

However, after analyzing the data, Köppe concludes that individual differences may be an important factor: one of her subjects “initially appears to prefer preverbal subjects” in French, whereas the other has a high incidence of postverbal subjects (1994, p. 222). She concludes that these preferences may reflect properties of the input, but is not able to match input with child output in particular instances. Nor was Lightbown (1977), who compared French-L1 and French-L2 children in a single study, using a naturalistic longitudinal design

to study spontaneously occurring features of language such as word order and the presence or absence of basic semantic-syntactic relations, (existence, recurrence, negation; transitive/intransitive action) in the early French production of two monolingual French and two kindergarten-age English-L1 children in Montreal. In doing so, Lightbown was building on a research tradition established by L. Bloom (1970, 1991) using English-acquiring subjects. Lightbown points out some inconsistencies in the proposed rules for the acquisition of word order in French put forward by Sinclair and Bronckart (1972), suggesting that their data, which were taken from a study of comprehension using ungrammatical stimuli in which the verbs were not inflected, may not accurately reflect children's developing understanding of transitivity and word order in spontaneous speech production. As Köppe was later to reiterate, Lightbown points out that the full impact of variable word order in the adult model the children hear is poorly understood. Lightbown found evidence that differences in the use of transitive verbs were associated with the acquisition of word order. With respect to the L2 learners she observed, Lightbown finds (like Stevens, 1984) that "L2 learners wanted to talk about many things which they did not know how to say, whereas for L1 learners there was a closer relationship between cognitive and linguistic maturity" (p. 249). Lightbown's design has directly influenced that of the present study, in that it included both L1 and L2 learners whose acquisition of specific features of emergent French syntax was compared directly. However, none of the studies cited here contain findings that would be directly relevant to the question of how French-acquiring children develop the *faire faire* causative.

Other French-L1 studies. A large literature on the acquisition of French as a first language exists (for example, Bronckart & Sinclair (1973) on the development of tense and aspect; De Cat and Plunkett (1999) and Plunkett (in press) on the emergence of inversion in question formation and the acquisition of left-dislocation; Furchtbar-Feider (1981) on question formation; Lazure (1976) on the transformational properties of the language of 4-year-olds). However, none of these studies have any direct bearing on the study of the *faire*

faire causative that was undertaken here. In a more recent study, Barrière, Le Normand and Lorch (1999), report on transitivity errors in a large corpus collected from 360 European French-speaking children aged between two and four. Details of method are not given; the focus of the investigation was the children's use of the middle passive construction with *se* (as in *La fenêtre s'ouvre*). Barrière et al. report that they found instances of increased valency, maintained valency, and decreased valency, but the information given is not sufficient to permit any conclusions about developmental causative errors *per se*. The reported errors with *se* confirm the authors' hypotheses with regard to the ways in which they had expected to find both overgeneralized *se*-affixation and overgeneralized *se*-omission.

Naigles and Lehrer (1999) undertook a partial replication of Braine et al. (1990) using French as well as English. There exists as yet no written report, and the conference presentation from which the information here is drawn did not include any documentation. Naigles and Lehrer tested a group of 3-year-olds and a group of 5-year-olds; each group had between 25 and 30 children. The children participated in a "Noah's Ark" task requiring them to enact 40 stimulus sentences, in 16 of which normally intransitive verbs were inserted in transitive frames, or vice versa (the other 24 sentences were grammatical). Thus, the question of interest was to see what the children would do when asked to act out sentences like "*Le tigre va le lion*" or "*Le lion met*". Responses were coded as "verb compliant" (the usual transitivity of the *verb* governed the child's action) or "frame compliant" (the transitivity of the *frame* governed the child's action). Naigles and Lehrer found that verb compliance increased with age. For the younger children, frames were more meaningful than individual verbs—a suggestive finding that tallies with that of Braine et al., and that provides additional support for a construction-based approach to the interpretation of child language data.

The studies by Ibrahim (1996) and by Martinot (1996, 1998) that have been briefly referred to form part of a group of studies on the acquisition of support verbs by European

French children. The development of argument structure is a specific focus of this work, but causativization is not one of the aspects studied. In her comprehensive review of the literature on the acquisition of Romance languages, Clark reports a very few intransitive-to-causative errors gleaned from diary studies compiled before mid-century (Clark, 1985, p. 736). Taken from notes made by Egger in 1887, Guillaume in 1927, and Grégoire in 1947, they include examples such as *Ne faut pas tomber le livre* (at 2;6) and *[le loup] envole la maison* (as late as 6;0). However, a few examples do not a study make. In this monograph-length review article, published as part of the Berkeley crosslinguistic study of first language acquisition, Clark sums up the state of the art for the year 1985 in words that would not need substantial revising to be equally valid at the present time, fifteen years later:

The errors children make in extending their options for talking about actions by adding or removing surface arguments from their current repertoire of verbs needs [sic] much more detailed study. Too little is known at present about the development of lexical structure in language acquisition. (1985, p. 736)

The acquisition of French single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Although single-agent constructions containing a tensed verb and an infinitive are ubiquitous in French, no studies of either the first or the second language acquisition of French have focussed specifically on this particular aspect of verb combining. François (1977) mentions the first appearance of *verbe + infinitif* constructions in one child's natural production data (at 22 months), in connection with her first use of other verb + X constructions, using a pivot grammar framework for analysis. However, the significance of these particular constructions for the child's developing grammar is not explored.

Learning a second language at preschool

Scope of the discussion. Along with the gradual establishment of second language acquisition research as a field of study in its own right since the 1970's, there has been a

proliferation of parallel, often independent studies of second language teaching and learning in classroom settings. We know far more than we did three decades ago about the ways in which second language acquisition takes place in classrooms—with the exception of preschool classrooms. Second language pedagogy as such, with its apparatus of materials, methods, teacher training, and so forth, is usually conceived of in the context of learners old enough to have passed the pre-school stage, who have started the formal learning process *per se*.

The following brief chronological survey of research on the second language acquisition of young children in a preschool setting goes beyond the purely morphosyntactic aspects of preschool SLA, because the research project reported on in this dissertation was motivated by wider educational concerns. Special emphasis is given to studies in which the children were minority-language speakers learning the majority language in a preschool setting. Not all these studies focus only on language learning *per se*; they are included here, however, so that the present study may be placed in its larger educational context, in which it is appropriate that research serve the interests of minority-language children and the educators who work with them. Specifically excluded, however, are studies in which the children spoke a majority language at home and were exposed to a second language at preschool in an elite bilingualism condition. It was therefore not possible to include some interesting work from Yugoslavia (for example, Göncz & Kodzopelic, 1991; Mikes, 1995) or from the Canadian French immersion literature. More relevant to the situation under investigation in this report is research on preschool children from minority-language backgrounds coming into contact with the language of schooling and of society for the first time when they enter kindergarten. To date, the published studies in this area have been based on work done in North America, England and Australia.

Research reports

The earliest and possibly the best-known study of young children acquiring a second language at preschool in this way is Wong Fillmore (1976). Wong Fillmore studied five Mexican-American children in California who were being exposed to English as a second language for the first time upon their arrival at school, a short time after arriving in the United States. The children ranged in age from five and a half to eight years at the beginning of the study, and were observed longitudinally in play dyads with English-speaking friends for one school year. The level of fine-grained analysis that Wong Fillmore brought to her extensive corpus of data set a standard for all subsequent researchers. It enabled her to come to a number of conclusions about the conditions that did or did not lead to successful L2 acquisition (or the promise of it) for these five children. The strategies that Wong Fillmore observed in the more successful children were both *cognitive* (“guess; get some expressions you understand and start talking; look for recurring parts in formulas; make the most of what you've got; save the details for later”) and *social* (“join a group; learn to 'fake' some fluency; get help from your friends”). (From Wong Fillmore, 1976; some paraphrasing.)

In addition to entering into an exhaustive analysis of the oral production of the five children on a case-by-case basis, Wong Fillmore also discussed the importance for these children of having had the opportunity to interact continuously with peers who were native speakers of English. This is a theme that recurs over and over again in other studies. The nature of the interaction that preschool-age children from minority-language backgrounds engage in with speakers of the target language—whether the interaction is with adults or with other children—is widely acknowledged to have a determining effect on the way in which acquisition of the second language will progress.

A combination of syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic features in the early ESL question formation of three minority-language preschool children from different L1 backgrounds was studied longitudinally by Keller-Cohen (1979) from a contrastive

analysis standpoint. The similarities and differences between question formation in English, on the one hand, and in Japanese, Finnish, and German, the children's first languages, on the other, formed the basis of an investigation of the children's developing ability to exploit the rules of turn allocation in their second language as they interacted with experimenters in a laboratory setting. Keller-Cohen found that properties of the children's first languages may have influenced their acquisition of question formation in English. Prosodic congruence between the L1 and the L2, alone or in conjunction with syntactic congruence, was more important than syntactic congruence alone: "prosodic congruity in similar communicative domains appears to be an important key to discovering the structural properties of the new code" (p. 42).

A focus on discourse-level phenomena continued to characterize preschool SLA studies (in keeping with activity elsewhere in the field) into the next decade. In the 1980s, a number of studies were published in which research interest was directed, not at the details of the children's syntactic production, but at the preschool classroom as an L2 *discourse* learning environment. The earliest of these, and the only study to report on minority-language children at preschool in Britain, was Willes (1983). Willes' study should be of particular interest here, as the children in the West Midlands classrooms she reported on were all from South Asian homes and spoke Indo-Aryan languages (Gujrathi, Punjabi and Kashmiri L1). However, her framework for analysis fails to take into account many of the specific needs of preschool-age *second* language learners; her work is informed by a first-language preschool-learning perspective, and I attribute her failure to satisfactorily account for several aspects of the children's language use to that fact. A concern for the nuts and bolts of the children's second language acquisition is nowhere apparent in Willes' work. She includes much useful general information on ways to organize preschool classrooms, but little that would help the reader understand the nature of the linguistic and cultural challenges that confront the South Asian child in Britain.

A more SLA-oriented focus on classroom discourse emerged in the work of American researchers Kleifgen and Saville-Troike, publishing both together and separately (Kleifgen 1990; Saville-Troike, 1987, 1988; Saville-Troike & Kleifgen, 1986). Saville-Troike also looked at the strategies used by individual children, which included the use of what she termed *dilingual discourse* and *private speech*, the first as a way of communicating with others despite the complete lack of a common language at the outset of the acquisition period, and the second as a way of practicing second language routines and structures during the early stages of acquisition. Two findings to emerge from this series of studies are, first, that children differ widely in the selection of learning strategies they rely on as they move through the early stages of L2 acquisition at preschool; and, second, that skillful use of classroom scripting by the teacher may greatly aid the children in their early efforts to understand and make themselves understood.

Holistic or gestalt strategies as opposed to analytic, one-word-at-a-time strategies in the gradual acquisition of ESL communicative competence were studied by Willett (1987) on the basis of longitudinal observations of a Brazilian Portuguese-speaking child and a Korean-speaking child in an American preschool. Willett makes speculative but intriguing suggestions about the possible relevance of different cultural practices and language socialization norms to her subjects' differing approaches to practising their second language.

Nicholas (1987) undertook a detailed longitudinal examination of the early German-L2 production of a young English-L1 child aged between 3;4 and 4;0 who was learning German at preschool, and compared these L2 data to the early L1 production of a somewhat younger monolingual German child. Although he does mention that some of the L2 child's utterances contain transfers from English, the main focus of the investigation is on the development of the target language without reference to possible influences from L1 structures. Of particular interest in this study are the findings about interactional style and

its importance in second language acquisition. As Nicholas points out, the contribution of his study is not about

the development of particular structures nor the sequence in which particular structures might be acquired. Rather, the claim is that this style of interactional manipulation increases the interlanguage user's chance of obtaining a wide range of input and of turning the input into intake (pp. 283-284)

The child in question was extremely skilled at manipulating the conversational environment. This study by Nicholas, although without specific relevance for the study of causativization in the second language, nevertheless influenced the present study in many ways, not least because of the fine-grained and painstaking way in which Nicholas compares his second-language and first-language data.

Peregoy (1991) studied a two-way immersion Spanish-English kindergarten in California, in which most of the school day was occupied by activities in Spanish, with a short English period daily. Half the children were English-L1 and half Spanish-L1. Peregoy's interest was in the English-L1 children who were being immersed in Spanish as a second language. However, she looked mainly at the way in which the *teachers* interacted linguistically with these children, and her report contains little information about the children's actual production. Peregoy does include some useful and detailed information about the ways in which the teachers provided environmental scaffolds for the children's language learning.

The importance of linguistic scaffolding by adults and of being aware of the different strategies used by children as they move through the stages of early second language acquisition at preschool were brought together by Tabors and Snow (1994), and expanded and elaborated in a book-length study by Tabors (1997). The minority-language children being studied were again in American kindergartens. Drawing on work by Saville-Troike as well as on their own observations, Tabors and Snow outline a sequence of developmental stages for preschool-age SLA: bilingual discourse, non-verbal period,

formulaic or telegraphic production and active sentence-length combining. They also stress the importance of giving children the opportunity to interact with native-speaking peers, who can be specially trained to help their L2-learning classmates, even at preschool age. Tabors (1997) pays particular attention to the problem of how to involve minority-language parents in the classroom, and gives many helpful suggestions for curricular development and activity planning; the book is therefore a very valuable resource for preschool educators who work with minority-language populations.

Another book-length study of great interest for educators serving a minority-language preschool population is Gregory (1996). Gregory's approach to the early education of South Asian children in Britain is community-based, culturally appropriate, and informed by many years of work with Bangladeshi children and families in their own homes as well as in inner London schools. Gregory's main concern is with early literacy development in minority-language children, and there is little information on the process of second language acquisition in kindergartens per se; her contribution is to the discussion of how preschool educators can prepare their charges for the challenges of Grade One in as humane and culturally sensitive a way as possible. Since most of the children Gregory worked with were of Bangladeshi origin, and since much of her work focussed on investigating early literacy practices in the children's homes, this book has a particular relevance for the present report, although the impact will be felt in terms of future educational ramifications rather than being apparent in the analysis of second language data that will be presented here.

Clarke (1996) reported on four Vietnamese-L1 children acquiring English at a special bilingual preschool for minority-language children in Melbourne, Australia. A difference between this classroom and most of the others commented on above was that there were no children in the classroom who were native speakers of the target language. The presence of bilingual teacher's aides who interacted with the children in their first languages was another difference; unlike many of the classrooms that are the focus of

preschool L2 learning research, this classroom was designed with second-language children in mind. Clarke observed the children longitudinally over one school year and analysed their oral production at length. All of them made some progress in ESL over the year of observation, but they did not get very far. Their verb use at the end of the year was restricted to single-word utterances or formulaic speech for the most part. Clarke makes an especially useful contribution in her discussion of the use of *formulas* in early L2 production as opposed to the use of *routines*. In Wong Fillmore's (1977) study, and in subsequent work, the two terms were conflated. Many SLA researchers have referred to chunking in a fairly global way, and without troubling to break the term down further. In her data analysis, Clarke takes pains to distinguish between one kind of chunk that cannot be analyzed by the speaker (formulas), and another kind of chunk that *can* be analyzed syntactically—the speaker has the competence to do so— but is almost always *used* without being analyzed (routines). This distinction can be applied in the analysis of oral production that is pre-syntactic. Clarke also suggests that, rather than referring to a silent period, it would be more appropriate for researchers to refer to a *non-verbal* period in the early stages of acquisition. As Clarke points out, many children who are not yet able to use their second language to express themselves are nevertheless anything but silent; they may develop a large repertoire of facial expressions, gestures, and expressive noises to help them communicate before they are able to use actual words.

The only study of preschool SLA in a Canadian context is Toohey (1996). The children were learning ESL in a mainstream classroom in Vancouver that included native English speakers. Toohey gives a primary focus to classroom interaction between two L2-learners and their English-speaking peers. The strategies used by the L2 children to try to gain acceptance by English-speakers and integrate into social groups are explored in detail, and shown to be related to their success or lack of success at language learning. There are obvious parallels to the work by Wong Fillmore, Saville-Troike, and Tabors, discussed above. Using a “communities of practice” perspective on the structuring of classroom

discourse, Toohey is able to compare the classroom language learning environments of first and second-language children.

Nauc ler (1999) reports on the Swedish-L2 learning of a group of Turkish immigrant children. The way in which the children’s parents interacted with them in L1 at age 5 and 6 is compared with the way their preschool teachers interacted with them in Swedish at that time; these results are contrasted with those obtained from a Swedish-monolingual comparison group, and both sets of results are used to help interpret the children’s Swedish reading comprehension results at age 10. Although some of the Turkish children performed very well on a story-telling task in both languages at age 10 (a finding that Nauc ler attributes to the way in which they had been socialized to be good storytellers in Turkish), their Swedish reading comprehension results compared very unfavourably to those of the Swedish monolingual children. Nauc ler stresses the difference between “learning to read” and “reading to learn”, and suggests that the Turkish children are not prepared, at age 10, to do the latter.

Verhelst (1999) reports on the early Dutch-L2 vocabulary acquisition of a group of preschoolers in Brussels whose first languages were Arabic and Albanian. These children were only two and a half years old at the beginning of the study—somewhat younger than the preschoolers whose SLA was the focus of previous investigations reviewed here. Verhelst’s objective was to record and transcribe *all* the L2 input the children received during their first three months of exposure to Dutch L2—a feasible (if Herculean) enterprise, since the children lived in an officially French-speaking part of Brussels and heard Dutch only at school. All the teacher’s utterances in the classroom for three months were captured for analysis; Verhelst then administered both receptive and productive vocabulary measures to the children. The kind of relationship that may obtain between the way the teacher used certain vocabulary items and the children’s use of these items remains to be seen for this study still in progress (it is Verhelst’s ongoing doctoral research project).

At the time of reporting, no correlation had been found between the children's receptive and productive scores.

The situation in Quebec: a knowledge gap that needs to be filled

Although the linguistic integration of minority-language children into French-speaking Quebec society has been a concern of many Quebec educators for at least two decades (that is, since the adoption of compulsory French schooling legislation in 1977), research and policy interest has been directed exclusively at children older than preschool age. Research interest in the details of the French second language acquisition of minority-language children of any age has in fact been relatively slight; very few studies have appeared in international journals since the one reported nearly 20 years ago by Bhatnagar (1980). A notable exception is the series of studies by Fazio and her colleagues (Fazio, 1999; Fazio & Lyster, 1998; Fazio & Stevens, 1994). However, none of this work is relevant to the topic of learning French as a second language at preschool age. The best-known, most often cited study on the French competence of allophone students in Quebec is Beauchesne and Hensler (1987). The demographic data in this supposedly authoritative study are more than a decade out of date, and the data collected on "*intégration psychosociale*" had very little to do with actual second-language proficiency. The mean age of the 126 allophone students involved was 16.

In the most recently issued teacher's guide to *Les services pédagogiques aux élèves des communautés culturelles (préscolaire et primaire)* that I was able to obtain from the former *Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal*⁴ (which because of settlement patterns had much of the responsibility for the *francisation* of allophone children), three out of 59 pages are devoted to a consideration of the functioning of preschool classes in which

⁴Restructuring of the Montreal-area school boards along linguistic rather than religious lines in mid-1998 has meant a name change for this school board, now the *Commission scolaire de Montréal*. The L2 data for the study reported on here were collected during the last days of the 1997-1998 school year, just before the change.

the children are second language learners. Of the 13 guides on various topics that are recommended as reading for teachers in those three pages, three were conceived for the special needs of second language learners; the other ten are intended for teachers in regular preschool programs. (CECM, 1995). It seems clear that research attention to the SLA profile of French-acquiring minority-language children in Montreal kindergartens is not the only kind of attention that is lacking. Focussed pedagogical attention directed specifically at the needs of French second-language preschoolers is also in short supply.

Transfer in second language acquisition

Scope of the discussion. The question of “transfer” in second language acquisition has been an active one for decades, if not for centuries. Sharwood Smith, in a concise summing up of the issues (none of which is close to being resolved) defines “language transfer” as generally referring to “the ways in which language systems affect each other in acquisition, production, and comprehension” (1983, p. 192). Sharwood Smith prefers the term “cross-linguistic influence” (CLI). In the present review the more familiar term “transfer” is used.

An impressive body of both speculative and research-based literature exists, and has drawn contributions from scholars from a variety of language-related disciplines. However, very little of this literature is relevant to the research questions addressed in the present study. Of immediate concern for our purposes here is information on the ways in which first-language grammars have in fact been found to affect developing second-language grammars for specific aspects of morphosyntax (as opposed to phonology or discourse, for example) when the second-language learners have passed the early stages of first language acquisition (i.e. they are older than 4 or 5) but are still pre-literate in their first language. For the purposes of the present review, it was decided to exclude any discussion of L1 transfer that did not fall into this rather restricted category. The rationale for this decision lies in the assumption that when L2 learning is mediated by and through literacy

(as it is in nearly all post-preschool classroom L2 learning), it is very different from second language learning by pre-literate learners aged 5 or 6. The very young learners who formed the L2 subject population for the present study can be assumed to have acquired their first language to a point well past the early stages more characteristic of a child of 3 or 4. This assumption is especially important for the study presented here, since in these early stages the target structure under investigation—the causative—becomes fully developed. However, the children were still very far from being adult speakers of the L1. They were still cognitively and metalinguistically unsophisticated to a large degree, and were in the process of consolidating the L1—a process that, in the case of many young immigrant children, will be interrupted and will never be complete.

The relevant studies for present purposes are therefore those in which the effects of L1 transfer are examined in the case of pre-literate learners for the domain of morphosyntax, especially where argument structure is concerned.

Simultaneous bilingual acquisition and syntactic leakage

A substantial body of research exists on the language acquisition of simultaneous-bilingual children. Of interest for the purposes of the present review is evidence for what might be termed “syntactic leakage” between a simultaneous bilingual’s two languages. Some aspects of the grammars of each of their two languages may differ from the corresponding versions in monolinguals. Although not L1 transfer per se (since simultaneous bilinguals may be said to have two first languages, rather than a first and a second language), such leakage provides insight into the ways in which the grammars of two different languages may affect each other when they are housed in the same mind. During the early years of this research tradition, mixing of a young bilingual’s two languages in the same utterance was taken to be evidence of linguistic confusion and of a stage in which the two grammars were not yet differentiated—the “unitary system” hypothesis (for example, in Swain, 1972; Taeschner, 1983; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978).

Genesee and his colleagues re-examined much of this early evidence in the late 1980s and proposed that the mixed utterances found in their own studies and in earlier studies could be explained much more simply by invoking features of the (often very linguistically mixed) input, and by looking more closely at the discourse and interactional context; in other words, by looking first at features of the language user's environment *outside* the so-called black box of the child's mind, before hypothesizing any mixing *inside* it (for example, Genesee, 1989; Genesee, Nicoladis & Paradis, 1995; Goodz, 1989, 1994; Meisel, 1989; Paradis & Genesee, 1996) For some time, research effort was directed, not toward finding evidence for mixing and confusion, but at finding evidence for differentiated systems and for early linguistic separation (sometimes using the same data sets as the ones in which mixing had seemed to be so prominent a feature).

Researchers interested in simultaneous bilingualism have now moved into what might be termed a third phase of the long-term investigation of the phenomenon. It is very often—perhaps even usually—possible to find simple environmental explanations for linguistically mixed utterances in the early speech of young simultaneous-bilingual children. Nonetheless, in a number of recent studies, researchers have been able to identify instances of true syntactic leakage, albeit very few in corpora of many thousands of utterances. A 1999 conference symposium brought together results from four such studies (Allen, Genesee & Crago, 1999; Döpke, 1999; Müller, 1999; Paradis & Nicoladis, 1999), showing that “although bilingual children separate their languages early in language acquisition, transfer between the developing languages can occur” (Müller, 1999). Reported instances of transfer were syntactically more subtle than what the evidence from some earlier studies would lead one to expect, and often only became apparent after large-scale computerized analyses of bilingual acquisition corpora undertaken in ways that would not have been technologically feasible a few years ago. These new studies suggest that from the earliest stages of acquisition, a simultaneous bilingual's two languages *do* influence each other in nonobvious and hitherto-unsuspected ways. For example, Döpke

presents word order examples from the early German of German-English bilingual children to show that certain untypical syntactic structures (for example, SVO utterances in German in syntactic environments where SOV utterances would be more common in unmarked discourse), while attested in monolingual acquisition as well, are more frequent in her bilingual data because of “acquisition paths alternative to those taken by the majority of monolingual children” (Döpke, 1999, conference handout). She suggests that children hearing more than one language from birth may perceive different aspects of the input as salient in comparison to what monolinguals in either language would perceive as salient: “cross-language cue competition strengthens those structures which are similar across languages”.

The gray area between simultaneous and successive bilingualism

It was first proposed by McLaughlin (1978) that the age of 3 be taken as an arbitrary cutoff point for distinguishing between cases of simultaneous and successive bilingualism. That is, if the child's first introduction to a language occurred before the age of 3, the language would be considered one of the child's first languages; after 3, it would qualify as a second language. This is obviously unsatisfactory as a long-term solution: it was considered, rather, a short-term heuristic to guide research efforts that were to probe into more fine-grained ways to distinguish between the acquisition of a first language and the very early acquisition of a second language. However, more than 20 years later, we are still no closer to being able to define a cut-off point in some more principled way.

In a study of young French-L1 learners of English as a second language, Zobl (1983) points out that “the issue of what age can safely be taken as the cutoff point between primary and nonprimary language acquisition has, to my knowledge, never been properly aired in L2 acquisition research” (1983, p. 212). The five learners studied by Zobl were aged 2;6, 2;8, 2;10, and 4;9 (at the top of the age range there were two children). Zobl focuses on transfer in the domain of word order rather than on morphological features of

the L2. On the basis of his own data and data from other studies, he concludes that for research purposes second language learners can be roughly divided into three age groups: under 3 (when the steady state in L1 has not yet been attained), from 3 to 10, and over 10. “Nonprimary acquisition, properly speaking, would then not be assumed until first language development had attained a steady state with respect to changes in processing heuristics. Just when this happens is far from clear...” (p. 212), and equally unclear for Zobl is whether the steady state has or has not been attained by age 5. Although Zobl’s findings do not concern the domain of morphosyntax in a way that would indicate particular relevance for the study of the French *faire faire* causative reported here, his comments on primary and nonprimary acquisition and the steady state are interesting in light of the age of the preschool Bengali-L1, French-L2 learners in this study.

Morphological transfer from L1 in L2 learners under 10

Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) found numerous instances of structural transfer from L1 English in the L2 French of a group of 7-year-olds at the end of their first, Grade One year of exposure to French in a Canadian French-immersion classroom setting. Of particular interest for the study of the acquisition of the French causative reported here is the utterance produced by one of the children, “*elle marche les chats*”, produced in a discourse context that requires either the *faire faire* causative *elle fait faire une promenade aux chats* or the lexical suppletive equivalent *elle promène les chats*. Selinker et al. interpret this error as a clear case of interference from English, where “she’s walking the cats” would be possible, since we may speak of “walking the dog” (although cat owners might be dubious about the ethological transferability of this particular behavioral pattern from canines to felines): “the child appears to have transferred the transitive meaning of *walk* to the French verb *marcher*; that is, he has ignored the syntactic constraints of the French verb” (p. 144). Since there was at that time no published evidence to show whether this type of transitivity error is also produced by children acquiring French as a first language, this conclusion may have been premature.

A 5-year-old Japanese girl acquiring English in an American kindergarten is the subject of a detailed longitudinal study (from age 5;4 to age 6;5) by Hakuta (1976). Hakuta undertakes a detailed treatment of three aspects of his subject's emergent L2 production: formulaic, unanalyzed language (prefabricated patterns); the order of acquisition of English grammatical morphemes; and transfer from Japanese L1. Hakuta finds evidence of L1 transfer in three domains: the use of the lexical item "mistake" as a verb rather than as a noun; the use of reflexives; and what (following Schachter, 1974) he calls "structural avoidance", specifically of relative clauses. He warns against simply trying to trace the source of error back to the L1 structure:

It so happens that interference errors are seductive to the researcher because they fit into our present conceptions about language structure....however, it is becoming increasingly clear that interference errors are not the only manifestations of the process of language transfer. (1976, p. 347)

Hakuta points out that structural avoidance, differences in acquisition order, or other differences in the rate of development may also be "manifestations of the process of language transfer" This is a finding that has direct relevance for a second language acquisition study such as the one reported here. Transfer will not necessarily be manifested in the ways we expect, and may take many forms.

Wode (1980) studied his own German-L1 children's acquisition of English-L2 in a naturalistic, neighbourhood-type setting during an extended (6-month) family stay in the United States. The youngest child was 3;4 at the beginning of the stay and the next youngest between 6 and 7. The two older children were 8 and 9. Wode was particularly interested in the development of English-L2 phonology, inflections, and question and negative formation. He reports many instances of transfer from L1 German in his children's early negative utterances in English, mostly at the level of word order, and proposes that there is an "interplay between L1 reliance, properties of the target language, and perhaps more general, non-language-specific regularities" (p. 197). In his own study,

Wode finds considerable systematicity in this interplay as it is revealed by the data he collected from his children, but he acknowledges that the number and complexity of the variables involved make it impossible to construct a general predictive theory of L2 development and probable developmental errors, given the present state of our knowledge.

In a cross-sectional study in the morpheme acquisition order tradition, Mace-Matluck (1979) tested for Brown's grammatical morphemes in the L2 English of 442 children between kindergarten and Grade Four. The children were from 4 different L1 backgrounds: Spanish, Cantonese, Tagalog and Ilocano. Although the rank orders for the four groups were not the same as those reported for English L1 in the research tradition established by Brown, there were commonalities across the four groups, and also some differences that seemed to be related to the particular L1 background. Mace-Matluck concludes that

...two examples of possible L1 transfer...are not sufficient to infer that L1 transfer is a *major* determinant of the L2 morpheme sequence. However they are sufficient...to demonstrate that native-language structure may well account for variation in the rate, and thus in the order, that certain morphemes reach acquisition criteria for particular groups of speakers. (p. 88)

The rather scanty nature of the information available on cross-linguistic interference in the early second language acquisition of children learning an L2 before the age of 10 makes it clear that the research findings reported on in the present study may represent an original and useful contribution to an area of second language research in which very little preliminary ground-breaking work has been done. Previous research has shown that a preschool-age bilingual's two languages are likely to affect each other in subtle and sometimes surprising ways, whether the languages were acquired simultaneously or successively. However, the reasons behind this cross-linguistic influence and the forms it may take are still very poorly understood.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PREDICTIONS FOR FINDINGS

Research questions

The initial research question that gave rise to the study reported here was: How does a group of incipient-bilingual Bengali-L1/French-L2 preschoolers compare to monolingual French-L1 children with respect to the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative?

Since very little information was available at the outset of the study on the way in which monolingual French-L1 children acquire the *faire faire* causative, the research question had to be broken down into two parallel questions, each informing a separate phase of the research:

1. How do French-L1 children acquire the *faire faire* causative during the course of monolingual L1 acquisition?
2. How do Bengali-L1 children acquiring French for the first time at preschool acquire the *faire faire* causative?

An underlying assumption with respect to the Bengali-L1 children is that they already have full control of the causative-forming mechanism in Bengali by the time of their entry into kindergarten at age four or five. The literature available for languages which, like Bengali, have a transparent, regular morphological causative (Ammon & Slobin, 1978, for Turkish; Allen, 1996, for Inuktitut) make this assumption a reasonable one. The data sets available for those languages in the studies cited show that children acquire productive control of the causative-forming mechanism before the age of three. In addition, informal observation in Bengali-speaking homes (some in Toronto or Montreal, others in Calcutta, India) has given me substantial, albeit anecdotal, evidence that 3- and 4-year-old Bengali-speaking children can manipulate the Bengali causative morpheme productively and with ease.

Predictions for findings

The findings of previous research suggest two aspects of the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative about which informal hypotheses can be stated: age of emergence (in L1), and the developmental errors which may occur, in both L1 and L2 acquisition.

Monolingual French L1

Age of first emergence. Examination of the available corpora for French first language acquisition led to the hypothesis that the *faire faire* causative emerges sometime between two and four. The Philippe corpus, available on CHILDES (MacWhinney, 1995; MacWhinney & Snow, 1985; Suppes, Smith & Leveillé, 1973), contains several instances of well-formed child utterances which include a *faire faire* construction. The first of these is produced by Philippe at 2;1.26 in the second of 33 recording sessions that extend from 2;1.19 through 3;3.12; Philippe, without any prompting, asks his mother to feed him breakfast by asking, “*Fait manger le philou? Maman fait manger philou?*” This might seem rather young to researchers and parents familiar with the typical utterances of other children this age; the comment is sometimes made in French child language circles that Philippe's syntactic development is rather rapid and in advance of his age throughout (for example, Côté, 1999; C. De Cat, personal communication, July 14, 1999). However, it would not be unreasonable to expect that some monolingual French children might start to produce *faire faire* causatives around the age of two. At the older end of the developmental spectrum, several examples from the data gathered by Lazure, 1976 (for example, “*elle a fait couler l'eau pour se laver les mains*”, “*elle a fait manger le bébé*”) show that children aged between four and five seem to have control over the formation of causative constructions. Lazure's data were gathered using an open-ended picture description task.

Likely developmental errors. The developmental error that seems most likely to occur is the omission of *faire* in incipient causative constructions. This error, if it is found to occur in French child language, would parallel similar errors that have been observed in

children learning English, of the “don't fall it down” type (Bowerman, 1974; Lord, 1979, whose report is entitled “Don't fall me down”), as well as in a child learning Brazilian Portuguese (Figueira, 1984) and one learning Hebrew (Berman, 1982). We would therefore expect French monolingual children to produce utterances like *"tombe pas ça"*. It will be recalled that the single instance *Ne faut pas tomber le livre* was in fact reported for a child aged 2;6 in Clark, 1985 (p. 735; extracted from a pre-1950 diary study).

Another possible error type would be one in which placement of the causee agent clitic object of the causative utterance is not correct during the initial stages of acquisition, but takes some time to be worked out. Omission of clitic objects would seem to be one likely strategy that might be adopted by child learners. Placement of the clitic object after the *faire* and before the infinitive might be another. The causative utterances elicited from adult L2 subjects by Labelle (1984) make it seem probable that clitic objects will cause particular difficulty for learners of various ages, especially in double-object causative constructions when one of the objects is cliticized. It is rare for both objects to be cliticized in the spoken register. The number of sentence elements included in double-object causative constructions, and the level of complexity involved in ordering the elements grammatically, together give rise to the prediction that double-object causative constructions will be acquired by monolingual French-L1 children later than single-object causative constructions, and that unforeseeable types of errors will be observed in object placement.

No other predictions were made in advance of data collection; in the absence of previous research findings, it was necessary to allow categories for error types to emerge from the data.

French L2 by Bengali-L1 speakers

Rapid, relatively error-free acquisition. Since the Bengali-L1 children are presumed to have productive control over both the concept and the mechanism of causativization in their first language, a first prediction to be made with respect to their acquisition of the *faire*

faire causative in French was that it would be rapid and relatively error-free. The French causative-forming mechanism, while syntactically more complex than the single bound morpheme that serves the same purpose in Bengali, is still fairly regular and transparent. It was predicted that familiarity with the form and function of the causative in Bengali would enable the French-L2 child learners to perceive the underlying regularity of the French construction and to start producing it relatively early in their French second language acquisition. It was thought likely that when the Bengali-L1 children started using the *faire faire* causative productively in French, their language development (as measured by vocabulary size and syntactic complexity) would be at least roughly equivalent to that of French-L1 children who are beginning to produce causative constructions. The expectation was that both rate and route of causative acquisition would be similar across L1 learners and Bengali-speaking L2 learners of French. It was anticipated that by the time the children had been exposed to a year or more of French at preschool, they would have started to manipulate the *faire faire* causative in French.

Error types. One possible error that might be made by the Bengali-L1 children would be omission of *faire*, in much the same way as we might expect this error to be made by French first-language children. In the case of Bengali-L1 subjects, however, omission of *faire*, if it occurred, might be difficult to assign purely to the category “developmental error”. It is possible that productive control of the Bengali causative-forming reflex, in which the verb causativizes through regular internal morphological change without any additional verbal elements being added, would be another factor influencing Bengali-L1 learners of French to create causative meanings using one verb only. Careful examination of the data might enable us to draw conclusions about the developmental or transfer status of this kind of error. As Odlin points out, “since the earliest developmental stages in the acquisition of any language are remarkably alike and since the forms in these stages are structurally simple, some phenomena have several possible explanations, including transfer and target language influence” (1989, p. 108).

The correct placement of clitic object causee agents might be expected to cause difficulty for the L2 learners if, as anticipated, it proved difficult for the L1 learners (and see Labelle, 1984, for evidence that adult learners of French L2 experience this type of difficulty with causatives).

In this study both longitudinal data (for L1) and cross-sectional data (for L1 and L2) were used in investigating the research questions. The French L2 study is presented in Chapter 4. A longitudinal study of the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by monolingual French-speaking children constituted the first phase of the research project and is presented in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 1: THE ACQUISITION OF THE CAUSATIVE BY FRENCH MONOLINGUAL TWO-YEAR-OLDS

METHOD

Participants

A total of 11 children (six girls and five boys) participated in semi-structured play periods that took place over a total of 20 months. Of these 11 children, the data from eight children (three girls and five boys) were relevant for addressing the question of how the *faire faire* causative is acquired in French, and were retained for the study presented here. The data from the other three girls were not rich enough in causative constructions. The research pseudonyms and some relevant details about the backgrounds of the eight children are shown in Table 3.1. In all cases, French was the only language used in the children's homes. The parents of the children described in Table 3.1 are French-Canadian, with one exception as noted. The families are two-parent, again with one exception as noted.

Procedure

Equipment and setup

The semi-structured play periods with the Francophone children were recorded in both audio and video. The video pickup was in Video 8 format on a Sony Handycam, mounted on a tripod and left running in a corner of the room. A special short tripod that brought the camera down to seated-toddler level was used in preference to a regular, taller tripod. When the children moved around—as they frequently and inevitably did—they often turned their backs to the camera and obscured the view of the expression on their faces and of what their hands were doing. When this happened, I tried to shift them around

Table 3.1 Background information on French-L1 participants

Pseudonym and three-letter abbreviation	Age during sessions (yrs/mos)	Comments
Benoit (BEN)	1;9—2;6	brother Samuel (13.5 months older) usually present during sessions, some sessions with Benoit alone, mother is from France
Samuel (SAM)	2;10—3:7	younger brother Benoit always present
Denis (DEN)	2;0—2;8	mother runs a home day care, sister Claudia (2 years older) and other playmates (various ages) always present during sessions
Claudia (CLO)	3;0—4;0	younger brother Denis and other playmates always present, data also available for age range 4;0—4;8 when Denis was the main focus of data-gathering (not analyzed here)
Iseult (ISE)	2;9—3;9	present only occasionally at home day care run by mother of Denis and Claudia
Zéphirin (ZEF)	1;9—3;0	two sisters (21 months older and 4 years and 4 months older) occasionally present for short portions of recording sessions (their data not analyzed)
Léo (LEO)	2;4—3;0	brother Louis (3 years and 3 months older) usually present during sessions (his data not analyzed); some sessions with Léo alone
Réjeanne (REJ)	2;7—3;10	mother is a single parent, baby sister (2 years and 5 months younger) always present during sessions, but pre-verbal throughout

as quickly and gently as possible, explaining “*On va te mettre comme ça pour que la caméra te voie comme il faut*”. This worked in many cases, but obviously was not an infallible strategy, especially when more than one child was participating in the play session. The fact that the camera was some distance away also occasionally made it hard to make out

exactly what the children were doing as they manipulated a toy, and sometimes this made the language data difficult or impossible to interpret with confidence.

The audio-recording technology changed several times over the course of the study as different items of equipment became available. For the first few months a reel-to-reel UHER 4000 Report was used. For most of the sessions, throughout, pickup was via an external Sennheiser microphone placed on a pad on the floor near the subject. Later, instead of the UHER (which had excellent sound quality but was heavy to carry and hard to find tapes for) a Marantz PMD 220 was used, also with external microphone used the same way. This produced cassette tapes of very acceptable sound quality for transcription purposes. The actual tape recorder was placed as far away from the action as the cable would allow, so the children would be less likely to notice it and attempt to interfere with it.

There were thus two sources for sound, the microphone pickup near the child and the built-in microphone in the video camera some distance away. On at least two occasions, this extra audio backup allowed a recording session to be saved. Accidents did occur, despite all the precautions taken. Once, a child managed to turn off the tape recorder, and only the audio track on the videotape was available. Fortunately, it was of acceptable sound quality. Once or twice, the videotape ran out, and important data were available only on audiotape. On those occasions I made a point of transcribing the session within 48 hours and was able to take advantage of my recall ability, supplemented by field notes. For the majority of the sessions, excellent quality audio recording and good quality video recording to supplement the audio were both available. The videotapes were an excellent source of visual and situational context, and having them on hand to refer to made interpreting the audiotaped data much more straightforward.

After each recording session brief field notes were taken on the quality of the session and the child's progress. This was also the place to make a note of any relevant parental comments, or to add information gleaned from chatting with parents and siblings or from observing events and routines in the household. This was done as soon after each

session as possible. These notes proved to be a valuable guide to the progress and overall shape of the monolingual study as it moved through the months of taping.

Sampling frequency

Sessions were either 30 minutes long or 45 minutes long, depending on the child's attention span. The decision to tape at two-, three- or four-week intervals was made from session to session, depending on my perception of how fast the children's syntactic development was progressing at any given point. For some participants there were several months of once-monthly taping sessions. In other cases, tapings were three weeks apart for some months. In all cases, a period of intense and rapid causative-building activity was the signal for taping sessions to be conducted every two weeks, if at all possible.

There were, of course, unforeseeable circumstances that sometimes made it impossible for me to collect data, e.g. the children's absence for more than a month during their families' summer vacations; occasional bouts of illness, whether that of the child or of another family member; the sporadic and unpredictable availability of a child; and occasional severe winter weather conditions.

Informed parental consent

All the parents whose children participated in this study signed a consent form devised in accordance with the ethical approval guidelines used in the TESL Centre at Concordia University. This consent form is replicated as Appendix A.

The flexible semi-structured play approach

It has been widely recognized in the child language literature that, when working with children younger than three, it is extremely difficult to elicit examples of specific syntactic structures from participants (see, for example, the discussion in Thornton, 1996). As Thornton points out, gathering naturalistic data involving only unstructured play is unproblematic, but if the purpose is to assess a child's syntactic competence with respect to a specific feature of language that may not have a high frequency of occurrence (such as the

causative in the present study), elicitation becomes a challenge to the researcher. Language production studies of 2-year-olds to date have therefore concentrated for the most part on linguistic features that can be counted upon to appear frequently without unusual measures being taken, such as word order, the development of negation and question form, null subjects, and verb inflections (Bloom, 1991; Brown, 1973; Lightbown, 1977, for example). Comprehension studies conducted with children this age or younger have, in recent years, used ingenious approaches to methodology such as the preferential looking (or so-called head turn) paradigm to extract useful information about children's ability to understand specific aspects of syntax, (Bavin, Kidd, & Rhodes, 1999; Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, 1991, 1996; Poulin-Dubois, Serbin, & Derbyshire, 1998, for example) but production studies cannot be so reliably designed given the short attention spans of the children.

For the present study, it was necessary to devise an elicitation procedure for causative constructions that had a certain amount of built-in open-endedness and flexibility. To maximize the chances of the children co-operating, it was essential that they feel comfortable with the research procedure, under the impression that they were engaging in unstructured play with a familiar playmate. It was crucial for the researcher to build up a warm and friendly relationship with each child, as well as with the parents. For some of the less outgoing children, it was useful to have parents participate in sessions at the beginning of the months of data collection. This helped the children to relax and feel comfortable. On these occasions, I encouraged the parent to interact with the child and the toys in a natural manner.

Another aspect of the data collection procedure that was somewhat open-ended concerned the number of participants present at sessions. Out of the homes that offered themselves for the study—by answering an ad on a community notice board or by responding favorably to the researcher's approaches in playgroups, parks, and even a McDonald's!—five had sets of siblings in the right age range, rather than just one child the

right age. It was usually possible to record the children one at a time, and at first this option was preferred for ease of transcription. However, recording the children in interaction with their siblings (and, in the home day care, with their playmates) proved to be one of the most surprising and rewarding experiences of this research project. The increased difficulty of transcription was amply offset by the interesting incipient causative utterances produced by younger children after hearing various developmental forms modelled by older children (often only a few months older). This yielded revealing examples of *learning* of the causative, and in a way that ensured the naturalness of the process: it seemed evident that the children were learning from each other's modelling, not imitating the researcher (a perennial danger in this type of research).

The decision to allow adult modelling of the *faire faire* causative in my own input to the children provides a further instance of the way in which flexibility was built into the elicitation procedure. As a parent myself, I found it nearly impossible merely to observe; I was not able to prevent myself from modelling causatives in very much the same way as the children's parents were observed to, on the occasions when they were recorded in interaction with the children and the appropriate toys. In any one session, this was only done after several attempts had been made to elicit a causative from the child without any instances of the causative occurring in the input. Only after the child had been given several chances to produce a causative unaided—and failed to do so—did I begin to provide models for causative production in that session. After some months of recording, it became clear that no amount of modelling could induce a child to produce a causative unless the child was ready. There was never any direct attempt to encourage a child to “say what I say”. In the data there are many examples of the researcher modelling a “correct” adult version of a causative utterance, the child understanding and partially repeating it, and, at some other point during the same session, the child spontaneously producing a form at a lower stage of development (see, for example, sessions ZEF 04 and 05, and DEN 03 and 04, in Appendix B, containing all the L1 data). This phenomenon was useful in itself as a

window on causative development as it happened. It will be seen that the decision to allow adult modelling by the researcher was well justified by the findings, and contributed to the overall success of the data-gathering endeavour.

Eliciting causative constructions: the play scenarios

The ultimate success of the causative elicitation procedure devised for the purposes of the present study depended on careful and appropriate selection of toys and play scenarios with this very young age group in mind. The children's interest had to be engaged, while at the same time the chance of their producing *faire faire* causative constructions had to be maximized.

It took some time to devise these scenarios. Work with the 2-year-olds quickly revealed that they had their own ideas about how to play with the toys provided and what to say about them. For example, a very reliable way to elicit a causative from Quebec French speakers over four is to show them a wind-up toy, demonstrate its operation, and ask, "*A quoi ça sert, ce petit piton-là?*" The inevitable answer is, "*Ça sert à le faire marcher*" (*sauter, tourner*, or whatever the demonstrated action was). However, no child under three in this study, even if he or she was quite capable of saying, for example, "*Est-ce que je peux encore la faire tourner?*", has ever responded to the *A quoi ça sert?* prompt in anything like the manner of the over-4s. It was necessary to pilot toys for the 2-year-olds on the 2-year-olds, and the less productive quality of some of the early recording sessions may be due in part to the researcher's lack of experience at that stage. By the end of the data collection period, a number of very productive play scenarios had been worked out, often in collaboration with the children themselves.

Table 3.2 shows the play scenarios, developed in collaboration with the 2- and 3-year-old participants, that proved the most reliable for eliciting causatives from children aged 21 through 48 months.

Table 3.2 Play scenarios for causative elicitation from French-speaking participants

Toy	Action	Target structure
baby dolls, play food and drink, play utensils	eating, drinking	<i>faire manger, faire boire</i>
wind-up rabbit	jumping	<i>faire sauter</i>
wind-up mouse	running around in circles	<i>faire marcher, faire courir</i>
wind-up monkey	walking with hands	<i>faire marcher</i>
wind-up ladybug	advancing forward while moving legs	<i>faire marcher, faire avancer</i>
wind-up cars and trucks	moving forward	<i>faire marcher, faire rouler</i>
plastic frogs	jumping when rear end pushed down	<i>faire sauter</i>
tops	spinning	<i>faire tourner</i>
figurines (people, animals)	falling when knocked over by spring-loaded vehicle aimed from a distance	<i>faire tomber</i>
segmented animal figurines	“dancing” when base pushed	<i>faire bouger, faire danser</i>

It will be seen that *faire marcher* is somewhat more likely to be elicited overall than any other single *faire faire* construction, simply because it is the default all-purpose verb of motion used by French-speakers in “make it go” situations. More complex verbs of motion would have been difficult to elicit from children this young, and the purpose was not to test for size of vocabulary with respect to verbs of motion, but to elicit a specific structure, the *faire faire* causative.

When working with these scenarios, it was necessary to be able to move from one to another very quickly. Any one toy might only engage a child’s attention for a moment or two before the child was ready to move on.

Organization of the sessions

After some weeks of experimenting, the procedure for collecting data from the toddlers was as follows: Arrive and greet parent(s) and child or children. Set up equipment, about 5 minutes. Semi-structured play session with child or children, 30-45 minutes. Put away toys and equipment, about 10 minutes. Arrange for next session and persuade child or children to let me leave (often the most difficult part), about 5 minutes.

During the play sessions themselves, a relatively predictable (but not rigid) structure was adhered to, as follows:

1. Warm-up, about 5 minutes. Little animals, puppets, or building activity. These toys were not successful as causative-elicitors, so were used at the beginning when the focus was on getting the child to relax and feel chatty (sometimes a problem if the child had not seen me for a month). The fine motor activity necessary to put blocks together or arrange tableaux of animals in interesting scenes diverted the children and made them forget to be shy about talking. Puppets were very useful as a way to break the ice, get the child to laugh, and initiate conversations.
2. Causative elicitation, 20-35 minutes. As many of the play scenarios as possible were included in each session. The toys for each scenario were kept in separate lock-type clear plastic bags. Sometimes the children insisted on taking these out of the large toy bag themselves, but I preferred to choose what we would play with next if I was allowed. I selected play scenarios based on the child's usual interests, stated interest of the day or moment, and novelty; toys that the child had not seen for a couple of months, or that were new to that child, were more likely to arouse interest and focussed play energy than very familiar toys. The order of presentation of the play scenarios was thus not preselected, and depended to a great extent on the children's willingness to participate.

3. Cool-down and preparation to put the toys away, 5-10 minutes. This was often a fairly conflictual time, especially if more than one child was present and the requirements of equitable time- and toy-sharing had not been met. It was helpful to establish the routine of collecting the toys from each different scenario together and sorting them into their separate lock-type bags. The intrinsic interest of sorting and inserting small objects was often enough to reconcile the children to the enforced end of the play period.

Eliciting before and after providing a model for causative formation

When working with any one of the play scenarios described above, it was important first to try to elicit causatives without providing a model for production. If these initial elicitation attempts were unsuccessful, a model was provided in any given scenario and elicitation was attempted again. When children produced causative constructions after an adult model had been provided, these utterances were included in the data to be analyzed. The situation was not one of elicited imitation, strictly speaking, since the children were not instructed to “say what I say” (for empirical evidence and discussions of the use of elicited imitation tasks in child language research, see Hood & Lightbown, 1978 and Slobin & Welsch, 1973). The context was closer to one of natural speech production, and on the rare occasions when child utterances appeared to be immediate imitations of the adult model, it was possible to record this.

After elicitation with a given scenario, the next scenario was introduced as soon as the child would consent to the switch. This was the only practical way to work with the scenarios and the children’s attention spans. It would, of course, have been preferable to elicit without modelling across the whole range of scenarios first, and then go back and elicit with modelling where necessary. This procedure was not found workable. It made more sense to utilize to the full the short time during which the children were engaged and interested by a particular scenario before moving on to the next.

Analysis

Scanning for *faire faire* causatives in the data

The first step in data analysis for a given session was to watch the video recording all the way through, “scanning” for occurrences of the causative in what the child said (it was often helpful to refer to field notes here). Every time the child in fact produced an utterance with a clear causative meaning, an utterance that in the adult language would require a *faire faire* form of expression, a note was made of this utterance. If the child’s utterance seemed to be directly related to an immediately preceding utterance (by me or by another participant), this was noted as well, to take into account the possibility that some of the children’s causative instances were complete or partial imitations of utterances that they could not at that time produce unaided. Notes were also taken on the extralinguistic play context.

The second step was to listen to the audio recording and fill in gaps in the video record as necessary. The better sound quality of the audio recordings often made it possible to retrieve missing information this way.

The third step was to watch the video recording again, if necessary, to get more information on the extralinguistic context surrounding the new utterances gleaned from the audio recording. After three passes through the recording of each session, it was possible to conclude with confidence that all instances of causatives or attempts at causative utterances had been captured.

Scanning for single-agent infinitival complement constructions in the data

At the same time as the scanning for causatives, a note was made of all instances of infinitival complement constructions using *aller*, *vouloir* or *pouvoir* as auxiliaries. Collecting data on these single-agent infinitival complement constructions had not been part of the original research design. At the outset of data collection, the task of eliciting causatives and recording them for later analysis seemed challenging enough. No precedent

had been found in the literature for the possibility that there might be a developmental link between the emergence of the two kinds of infinitival complement constructions—double-agent, valence-changing causative, and single-agent, non-valence-changing non-causative.

However, near the end of the taping sessions scheduled for the monolingual phase of this two-part study, taping sessions began along very similar lines with the *bilingual* participants in the study. Unforeseen aspects of the L2 data coming in from the bilingual children showed the importance of including single-agent infinitival complement constructions in the analysis. At the analysis stage the decision was therefore made to scan not only for causatives at all stages of development, but also for single-agent infinitival complement constructions in both data sets.

Since the intent had not initially been specifically to elicit single-agent infinitival complement constructions (from either the monolingual or the bilingual participants), the occurrence of this kind of complement construction in the data was serendipitous and unrelated to any intentional elicitation efforts on the part of the researcher. However, such complement constructions are produced frequently enough in the naturally occurring data that a good overview of the course of acquisition can be gleaned—in contrast to causative constructions, which do not occur as readily in either data set despite the considerable efforts that were made to elicit them.

The data were recorded in tabular form to facilitate comparison and quantification. The complete French L1 results of these scans can be found in Appendix B. They comprise 678 instances of single-agent infinitival complement constructions and 387 instances of causative expression, taken from approximately 48 hours of video-recorded data.

Selective transcription

For selected data-gathering sessions, full or partial transcriptions were done in CHAT format (MacWhinney, 1995). In this format, each utterance is entered on a separate line. Separate “tiers” make it possible to encode various aspects of the linguistic and

extralinguistic context of each utterance for specific research purposes. Transcribed but uncoded data can still usefully be shared with other researchers; different coding schemes can be devised to answer different research questions using the same data set.

Even uncoded CHAT format makes it possible to use the CLAN set of data analysis programs to perform a number of analyses on the data quickly—calculating mean length of utterance (MLU) and word frequency, for example. As the data of interest for the present study were obtained by simply doing an audio and video scan of the data, partial rather than full transcription was undertaken. Most of the data-gathering sessions were not transcribed at all for the purposes of the present analysis; it was not immediately necessary, and the sheer number of hours to be transcribed would have been overwhelming. However, it was felt desirable to transcribe at least part of a few sessions in order better to understand the overall interactional context in which infinitival complement constructions emerged. Differences in interactional patterns from one child to the next were easier to pick up on after reading through the transcriptions. Patterns found to be characteristic of a particular child over two or three transcribed sessions were sometimes useful in interpreting the more skeletal data on complement constructions yielded by scanning that child's corpus of data overall. Reliable MLUs could only be obtained on the basis of transcriptions.

Transcription was done from the audio-recorded data and checked against the video recording afterward, at which point relevant contextual detail was added as necessary, and any confusion about speaker identity cleared up. The sessions chosen for immediate transcription were found to be interesting because of the high incidence of causative constructions in particular, showing that the child was working intensively on this aspect of language at the time and progressing rapidly in the development of causative constructions. The sessions transcribed in this way are listed in Appendix C. MLU (in words) was calculated for each transcribed segment using the MLU program in the CLAN package available through the CHILDES database (MacWhinney, 1995). The results of these analyses are listed after each session referred to in Appendix C. Two short sample

transcripts (extracted from much longer transcripts) appear in Appendix D. The transcript from Réjeanne's data shows a typical session in which only one subject participated. The transcript with both Benoit and Samuel gives a good idea of the nature of the interaction in multi-participant sessions.

RESULTS

Introduction

Usable data

Sessions were either 30 minutes or 45 minutes long, depending on the child's attention span. Table 3.3 gives an overview of the data gathered for each subject. The columns are headed by the children's abbreviated pseudonyms (which are also their appellations in the CHAT files used to transcribe the data, where applicable). The rows refer to the child's age in years;months. The left-to-right organization of the grid shows the complete age range over which data were gathered for all participants.¹ The numbers in the cells refer to the sessions completed by each individual child; thus, 01 and 02 under Ben at age 1;9 mean that at that age, Benoit was taped twice during one four-week period (so the sessions were roughly two weeks apart).

Of a total of 98 data-gathering sessions conducted with the 8 participants whose data are analyzed here, 61 were used in the quantitative analyses which led to the sketch of the stages of causative acquisition in French monolingual children. Nearly all the sessions for Benoit, Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne were included. However, 17 sessions with the other children were not used at all. Another 20 (all those for Léo, and 10 sessions with Claudia during which Denis was still prelinguistic and not yet considered to be a subject for

¹The actual chronology of taping is shown in Appendix E, in which the "calendar" format used makes it easy to see exactly when and at what intervals each child was taped, and also makes it possible to infer the occasions upon which more than one child was present at the same session.

Table 3.3 L1 data-gathering sessions listed by participant and age

AGE	Ben	Den	Zef	Léo	Réj	Ise	Sam	Clo
1;9	01, 02		01					
1;10	03							
1;11	04							
2;0	05, 06	01, 02						
2;1	07, 08	03, 04						
2;2	09, 10	05	02					
2;3	11	06, 07	03, 04					
2;4	12, 13	08, 09	05, 06	01				
2;5	14	10		02				
2;6	15	11, 12	07					
2;7		13	08, 09	03	01			
2;8		14	10, 11	04, 05				
2;9			12	06, 07	02, 03	01		
2;10			13	08	04, 05		01	
2;11			14	09	06, 07		02	
3;0			15	10	08, 09		03, 04	01
3;1					10	02	05	02
3;2					11, 12		06, 07	
3;3					13		08, 09	03, 04
3;4					14			05
3;5					15		10	06
3;6						03	11	
3;7					16	04	12	07
3;8								08
3;9						05		
3;10					17			
3;11								
4;0								09, 10

the study) yielded data too scanty to be quantifiable. These data will be reported qualitatively.

The number of times a particular kind of infinitival complement construction occurred in a particular session was highly variable, from zero to 28. Stacked bar graphs are used in the remainder of the Results section as the clearest way of displaying the data visually. This is done to facilitate comparison across participants and across sessions despite the highly variable number of occurrences across sessions of the linguistic forms of interest. Tokens are counted rather than types—that is, repetitions of the same utterance in one session are counted as separate occurrences in all cases. A detailed presentation of the results follows, in which aspects of syntactic development are examined separately for evidence of stages in the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative. Syntactic phenomena unique to the process of *faire faire* causativization are treated first.

Quantification of the data

After quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data, it was possible to map out a series of stages for the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by monolingual Francophones aged between two and four. The separate facets of language development that were the focus of analysis, and that yielded a series of stages when taken together, are presented in the next section. These facets include: the presence or absence of *faire* in causative constructions; the status of causee agent in causative constructions; the status of obligatory grammatical subject in all infinitival complement constructions; and the presence of protomodal filler syllables in pre-infinitival position.

After the data scan was complete, it was apparent that the entire course of emergence of the *faire faire* causative had successfully been captured on tape for four of the eight participants whose data were analyzed. The four key participants whose data were rich enough and continuous enough to show true development in the acquisition of the causative in a way that could be quantified were Benoit, Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne. The categories used for quantification of these data emerged from the data themselves.

The other four participants whose data were scanned and notated were Samuel, Claudia, Iseult and Léo. There were many instances of both single-agent infinitival complement constructions and causative constructions in the data for these four participants. However, the data from Samuel, Claudia, Iseult and Léo were not sufficiently continuous at a young enough age for a true picture of emergence to be captured. Nevertheless, the data yielded useful qualitative information which tended to confirm the observations of the quantified data sets.

Presence of *faire* in causative constructions

Presence or absence of *faire* overall

A very common developmental feature during the first stages of emergence of the causative, indeed the most striking feature, was the omission of *faire*. This phenomenon had been predicted as being likely to occur in the early stages, on the basis of existing evidence for children acquiring causative constructions in English (Bowerman, 1974; Lord, 1979), Hebrew (Berman, 1982) and Portuguese (Figuiera, 1984). The children occasionally used an ambiguous filler syllable where *faire* would be required in the adult language, and when they did so, did not include *faire*. These filler syllables are interesting in their own right, and are discussed below under the subheading “Protomodalic filler syllables in all infinitival complement constructions”. When assessing the presence of *faire* in the children’s data, such fillers are in an intermediate category between presence and absence. Some children produced more than others; none of them continued to produce them through to the end of the sessions.

The stacked bar graphs in Figures 3.1 though 3.4 enable a quick comparison of the way in which Benoit, Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne supplied or failed to supply *faire* across the sessions. The actual number of causative constructions produced is shown on the y-axis. Missing bars indicate that the child did not produce any causative constructions during that session.

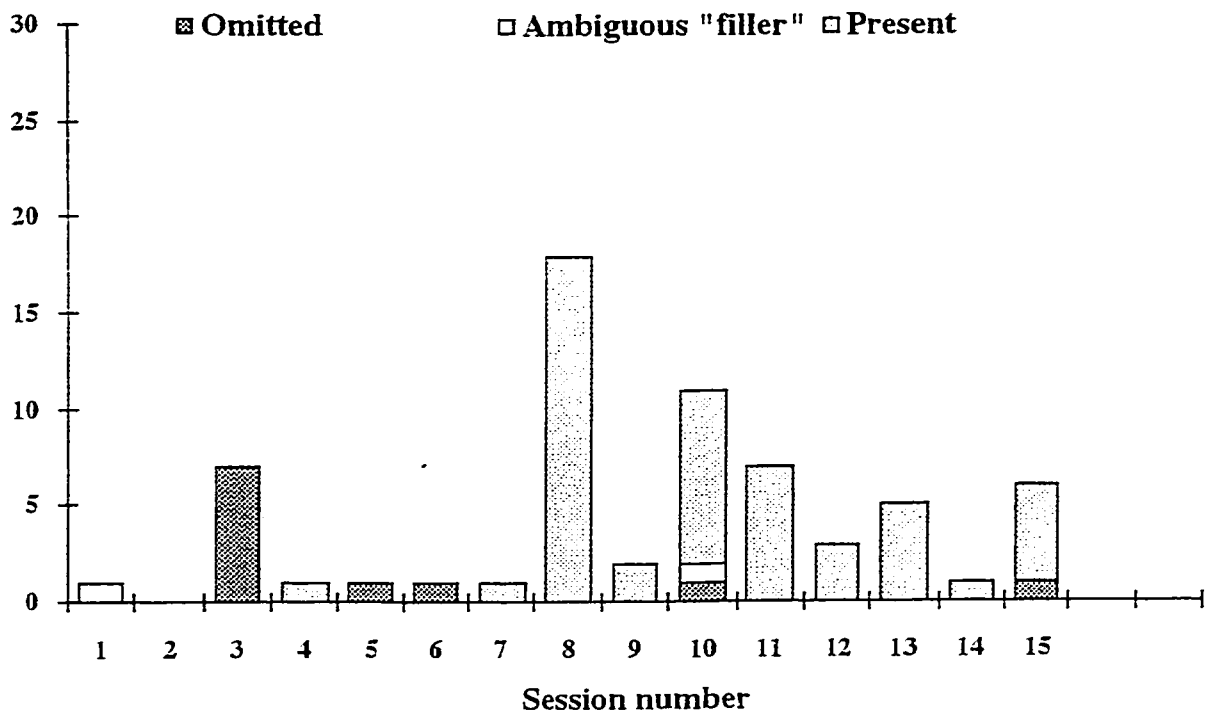


Figure 3.1 Faire in causative constructions: Benoit

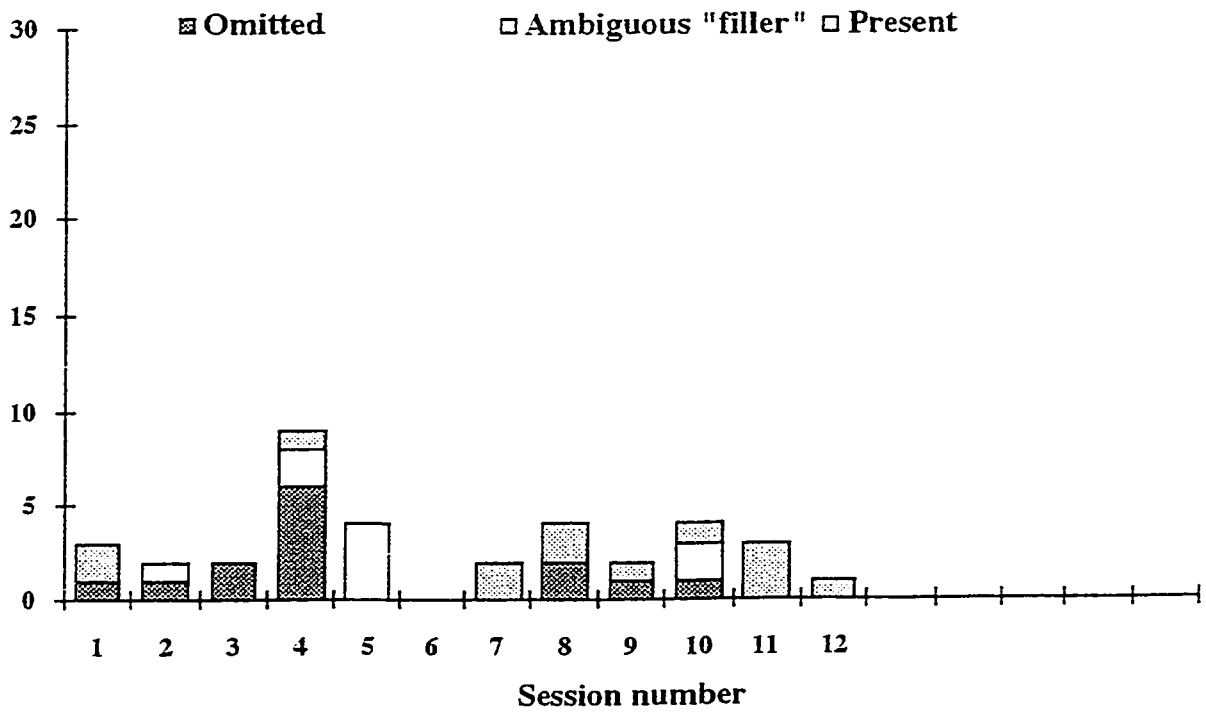


Figure 3.2 Faire in causative constructions: Denis

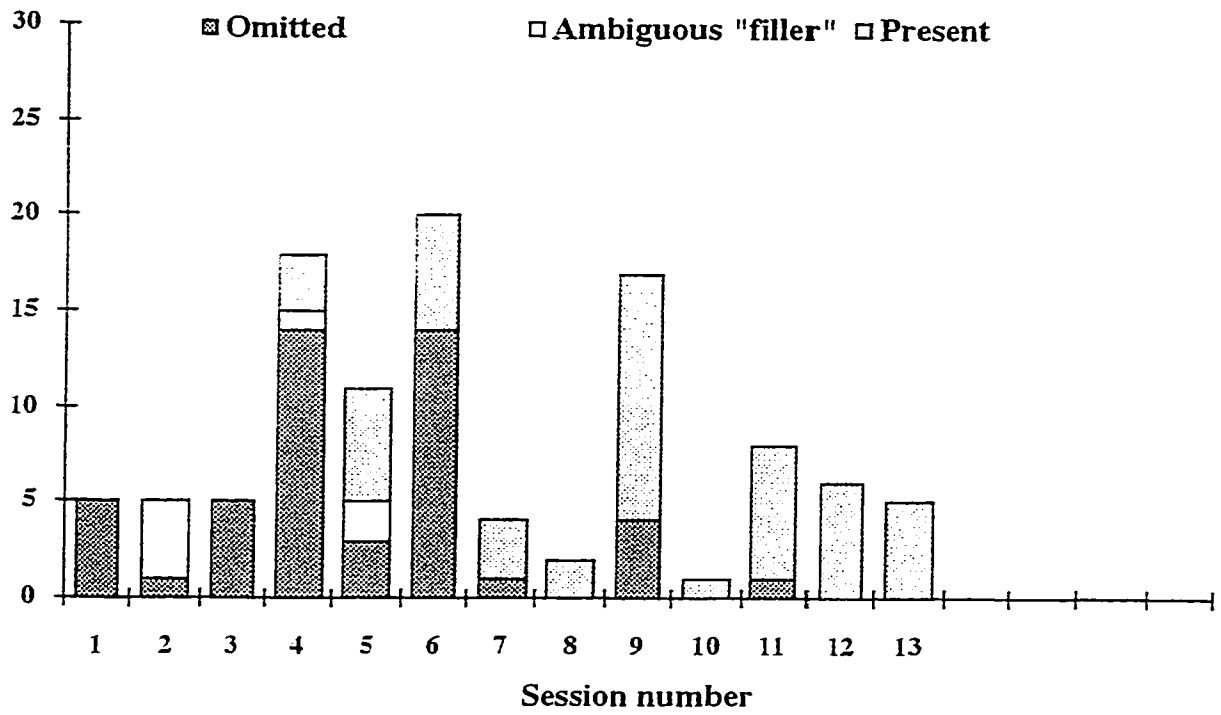


Figure 3.3 Faire in causative constructions: Zéphirin

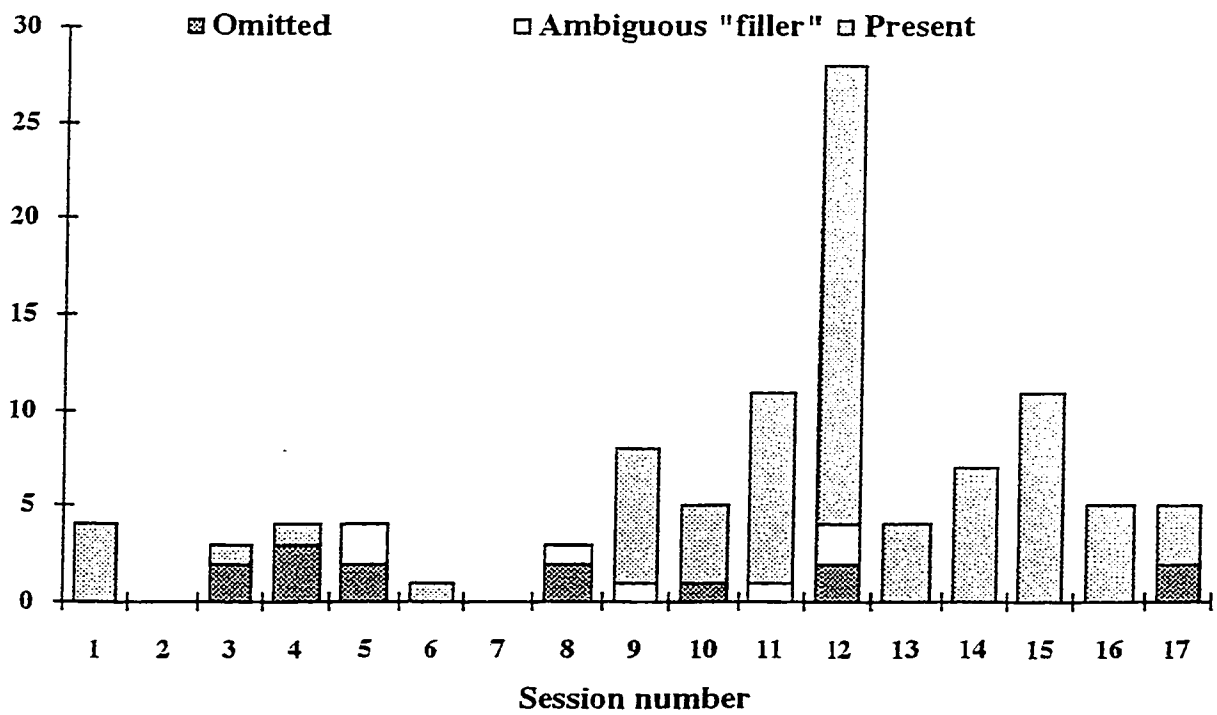


Figure 3.4 Faire in causative constructions: Réjeanne

It will be seen that complete omission of *faire* was characteristic of the earlier sessions, and use of filler syllables more likely in the early to middle sessions. Although Denis and Réjeanne appear to be supplying *faire* in their first session, a look at the L1 data file (Appendix B) will show that they only produced *faire* in a causative immediately after having heard a *faire faire* causative from me. Certainly they understood the structure at that point, and would soon be able to produce it unaided (as later sessions show), but they did not in fact produce it except immediately after modelling. Presence of *faire* increases over sessions, and omission of *faire* is very rare in the later sessions, for all four participants. Some examples of typical contexts for *faire*-omission are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Some typical contexts for *faire*-omission

Pseudo nym	Age	Causative utterance	Situational context
BEN 03	1;10.21	§ il va tomber le château?	referring to his brother who is trying to knock the castle over
DEN 04	2;3.11	§ veux marcher ça	he is trying to make a little car go
ZEF 04	2;4.18	§ saute ça § tombe pas elle	instructing me what to do or not to do with the toys
REJ 05	2;10.26	§ je danse le p'tit chat	telling me what she is about to try to do

While Benoit supplied *faire* quite reliably in causatives after 2;1, with only a few isolated exceptions, Réjeanne was still sometimes omitting *faire* after age 3, although at that age she was producing it far more often than not. Benoit's syntax was advanced for his age throughout, as the data will show, and syntactically Réjeanne was a relatively late developer.

The children's data show that between the stage of omitting *faire* altogether and the stage of supplying it consistently there is an intermediate period during which *faire* is supplied in some but not all obligatory contexts. The “non-discreteness of stages” has been amply attested to in the L1 literature on other aspects of the acquisition of syntax (Peters, 1995, for example). It was nevertheless quite clear during the process of data collection and analysis that at any given time children were either “mostly omitting” or “mostly supplying”. The most striking demonstration of this occurs in the data for Benoit. All the causative constructions he produced during the two sessions at 2;0 and all those he produced during the two sessions at 2;1 are shown in Table 3.5, reproduced from Appendix B to facilitate comparison:

Table 3.5 Constructions with causative meaning produced by Benoit, sessions 05 through 08

BEN 05	2;0.2	§ je bouge # comme ci (<i>after SAM has just said “c’est comme ça on le fait bouger”</i>)
BEN 06	2;0.16	§ il va tomber le chateau? (<i>referring to SAM who is threatening to knock castle over with another toy</i>)
BEN 07	2;1.7	§ fais tourner ça § il fait # tomber! (<i>knocking castle down with horse</i>)
BEN 08	2;1.18	§ fais manger (<i>i.e. “Non, je le fais manger”, in answer to my “tu le fais rentrer dans le chateau?”</i>) § je fais les sauter § fais marcher lui (<i>2 times</i>) § fais marcher ça (<i>2 times</i>) § fais marcher encore celui-là § fais la [/] fais la marcher encore § fais encore la marcher (<i>3 times</i>) § fais encore marcher (<i>2 times</i>) § fais marcher (<i>2 times</i>) § fais marcher celui-là § fais marcher tous les deux § fais la tourner

This example from Benoit is atypically neat. For most of the children the move from complete omission of *faire* to reliable suppliance was more gradual.

Presence or absence of *faire* when a modal auxiliary is present

When children are just beginning to supply *faire* in causative constructions, there is a question that logically arises, namely: when there is an added element of syntactic complexity in the form of a modal auxiliary such as *aller* or *vouloir*, do the children have more difficulty supplying *faire* than when such additional elements are not present? An example of what the causative meaning + modal auxiliary phenomenon looked like in practice can be seen in Table 3.6 showing two utterances from Zéphirin's data that were produced during the same session. One expresses causative meaning, but without *faire*, and also includes the modal auxiliary *vas*; the other includes both *faire* and *vas*.

Table 3.6 Examples of double complement constructions, Zéphirin

ZEF 05	2;6.29	§ vas essayer de tomber un cheval (<i>he is trying to knock over a horse at a distance with a spring-loaded car</i>) § vas faire couler l'eau (<i>he is pretending to fill the doll's bathtub</i>)
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Table 3.7 shows the proportion of double infinitival complement constructions in which *faire* was supplied, for all sessions in which such constructions (including a modal auxiliary as well as causative meaning) occur. The number of causative constructions with and without *faire* in which the children did not use a modal is also shown for comparison. These causative constructions (with or without *faire*) also included a *vais*, *va(s)*, *veux*, or other verbal auxiliary. Double-barred lines set off sessions for each subject. It will be seen that all four participants produced some of these more complex double-complement constructions throughout the data-collecting period. Zéphirin and Réjeanne both supplied *faire* in double-complement constructions quite regularly after a short initial period of

omission (the numbers are too small and the number of instances too variable to permit of statistical analysis, but the trend can be clearly seen).

Table 3.7 *Faire* in causative constructions with a modal auxiliary

Session	Causatives without modal (no <i>faire</i>)	Causatives without modal (<i>faire</i> present)	Causatives with modal (no <i>faire</i>)	Causatives with modal (<i>faire</i> present)
BEN 03	0	0	7	0
BEN 06	0	0	1	0
BEN 10	0	7	2	0
BEN 15	0	4	1	0
DEN 03	1	0	1	0
DEN 04	6	1	3	0
DEN 09	1	0	0	1
ZEF 03	3	0	2	0
ZEF 05	1	2	3	4
ZEF 06	13	2	0	4
ZEF 07	0	3	1	0
ZEF 09	0	3	4	10
ZEF 10	0	0	0	1
ZEF 11	1	4	0	3
ZEF 12	1	2	1	4
ZEF 13	0	3	0	2
REJ 04	0	1	0	3
REJ 09	2	6	0	1
REJ 10	0	3	1	1
REJ 12	2	14	0	9
REJ 13	0	3	0	1
REJ 14	0	6	0	1
REJ 15	0	7	0	4
REJ 16	0	4	0	1

Status of causee agent in causative constructions

It will be recalled that in a *faire faire* causative construction, the direct object of *faire* is also “causee agent” with respect to the following infinitive, unless direct object position is occupied by a transitive object of that infinitive in a double-object causative construction (in which case the causee agent goes to indirect object position). As a result of the near-inseparability of the *faire*+infinitive unit in French causative constructions, object placement in causative constructions in French has a set of syntactic peculiarities all its own (see “Causative constructions in French”, pp.22-30).

Coding categories

After a scan of the data, six categories emerged for placement of the causee agent, listed here in what the data suggest to be order of increasing developmental difficulty, as follows:

1. Causee agent is omitted.
2. Causee agent is a full noun phrase or the neutral pronoun *ça* and is generally correctly placed after the *faire*+infinitive.
3. Causee agent is a tonic rather than clitic pronoun, grammatically inappropriate (*moi, toi, lui, elle*) and is generally placed after the *faire*+infinitive, though infrequently placed in clitic pronoun position.
4. Causee agent is a clitic pronoun in a non-imperative causative and is incorrectly placed after the *faire* and before the infinitive, using the syntax of an imperative causative.
5. Causee agent is a clitic pronoun and is correctly placed (whether in an imperative or in a non-imperative causative). Errors may persist with respect to the placement of adverbs modifying the causative construction.
6. Causee agent occurs in a double-object causative (either correctly or incorrectly placed).

The first five categories are illustrated in Table 3.8 with examples from Benoit's data, taken from three consecutive sessions. (Benoit did not produce any instances of double-object causatives, so category 6 does not figure in Table 3.8.)

Table 3.8 Examples of placement of the causee agent in causative constructions, condensed from Benoit

Session	Age	Category	Utterances containing a causee agent
BEN 08	2;1.18	1	§ fais marcher
		2	§ fais marcher ça
		3	§ fais marcher lui
		4	§ je fais les sauter
		5	§ fais-la marcher encore
		5	§ fais encore la marcher
BEN 09	2;2.4	5	§ fais-la encore tourner
BEN 10	2;2.25	1	§ il fait tomber (<i>elephant knocks down castle when it tries to enter, as too big to fit</i>)
		2	§ fais marcher les coccinelles
		4	§ j'ai fait les marcher
		5	§ je le fais arrêter

Status of causee agent: quantification of the data

Figures 3.5 through 3.8 show the status of causee agents for each of the four participants across all sessions.

Omitted, full-NP or ça-type causee agents

For the children, the simplest solution to the problem of where to place the causee agent is to leave it out altogether; the next simplest, to put it at the end of the utterance as a full noun phrase or a pronoun. These strategies account for a large proportion of the causee agents overall in the data from the four participants whose data were quantified. Omitted causee agents were more common than any other developmental error with regard to causee agent placement. Three of the four participants continued to omit causee agents right

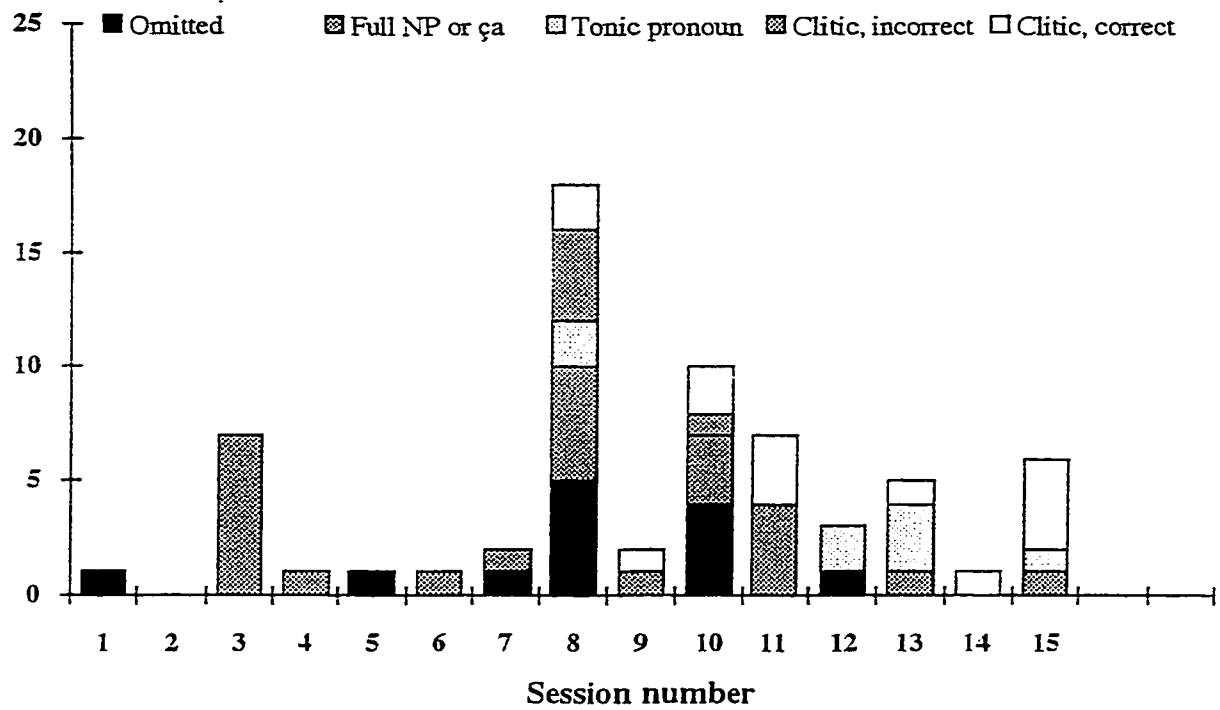


Figure 3.5 Status of causee agents in causative constructions: Benoit

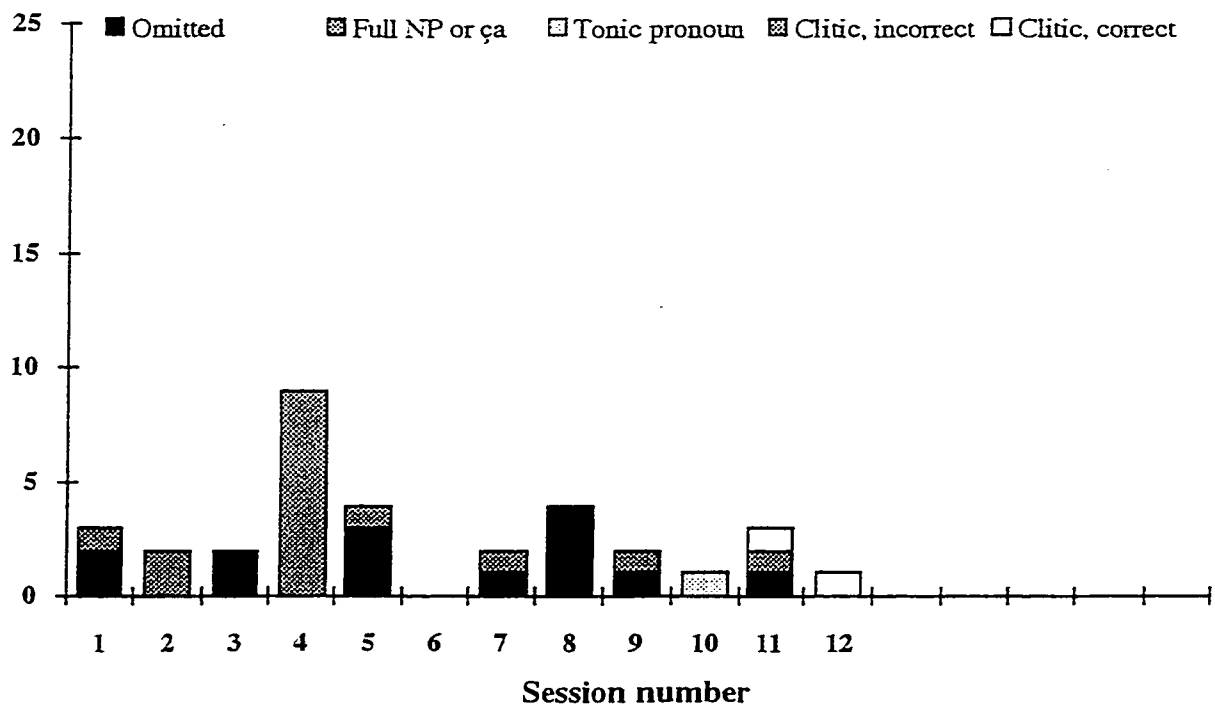


Figure 3.6 Status of causee agents in causative constructions: Denis

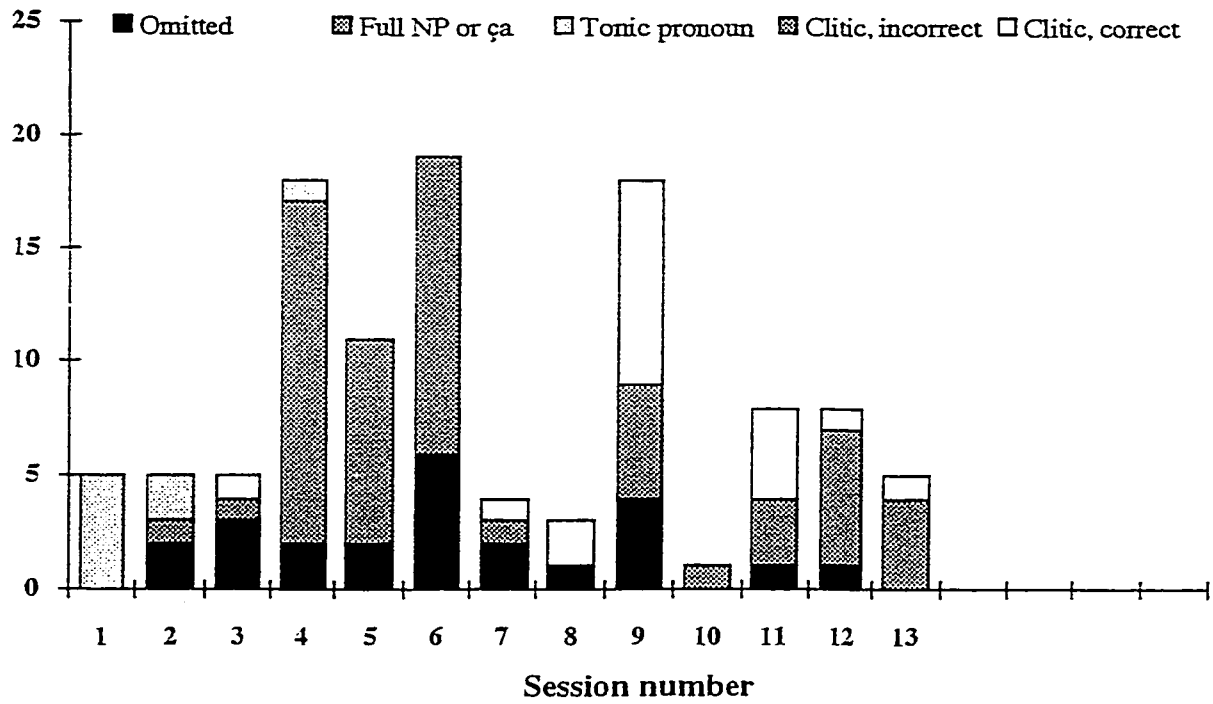


Figure 3.7 Status of causee agents in causative constructions: Zéphirin

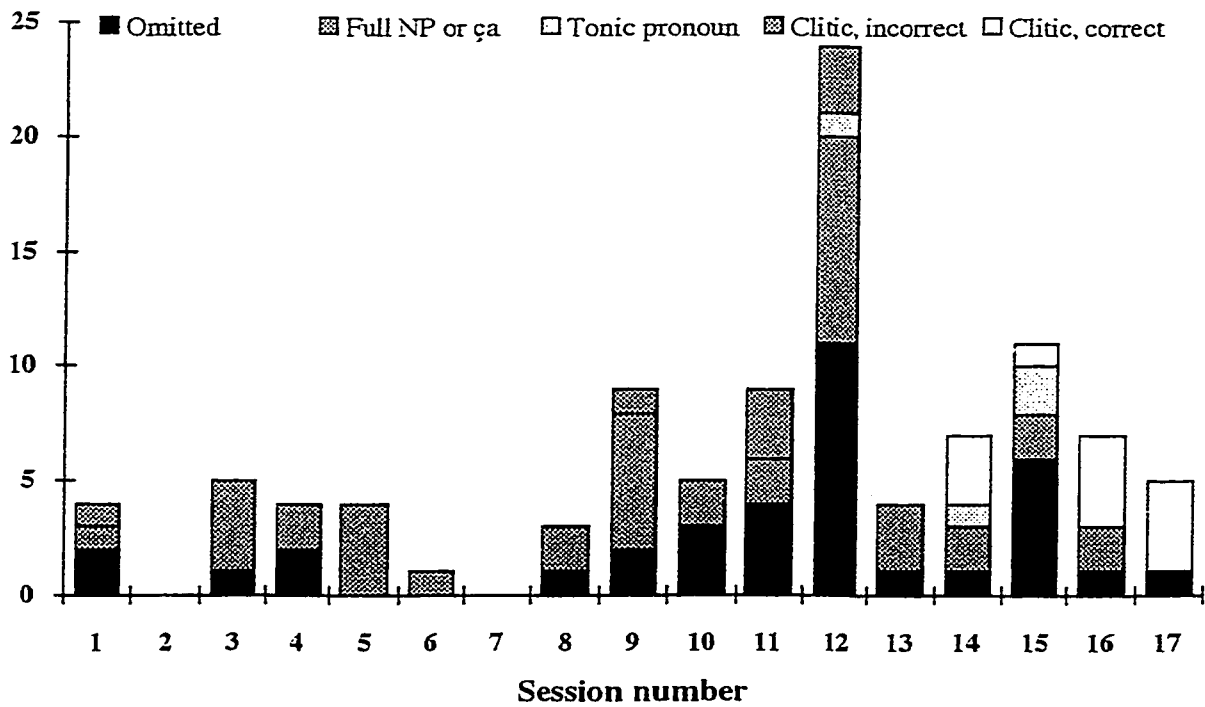


Figure 3.8 Status of causee agents in causative constructions: Réjeanne

through the data collection period; the exception was Benoit, who was an early developer for other aspects of syntax as well (suppliance of *faire*, for example).

Tonic-pronominal causee agents

Overuse of the tonic pronoun, considered by most French-speakers a typical feature of baby talk, was most noticeable in the causee agent domain for two of the participants: Zéphirin, during the early data-collecting sessions when his age ranged from 1;9 to 2;3, and Benoit, during the later sessions, when his age ranged from 2;1 to 2;6. Benoit produced the most tonic-pronominal causee agents and continued to produce them through the end of the sessions. Denis produced only one tonic-pronominal causee agent (he produced far fewer causee agents of any kind than the other three children). Réjeanne produced three. Zéphirin seemed more in control of his causee agents than the other children throughout. He did omit them off and on in the first two-thirds of his data-collecting sessions, but when he supplied them they were correctly placed, and tonic pronominal causee agents only made a brief appearance in his data in the first two sessions (“*tourne elle*”, “*marcher elle*”, at 2;2.17 and 2;3.21, in which the context clearly indicated that he was talking about *making* something turn or go).

Misplaced clitic-pronominal causee agents

Benoit, Denis and Réjeanne (but not Zéphirin) all misplaced the occasional clitic. In BEN 08 (2;1.18), the session in which Benoit seemed to be more actively engaged in working out the details of causative formation than in any other session, there were four instances of misplaced clitics, as well as two instances of correctly placed ones. For the three children who produced them, the misplaced clitics shared several features: they do not occur frequently in the data (in very few sessions per child and very few times per session); they occurred in sessions in which there are also correctly placed clitics; and they were all misplaced in the same way, as follows: the causative utterances are *not* imperative, but clitic placement conformed to imperative requirements—that is, the clitic pronoun follows *faire*.

It should perhaps be explicitly pointed out that *faire* was supplied in all these examples. If there were no *faire*, we could not speak of correct or incorrect clitic placement at all in the sense meant here, since clitic placement cannot be said to be correct or incorrect with respect to *faire* unless *faire* is present. Some examples are shown in Table 3.9. One correctly placed and one incorrectly placed example are provided for each session shown.

Table 3.9 Causative utterances containing a clitic object

Session	Age	Well-formed and *ill-formed utterances
BEN 08	2;1.18	§ * je fais les sauter § fais la marcher
BEN 10	2;2.25	§ * j'ai fait les marcher § je le fais arrêter
DEN 11	2;7.17	§ * on fait la marcher à terre comme ça § puis on la fait lever
REJ 12	3;2.20	§ * c'est moi vas faire l'avancer § veux pas le faire parler, moi, le oiseau

Misplaced clitics in causative constructions would seem to be a possible stage in the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative. Furthermore, it did not seem to be a question of misplacing *all* clitics. Rather, for a time there was free variation in clitic placement (perhaps owing to temporary confusion between the syntax of imperative and non-imperative causatives). This variation eventually disappeared, with causee agent clitic placement in causative constructions conforming to adult usage by the end of the data-collecting sessions for the four children whose data were quantified.

Double-object causative constructions

Réjeanne made four attempts to construct double-object causatives, shown in Table 3.10. There is clear indication of a developmental progression; *je te fais bouger le petit bonhomme* appears to be grammatically well formed, although from this particular example it is impossible to tell if Réjeanne knows that the causee agent must be marked for the

dative. It is noteworthy that during the period of data collection, Réjeanne was the only child of the four to progress to the point where she spontaneously expressed the causing agent, the causee agent and the object of the caused action all in the same utterance.

Table 3.10 Réjeanne's double-object causatives

Session	Age	Utterances expressing causee agent AND object
REJ 14	3;4.26	§ fais manger toi dans le serpent (<i>wants me to let her make the snake bite me</i>) § fais manger le poisson comme ça (<i>she is making the snake eat the fish</i>)
REJ 15	3;5.23	§ pas capable de faire lui bouger les pieds (<i>trying to make dinosaur move his feet</i>)
REJ 16	3;7.4	§ je te fais bouger le petit bonhomme (<i>talking to dinosaur; she is making it move the little man</i>)

Presence of obligatory subjects in all infinitival complement constructions

Data analysis revealed that the presence or absence of obligatory grammatical subjects in infinitival complement constructions (as well in many other verbal constructions which will not be discussed here) was one aspect of the development of syntax in these young children.

Coding categories for all infinitival complement constructions

In the data as they were scanned and recorded in Appendix B, it quickly became apparent that for both single-agent and causative infinitival complement constructions, there were five possibilities with respect to the presence or absence of obligatory subjects. Categories 1 through 5 are listed here in the order of difficulty suggested by the data. Imperative causative utterances were frequent in the data. They are not included in the quantification which follows, as in such utterances there is by definition no obligatory context for grammatical subject.

1. Obligatory subject omitted altogether
2. Obligatory subject present, but as tonic pronoun—unacceptable in the adult language; considered by French speakers to be typical of baby talk
3. Obligatory subject present and adult-like as clitic pronoun
4. Obligatory subject present and adult-like as full noun phrase

Table 3.11 illustrates all four of these categories, using examples from Zéphirin’s data that were produced during a single session.

Table 3.11 Status of obligatory subjects: examples from Zéphirin

Session	Age	Single-agent infinitival complement constructions	Causative constructions
ZEF 09	2;8.31	(1) § veux l’essayer (2) § moi vas le taper (3) § elle aussi va aller dans le château (4) § le train va le faire	(1) § veux le faire tomber (2) § moi vas tomber (<i>pushes horse over</i>) (3) § lui il va faire tomber (4) § pis le train va le faire tomber hein?

Status of obligatory subject: quantification of the data

Figures 3.9 through 3.16 show the status of obligatory subjects across all sessions for the four participants whose data were quantified. For each child, status of obligatory subject is shown first for single-agent infinitival complement constructions, then for causative constructions. Categories 3 and 4 are collapsed, as “clitic/NP”, since both are adult-like and correct. Causative imperatives are not included, since they do not provide an obligatory context for the expression of grammatical subject.

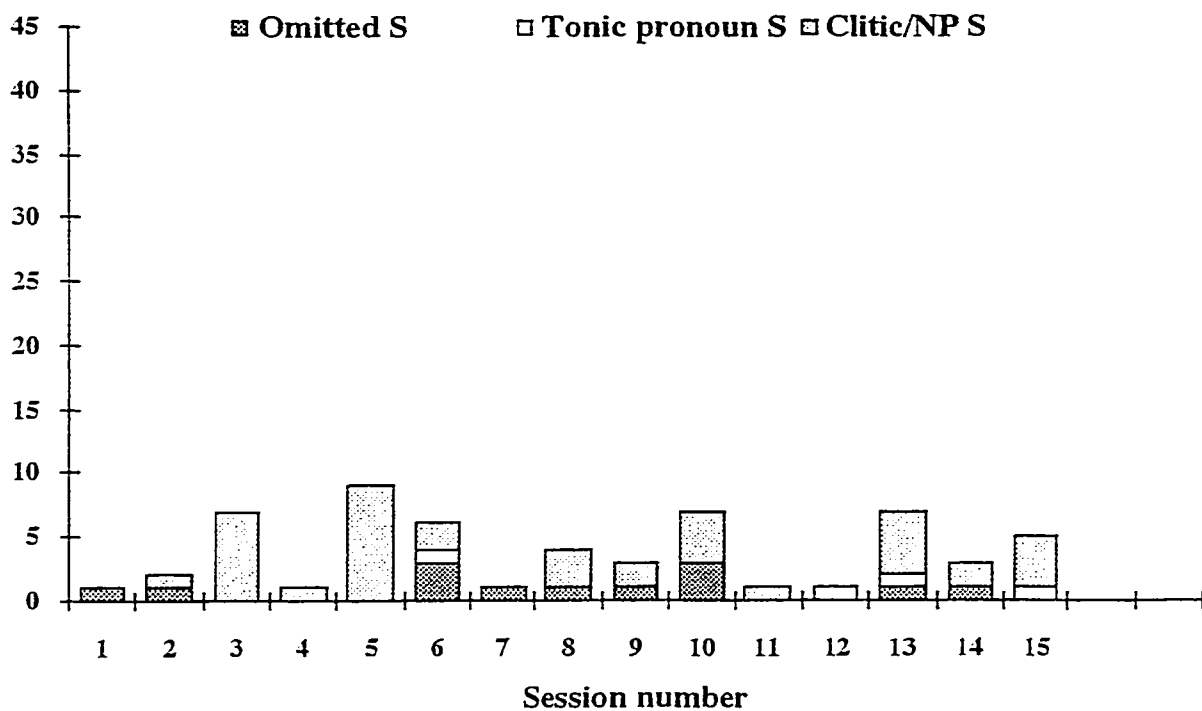


Figure 3.9 Status of subject in single-agent infinitival complements: Benoit

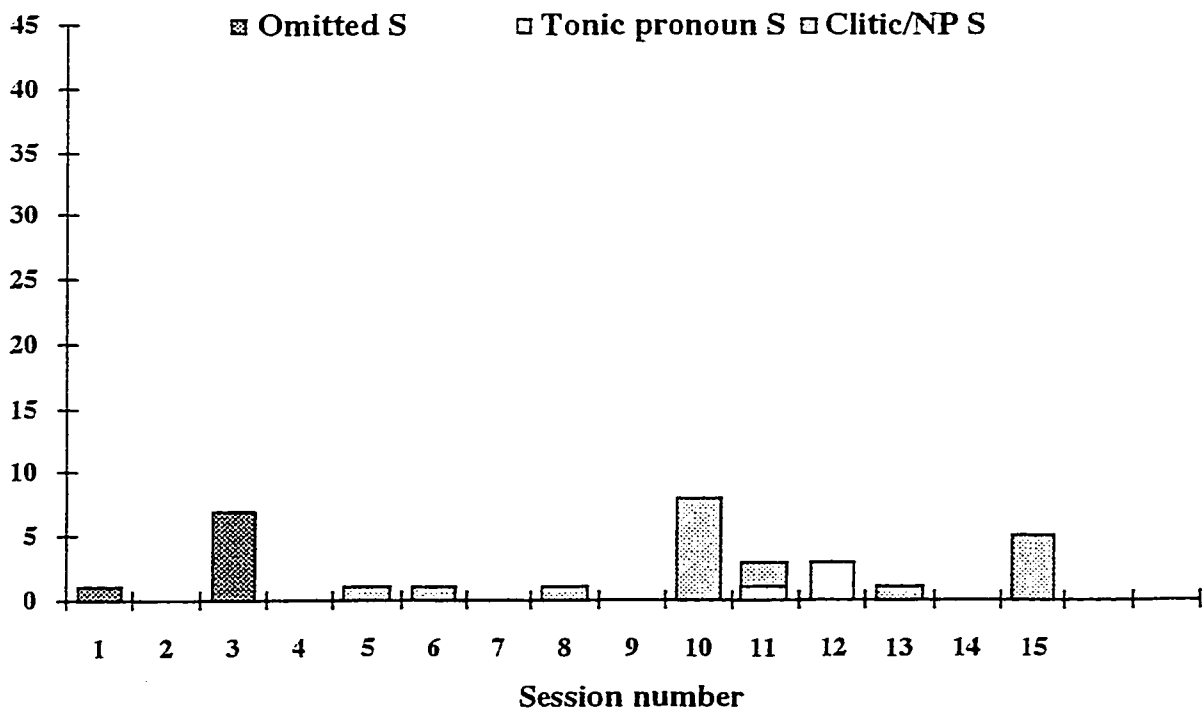


Figure 3.10 Status of obligatory subject in causative constructions: Benoit

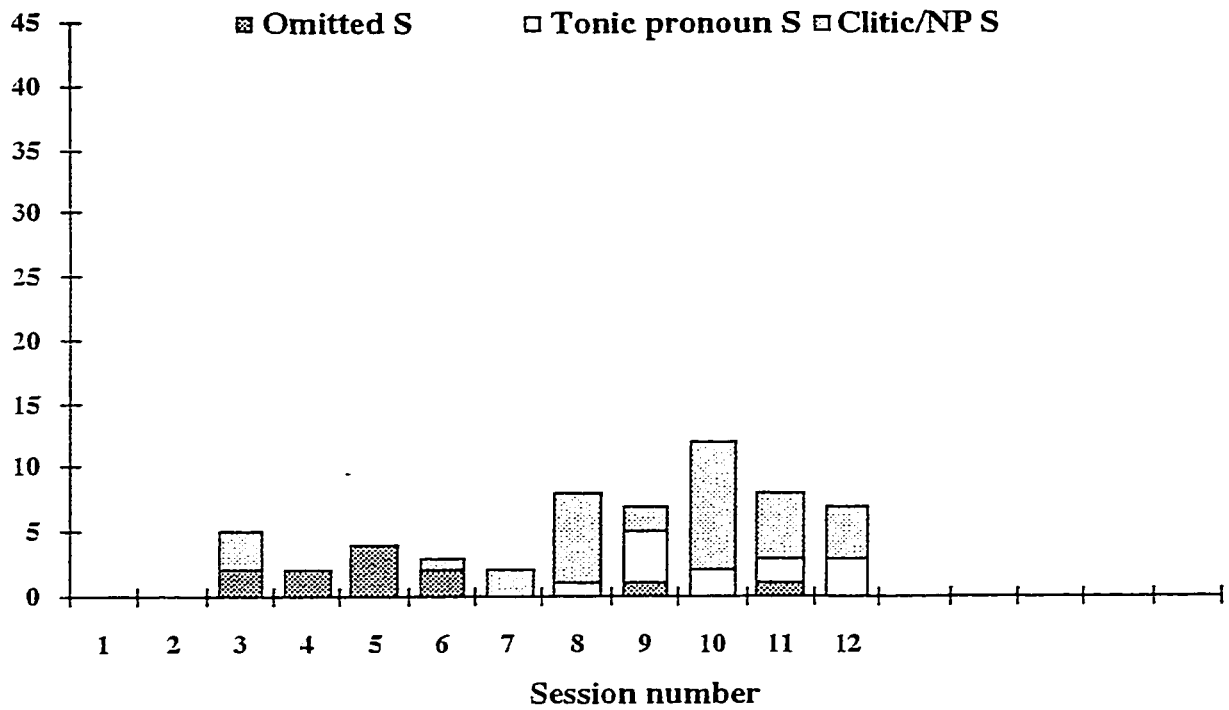


Figure 3.11 Status of subject in single-agent infinitival complements: Denis

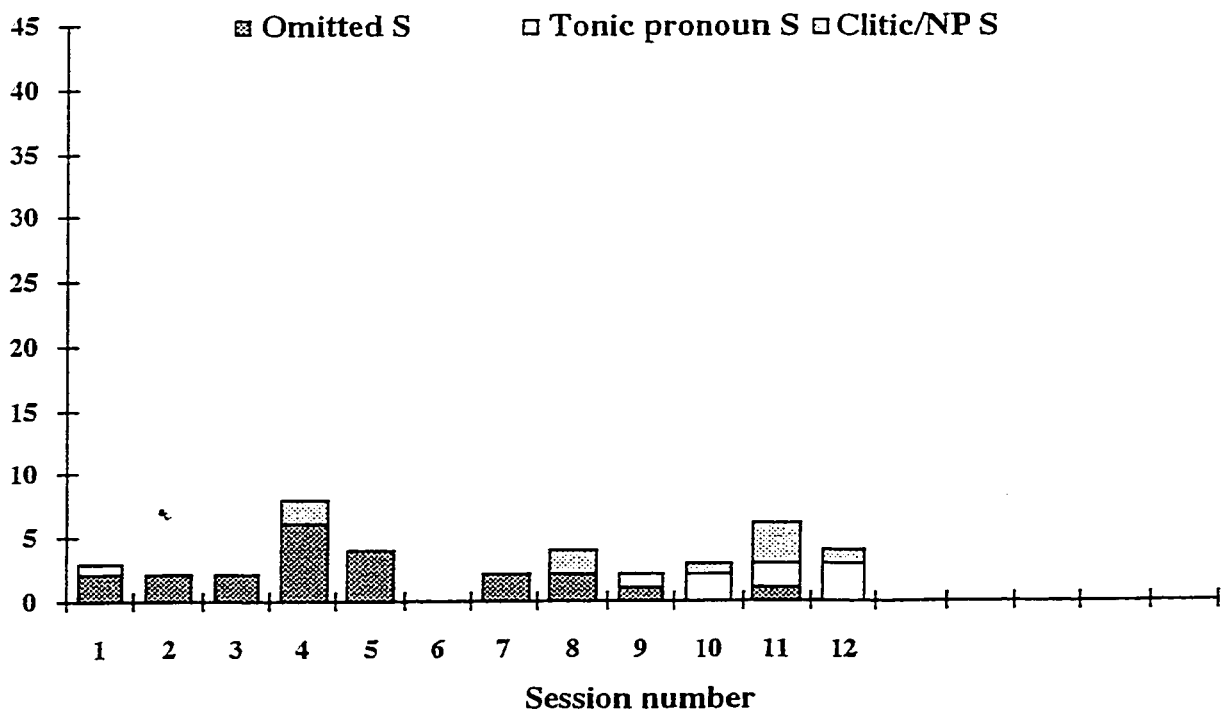


Figure 3.12 Status of obligatory subject in causative constructions: Denis

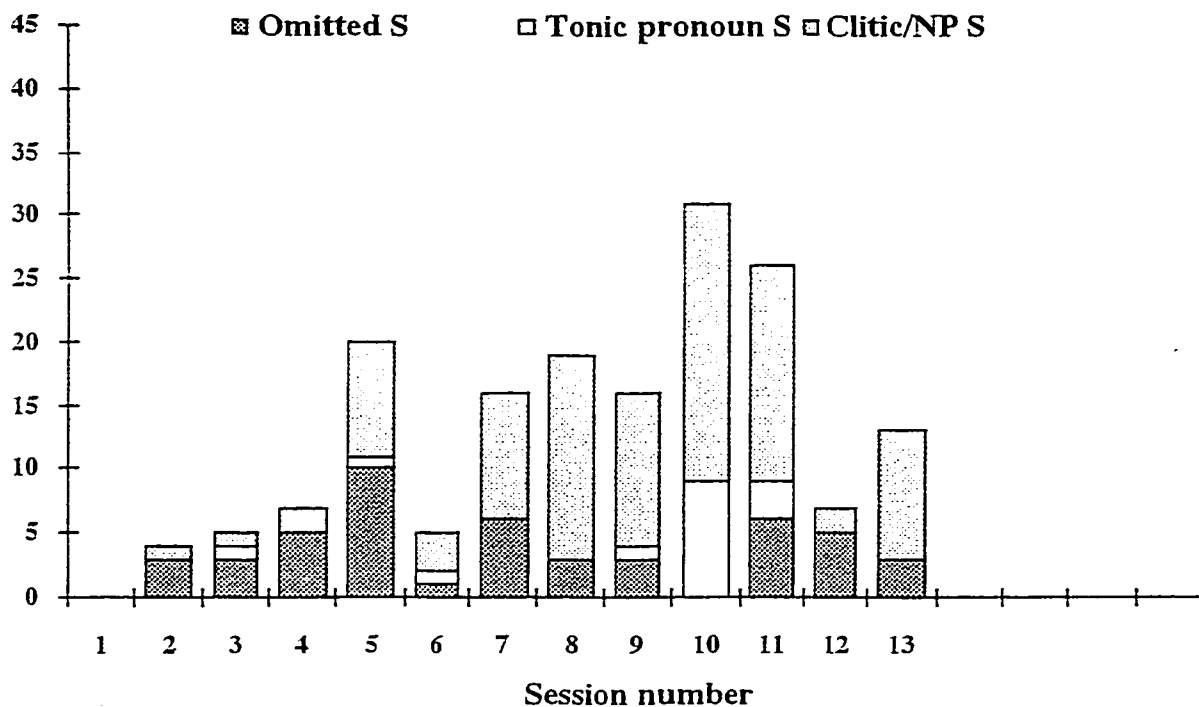


Figure 3.13 Status of subject in single-agent infinitival complements: Zéphirin

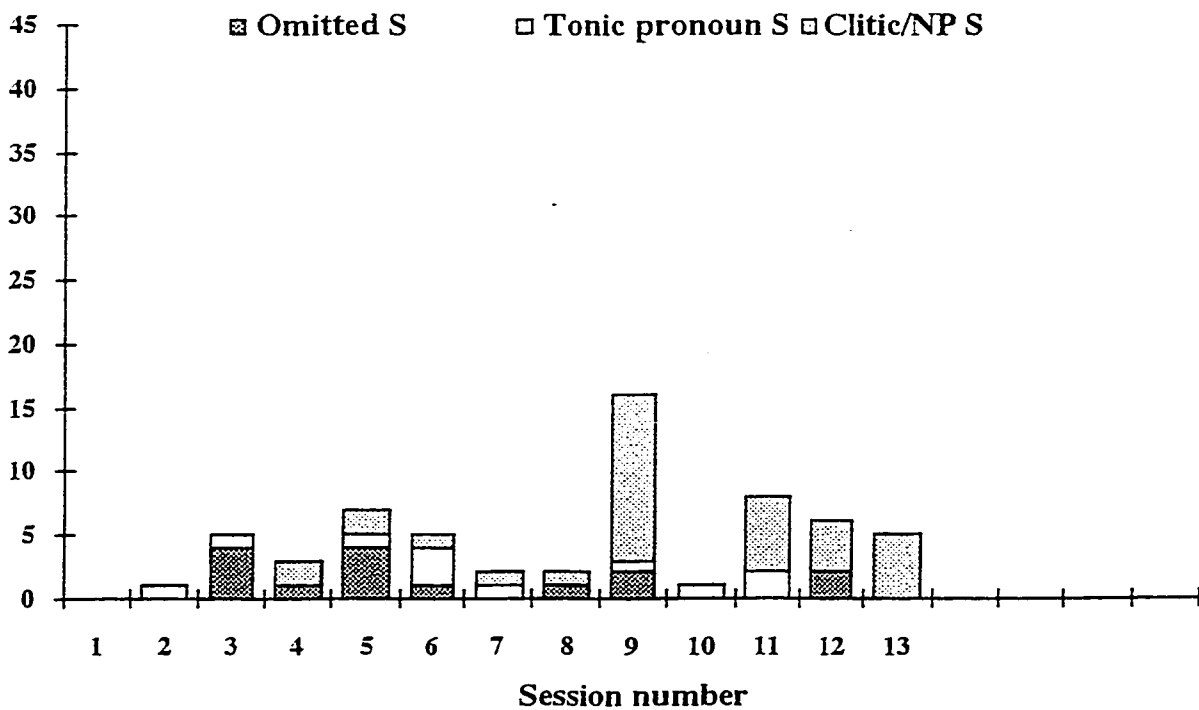


Figure 3.14 Status of obligatory subject in causative constructions: Zéphirin

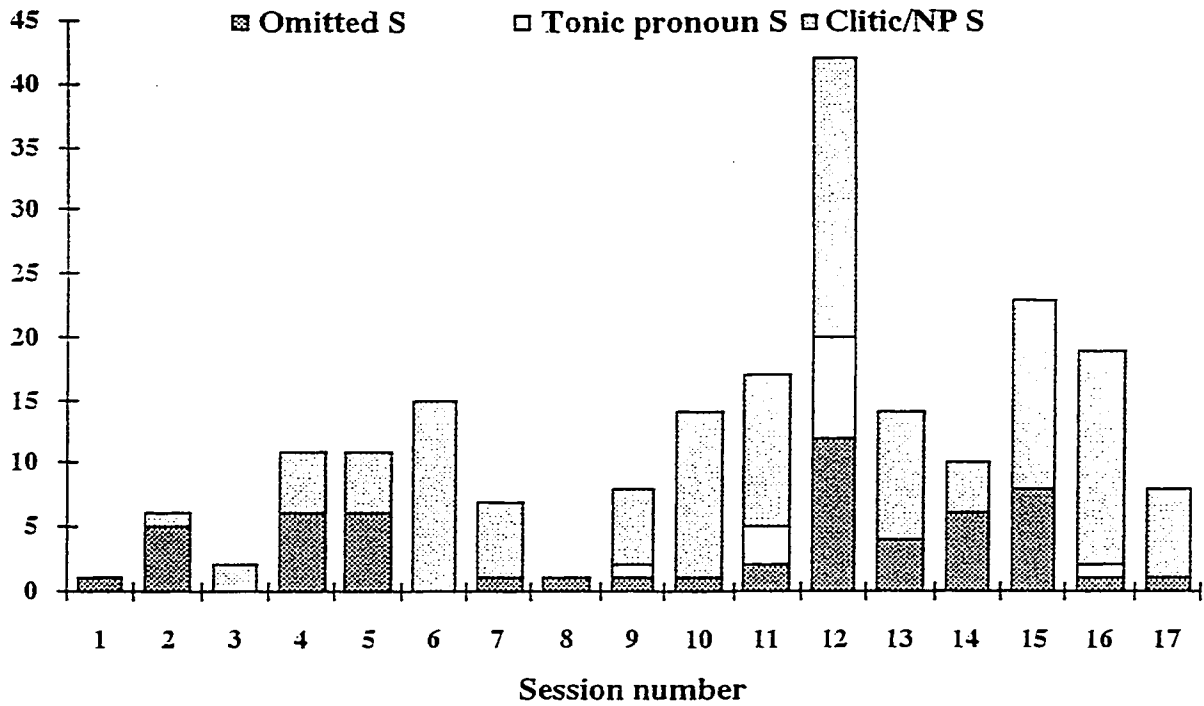


Figure 3.15 Status of subject in single-agent infinitival complements: Réjeanne

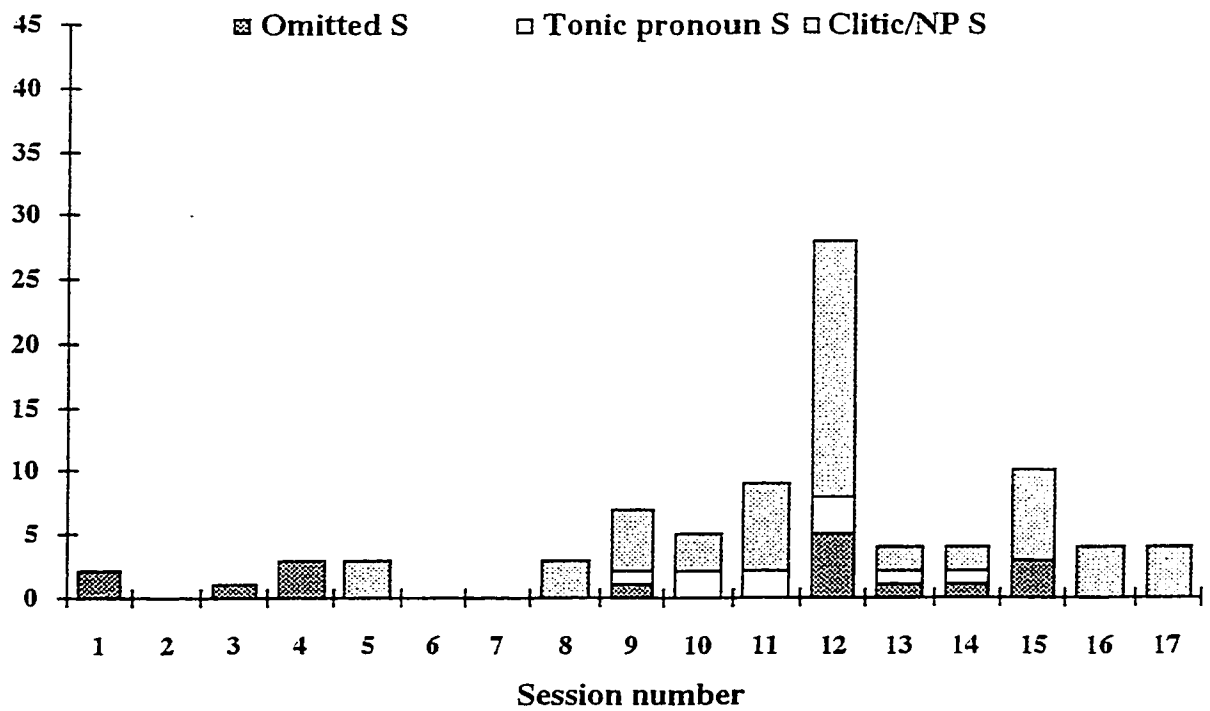


Figure 3.16 Status of obligatory subject in causative constructions: Réjeanne

Omitted obligatory subjects

Required grammatical subjects were omitted from both single-agent and causative infinitival complement constructions throughout the data collection period for all four participants, with the exception of Benoit's causative constructions. Benoit only omitted obligatory subjects in the early sessions. Réjeanne omitted obligatory subjects throughout the data collection. For the other two participants, omission is more frequent in the early sessions than in the later sessions.

Tonic-pronominal subjects

Tonic-pronominal subjects appeared only infrequently in the earlier sessions for the four participants. They then made their appearance in both single-agent and causative complement constructions within the same month, persisted in both types for some months, and started to fade out from both types of complement construction. This fade-out can be more clearly seen in the data from Zéphirin and Réjeanne, both of whom had reached their third birthdays before the end of the data collection period. Benoit and Denis were both still producing tonic-pronominal subjects at the end of the data collection period (at 2;6 for Benoit and 2;8 for Denis).

Protomodal filler syllables

The “ambiguous” syllables supplied where one would expect a *faire* in a causative construction were occasionally paralleled in the children's single-agent infinitival complement constructions by similarly ambiguous place-holding syllables in modal position. Following terminology used in recent work by Simonsen (1999), these are referred to here as “protomodal” filler syllables. They were impossible to transcribe reliably even after repeated listenings. Tables 3.12 and 3.13 show the relevant examples from the sessions in the data from Denis and Zéphirin, respectively, in which these “protomodal” filler syllables appeared in either single-agent or causative complement

Table 3.12 Denis: Protomodals and target-like modals in pre-infinitival position

Session	Age	Single-agent aux+infinitive	Causative
DEN 02	2;1.19		§ é manger à petit bébé
DEN 04	2;3.11		§ xxx seul à marcher ça moi § veux à xxx à marcher ça § veux marcher ça § à monter petit bonhomme, là! (I say, "j'ai pas compris, Denis; he states § xxx monter petit bonhomme § fais-la tourner. ça (of top)
DEN 05	2;3.24	§ veux jouer encore § rrr rrr cacher la barbe § xxx pas mordre l'ours § veux enlever la selle (trying to take saddle off horse; pronunciation not adult-like)	§ da de de da manger bébé § é ou à manger § oh a manger (he is feeding baby with spoon) § é boire (in response to my question "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?")
DEN 06	2;4.6	§ é pas serrer les animaux! § xxx il xxx manger tous les enfants § va cacher lui, va cacher lui	
DEN 07	2;4.21	§ tu veux tu fais du karaté? § il é pas monter dessus (is rejecting my suggestion "on fait monter le lionceau sur le dos du papa")	
DEN 08	2;5.28	§ non il va é mordu (for "être"?) § il va é mangé § il va voir § lion il va é manger, lion il va manger! § moi veux jouer avec les chevaux § non les gens qui veut monter là	

Table 3.13 Zéphirin: Protomodals and target-like modals in pre-infinitival position

Session	Age	Single-agent aux+infinitive	Causative
ZEF 02	2;3.21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § veux mettre xxx à ça § veux voir les bébés § va laver § puis elle pour laver 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § moi vas tourner § é tourne elle (<i>asking me to turn top</i>) § à tourne elle (<i>asking me to turn top</i>) § é marche ça (<i>asking me to make rabbit hop</i>) § é fa tourner comme ça (<i>asking me to wind up monkey</i>)
ZEF 04	2;4.18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § vas les garder § faut peser § pas elle, va casser! § pas ça, va casser! § va casser § moi vas casser à tigre (2 times) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § là fa tourner vite (<i>ambiguous: "va"?</i>) § il fait ma marche (<i>he wants to knock over toys with a little car he has found</i>) § fais tourner pas à bonhomme, pas à bonhomme! § fais casser ça
ZEF 05	2;6.29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § va faire +/ § moi vas faire à serpent § elle aussi veut tourner § (re)garde, peut marcher § elle veut mettre dans douche, toutes les héris § va donner ses souliers § c'est elle va chicaner § va boire § va mettre des céréales § elle, vas mettre ma main dedans § vas ramasser ça avec ma main § vas manger les céréales § non non dedans va manger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § fais deux tomber § va essayer de tomber à cheval § fa tourner à souris (<i>ambiguous: "va"?</i>) § moi va tourner ça (<i>ambiguous</i>) § il va faire dormir les bébés (<i>imitating me: I have just modelled "Pour faire dormir les bébés"</i>) § il va faire coucher dans l'eau § vas faire couler l'eau § é vas tourner ça, moi (<i>of tops</i>) § pis ça aussi va faire tomber § fais tourner ça
ZEF 07	2;7.25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § é vas prendre mes bonhommes § j'veux essayer § vas les mélanger pour pas que ça aille mal! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> § fais-le bouger, ça § fais tourner les toupies—gal § comme ça ça fait tourner

constructions². Utterances in either category in which there was no filler syllable are also included if the subject produced any during the same session. We see that at any given point during the course of development recorded here, these children may in fact have been able to produce *va(i)(s)*³, *veux* or *fais* in preinfinitival position, but they did not always do so in an unambiguous way.

The filler syllables in these utterances fall into three different categories:

1. one or more vocalic sounds before an infinitive
2. sounds beginning with a voiced or unvoiced labial fricative that appear to be intended as one of *va(i)(s)*, *veux*, *fais* before an infinitive (but that cannot be definitively identified, given the leeway afforded by the context)
3. “other”; sounds of a teasing and playful nature before an infinitive, all produced by Denis.

Qualitative data from the other four French-L1 participants

The other four children whose data were scanned for purposes of analysis, but without yielding enough instances of developmental forms of the causative to permit even “soft” quantification, were (in ascending order from age at first taping) Léo, Iseult, Samuel and Claudia. Table 3.3 lists the sessions with these children that were analyzed, and a complete scan of the infinitival complement constructions produced by these children can be found in Appendix B. Although the data from these children do not provide the full developmental moving picture, some revealing data snapshots do nonetheless emerge. They are summarized briefly here. The evidence obtained from these four children provides further validation for the developmental sequence observed in Benoit, Denis, Zéphirin and

²Réjeanne also produced a few utterances with filler syllables, not substantially different from those shown in Tables 3.12 and 3.13. They may be found in the complete set of Réjeanne's data in Appendix B.

³In colloquial Quebec French, the first person singular present form of the verb *aller* is usually pronounced *je vas* or *j'vas*. These are the forms young children would normally be exposed to. If a child does not distinguish between the forms of *aller* that follow *je* and *tu*, and pronounces them both *vas*, this should not be considered an error or evidence of confusion.

Réjeanne. These snapshots indicate that the same underlying script for acquisition was being acted out by all eight children where *faire faire* causatives were concerned.

Léo: supplying *faire* inconsistently

At the midway point of data collection, Léo produced the three causative utterances shown in Table 3.14:

Table 3.14 Causative utterances from Léo

LEO 05	2;8.24	§ moi aussi veux sauter les autres (<i>after my modelling of "Je veux les faire sauter"</i>) § faire tourner lui (<i>after modelling, "Es-tu capable de les faire tourner?"</i>) § veux faire tourner lui, ça lui, pis lui, moi
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The following facts are noteworthy: in the same session, Léo omitted *faire* even after modelling; he produced a causative with *faire* that seemed to be a clear case of partial imitation; and he produced a subject-less causative with *faire*. He produced no clitic-pronominal causee agents, even in contexts with adult modelling; his causee agents were all placed after the *faire*+infinitive. He did provide a tonic pronoun in obligatory subject position.

One month later (LEO 06 at 2;9.8) Léo produced "*il les fait tomber à terre*", a *faire faire* causative that is correctly formed in every respect.

Iseult: moving slowly

Iseult produced causatives in only two of the four sessions for which she was present. During those four sessions she was highly responsive to modelling and very eager to express herself with an attentive adult.

In ISE 01 at 2;9.19, Iseult was clearly not able to produce *faire* in a causative on her own, and her clitic placement is uncertain:

Table 3.15 Iseult's causatives at 2;9.19

ISE 01	2;9.19	<p>§ la faire tourner? (<i>echo of Claudia's immediately preceding "est-ce que tu veux la faire tourner?"</i>)</p> <p>§ difficile à rouler (<i>unprompted</i>)</p> <p>§ pas capable faire la tourner (<i>2 turns previously I asked her "es-tu capable de le faire tourner?"</i>)</p> <p>§ veux manger les bébés (<i>I have just asked her "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec" all the babies and feeding implements</i>)</p> <p>§ veux manger un bébé (<i>after above utterance I asked "hein?" as didn't hear clearly</i>)</p> <p>§ les mange (<i>in response to "qu'est-ce que tu fais au bébé?"; then I correct, "tu les FAIS manger"</i>)</p> <p>§ je les mange (<i>I have just asked "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?"; she then self-corrects immediately and with questioning intonation produces</i>)</p> <p>§ je les bois, les bébés?</p> <p>§ je les mange (<i>again, I have just asked "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?"</i>)</p>
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Without a model to imitate, she consistently produced variants on "*manger les bébés*" in a context that called for *faire manger*, even after I overtly corrected her (the correction was unpremeditated—a good example of how hard it can be for the researcher to maintain an objective stance!). Her obligatory subjects were somewhat erratic, but she settled into "*je les mange*" and "*je les bois*" after a little practice.

Ten months later, Iseult had clearly made progress, and the three causative utterances she produced, shown in Table 3.16, are a textbook demonstration of the "non-discreteness of stages". Before my modelling she produced a *faire*-less causative, but she was capable of supplying *faire* after modelling in a way that she was not able to at 2;9. Movement through stages was under way, but the stage of supplying *faire* independently had not yet emerged.

Table 3.16 Iseult's causatives at 3;7.24

ISE 03	3;7.24	<p>§ manger les bébés (<i>I have just asked, “qu’est-ce que tu penses qu’on fait avec ça?”</i>, showing bag with babies and feeding utensils)</p> <p>§ je le fais manger (<i>she was feeding baby, and I asked, “qu’est-ce que tu fais, Iseult, avec ton bébé?”</i> and when she didn’t answer (but smiled and looked shy), I prompted, “qu’est-ce que tu vas faire avec tout ça? c’est quoi ça, quand tu fais ça? est-ce que tu le fais sauter dans les airs?”; this made her smile, and she responded with correct form above)</p> <p>§ je le fais boire du jus d’orange (<i>she is holding cup to baby and I have just asked, “c’est quoi que tu lui fais boire?”</i>)</p>
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On her own she produced the *faire*-less “*manger les bébés*”. After a little adult modelling and encouragement, she produced a very well-formed causative, with *faire* and clitic-pronominal causee agent in the right places. However, she was not able to imitate a double-object causative correctly, although she seemed to have no trouble understanding what it meant and producing a close approximation that was very comprehensible. The dative marking on the causee agent, although I had just supplied it, was not reproduced in her answer to my question. If more data samples from Iseult had been available, it might have been possible to chart her progress more precisely. The signs were that her causative syntax was developing rather slowly in comparison to other children her age. This was my impression regarding the rest of her language as well, and was confirmed by her home day care caregiver. Recordings of Claudia at which Iseult was present suggest that Claudia was somewhat ahead of her age linguistically, and Iseult somewhat behind.

Samuel: moving fast

A month before his third birthday, Samuel was still omitting *faire* in causatives, but he was showing signs of being ready to move on. Samuel's attempts at causatives at this time are shown in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17 Samuel's causatives at 2;11.9

SAM 02	2;11.9	§ à tourner comme ça (<i>his response to the "à quoi ça sert, le petit pignon?" prompt</i>) § uh mange au bébé là...mange au bébé (" <i>Qu'est-ce que tu fais?</i> ") <i>He is feeding baby</i> § non non BOIRE le bébé (<i>referring to BEN</i>) § moi fais manger à bébé
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Two months later, Samuel had good control over obligatory subjects and *faire* in causatives, although his grasp of clitic-pronominal causee agents was not yet secure. We see this in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18 Samuel's causatives at 3;1.20

SAM 05	3;1.20	§ moi je le fais bouger, regarde § c'est comme ça on le fait bouger (<i>explaining to BEN</i>) § je le fais rouler § elle est pas capable faire la voler toute seule (<i>about butterfly finger puppet</i>)
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After that session Samuel made no errors in clitic placement.

Claudia: further stages?

Claudia's language was in advance of her age throughout. During the 20 months when I was a regular visitor in her home she produced many causatives in a multitude of contexts. Almost all of them were well-formed and adult-like (as a glance through her data in Appendix B will show). That there are further stages to the acquisition of the causative, *not* attested to in the limited set of data collected for this study, can be guessed at by Claudia's developing ability to produce a correct subjunctive at 3;8.23 (session CLO 08): "*Je veux que tu le fasses tourner!*" In such a double-complement construction, one with a subjunctive as well as a causative, yet another level of complexity is added to the argument

structure: of the *three* verbs, each verb has a different agent, and the selection, ordering and case marking of the subject and object pronouns is challenging.

Four months later, when Claudia had just turned 4, she produced the following two causative utterances: “*on pèse ici comme ça, pis ça ça fait bouger la queue*”; “*j’ai fait même bouger celle-là*”. The placement of the adverb *même* in the second of the two utterances would never be produced by a fully mature speaker. An adult would say *J’ai même fait bouger celle-là* or *J’ai fait bouger même celle-là*. Adding an adverb to the sentence in this way was a demonstration of Claudia’s increasing linguistic sophistication; putting it in the wrong place shows that the syntax of causatives still offers some challenges once the “basics” have been mastered, when it comes to the manipulation of additional sentence elements.

DISCUSSION

Three stages for the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative

The sequence of stages of acquisition of the French causative *faire faire* in monolingual children that emerges from the evidence presented in this study is summarized in Table 3.19. A “Stage Four”, in which children would work out the syntax of double-object causatives, and perhaps of causative constructions that also include a subjunctive, can be postulated. The longitudinal data gathered for this study do not go far enough to provide more than suggestive evidence of such a stage. Examples of typical utterances at each stage, extracted from the data in Appendix B, are shown in Table 3.20.

The two specifically causative-related features that emerge as the most salient in this progress through stages are, (a) the period of omission or irregular production of causative *faire*, (b) the phenomenon of misplaced clitic-pronominal causee agent objects. The more general linguistic features that have been discussed (filler syllables in pre-infinitival position, presence or absence of obligatory subject, tonic-pronominal subjects or objects) are not peculiar to causativization. They can all be used to shed light on the course of

Table 3.19 Stages of causative acquisition in French

STAGE	Presence of <i>faire</i>	Object (causee agent)	Obligatory subject (all types of complement construction)	Protomodal filler syllables
ONE	<i>Faire</i> is often omitted in clear contexts for causative	Causee agent often omitted; when supplied, is usually nominal or tonic pronominal	Subject often omitted; when supplied, is usually clitic pronoun (full nominals also occur)	Protomodals appear in causative constructions
TWO	<i>Faire</i> is still omitted occasionally	Causee agent usually supplied; clitic-pronominal causee agents appear, occasionally misplaced (put between <i>faire</i> and infinitive in non-imperative utterance)	Tonic pronominal subjects appear	More protomodals in non-causatives than causatives
THREE	<i>Faire</i> is reliably supplied in causatives	Correctly placed clitics, but double-object pronominal constructions rarely attempted & cause difficulty	Tonic pronominal subjects fade out	Auxiliaries all clear and reliably supplied

causative acquisition, however, by making it possible to situate the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative in a more general acquisitional context for infinitival complement constructions overall.

Table 3.20 Data examples illustrating stages of causative acquisition in French

Stage One	§ saute ça § veux marcher § vas boire mon bébé § je danse le p'tit chat
Stage Two	§ é marche ça § je fais les sauter § moi veux faire manger le petit bébé § moi aussi veux sauter les autres
Stage Three	§ puis je vais le faire sauter sur le bébé § je l'ai fait tomber! § je le fais boire du jus d'orange § pas capable de faire lui bouger les pieds

Protomodal filler syllables across a range of infinitival complement construction types

The most common filler syllables produced by the children in auxiliary position were vocalic. There is evidence from the English L1 literature that a place-holding *schwa* is sometimes used as a temporary syntax-extending strategy by children in the process of learning how to construct longer and more complex utterances than is possible at the two- or three-word stage (Bloom, 1970, 1991). A variety of functions may be assumed by the place-holder. Peters (1995, 1999) has suggested that the use of such “protomorphemic” place-holders for closed-class morphemes may be commonplace across a wide range of languages. In this perspective, the use of these place-holding or filler-type sounds is an example of one of a number of possible strategies available to the language-acquiring child who is endeavouring to express longer and more complex meanings without having quite figured out what all the bits and pieces are. In the present study, these French-acquiring children appear to know that a morpheme is required in pre-infinitival position, and they do in fact supply a sound in this position. Sometimes it approximates a modal very closely; sometimes it bears very little resemblance to a modal, and seems to be functioning as a place-holder for the child.

Building on earlier work by Peters, a number of other child language researchers have begun to contribute both data and theoretical perspectives to the ongoing investigation into protomorphemic filler syllables (for example, Feldman, 1999; Lléo, 1999; Simonsen, 1999; Veneziano, 1999). Painstaking analyses of child language corpora have revealed the possible importance of the filler syllable strategy for some children; a wide range of individual variation seems to exist with respect to children's propensity to use this strategy (this is emphasized very clearly in the work of Simonsen). The filler syllables used by Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne in this study should properly be termed "protomodalic" (after Simonsen, 1999) rather than "protomorphemic", since the range of possible alternatives in pre-infinitival position in the adult language is restricted to modals only (E. Veneziano, personal communication, July 12, 1999). "Protomorphemic" is, however, the term more commonly used in the literature.

The wide range of individual variation in the use of the filler syllable strategy that has been remarked upon by other researchers is reflected in the data collected for the present study. The most striking example of filler use can be found in the data from Denis, whose playful use of a variety of different sounds in place of the verbal auxiliaries was very pronounced during session 05 (at 2;3.24), when he produced "*da de de da manger bébé*" and "*rrr rrr cacher la barbe*" in a very sing-song and jovial fashion. By way of contrast, there are no instances in the data from Benoit that can be said to be "unambiguously ambiguous" There are two instances in his data for which a filler syllable interpretation is possible, but since Benoit's articulation was still very immature at that time, I could not be sure that I had simply failed to understand a sound for which he did in fact have a clear and unambiguous representation as a specific modal, so I gave him the benefit of the doubt.

Filler syllables in single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne all produced vocalic *é*-type fillers in preinfinitival position in utterances that are clearly intended as single-agent infinitival complement constructions. In this type of utterance, only Denis occasionally produced any other kind of filler, seemingly in a “sound play” fashion. Fillers in this position seem to be intended to express either *va(s)* or *veux*, either of which is always a possible interpretation given the context. It is noteworthy that the actual fillers produced by the children do not approximate the vowel sounds in either of these modals. These fillers do not sound like progressive approximations of the modals that are possible in this position.

Filler syllables in causative constructions

All three of the children who produced filler syllables did so a number of times in utterances that were clearly meant to have causative meaning. Réjeanne did this somewhat less than the other two children. Are some of these instances in causatives “*fais* without the /f/”? Zéphirin, in particular, produced several instances of filler syllables expressed phonologically as sounds intermediate between /fa/ and /va/ in contexts that made a causative interpretation plausible.

Comparison between filler syllables in causative and in single-agent infinitival complement constructions

It is an intriguing coincidence that in French, of the possible lexical items allowable in pre-infinitival position over the range of infinitival complement constructions, several begin with labial fricatives (*va(s)*, *veux*, *fais*) and one with a phonologically somewhat similar labial stop (*peux*). The data presented in this study show that all four of these possible options for pre-infinitival position were acquired by these French-L1 children during their third year. It would not be surprising if the accidental phonological similarity between the four possibilities listed led to some initial confusion as children prepare to make on-line decisions about which one they want to express.

For all three children, protomodalic filler syllables were more likely to occur in *causative* constructions during the first few data-collecting sessions, and in *non-causative* constructions during the last few. The number of instances is admittedly very small, but the qualitative findings are nonetheless suggestive. It is possible that further analysis of these and other French corpora would show that the qualitative trend that emerges from these data could be backed up by more rigorous and more quantitative support. In a *faire faire* causative construction only *faire* is admissible in pre-infinitival position by definition, so the choice is highly constrained. In single-agent infinitival complements, there are several possibilities, with near-homonymy between two of them (*va(s)* and *veux*). This might account for the fact that filler syllables drop out of the children's data earlier for causative utterances. The subtle distinctions in type and amount of intentionality and futurity conveyed by the choice of one modal or another in single-agent infinitival complement constructions may take longer to acquire, and the phonological resemblance between *veux* and *va(s)* may add to the possible confusion.

What is less easy to account for is the fact that the children who produced filler syllables nearly always showed, in the same session, that they were able to produce *unambiguous* instances of the words the filler syllables seemed to be standing in for. A further analysis of these data might reveal aspects of the interactional context that would explain the children's seeming certainty about what they intended to say at one time and their apparent refusal to commit themselves a few moments before or after. Perhaps the emerging modal auxiliaries, at this point in the children's development, were more likely to be clearly expressed when other demands on the children's attention were not present in the extralinguistic context.

Level of syntactic difficulty of causative constructions as opposed to single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Co-occurrence of infinitival complement construction types

From the onset of data collection, Benoit, Denis, Zéphirin and Réjeanne all produced causative constructions. In fact, for Denis and Zéphirin, causative constructions appear in the data one or two sessions *before* the first recorded single-agent infinitival complement constructions (this information is recoverable from a close comparison of Figure 3.11 with Figure 3.12, and Figure 3.13 with Figure 3.14). It is noteworthy that throughout the period of data collection for all four children, both kinds of infinitival complement constructions (non-valence-changing single-agent, and valence-changing causative) occur together in the data.

Status of obligatory subjects in infinitival complement constructions

The tendency of very young children to produce subjectless sentences at a certain stage in the acquisition of their first language has been noted by many researchers. The phenomenon has most often been examined from a parametric (pro-drop) perspective (Hyams, 1986). A related generativist perspective has produced interesting recent analyses of subjectless sentences in early child French in terms of the development of functional categories (Ferdinand, 1996; Grondin, 1992; White, 1996). Analyses of English corpora have been undertaken which propose, *contra* Hyams, several alternatives to the pro-drop explanation of children's subjectless sentences, in terms of subclasses of English verbs (O'Grady, Peters & Masterson, 1989), performance limitations and processibility (L. Bloom, 1970; P. Bloom, 1990) and the prosody of metrical feet in English (Gerken, 1991).

The subset of data on the suppliance of obligatory grammatical subjects which is relevant to the present study is more narrowly defined than the type of data considered in the studies mentioned. Where the development of causative constructions is concerned, the

comparison of interest is between subjects in causative constructions and subjects in single-agent infinitival complement constructions.

Although an examination of the data shows differences across the children, clear patterns emerge. Most importantly for the present analysis, there seems to be no difference between the way subject pronoun use develops in single-agent infinitival complement constructions and causative complement constructions in the data for the four French monolingual children whose data were quantifiable. At any given point in development, the two types of complement construction appear to be equally easy or difficult for each child as far as ability to supply grammatical subject is concerned.

It seems clear from the evidence presented here, therefore, that there is a close relationship between the two kinds of complement construction. The children approach them at the same point in their cognitive and linguistic development, and seem to treat them as if they are of the same syntactic difficulty level overall. In view of the fact that the argument structure of causatives is more complex than that of non-valence-changing, non-causative, single-agent infinitival complement constructions, this is an interesting finding. The added level of syntactic/semantic complexity in the verb phrase in causative constructions does not seem to hinder the L1 children, even though they may still be at a stage of syntactic development characterized by frequent omission of many sentence elements, such as subjects and objects.

Summary

The data gathered from eight monolingual children acquiring French as a first language show clearly that there are at least three distinct stages through which French-L1 children pass with respect to the acquisition of one specific syntactic structure in French, the *faire faire* causative. The first stage is characterized by the omission of *faire* in some or all causative contexts. The third stage is adult-like when the causative verb phrase has only one object—the causee agent—but the child is not yet able to produce double-object

causative constructions without a great deal of modelling and encouragement. In the intermediate stage, *faire* is sometimes supplied and sometimes omitted. Placement of the causee agent direct object undergoes a period of free variation when the agent is expressed as a clitic pronoun. The clitic pronoun is sometimes placed between *faire* and the infinitive in declarative utterances, a word order that is correct only in imperative sentences in adult French.

Further investigation would enable us to determine in what way children go through a postulated fourth stage of causative acquisition, in which double-object causatives and other refinements of the verb phrase such as the incorporation of compound tenses and subjunctive verb forms are presumably acquired.

At the same time as they were working on the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative, the children studied here were acquiring single-agent infinitival complement constructions such as *Je veux jouer*. In both kinds of construction, the children frequently omitted obligatory subjects or supplied obligatory subjects as tonic pronouns ("*moi veux jouer*"). The two kinds of construction became adult-like in the children's spontaneous speech at about the same time. Some of the children showed a tendency to express the *faire* of their *faire faire* causatives and the modal auxiliaries in their *je veux jouer*-type utterances as ambiguously articulated filler syllables, a phenomenon which conforms to findings from other first language researchers on the early emergence of protomorphemes (in this case, protomodals).

A more fine-grained analysis of the data collected for the present study, involving complete transcription of all the children's utterances (with linguistic context and extralinguistic context specified—utterances by other interactants, environmental stimuli, and so forth) would give more insight into the features of the linguistic and extralinguistic environment that contribute to a child's ability to express a greater number of required sentence elements at a given point in development and for a given level of syntactic complexity. Such an analysis might lead to answers for questions such as why children

sometimes produce *faire* in their causative constructions and sometimes do not during the first and second stages of causative acquisition, what features seem to determine whether or not a child will include an obligatory subject in an infinitival complement construction, how the expression of obligatory subjects in these more complex constructions is related to the child's ability to express subjects in simple verb phrases with only one verb form. These and other questions could be addressed on the basis of the data collected here, constituting a rich new database for the study of the acquisition of L1 French by monolingual French-Canadian children.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 2: THE ACQUISITION OF THE FRENCH CAUSATIVE BY BENGALI-L1 PRESCHOOLERS

The results of Study 1 show that in French-speaking toddlers the *faire faire* causative usually emerges and takes on adult-like form before the age of three: it is a fairly early-acquired form. It was predicted that it would also be early-acquired by second-language learners, especially by learners who are at preschool age during their initial exposure to the L2, and who are presumed to have good control over a parallel form in their own language by the time they reach kindergarten entry age at their 4th or 5th birthdays.

METHOD

Participants

Background for selection of participants

The schools. The L2 participants in the present study were all kindergarten pupils in three different inner-city schools in Montreal. These schools will be referred to as Schools Central, North and West. School Central is located in a multiethnic area just north of Montreal's downtown. This neighbourhood is one of "old" immigrant settlement by people of Eastern and Southern European origin. There were many children of Bangladeshi origin in the three *Maternelle-accueil* classes at School Central, but they were all bussed in from other neighbourhoods—there is no local Bangladeshi population of any size. Ten participants in this study were at School Central, all of them bussed in from either the School North area or the School West area. School North is located in a multiethnic area of much more recent immigrant concentration somewhat to the north of School Central. There is a diverse ethnic mix in the neighbourhood and in the schools. Of the children who eventually took part in the study described here, 14 were from School North. School West

is located in a neighbourhood some distance to the west of School North (and is thus quite a distance north and west of downtown). The School West area, unlike the School North area or the School Central area, habitually uses English as its public lingua franca. This trilingual context—French at school, English on the street and a third, immigrant language at home—is the context from which the School West kindergarten children come. English (often not very native-like) is a frequently heard language in French-language kindergarten classrooms in School West, despite the teachers' remonstrances and attempts to get the children to use only French. The local population is made up almost entirely of allophones who have arrived in the past five or ten years, most of them immigrants, refugees, or refugee claimants. Since refugee claimants sometimes have to wait four or five years for their claims to be processed by the Immigrant and Refugee Board, it happens frequently that kindergarten-age children have parents whose permanent resettlement in Canada is not certain. Seven Bengali-speaking preschoolers from School West took part in the study reported here.

In most respects, the *accueil* classes observed during the course of the present study resembled the regular classes observed (see pp. 2-4). As a result of the demographic makeup of these high immigrant concentration neighbourhoods, the regular kindergarten classes at Schools North and West, like the *accueil* classes at School Central, had no French-L1 children, although there was no official reason why they should not. The student-teacher ratio at School North (although not at School West) was kept down to 18:1 (rather than the regular ratio of 22:1) in consideration of the greater challenge such classes present to the teacher. Teachers at Schools North and West often remarked, "*Toutes nos classes sont des classes d'accueil*". One difference is that the teachers in these two schools had not had any training in second language pedagogy at all.

The time frame. The time frame for the study was as follows: after permission to approach school principals was obtained from the school board, a three-month period of classroom observation got under way in February. The text of the letter that was sent to

principals and distributed to teachers with the principals' help is reproduced as Appendix F. Each child selected during classroom observation participated in a semi-structured play session one-on-one with the researcher near the end of the kindergarten year. This process lasted from late April through early June. After each child's play session, an information-gathering interview was conducted in Bengali with the parents, in the child's home. Parent interviews were conducted during the month of June.

Teachers and classrooms. Sixteen teachers agreed to allow their Bengali-L1 pupils to participate in the present study. Their ages ranged from 25 to 55, and their years of teaching experience from two to 25. All were Francophone and female, and all but one were *Québécoises de vieille souche* (old stock Quebecers whose ancestors came to Quebec many generations ago); the remaining woman was a recent immigrant from France.

The kindergarten classrooms observed for the purposes of the present study were all set up along lines familiar to North American preschool educators. There were always several large low tables with six to eight child-size chairs per table, grouped in the middle of the classroom. Classrooms were large and well-lit, with bathrooms accessible to the children on the same floor. There were activity stations (which the teachers refer to as *ateliers*) around the edges of each room, typically including such activities as: block/construction corner, house/role play/dress-up area, book corner, *bricolage* corner, table games, floor games, painting/art area (near sink), modeling clay area, and an area for "circle", where the teacher gathers the children around her several times a day.

Classroom observation prior to selection of participants

Classroom observations were conducted for two purposes. The first was to positively identify the Bengali-speaking children following the initial identification of potential participants, carried out by the school secretarial personnel, on the basis of the information about birthplace and home language in the children's files. In addition, a few potential participants were identified during classroom observations. These were children whose school files were not complete, and who had not been pointed out as Bengali-

speakers by their teachers (who did not know what their first language was). I identified these children on the basis of their names, and confirmed that they understood Bengali by asking them a few simple questions. In fact, I spoke Bengali briefly to all the potential participants, as it was important to confirm that they were Bengali-speakers. Some of the children I spoke to were Hindi-speakers and were eliminated from the pool of potential participants. All the Bengali-speakers showed evidence of understanding the simple questions I asked them, although only two showed any inclination to want to continue to interact with me in Bengali.

Another reason for conducting classroom observations was to enable the Bengali-speaking children, once identified, to become acquainted with me and to begin to feel comfortable with me. The observation period also afforded an opportunity to listen to the children interacting with their teachers and with each other in French. It became clear during the observation period that none of the Bengali-speaking children could produce well-formed utterances in French more than two or three words long. Some of the more advanced speakers did regularly put together quite long strings, but these invariably contained errors.

Obtaining parental consent

A consent form was sent home with all the Bengali-L1 children identified and observed in class, regardless of how low their level of spoken French appeared to be. The Bengali parent consent form is reproduced as Appendix G, in which the Bengali text is followed by the French translation (with explanatory cover letter) that was supplied to the teachers for information purposes.

If the teacher did not receive a reply within a week, I provided another form. For the 44 children with whom consent forms were sent home, I received 33 positive responses and three negative responses—a response rate of over 80%, with 92% of the responses being positive. Eight children failed to return the forms. Of the 33 children whose parents

consented, 31 participated in the study. Scheduling constraints made it impossible for the other two to participate.

Parent interviews

Interviews were conducted in the children's homes by a team consisting of myself and a native speaker of Bengali who had been trained in social sciences methodology at Dhaka University in Bangladesh. This native-speaking assistant, Mrs Rowshan Ara Begum, had also had experience working with preschool children when she ran a private kindergarten in Bangladesh. Mrs Begum helped work out the Bengali version of the interview protocol, suggesting ways in which some of the questions could be cast in a more culturally appropriate form. She also acted as chief interviewer, taking the lead in question-asking and in all interaction with the parents. Mrs Begum's status as an educated member of the Bangladeshi community was an important factor contributing to the success of the interviews. In the Bangladeshi cultural context it was essential that the interviews be conducted by a team consisting of women, since we wanted the children's mothers to be present and to be comfortable.

The English text of the interview protocol is reproduced as Appendix H. It will be seen from an examination of the interview protocol that the questions asked at the beginning are not relevant to early language development, but are rather intimate questions about the mother's experiences during pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding. These questions were devised to make it more likely that the mothers would be included in the interviews. This technique was successful, although some fathers asked their wives to be present but then answered even these questions on their behalf (in this cultural context it is normal practice for the husband to be the family spokesperson in all dealings with outsiders).

Parent interviews were conducted with a dual purpose in mind. The first was to ascertain, by parent report, whether the children's Bengali first-language development had seemed to be normal from the onset of language acquisition. We made a point of asking if

the child's early language had seemed to be like that of other children the same age, or unusually ahead or behind other children in any specific way. It was safe to assume that even first-time parents would have some lay knowledge of age-appropriate norms for early language development, since the extended family model is the norm in Bangladesh, and most young adults have had ample opportunity to observe and care for young children at close range over many years even if they are not themselves parents. It would obviously be unwise to rely too much on the accuracy of parental reports at four or five years' distance from the event. However, in most cases the parents were able to speak at some length about the child's early language. These reports were usually about how precocious the child had been and how pleased and proud the parents had been at the time. If there *had* been problems with the onset of oral production, however (or indeed with any other aspects of the children's development), the parents retained a vivid memory of the fact. The parents who had been concerned about their child's early language development spoke about their concern freely. Data from two children were not retained on the basis of this parent report.

The interviews also served to obtain information on language use and literacy practices in the home. This information is not relevant to the present report and has been summarized elsewhere (Sarkar, 1998).

Parent interview data are missing for one of the children. The father signed a consent form, but then expressed reluctance over the phone to have strangers come to the house for an interview. At the school's year-end party the mother confirmed in person that her husband would not allow an interview, but told me she had no objection to my using the videotaped data from the child in my analyses, as long as confidentiality was maintained. As the child in question (Anjubai) was a rich and unstoppable source of interesting language, I have retained the data.

Selection of participants

Of the 31 children who were video- and audiotaped for the research project described here, the data from seven were not retained for the purposes of this study (for reasons explained in the next section). The data from the other 24 children were retained for analysis and discussion. Of these 24 children, there were eight from each of the three kindergarten programs that exist in Quebec: *Maternelle 5 ans*, *Maternelle 4 ans*, and *Maternelle-accueil*. The *accueil* children were from School Central, the only school of the three with *Maternelle-accueil* classes. Included in this group was a child who was in a *francisation* class, technically speaking, that was situated next door to the *Maternelle-accueil* classes of the other seven children. For the purposes of this study—and for all official *Ministère de l'Éducation* purposes in Quebec—the two programs are considered to be educationally identical. Of the *Maternelle 4 ans* children, five were from School North and three were from School West. Of the *Maternelle 5 ans* children, seven were from School North and one was from School West.

The children were taken from ten different classes. It was school policy to distribute speakers of the same first language among as many classes as possible, to avoid concentrations of any one L1 group in one class (a situation that is seen by teachers and administrators as detrimental to the rapid acquisition of French L2). Of the 24 children, however, 23 were in classes in which there were other Bengali-speaking children. One of the 16 classes observed had five such children, all of whom eventually became participants in this study. Most classes had two or three Bengali-L1 children.

The 24 participants whose data were retained are presented in Table 4.1, with the children from each type of kindergarten program grouped together in ascending chronological order within each group. The children's research pseudonyms, kindergarten programs and schools, ages at time of data collection (in years; months.days) and sex are indicated. The 24 participants are equally divided between girls and boys.

Table 4.1 L2 participants by program/school, age at time of data collection and sex

Pseudonym	Program	School	Age	Sex
Laboni	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	North	4;11.21	F
Shuzaat	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	North	4;11.25	M
Shamina	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	West	5;00.11	F
Mustaq	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	North	5;03.24	M
Roksana	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	West	5;04.12	F
Abbas Uddin	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	North	5;04.15	M
Khushi	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	North	5;04.26	F
Draupadi	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	West	5;06.24	F
Gopal	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	5;08.01	M
Beli	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	5;08.26	F
Oman	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	5;10.08	M
Ostad	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	5;11.22	M
Sikander	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	6;00.19	M
Nazreen	<i>Mat.-francisation</i>	Central	6;01.25	F
Salim	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	6;04.00	M
Mobasher	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	Central	6;04.20	M
Anjubai	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;00.13	F
Atia	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	West	6;01.14	F
Farida	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;01.19	F
Istikar	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;02.23	M
Nurjehan	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;03.11	F
Mumtaj	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;03.16	F
Nasim	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;05.21	M
Sankar	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	North	6;07.02	M

The children whose data were not retained

Of the seven children who participated in the data collection procedure but whose data were not retained, two were boys in *Maternelle 4 ans* who had very little spoken French, and whose performance on the first part of the procedure (a standardized test of receptive vocabulary) did not yield a valid score. These two boys also hardly spoke at all

during the semi-structured play portion of the session. Two more boys from *Maternelle 4 ans* did yield valid though very low scores, and were reported by their teachers as understanding most classroom instructions, but they spoke so little French during the semi-structured play portion of the session that there very was little oral production to analyze. One of these two boys was also reported by his parents as having shown delayed first language development. One girl from *Maternelle-accueil* became acutely shy during the pull-out session and did not produce enough expressive language for me to be able to assess her ability to combine verbs or to manipulate the causative. The two other children whose data were not retained were a boy from *Maternelle-francisation* who was reported by his mother as having had problems with his early L1 development, and a boy from *Maternelle 5 ans* who was reported by the school as having cognitive and linguistic difficulties overall.

Procedure

Pull-out sessions

Each pull-out session lasted approximately one hour, from the time I took the child away from the classroom to the time I brought him or her back. The actual time spent in the room designated for data collection was about 50 minutes, divided between administration of the receptive vocabulary measure and semi-structured play in which I tried to elicit causatives. Sessions were scheduled to suit each teacher's convenience. If possible, I would arrive in the classroom during or shortly after the morning or afternoon class-opening ritual and the teacher would instruct the child whose turn it was to go with me: "*Tu vas aller jouer avec Mela.*"

For the children, having to leave the familiar atmosphere of the classroom in this way and go off with a relative stranger was sometimes difficult. One or two children were reluctant. After one child from any class had gone to play with me and had had time to talk about this novel experience to the others, there was never any difficulty with persuading the

other targeted children to accompany me—later the same day, or a few days afterward. In fact, the difficulty was in making the children from other language backgrounds understand and accept that they would *not* be allowed to “go play”. Children of this age do not seem to be particularly aware of their classmates’ language backgrounds, and it was often difficult for teachers to get across the idea that although I liked *all* the children, my work was *only* with those children “*qui parlent bengali à la maison*”. Only one child of the 31 who participated asked to go back to the classroom before I had judged that the play session was over, and I returned him at once (as per the assurance given to parents in the consent form—see Appendix G). He played for about 20 minutes before becoming uneasy, however, and his data were usable.

Equipment and set-up

The equipment was the same as described for Study 1. The same Sennheiser microphone, Marantz audiotape recorder, and Sony Handycam were used to yield both good quality audio and stationary video pickup. The only difference in recording technology was that a full-size tripod was used for the video camera, rather than the shorter tripod which had been found more appropriate for capturing interaction with the 2-year-olds at floor level. The toys used as warm-up stimuli and as causative elicitation stimuli were essentially the same, with a few replacements from time to time because of breakage and wear and tear. Some additions were made to the collection with the age difference between toddlers and kindergarten-age children in mind: a set of plastic “food” items and cooking utensils, and a set of racing cars with drivers and road signals. Both these sets, although attractive to younger children as well, contained small parts that made them unsuitable for use by children under three.

All the play sessions were conducted at a table with both myself and the child seated, usually across from one another. If smaller-size tables, better suited to kindergarten-age children, were available, they were preferred. Use of adult-size tables did

not seem to affect the quality of the interaction. The camera was trained on the child and the microphone was placed as close to his or her head as possible.

Warm-up

At the beginning of each session it was necessary to leave the child for a moment to turn on the video and audio recording equipment and ensure that camera angle, record level, and so forth, were adjusted for that particular subject. This two- or three-minute period was used to familiarize the children with the equipment in order to help them relax. The child was invited to come look through the camera to observe the play table and told, “*On va faire un film avec toi, comme à la télévision*”. The audiotape recorder was then activated and the child shown how to make noises of various kinds to cause the needle displaying the record level to move in varying degrees: “*Tu vois? Ça, ça s’appelle une aiguille. Qu’est-ce que je fais à l’aiguille avec ma voix?*” This was an initial attempt to elicit a causative “cold” with no researcher modelling, namely “*Tu fais bouger l’aiguille*”. None of the children was able to respond to this prompt by actually producing a causative. They were all interested by the needle movement, and some children spent some time experimenting with producing shouts, claps and stomps at varying intensities before we settled into the data collection routine. Focussing on the equipment in this way did seem to have the desired effect of distracting the child and helping the child feel less self-conscious and more at ease.

Testing for receptive vocabulary: Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test administration

The first part of the pull-out session after the warm-up consisted of administration of the EVIP/PPVT (*Echelle de vocabulaire par images Peabody*, referred to henceforth as “the Peabody”). The Peabody is a French translation of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn, Thériault-Whalen & Dunn, 1993). It was normed on a sample of over 4000 French-L1 children from across Canada.

The Peabody consists of 170 cards or “boards”, each with four line drawings representing objects (nouns) or activities (verbs). The first cards in the series are

considered to be the easiest and the last the most difficult, in terms of knowledge of vocabulary items. Before the administration of the test cards proper there is a sequence of training cards. Each test card is shown to the subject separately, and the cards are shown in sequence from easiest to hardest in a series. After the test subject has had a chance to look at all four of the pictures on a card, the tester says in a neutral tone “*Montre-moi X*”, where X is the target vocabulary item (no articles are used in the French version to avoid giving any clues, nor are any contextual clues—gestures, mime, hints of any kind—allowed). The “distractors” are phonologically and/or semantically similar to the target item (for example, *cou*, where the target item is *coude*; four different examples of airborne conveyances, for the target item *hélicoptère*). The test subject need only point to the item that corresponds to the word supplied by the tester; no expressive language use is required, although older or more advanced test subjects would normally indicate their selection by saying the corresponding number, rather than by pointing. A few of the 6-year-olds who participated in in this study occasionally chose to do this, but most of the children preferred to point. The test is not timed, although a very long hesitation on the test subject’s part is the tester’s signal to repeat the stimulus. Test subjects are encouraged to guess, rather than to skip an item. The choice of where in the entire series to begin testing is up to the person administering the test; rough age guidelines are given to assist in making the decision. Test administration stops when the test subject fails to identify 6 items correctly in a sequence of 8. For the L2 participants in the present study, Peabody testing always started at the very beginning of the series, i.e. with the items considered suitable for young francophone children aged 2.5-3 years old. The first five of these items are “*bateau, autobus, main, tracteur, lit*”.

Administration of the Peabody took between 10 and 15 minutes for each child. Although some of the children showed a slight tendency to become restless because of the inflexible routine imposed by the testing conditions, all the children understood the task

after training and co-operated well. In 29 of 31 cases it was possible to obtain a meaningful score.

Session scripting: eliciting French causatives from the Bengali-L1 preschoolers

After completion of the Peabody testing procedure, the child and I proceeded to the semi-structured play portion of the taping session during which I attempted to elicit *faire faire* causatives. The shortest semi-structured play session was 20 minutes and the longest 50 minutes, but for most of the participants semi-structured play lasted for 30 to 35 minutes. The end of the taping session was signalled by the click of the tape recorder coming to the end of a 45-minute side of a cassette. As all but one of the children were reluctant to stop playing, it was important to have a way of indicating that the session was over.

During the half an hour or so in which the child had the impression of being allowed to play with many novel toys in a rather unstructured manner, I proceeded to work my way through a number of play scenarios that in many respects were slightly expanded and more tightly “scripted” versions of the scenarios used with the younger monolingual Francophone children during the preliminary study. It was important that the stimuli used for the bilingual study be as comparable as possible to the stimuli used for the preliminary monolingual study (taking into consideration the differences in age, interests and attention span). In particular, it was crucial to the success of the study to see if stimuli that had been among the more successful at eliciting causatives with 2- and 3-year-olds would also prove good elicitors with the kindergarten children.

With 5- and 6-year-olds, it was possible to be somewhat more directive than with the Francophone toddlers, so it was feasible to impose more structure on the session. The children themselves were very helpful in thinking up new ways to play. The final session scripting went as follows:

1. Warm-up with puppets, in the same manner as with the French monolingual children. During this two- or three-minute period I always tried to elicit "*C'est pour faire parler*", by asking, "*Qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des marionnettes? C'est pour faire quoi?*" After the first attempt while monitoring the equipment, this was the second attempt to elicit a causative without providing a model. There was a rationale for the wording of the question, as I had observed a "puppet corner" in all the kindergarten classrooms I had been in, and had heard several of the children's teachers show puppets to the children in class, at which time they would talk about them and say several times, "*Les marionnettes, c'est pour faire parler*".
2. Move into discussing whether the puppets were hungry, and the introduction of play food into the scenario. This often happened without any manipulation on my part, as the children were usually quite motivated to make the puppets they were wearing attack and try to devour the puppet I was wearing. Bringing out the bag of toy food was my cue to try to elicit "*faire manger*" and "*faire boire*".
3. I continued to develop this theme by then bringing out the same babies and feeding utensils that had worked so well with the toddlers. Most of the girls immediately became very engaged in "feeding" the babies, who I declared to be "very, very hungry"! ("*Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire pour aider ces petits bébés qui ont très très faim?*") The game of feeding the babies sometimes went on for some time. I always proposed it to the boys as well, but it was rejected by all of them at sight ("*Ça c'est bébé-lala! Ça c'est yucky fille!*")
4. For boys, I brought out the kit of racing cars and drivers. This was very useful as a way to incite the boys to talk, as my genuine ignorance about how car racing works sometimes prompted a torrent of detailed technical information. I learned a great deal. In the process, I endeavoured to elicit "*faire rouler*", "*faire avancer*", "*faire reculer*" and "*faire arrêter*". The girls also had a chance to play with the cars, but most of them preferred to play with the dolls for longer.

5. Then I brought out a collection of tops in different colours. After we had both enjoyed spinning them just for fun for a few minutes and I had asked, "*C'est pour faire quoi, les toupies?*" to try to elicit "*C'est pour faire tourner*", I introduced the idea of playing a competitive-type game with them. In this version of the children's game "Simon Says", each player has some tops, but must not start spinning them until instructed to by the other player. It took only a few minutes for the children to get the idea: first I had them practice their colour terms (I sometimes asked them to have *me* practice *my* colour terms too, for fairness), then I asked them to "*Fais tourner la toupie rouge*", etc. A successful attempt meant the same player got another turn. Failure to make the top turn was the signal for the roles to be reversed. The Top Game was very popular.
6. With some children I went on with this game in variants using other toys that permitted this kind of competitive play, such as wind-up toys that each player had to activate on command. With others I introduced the same wind-up toys, and other toys also used with the French monolingual group (the elastic-skeletonned "push dance toys"), but we played with them in a less competitive way. The child's interest in playing competitively, and also the general level of linguistic interaction the child was able to engage in, were my cues to proceed faster or slower, with more complex or simpler linguistic demands. At this point I kept a careful eye on the clock.
7. About ten minutes before I judged that we would have to start packing up and getting ready for the next child's pull-out session, I brought out the Frog Game, consisting of a dozen plastic frogs and a container for them to hop into. The procedure for playing this game is exactly the same as for the Top Game, above, and it was universally popular. Unlike the 2-year-olds, the kindergarten children had no trouble making them jump; the challenge was to make them jump into the little pot representing a pond, and this was tricky for both me and the children. I felt

confident that after hearing me model "*peux-tu faire sauter...*", "*fais-la sauter*", "*fais sauter la grenouille verte*", and so forth, so many times, any children who were capable of producing the structure would be fairly certain to produce it, especially since the children were almost all very relaxed and uninhibited with me by the time the end of the session rolled around. Each session ended sometime during the Frog Game.

The stimuli and the corresponding target constructions with *faire* are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Play scenarios for causative elicitation from French-L2 participants

Item	Action	Target structure
needle on tape recorder	moving in response to sound	<i>faire bouger</i>
puppets	talking, eating	<i>faire parler, faire manger</i>
baby dolls, play food and drink, play utensils	eating, drinking	<i>faire manger, faire boire</i>
wind-up cars and trucks	moving forward and backward	<i>faire marcher, faire avancer, faire reculer, faire arrêter</i>
tops	spinning	<i>faire tourner</i>
wind-up rabbit	jumping	<i>faire sauter</i>
wind-up mouse	running around in circles	<i>faire marcher, faire courir</i>
wind-up monkey	walking with hands	<i>faire marcher</i>
wind-up ladybug	advancing forward moving legs	<i>faire marcher</i>
figurines (people, animals)	falling when knocked over by spring-loaded vehicle aimed from a distance	<i>faire tomber</i>
segmented animal figurines	dancing when base pushed	<i>faire bouger, faire danser</i>
plastic frogs	jumping when rear end pushed down	<i>faire sauter</i>

Eliciting before and after providing a model for causative formation

It was of the utmost importance to try to elicit production without providing any models of the causative first. Only if the attempt to elicit without modelling was unsuccessful over several trials was it allowable to go on to try to elicit comprehension, and in the process to provide a model for subsequent production attempts. As with the French

monolingual group, several attempts were always made to elicit production at the beginning of the session as indicated above, and then at the beginning of each scenario, before moving on to comprehension checks and attempts at eliciting production *after* modelling. Again, as with the French monolingual children, this modelling did not seem to have any effects on the children's own sentence formation (or at any rate, no short term effects of the kind that could have been captured in this study). A child who was not able to produce a causative spontaneously was not helped by having a model to follow. An illustration can be seen in the following example from the L2 data, taken from Nasim's Frog Game (see Appendix I for the full transcript extract from which this short segment is condensed):

MEL:	peux tu faire sauter la grenouille verte?	MEL:	okay encore.
MEL:	okay mais c'est moi qui l'a gagné.	NAS:	peux tu sauter la grenouille jaune?
MEL:	à mon tour.	MEL:	c'est toi qui l'as.
NAS:	peux tu sauter la grenouille bleue?	MEL:	peux tu faire sauter les deux grenouilles jaunes en même temps?
MEL:	okay encore moi.	MEL:	okay.
NAS:	peux tu sauter la grenouille vert?	NAS:	tu peux tu peux sauter la grenouille vert?
MEL:	celle là ou celle là?	NAS:	tu peux veux-tu veux sauter c'est la grenouille jaune?
NAS:	celle là.	MEL:	celle là?
MEL:	okay encore xxx.	NAS:	oui.
NAS:	peux tu saute la grenouille rouge?		

Analysis

Selective transcription

Out of 17.5 hours of recorded interaction with the French-L2 children, 3.5 were transcribed. This is a non-random sample of 20% of the total recorded interaction with the L2 participants. Segments of the play session data were transcribed for eight of the

participants. These eight participants were chosen because they represent a range of L2 proficiency (as gauged by Peabody results) and because they included some of the “chattiest” of the 24. In addition, segments of the Peabody administration were transcribed for nine participants (there is an overlap with three of the eight participants for whom portions of the play session data were transcribed). This was done after a complete review of all the data, from both the Peabody segment and the play-session segment of each child’s data tapes. It was clear during the Peabody administration that some of the children had done far more than simply respond to the stimuli by pointing silently. I did not discourage this extra talk, being particularly concerned at that early point in each data-collecting session that the children feel at ease and free to communicate. It was also a matter of some interest to see if children with different Peabody scores would produce more or less of this “casual”, extraneous chatter. Selected portions from the transcribed material can be found in Appendix I. They are taken from three children who represent the lower end, the midrange and the upper end, respectively, of the range of Peabody scores within which most of the participants fell. These selections also represent the three different program types, respectively (*Maternelle 4 ans*, *Maternelle-accueil* and *Maternelle 5 ans*) and three typical discourse contexts that occurred during the pull-out sessions: the opening of the semi-structured play session with puppets, the Peabody testing, and the Frog Game at the end of the semi-structured play session.

RESULTS

Introduction

With the French-L2 children, the causative elicitation procedure that was the main element of the semi-structured play protocol yielded quite different results from those obtained during longitudinal data-gathering with the French-L1 children. The structure of the Study 2 Results section therefore departs from the structure of the Study 1 Results section in some respects. The lack of parallelism in the findings of the two studies, an

unexpected feature of this research project, led to an unavoidable lack of parallelism in the reporting.

Peabody scores

The Peabody scores used in the present study are the age-equivalent scores (converted from the raw scores) with error intervals included. The question of interest in this study was “At about what age would a French-Canadian child display this level of receptive vocabulary?” Derived scores, based on a comparison of the age-equivalent score to the child’s chronological age, are also supplied by the test constructors and are commonly used in interpreting Peabody scores with some test populations. In the present study, the derived score would have told me what the percentile rank was for the child’s receptive vocabulary when compared to a *French-Canadian child of that chronological age*. This was of no interest for research purposes here, as very few of the children had age-equivalent scores above 3 years, and there would have been no point in equating the 5- and 6-year-old participants of this study to developmentally delayed French-Canadian children; indeed, such a comparison could be seen as ethically dubious (Cummins, 1984).

The Peabody scores obtained (including error intervals) are shown in Table 4.3. Children are grouped by program type. Each program type corresponds to a different amount of exposure to French L2. At the end of their school year, *Maternelle 4 ans* children have had ten months of half-days at kindergarten. *Maternelle-accueil* children have had ten months of full days. *Maternelle 5 ans* children have had ten months of half-days followed by ten months of full days.

The error intervals, calculated by the compilers of the French version of the test as part of the norming procedure, show the age-equivalent range within which a child’s “true” receptive vocabulary score would fall. The limitations inherent in the standardized testing procedure are thus taken into account as far as possible, as are the effects of lucky or unlucky guessing on the part of the test subject (guessing is encouraged during test administration).

Table 4.3 Peabody age-equivalent scores (in ascending order within each program type)

Pseudonym	Program	Age	Sex	Peabody score (with error interval)
Laboni	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	4;11.21	F	1-11 (1-10 to 2-2)
Khushi	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;04.26	F	1-11 (1-10 to 2-2)
Draupadi	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;06.24	F	1-11 (1-10 to 2-2)
Abbas Uddin	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;04.15	M	2-0 (1-10 to 2-4)
Shuzaat	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	4;11.25	M	2-0 (1-10 to 2-5)
Mustaq	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;03.24	M	2-2 (1-10 to 2-9)
Shamina	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;00.11	F	2-3 (1-11 to 2-11)
Roksana	<i>Mat. 4 ans</i>	5;04.12	F	2-8 (2-1 to 3-5)
Mobasher	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	6;04.20	M	2-0 (1-10 to 2-6)
Ostad	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	5;11.22	M	2-3 (1-11 to 2-11)
Salim	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	6;04.00	M	2-5 (2-0 to 3-2)
Sikander	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	6;00.19	M	2-6 (2-0 to 3-3)
Gopal	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	5;08.01	M	2-9 (2-2 to 3-6)
Oman	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	5;10.08	M	2-9 (2-2 to 3-6)
Beli	<i>Mat.-accueil</i>	5;08.26	F	3-0 (2-3 to 3-8)
Nazreen	<i>Mat.-francis.</i>	6;01.25	F	3-2 (2-5 to 3-10)
Mumtaj	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;03.16	F	2-2 (1-11 to 2-10)
Farida	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;01.19	F	2-3 (1-11 to 2-11)
Istikar	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;02.23	M	2-3 (1-11 to 3-0)
Anjubai	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;00.13	F	2-5 (2-0 to 3-2)
Nurjehan	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;03.11	F	2-5 (2-0 to 3-2)
Sankar	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;07.02	M	2-5 (2-0 to 3-2)
Nasim	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;05.21	M	3-7 (2-10 to 4-3)
Atia	<i>Mat. 5 ans</i>	6;01.14	F	5-6 (4-9 to 6-2)

Scanning for verbs: “soft” quantification

The procedure used for analyzing the production data from the causative elicitation semi-structured play procedure in Study 2 was essentially the same as in Study 1. For the 24 L2 children whose data were retained, each audiotape was scanned aurally all the way

through, with occasional cross-checking of the videotape at moments where it was difficult to understand the interaction from the audio data alone. The sole departure from the Study 1 procedure for analysis was that all instances of verb use of any kind were noted. This meant that in addition to the single-agent non-valence-changing and causative valence-changing infinitival complement constructions that were noted (exactly as with the L1 data in Study 1), instances of verbs being used alone, i.e. not in complement constructions, were also noted. The coding categories for verb use emerged from the data scan, and are reported in the next section.

The inclusion of instances of verb use apart from infinitival complement constructions in the analysis introduces a variable for which no data are available from the L1 children. This was done because the L2 children produced a kind of language that was qualitatively very different from that of the L1 children. As judged by Peabody scores, the L2 children seemed to have receptive vocabularies that placed them in the same developmental range as much younger French-L1 children. Nevertheless, the speech of the L2 children was far less flexible and more restricted than that of the younger French monolingual children who participated in this study. The L2 children produced less language overall, with less variety. And, strikingly, they produced far fewer verbs of any kind—so few that counting them all was quite feasible, as it would not have been for the French-L1 group without the labour of actual transcription. However, upon analysis it was clear that even those L2 children who produced hardly any verbs had still developed a fluent expressive capacity that enabled them, by stretching their linguistic resources to the limit, to communicate complex messages that would have been beyond a Francophone 2-year-old both syntactically and semantically. Only by looking at all the instances of verb use in the L2 children's data was it possible to understand how they could do this when their ability to manipulate complex syntax was so much less developed than that of the Francophone 2- and 3-year-olds. Several of these children were completely unable to produce causative constructions, yet showed a sophisticated ability to use very limited

verbal resources to communicate ideas appropriate to their age using only very simple verb forms.

Oral production: simple verb forms

Coding categories for verb use overall

The coding categories for verb use overall emerged from a visual and aural scan of the children's play sessions. For the purposes of the present study, single verbs were noted as instances of

- (a) present tense copula *c'est* or *est*
- (b) other present tense use (for example, *donne* in *il donne moi la robe*)
- (c) infinitive use, no identifiable tense. Homophones were distinguished on the basis of context, which was usually very clear; thus, /tombe/ (IPA notation) uttered just after something had fallen or been knocked over was coded as (d), single-word past tense, but /tombe/ uttered when what was being referred to was the idea of something falling was coded as (c), infinitive.
- (d) past tense using one word (*imparfait*, or *participe passé* used without the auxiliary)
- (e) past tense using *passé composé* with two words, whether correctly formed or not

Infinitival complement constructions themselves were noted as

- (f) instances of single-agent infinitival complement constructions, in two categories—correctly formed, with the infinitive marked as such, or incorrectly formed, where the verb that should be in the infinitive lacks the required ending
- (g) expressions of causative meaning (including attempts at causative formation that also incorporated a modal auxiliary).

All the L2 data on infinitival complement constructions are reproduced in Appendix J. Almost all the causative attempts the children produced were in response to elicitation; the very few occasions upon which a child produced a causative attempt spontaneously

were kept in a separate category for purposes of analysis. The elicited causatives the children produced fell into two categories, those without *faire* and those with *faire*.

Numbers of verb forms produced

The total number of verb forms produced by the children in any category varied widely. Table 4.4 shows the actual numbers of verb forms (tokens) each child produced in each coding category. The children's pseudonyms are listed in ascending order by Peabody score within each program type, as in the previous table.

Figure 4.1 shows these proportions per subject expressed in percentage form. The order in which the children are lined up on the x-axis is the order of their Peabody scores as given previously. In this stacked bar graph there is no visual difference to match the actual difference in numbers of verb forms produced between low verb producers like SHA and KHU, who produced 26 and 29 verb forms respectively, and high verb producer BEL, who produced 280 verb forms.

The mean number of verb forms produced by the *Maternelle 4 ans* children was 72.; by the *Maternelle-accueil children*, 123; and by the *Maternelle 5 ans* children, 130.

Reliance on simple present tense forms

Some of the children who were not yet able to attempt complement constructions showed a heavy reliance on “all-purpose” single verb forms, notably *est* (or *c'est*) and *fait*. This is especially true of the *Maternelle 4 ans* group, and is particularly noticeable in the data from Roksana, a *Maternelle 4 ans* child with a Peabody score of 2-8, considerably higher than the other 7 children in the youngest group. In addition to having a higher receptive vocabulary score, Roksana produced more verbs than all the other *Maternelle 4 ans* children as well. This is because of her extensive use of *c'est* and *fait* (the latter accounting for most of the instances of single-verb use).

Table 4.5 shows typical examples of the oral production of the *Maternelle 4 ans* group. Complement constructions (of which this group produced relatively few) are not

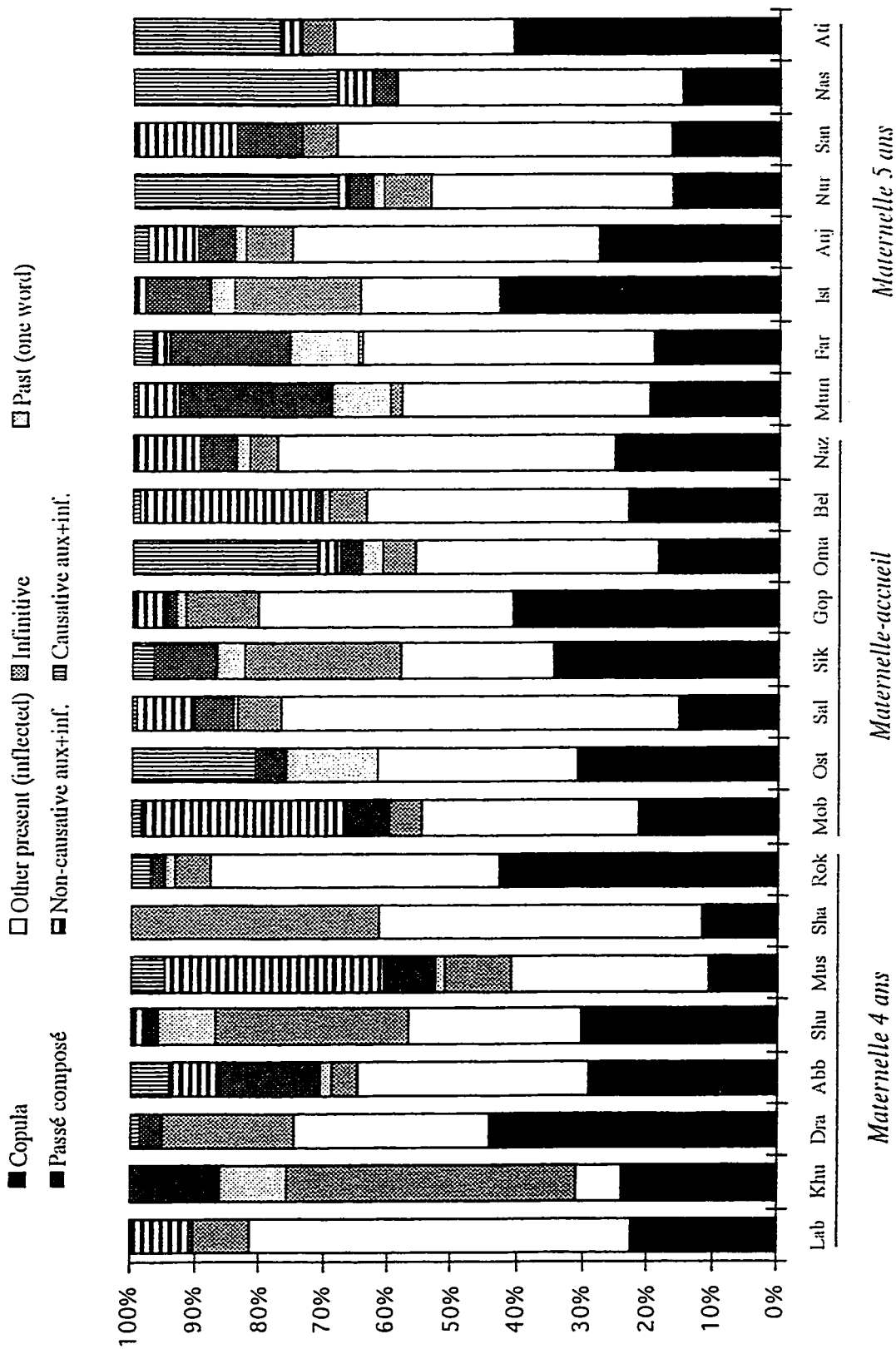


Figure 4.1 All instances of verb use by French-L2 subjects expressed as percentage

shown. Two examples are given for each child from each of the other categories, except where the small numbers produced made this impossible.

Table 4.4 Verb use for 24 French-L2 participants (all types) by category

Pseudo-nym	Copula	Present (non-copula)	Infinitive	Past (single verb)	Passé composé	Single-agent modal + inf.	Causative	TOTAL
LAB	28	73	11	0	1	11	0	124
KHU	7	2	13	3	4	0	0	29
DRA	26	18	12	0	2	0	1	59
ABB	15	18	2	1	8	4	3	51
SHU	14	12	14	4	1	1	0	46
MUS	8	23	8	1	6	26	4	76
SHA	3	13	10	0	0	0	0	26
ROK	71	75	9	2	4	0	5	166
MOB	13	20	3	0	4	19	1	60
OST	13	13	0	6	2	0	8	42
SAL	33	132	15	2	12	19	2	215
SIK	30	20	21	4	8	0	3	86
GOP	56	54	16	2	2	7	0	137
OMA	11	22	3	2	2	2	17	59
BEL	66	113	16	3	3	77	2	280
NAZ	27	55	5	2	6	11	0	106
MUM	53	100	5	24	62	17	2	263
FAR	24	55	1	13	23	3	4	123
IST	61	31	28	5	14	3	0	142
ANJ	57	95	15	4	11	15	5	202
NUR	9	20	4	1	2	1	17	54
SAN	21	65	7	0	13	20	0	126
NAS	11	32	0	0	3	4	23	73
ATI	25	17	3	0	0	2	14	61

Table 4.5 Examples of non-complement-construction verb use, *Maternelle 4 ans* children only

Pseudo-nym	Copula	Present (non-copula)	Infinitive	Past (single verb)	Passé composé
Laboni	§ c'est quatre mon frère § papa c'est professeur	§ oh je vais pas capable! § je sais pas	§ pour jouer pour manger § c'est bébés c'est manger	n/a	§ j'ai mangé fromage §
Khushi	§ c'est petit bébé § c'est beau hein?	§ je sais pas § oui quand maman quand cuisine	§ petit bébé manger § non moi jouer ça	§ ça fini? § fini?	§ maman moi est frappé § maman a dit fâché
Draupadi	§ ça c'est un chien § c'est pas ouvre?	§ il donne moi la robe § ici fait des blanc rose et noir	§ il manger les amis § moi maison pas français, anglais moi regarder la télévision anglais	n/a	§ souris l'a mangé beaucoup! § est mangé mon bébé Macdonald
Abbas Uddin	§ l'est pas pareil § c'est quoi ça?	§ il marche pas bonhomme § c'est moi qui le fait!	§ il manger § il est toucher	§ c'est comme ça fini	§ il l'est mangé § le jaune il l'est gagné
Shuzaat	§ ça c'est une? § ça c'est moi	§ assis, toi § moi j'ai à la maison	§ tourner pas § moi ça manger	§ c'est toi gagné § poussins pas sortis	§ souris sont mangés
Mustaq	§ moi aussi l'est grande bouche § ça c'est éléphant	§ il fait comme ça tout suite § j'aime ça	§ oh garder lui garder la télévision § marcher, pu-pu-pu	§ c'est toi qui gagné!	§ il a gagné § ah il a beaucoup tourné!
Shamina	§ ça bébé l'est de danse § c'est pas animaux	§ moi j'ai video dinosaure § donne ça pas	§ mon papa regarder télévision § ça manger!	n/a	n/a
Roksana	§ carotte c'est ici orange et ici c'est vert § oui moi c'est mange poulet comme ça	§ le docteur il fait elle § elle fait pas dans la maison	§ oui moi manger § ça fait rouler	§ c'est fini § c'est pas fait	§ il a fait manger § il a fait ici dans la bouche il a fait manger

Oral production: single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Status of obligatory subject in single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Obligatory subjects were supplied by the French-L2 children in the overwhelming majority of cases. Of the 223 single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced by 18 of the 24 children, grammatical subjects were only deviant or lacking in 8 instances, all of these produced by four children. The other 14 children consistently produced well-formed grammatical subjects in their single-agent infinitival complement constructions, usually full noun phrase or clitic pronoun (in the latter case, sometimes with left dislocation), with a few instances of relative pronoun *qui* in an embedded sentence. Only one child (ABB, *Maternelle 4 ans*) produced tonic-pronominal subjects.

Defective infinitives

Of the 24 children, 18 produced single-agent infinitival complement constructions, and therefore produced obligatory contexts for correctly marked infinitives following a modal auxiliary. Of these 18 children, nine produced defective infinitives lacking the appropriate infinitive ending. In total, out of 223 single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced by these 18 children, 23 (10%) did not have well-formed infinitives.

Status of arguments in single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Of the 223 single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced by the L2 participants, 89 (40% of the total) included adverbials, or direct objects other than *ça* or other proforms. Beli produced 33 of these (15% of 223), with the other 25% being accounted for by the production of 13 other children. The production of these 13 children is shown in Figure 4.2. The “simple arguments” referred to are direct objects of single-agent infinitival complement constructions that take the form of *ça* or other proform (clitic or tonic pronoun). “Less simple arguments” are either adverbials attached to single-agent infinitival

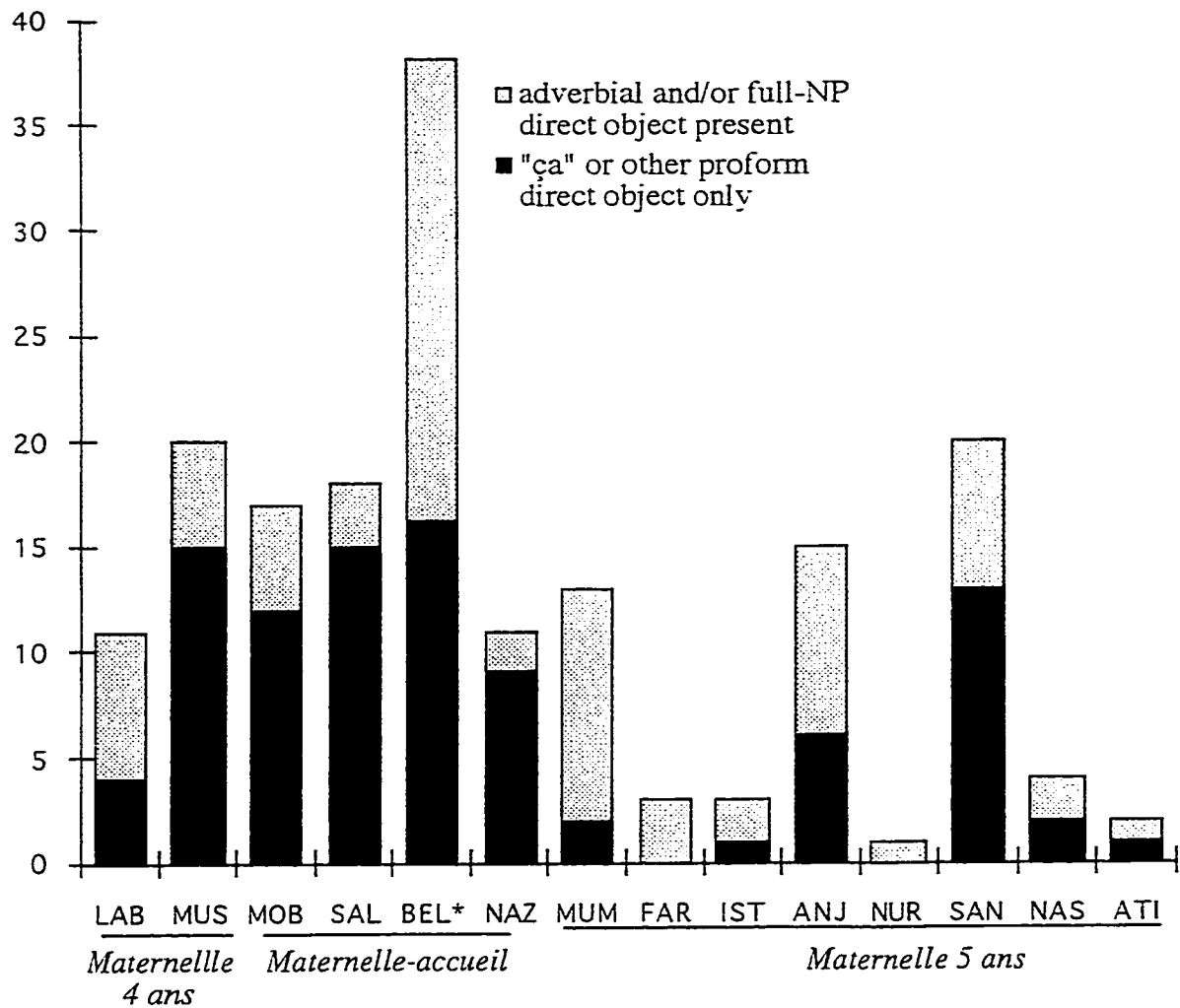


Figure 4.2 Proportion of simple to less simple arguments present in single-agent infinitival complement constructions for 13 French L2 subjects

*Note that Beli's bar is reduced to one-half of its real size, to preserve the legibility of the graph overall. She produced 77 single-agent infinitival complement constructions, not 38.5 as this graph shows. The proportions within the bar are accurate.

complement constructions, or direct objects of single-agent infinitival complement constructions that take the form of a full noun phrase.

Causative constructions: evidence for comprehension of adult model

The L2-participants' comprehension of causative constructions was checked informally and in non-quantifiable fashion for each subject after attempts to elicit production. The information given below is therefore presented qualitatively.

Maternelle 5 ans: positive responses to comprehension checks

The *Maternelle 5 ans* children seemed to understand my requests incorporating causative constructions. Possibly the highly context-embedded nature of the interaction helped the children understand. In the context of the Top Game and the Frog Game, my repeated requests to the children to "*fais tourner la jaune*" or "*fais sauter la bleue*" were embedded, not only in a clear physical context with the toys present and accessible to the children, but also in a social-interactive context familiar to the children from many months of experience in the kindergarten classroom. These 6-year-olds were obviously used to and comfortable with the school-type game of sitting with a teacher who is encouraging them to show her how well they can learn and repeat a sequence of actions or words .

A good example of the way this worked in the context of the Top Game occurs in the transcript of Nasim's play session. Nasim is a *Maternelle 5 ans* boy and had the second highest score of all 24 children on the EVIP (3-7).

MEL:	peux-tu faire tourner la toupie jaune ?	NAS:	[turns one top, then the other]
		MEL:	en même temps?
NAS:	oui.	NAS:	[tries and fails]
MEL:	fais la tourner ici au milieu.	MEL:	c' est un peu difficile mais tu vas être capable.
NAS:	[does so]		
MEL:	peux tu faire tourner les deux toupies oranges en même temps?	MEL:	essaie avec ton autre main.
		MEL:	parceque t' es droitier.
NAS:	[does so]	NAS:	[succeeds]
MEL:	oui!	MEL:	c' est beau!
MEL:	peux tu faire tourner la toupie rose et une toupie rouge?	MEL:	peux tu faire tourner les deux vertes en même temps?

Outside the context of the Top Game or the Frog Game, we see Atia, a *Maternelle 5 ans* girl and the highest-scoring subject of the 24 on the EVIP (5-6), respond appropriately to my question about the figurine she is trying to make stand up. Physical context, intonation, gesture, and sentence structure are all factors which may be helping her to understand.

ATI:	[tries to make figurine stand up; it falls down]	ATI:	il tombe tout seul.
MEL:	est-ce que tu <i>veux</i> le faire tomber, ou il tombe tout seul?	MEL:	parceque ses pieds sont pas très bien alignés.

Maternelle-accueil: ambiguous responses to comprehension checks

Beli and Salim were two of the more loquacious and linguistically competent individuals in the group of *Maternelle-accueil* children. Beli produced far more single-agent infinitival complement constructions than any other L2 child in this study. Salim expressed himself constantly, without prompting, and tried to control the language interaction, as his extraneous comments during the Peabody administration show. However, both these children seemed puzzled by some of my comments incorporating causatives. Sometimes causatives seemed to be more easily understood, but it must be said that in contexts involving Salim, the remote-controlled car and the idea of *faire avancer*, it was impossible to say whether Salim was in control of the details of *language* in the scenario. He was focussing, rather, on all the possibilities involving the car and its movements. With Beli, it is interesting to note that at an early point in the conversation she reacted with puzzlement (“*eah?*”) to my question “*Est-ce que je peux faire manger les bébés?*” This, despite a very clear context; she seems to be reacting to the language, not the context. A few minutes later when I asked her, “*Aimes-tu ça, faire manger les bébés?*”, she asked, “*Quoi?*” — a logical response if one has not understood the question. When I repeated the question

immediately, she responded, “*Oui. oui j’aime ça. Quand on mange, ça fait les bon comme ça.*” This is a trifle obscure, but at the time I understood by this that Beli was commenting on the importance of eating and/or feeding for good nutrition and/or for making babies happy. It is noticeable that in this longish utterance of Beli’s, *mange* may be being used in a causative sense without *faire*.

Both Beli and Salim produced single-agent infinitival complement constructions with a high degree of accuracy and fluency. Yet it was impossible to get positive evidence of comprehension of causative constructions from these children, despite the clear context provided by the toys and actions.

Maternelle 4 ans: lack of comprehension despite clear context

The *Maternelle 4 ans* children did not always seem even to understand causative constructions uttered by me, despite the ample contextual support. My impression at the time was that the younger children’s responses to instructions and suggestions incorporating causative constructions were far more random than the older children’s; they seemed to be guessing at what I wanted.

One incident involving the very youngest subject of all the Bengali-L1/French-L2 children included in the study (Laboni, an outgoing and talkative *Maternelle 4 ans* child who was still some days away from her fifth birthday), demonstrated unmistakably that she was some distance away from understanding the *faire*+infinitive structure, even given a very clear context—one that much younger Francophones, and slightly more advanced Bengali-L1/French-L2 participants, had no trouble understanding. The relevant extract from the transcript is reproduced below:

MEL: et puis est-ce que tu fais
manger tes bébés?
LAB: non! (looking surprised)
MEL: pourquoi pas?

MEL: oh non!
MEL: oh +...
LAB: c' est bébés c' est manger.
MEL: okay.

The videotape for this sequence, supplemented by field notes made immediately afterward, make it quite clear what the problem was. Laboni had not responded at all to my attempts to elicit a causative without providing a model. Following the usual elicitation procedure, I had gradually worked Laboni around to getting interested in feeding the “very hungry babies”, and we had the babies, the array of plastic food and the utensils at the ready. The question I asked, “*est-ce que tu fais manger tes bébés?*” would normally have been the signal for the two of us to start the feeding routine. Laboni’s “*non!*” was accompanied by a very startled glance at me, and it was clear that she thought I was talking about *eating* babies, not about making *them* eat; her response, “*c’est bébés c’est manger*”, seemed to indicate that she was trying to correct my wrong idea about *who* is going to do the eating here. My own surprise at her *non*-comprehension was shown by my own startled responses (which were followed a few seconds later by reassurances that I knew we don’t eat babies!).

In another incident, involving Mustaq—also a *Maternelle 4 ans* child—I started playing the Top Game at the usual time in the elicitation, using the sequence of manipulations and verbal stimuli that I had developed to go with this scenario.

MEL:	ça, ça s’appelle des toupies et c’est pour faire tourner.	MUS:	ça. [points to yellow top but does not turn it]
MUS:	regarde, un c’est pour tourner. [I then elicited names of colours; he supplied them accurately with no hesitation.]	MEL:	oui! fais-la tourner.
MUS:	tou jaune?	MUS:	hein? [puzzled, does not touch top]
MEL:	peux-tu faire tourner la toupie jaune?	MEL:	fais-la tourner.
		MEL:	peux-tu la faire tourner?
		MUS:	[looks confused, does not appear to understand]

At this point I took the top and *demonstrated* what I wanted. Mustaq's expression indicated clearly that *now* he understood, and he started spinning tops with me. The context is such a clear and inviting one, and the tops are so attractive to children (who didn't normally wait for permission) that I can only interpret Mustaq's hesitation as stemming from confusion in the face of this unexpected, slightly long and unfamiliar instruction from a relatively new and unpredictable adult.

Laboni and Mustaq were the only *Maternelle 4 ans* children who produced single-agent infinitival complement constructions with any degree of facility; they both were among the high producers overall, and they both produced instances of unmarked (as well as marked) infinitives in single-agent infinitival complement constructions, showing that this kind of construction was undergoing active analysis in their interlanguage. Their syntactic development in French was thus more advanced in this respect than that of their peers who had had a similar amount of exposure to French. They were relatively competent with complex verbal constructions. Yet they were completely unable to understand causative constructions—formally so similar to single-agent infinitival complement constructions— even given ample extralinguistic support.

Oral production of causative constructions

In the discussion that follows, instances of clear causative meaning in the oral production of the L2 subjects (whether they are correctly formed or not) are in **bold**; instances of *faire*+infinitive for which a causative interpretation nevertheless seems doubtful are underlined.

Proportion of causatives produced (with and without *faire*) in relation to other infinitival complement constructions

Figure 4.3 shows the number of times each L2 subject produced an instance of causative expression compared to the number of single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced by that subject. Three of the *Maternelle 5 ans* children and one of

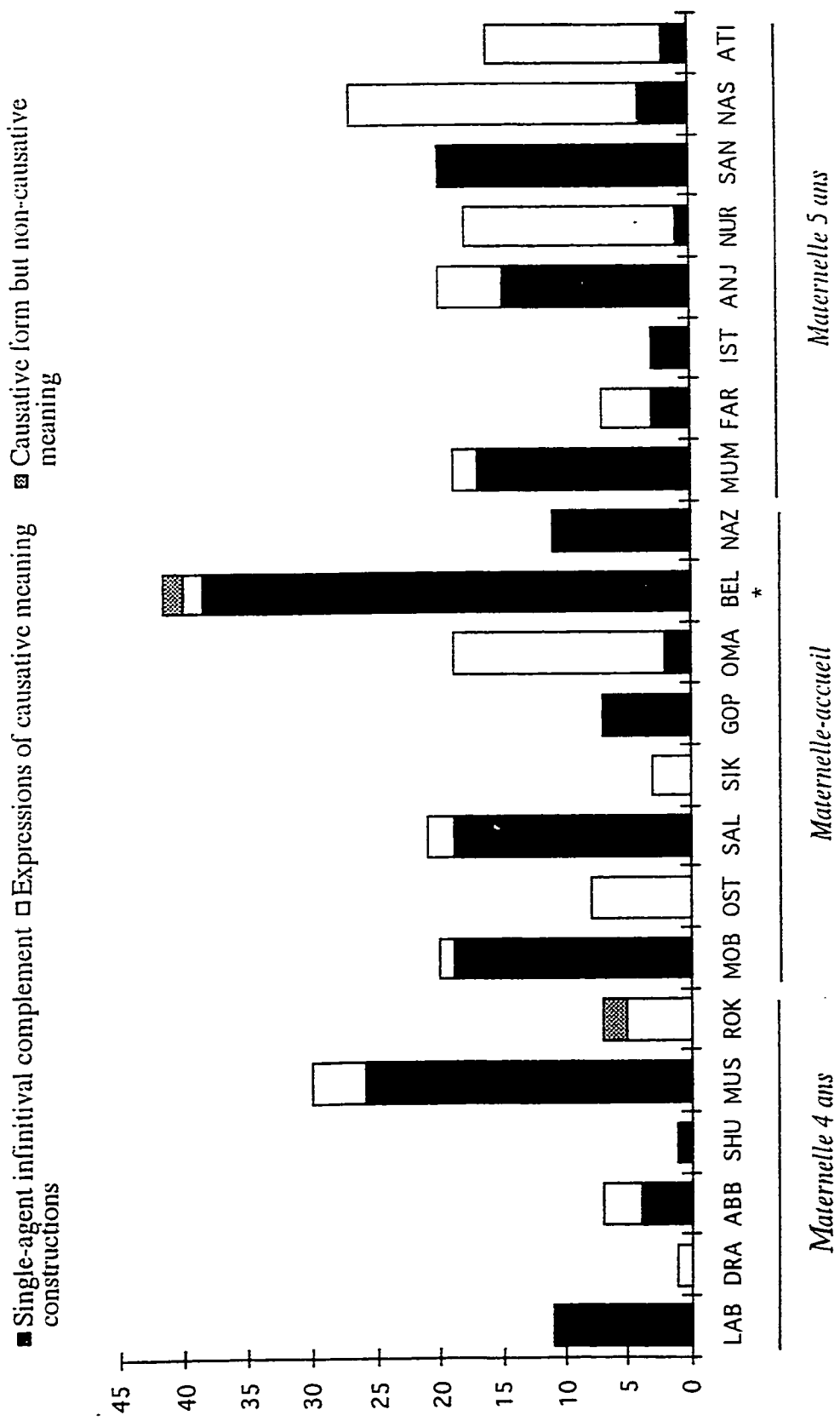


Figure 4.3 Single-agent infinitival complement constructions and expressions of causative meaning in the L2 data

*Note that Bel's bar is reduced to one-half of its real size to preserve the legibility of the graph. Proportions within the bar are accurate.

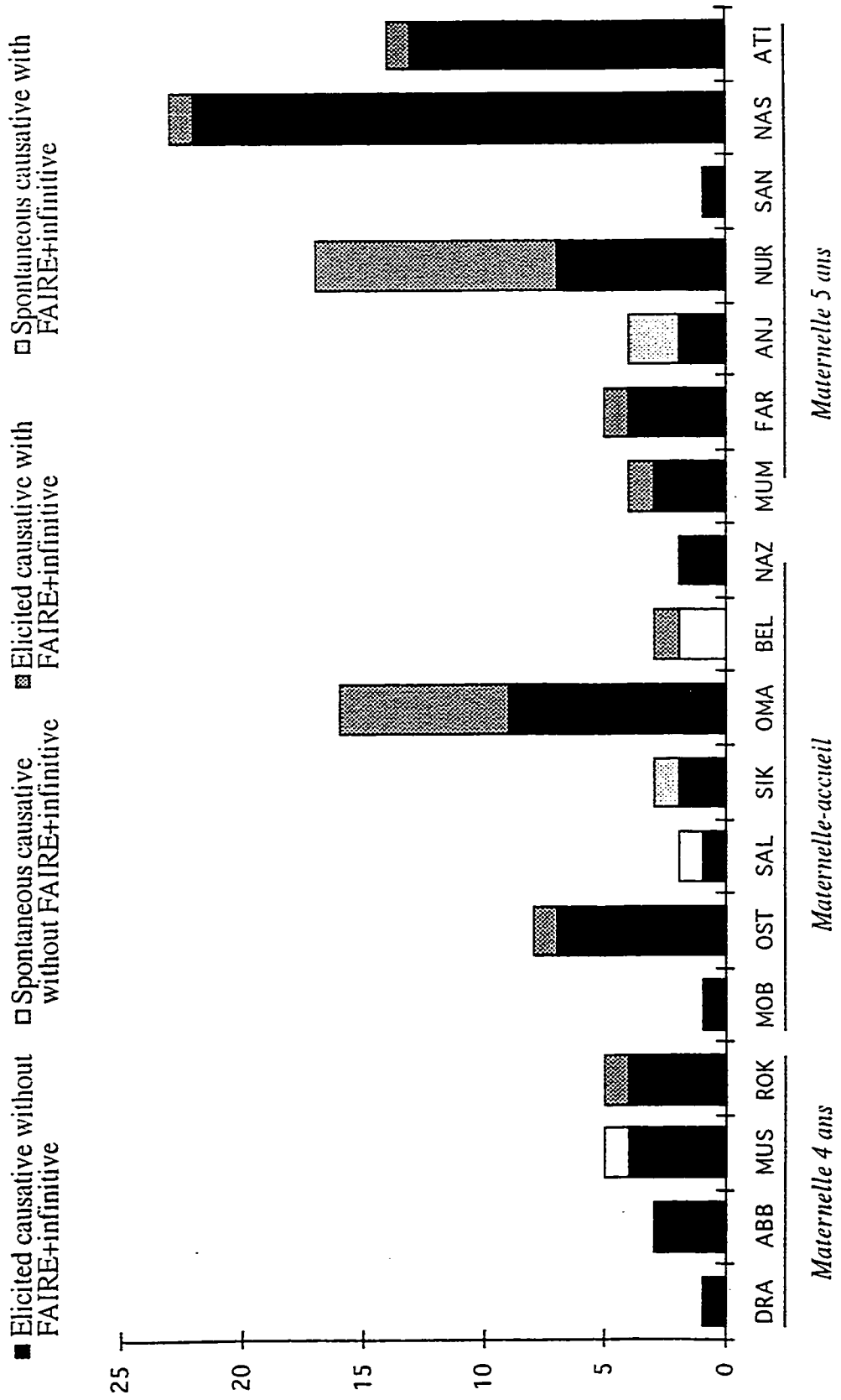


Figure 4.4 Instances of causative expression in the L2 data

the *Maternelle-accueil* children produced more instances of causative expression than single-agent infinitival complement constructions. Of the others, ten children produced substantial numbers of single-agent infinitival complement constructions and few, if any, instances of causative expression. The other children produced very few infinitival complement constructions of any kind.

The instances of causative expression themselves are further broken down in Figure 4.4, which shows both the proportion of elicited to spontaneous instances, and the proportion that included *faire*. Only two children produced *faire* more than once in causative constructions in response to elicitation, and after extensive modelling. Most of the instances of causative expression produced by the children overall were *faire*-less. Five children each endeavoured to express a causative meaning outside the context of the elicitation once or twice each; of these five, two included a *faire* somewhere in their causative utterance, but the construction was not correctly formed. Four of the eight *Maternelle 4 ans* participants, one of the eight *Maternelle-accueil* participants and one of the eight *Maternelle 5 ans* participants produced no instances of causative expression and are omitted from Figure 4.4.

Faire+infinitive but non-causative meaning

Five utterances produced by two of the L2 children have the syntax of a *faire faire* causative (that is, an inflected form of *faire* followed by an infinitive) but a causative interpretation would be implausible in the extreme, given the lack of context that would support such an interpretation. These instances are shown in Table 4.6. The interpretation that the context makes most likely is that the *faire* is being used to express the idea of “doing something” generally.

One L2 child produced seven utterances with causative form in response to elicitation, shown in Table 4.7. Like the examples in Table 4.6, they all followed questions that included a form of the verb *faire*. On nine other occasions, however, this child produced *faire*-less utterances with causative meaning in response to elicitation.

Table 4.6 Causative form with non-causative meanings, ROK and BEL

Pseudonym	Utterance with causative form, context clearly non-causative
ROK	§ <u>ça fait rouler</u> [intended meaning probably “Ça roule” in answer to question, <i>Qu'est-ce que ça fait?</i>] § <u>a fait rouler</u> [similar situation]
BEL	§ <u>on va faire cacher</u> § <u>je veux faire encore cacher</u> § <u>je veux faire jouer ça une autre fois</u>

Table 4.7 Causative form with causative interpretation possible, OMA

Pseudonym	Utterance with causative form, context ambiguous
OMA	§ <u>qu'il a fait tomber</u> (2 times; rhinoceros knocked down sheep; I asked, “qu'est-ce qu'il a fait, le rhinocéros?”) § <u>fait tomber</u> (elephant says to rhinoceros, “moi je vais faire ça” and knocks him down; I ask, “qu'est-ce que l'éléphant a fait?”) § <u>il l'a fait rouler</u> (I made bonhomme “wind up” ladybug, then asked “through” puppet, “qu'est-ce qu'il a fait?”) § <u>vient en arrière l'auto t'as fait</u> § <u>t'as fait en arrière aller l'auto</u> (this and the preceding utterance when I made car go backward and asked “qu'est-ce que j'ai fait?” and asked him to repeat after the first utterance, which I hadn't understood) § <u>on fait piquer</u> (another little button; I asked, “qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec ça?”)

Furthermore, the syntax of “*vient en arrière l'auto t'as fait*” deviates so widely from the adult model that was provided earlier that it seems unlikely that this child has fully developed control over causative formation in French.

There are several other isolated examples in the data of a child producing an utterance with *faire*+infinitive form in a context that makes a causative interpretation

doubtful. None of the children who did this produced *faire*+infinitive consistently in contexts that clearly required a *faire*+infinitive with causative meaning.

Semantic causative responses to elicitation without modelling

Six of the L2 children each produced one utterance with causative meaning that was not preceded by an adult model for the causative. These are shown in Table 4.8. The children clearly have the capacity to formulate and to express causative meanings, but they are unable to do so using utterances that incorporate causative-forming *faire* correctly. In these sessions, although I had not modelled *faire*+infinitive with causative meaning prior to these utterances, I had asked many questions that included a form of the verb *faire*. Only the second example below (by SAL) was *not* produced in response to elicitation.

Table 4.8 Semantic causatives produced by L2 participants after elicitation but without modelling

Pseudonym	Utterance with causative meaning, no prior modelling
ABB	§ pour manger (in response to “c’est pour faire quoi ça [des marionnettes]?”)
SAL	§ j’suis capable marche bien , hein? (showing off)
SIK	§ elle fait les comme ça fait les sauter (about puppets)
BEL	§ on peut dire avec la main (2 times; about puppets)
ANJ	§ on mette main dedans, après on fait parle! (about puppet)
ATI	§ manger (in response to my question “qu’est-ce que tu fais avec tes bébés?”)

The full context is given for the last of these examples to show the way in which one of the most advanced L2 children responded to my causative elicitation attempts before modelling. In this extract from the dolly-feeding scenario, Atia has started feeding the dolls with a spoon while I hold them in a sitting position.

MEL: qu'est-ce que tu fais avec tes bébés? [long pause, ATI looks perplexed]
MEL: qu'est-ce que tu fais avec eux? MEL: qu'est-ce que tu fais avec eux?

MEL:	est-ce que tu les essuies?	MEL:	mange bien!
MEL:	est-ce que tu les flattes?	MEL:	mange bien tes oeufs!
MEL:	est-ce que...		[imitates the way ATI has just
MEL:	qu'est-ce que tu fais avec eux?		done it]
ATI:	manger.	MEL:	toi tu les fais manger.
MEL:	tu les manges?	ATI:	oui.
ATI:	non! [laughing]		[looks relieved]
MEL:	qu'est-ce que tu fais?	MEL:	c'est ça, hein?
MEL:	c'est les bébés qui mangent.	MEL:	puis peut-être que les bébés
MEL:	c'est les <i>bébés</i> qui mangent.		ont soif aussi.
	[stressing "bébés"]	MEL:	qu'est-ce que tu vas faire?
ATI:	oui oui!	MEL:	est-ce que tu vas les faire
MEL:	mais toi, qu'est-ce que tu fais?		boire?
ATI:	euh...	ATI:	oui.
	[another long pause]	MEL:	qu'est-ce que tu vas leur faire
MEL:	c'est une question un peu		boire?
	compliquée. [laughing]	MEL:	du café?
MEL:	mais si c'est les bébés qui		[they smile]
	mangent...	ATI:	du lait.
MEL:	et c'est toi qui fais ça...	MEL:	du lait?
	[MEL takes spoon,	MEL:	okay.
	demonstrates feeding baby]		

Semantic causative responses to elicitation in non-competitive contexts, one or more turns after modelling

The non-competitive contexts included all the play scenarios except the Top Game and the Frog Game. These two competitive scenarios offered a different kind of motivation to produce causatives in a highly structured, extensively modelled way, and are treated separately as they resulted in a different kind of response. All responses to causative elicitation that occurred after an adult model for the causative had been provided at least once in that child session must be considered to have been preceded by a clear model, even if several turns or several minutes intervened between the modelling and the elicitation. Some of these responses included *faire*, which the child had heard by then in both causative

and non-causative contexts. Some examples are shown in Table 4.9. In all these examples, the child was performing a causative action with toys, or referring explicitly to a causative situation, and I had just asked a question which establishes the causing agent as grammatical subject. The extent to which each child produced such utterances after modelling, in response to elicitation, can be seen by scanning Appendix J.

Semantic causative responses to elicitation in competitive contexts, one or more turns after modelling: responses to the Top Game and Frog Game

In the two competitive game contexts that formed part of the semi-structured causative elicitation play protocol, the children were highly motivated to participate and were provided with an adult model of the appropriate *faire faire* causative construction every few seconds in scenarios that continued for several minutes. On their turns, all the children prompted me enthusiastically, but whereas my prompts to them invariably took the form “*Fais tourner/sauter la...*”, “*Peux-tu faire tourner/sauter la...*” followed by the colour of the object I wanted the child to manipulate, their prompts to me were usually expressed simply by pointing or by using the colour word alone: “*La rouge*”, “*La jaune*”.

The only exceptions to this pattern of non-imitation of my model occurred in the data from four children: Ostad, Nurjehan, Nasim and Atia. These four children did use verbs in their prompts to me, but did not add *faire* in a way that would indicate that they had control over the causative-forming mechanism. We have seen an example of the way this worked in transcript extracts from Nasim (see Appendix I). Nasim and Atia never added *faire* to their prompts; for the most part, their instructions to me took the form, “*Tu peux/Peux-tu tourner/sauter la...*”. Ostad added “*Tu peux*” in this way once, but otherwise used the verb alone: “*Tourne le grand rouge*”; “*Tu sauter jaune*”. Ostad also produced “*Fais sauter jaune*” once, immediately after my model. Nurjehan was the only L2 subject who imitated *faire* in a causative in response to elicitation with modelling more than once. During the Top Game, midway through the play session, she produced *faire* quite

Table 4.9 Typical responses to elicitation with modelling in the L2 data

DRA	§ manger (in response to my "qu'est-ce que tu fais pour ton bébé?" —she is feeding it)
ROK	§ manger elle la frites, hot dog et le poulet (in response to "Montre-moi ce que tu vas faire avec ton bébé puis la bouffe" — she is feeding it)
MOB	§ les courir (in response to "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec tes voitures de course?")
SIK	§ elle est avancer (of remote-controlled car; in response to "qu'est-ce que la madame a fait à l'auto?")
OMA	§ courir (sheep ran away when chased; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait au mouton?") § fait tomber (elephant says to rhinoceros, "moi je vais faire ça" and knocks him down; I ask, "qu'est-ce que l'éléphant a fait?")
BEL	§ moi aussi je fais à manger (I have been modelling "faire manger les bébés")
NAZ	§ <elle fait elle ça elle elle met de tasse de euh> [//] elle met de l'eau dans la tasse puis <euh euh elle de > [//] elle <donne pour> [/] donne pour son bébé <puis elle les xxx> [//] puis son bébé <c'est est> [//] boit (in response to qu'est-ce que la maman fait avec son bébé")
MUM	§ pis je mange [//] je fais manger (talking about how she feeds her Barbies at home)
FAR	§ on fait marche (in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec ce singe-là?"; I have modelled "on le fait marcher" recently) § je vole (she is making butterfly fly; I ask, "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ton papillon?")
ANJ	§ il fait [//] le monkey le l'est fait tou comme ça tou comme ça après stop (the mouse made the monkey turn around by pushing against it; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait, la petite souris?") § on &saute [//] grenouille il saute (in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec les grenouilles?")
NUR	§ mon maman il le fait de manger (I have asked about her baby brother: "est-ce qu'il mange comme ça, tout seul, ou est-ce que c'est ta maman qui le fait manger?") § je bouge (she is making cat dance; I ask, "qu'est-ce que tu fais au chat?")
SAN	§ quand je fais ça il marche (in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le p'tit piton?")
NAS	§ on xxx la main et on faite parle avec la marionnette (in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des marionnettes?")
ATI	§ on tourne #, après il va (I took out wind-up mouse and asked "qu'est-ce que tu penses qu'on fait avec la petit souris?") § de marcher (in answer to "tu vois le petit piton ici? à quoi ça sert? c'est pour faire quoi, ça?") § c'est pour faire marcher (in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le petit piton ici?")

consistently; however, during the Frog Game at the end of the session, she stopped doing this. Nurjehan's Top Game and Frog Game responses are reproduced in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Nurjehan's responses to the Top Game and the Frog Game

Top Game	Frog Game
§ fais tourner la jaune	§ prends la bleue (<i>after I asked, "est-ce que tu peux poser toute la question?"</i>)
§ fais tourner la rose	§ prends la rouge
§ fais tourner la rouge	§ fais la jaune
§ fais tourner l'orange	§ fais sauter le rouge
§ fais tourner la mauve	§ prends la vert
§ fais tourner la autre rose [//] la rouge	§ prends la bleue
§ fais tourner la vert	§ prends la vert
§ fais tourner l'orange	<i>more in the same vein; between all her turns I am modelling, "fais sauter" on MY turns)</i>

Spontaneously produced causative constructions

Only two of the L2 children produced one or two utterances with causative meaning that introduced a new topic, rather than being a response to my elicitation attempts. Table 4.11 shows all such instances. In all cases, the child had heard an adult model for the causative previously during the session.

Table 4.11 Spontaneously produced causative constructions in the L2 data

MUS	§ où fa elle marcher fait comme ça, lui à marcher? (<i>trying to figure out how a wind-up toy works</i>)
ANJ	§ qu'est-ce qui il fait il est tour comme ça tour comme ça tour? (<i>meaning "qu'est-ce qui l'a fait tourner comme ça?"</i>) § comment tu fais comme ça la faisait faire une couleur? (<i>meaning "comment tu faisais pour la faire faire une couleur?"</i>)

DISCUSSION

Peabody scores

The decision to use the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test arose from the notes and impressions that emerged from the classroom observations. It was desirable to have an independent measure of the Bengali-L1 children's general competence in French, aside from the results of the causative elicitation play protocol. This was felt to be all the more important, since the causative elicitation procedure was so new, and since it had never been tried with L2 participants. Some sort of *standardized* way of assessing the French-L2 children's language level was called for.

The Peabody was chosen, first because of its very widespread use in educational and clinical testing in North America. Second, the availability of a French version of the test that had been normed on a French-Canadian population, rather than a European French norming sample, would seem to make this test particularly suitable for use in the Canadian context. The L2 children studied here will continually be compared to their French-L1 classmates and schoolmates throughout their years at primary and secondary school where school performance is concerned¹, no matter what their level of L2 competence may be. It seemed reasonable to try to find out how they compared to French-Canadian children on at least one standardized measure, at a time when most of them were on the point of leaving kindergarten and getting ready for the more demanding atmosphere of the regular Grade One classroom.

Furthermore, a *receptive* vocabulary measure seemed most likely to capture the children's emerging competence in French in a manner which would enable them truly to show what they were capable of under the most favorable circumstances. The inevitable lag between comprehension and production in the early stages of learning a second language, well attested to in SLA literature, meant that any standardized measure of *L2 production*

¹This is a well-known characteristic of "submersion" education. See, for example, Ashworth, 1988; Collier, 1989; Fazio & Lyster 1998; and many of the readings in García & Baker, 1995.

was likely to miss important aspects of the children's growing ability to handle input in French. The children's teachers were unanimously of the opinion that if there was one domain of language proficiency in which the children were likely to do better than in others, it was receptive vocabulary.

The age-equivalent Peabody scores obtained by the L2 participants overall were lower than had been anticipated on the basis of observing the children in their classrooms and talking to their teachers about the kind of classroom language they seemed to understand. Even when error intervals were taken into consideration, only one of the 24 Bengali-L1 children obtained a Peabody score comparable to what a normally developing French-Canadian child of the same age would be expected to obtain. The other 23 children all had receptive vocabulary scores in the 1- to 3-year-old age range; 17 of the 24 children were clustered between 2-0 and 2-9. Three children scored even lower than this group, with scores below age 2 (at 1-11), and three scored slightly higher, between age 3 and age 4. If the upper limit of the error interval is taken as representing the children's true scores, 11 of the 24 children, or nearly half, obtained age-equivalent receptive vocabulary scores below age 3. Under a maximally conservative interpretation in which the *lower* limit of the age interval is taken as more representative of the true score, only one of the 24 children has an age-equivalent score above age 4 (at 4-9), and of the other 23 children, 12 have scores a little below age 2, with the other 11 scoring above 2 (between 2 and 2-10).

It has been pointed out (Godard & Labelle, 1995) that aspects of the norming procedure for the Canadian French version of the PPVT may make its use with monolingual Quebec Francophones questionable; there is a ceiling effect due to the fact that such a large proportion of the norming sample was made up of French/English bilinguals in other parts of Canada. Many of these children did not have French as their only or dominant language. Thus, the performance of monolingual Quebec Francophone children may be advantaged with respect to the overall norming sample on a test of receptive vocabulary, since they speak only French and cannot have recourse to another language for

vocabulary in certain key domains of language use. That is, there is a possibility that the norms established by the test constructors may underestimate the receptive vocabulary capacities of Quebec Francophone children. Quebec Francophones as a group would thus be expected to score higher than their age, compared to the norming sample. Godard and Labelle tested this assumption empirically, and did not find a statistically significant effect for kindergarten-age children in their sample. However, the effects for Grades One and Two children were significant. Godard and Labelle suggest that the acquisition of early literacy skills may have an enriching effect on children's vocabulary. The L2 children who participated in the present study tested very poorly in comparison to French-Canadian children in general even though the norming sample to which these French-L2 children are being compared consisted largely of bilingual French-Canadian children whose dominant language was not necessarily French.

The contrast between the L2 children's low scores on this decontextualized test of receptive vocabulary, and their high level of engagement with language in their classrooms, shows how heavily dependent these pre-literate children's comprehension of classroom language is on context-embeddedness and teacher scaffolding at this early stage of L2 acquisition. Extensive work with children in older grades (for example, Cummins, 1984) as well as research findings from preschool SLA contexts (Clarke, 1996; Kleifgen, 1990; Perego, 1991; Saville-Troike & Kleifgen, 1986; Tabors, 1997; Tabors & Snow, 1994; Toohey, 1996) all support this conclusion.

The standardized procedure required when administering the Peabody did not seem to have a dampening effect on the verbal ebullience of those children to whom ebullience came naturally. The less outgoing children often did not speak enough for me to get a good idea of the range of language they were capable of producing spontaneously. The Peabody score was a valuable way to gain additional insight into the children's receptive capacities, and the test atmosphere did not seem to alienate them unduly—indeed, the relatively low-pressure situation, created by the fact that all they had to do was look, listen and point, may

have helped them relax during the first part of this encounter with a somewhat unfamiliar adult, and seems to have been good preparation for the play session, in which it was important that the children speak as much as possible.

The development of single-agent infinitival complement constructions

Defective infinitives

Of the 18 L2 children who produced obligatory contexts for correctly formed infinitives following a modal auxiliary, nine produced one or more infinitives in this context that were lacking the infinitive ending. In no case did these defective infinitives constitute a large proportion of the infinitives produced by the child in single-agent infinitival complement constructions; of the children who produced more than 10 obligatory contexts, the percentage of defective infinitives in those contexts did not rise above 20%. The small numbers and the variability inherent in the non-elicited discourse context make it impossible to quantify these findings further, but they are suggestive. The children seem to be actively engaged in working out the syntax of French single-agent infinitival complement constructions at this point in their L2 acquisition. It is interesting to note that of these nine children, five were among the most talkative in their respective groups (Laboni and Mustaq for *Maternelle 4 ans*, Beli and Nazreen from *Maternelle-accueil*, and Anjubai from *Maternelle 5 ans*). Beli, in particular, produced 77 single-agent infinitival complement constructions during her rather long play session, of which 66 incorporated correctly formed infinitives.

Some of the verbs whose infinitives the children do not appear to be able to form correctly may in fact have been quite rare in the input to the children up to that point. This is likely to be true of *mourir*, *grandir* and perhaps *venir*. Other verbs are undoubtedly very frequent in the input in both finite and non-finite forms: these include *manger*, *marcher*, *parler*, *donner*, *mettre* and *couper*, all of which I heard being used very often by the children's teachers during the classroom observation period for this study. Most of the

children who used these frequently heard verbs in single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced both correctly and incorrectly formed infinitives. Thus, Laboni produced both “*Moi je veux manger ça*” and “*Moi je veux pas mange ça*”; Mobasher produced both “*Il va parler comme ça*” and “*Après il va parle avec celui*”; Sankar produced both “*On peut met [/me/] ça*”, and “*Ça c’est pour Macdonald’s mettre*”, and so on with the other children (see Appendix J). This is evidence that the children are constructing the syntax of these single-agent infinitival complement constructions themselves, not producing memorized chunks. It is possible that some free variation may exist at this point in these children’s acquisition of L2 French between marking the infinitive *as* an infinitive and supplying the “verb that comes after the auxiliary” as a simple present tense verb form. The cross-sectional design used in this study, as well as the sparse nature of the data, make it impossible to talk about true development in this context on the basis of these findings alone. However, true longitudinal data might yield a fuller picture. Perhaps what we are observing in the data presented here is the end of a very short-lived period of free variation that might characterize certain categories of learners of L2 French in a transitional phase, as they go about the task of figuring out how to insert modal auxiliaries into the verb phrase.

Complexity of argument structure

All eight of the *Maternelle 5 ans* children produced at least one single-agent infinitival complement construction with an argument more complex than a proform or *ça*. For two of these participants (Mumtaj and Anjubai), such constructions represented more than 50% of the total number of single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced. Four of the *Maternelle-accueil* children produced these more complex arguments, but at proportions well under 50% of the total in all cases. Two of the youngest, *Maternelle 4 ans* group, produced single-agent infinitival complement constructions with more complex arguments; for one of these children (Laboni), the proportion of the total is over 50%. The numbers are small, and the contexts non-elicited and unpredictable. The children with the most exposure to French L2 (*Maternelle 5 ans*)

were more likely to produce single-agent infinitival complement constructions in which additional elements of meaning (such as adverbials) were incorporated besides the subject, modal+auxiliary, and fairly primitive expression of direct object.

Omitted obligatory subjects

Of the 223 single-agent infinitival complement constructions produced by the L2 children, only 6 (fewer than 3%) did not include a grammatical subject. The rare instances of subject omission were accounted for by the production of three of the children. Another child used tonic-pronominal subjects on two occasions.

The finding that the majority of these Bengali-L1 children consistently supply grammatical subjects in their single-agent infinitival complement constructions is noteworthy in view of the fact that Bengali freely omits grammatical subjects in declaratives. The children nonetheless appear to have grasped that in French, declarative utterances must have a grammatical subject. Monolingual French-speaking children omit grammatical subjects freely during the early stages of speech production. There were many examples of subject-less sentences in the data collected from the French-L1 children in this study. At the subject-less stage, the utterances containing infinitival complement constructions produced by the French-L1 children were considerably shorter than the corresponding utterances produced by the L2 children. The L2 children had poor control over the French verb phrase at the time of data collection, but they were nonetheless able to express ideas of age-appropriate complexity using quite long strings.

Protomodal filler syllables

In contrast to the L1 children observed in of Study 1, the L2 children produced no ambiguous filler syllables in pre-infinitival position. The French-L2 children had no difficulty supplying a modal in pre-infinitival position when one was required, even though it was not always the most appropriate one for the situation. Some of the *Maternelle 4 ans*

children showed a preference for one of *va-* or *veu-*, using one modal in all situations². The older children used the full range of possible modal auxiliaries appropriately.

This finding is consistent with the finding by Nicholas (1987) that one feature that distinguished his very young German-L2 subject from his German-L1 subject was that the L2 child produced no babbling sequences. Approximate, shaping language is typical of many L1-learners, but L2 learners bring a level of linguistic sophistication and knowledge about what constitutes “real” language to the acquisition task that precludes the use of such strategies.

Expressing past meaning: the construction of narrative

During the semi-structured play sessions with the L2 participants, the context was set up so as to encourage the children to express causative meanings, and therefore tended to be cast in the present tense, with ongoing activities being the usual topics of discussion. Instances of past tense (whether as one word or as *passé composé*) were relatively infrequent in the children’s oral production.

However, it did happen that seven of the L2 participants used a verb with past form more than 12 times. These children wanted to tell me stories about something they had experienced or witnessed in a past-tense context, and they *insisted* on doing so no matter how sparse their linguistic resources were. These short narratives have considerable intrinsic interest, as they were *not* elicited by me, but really did come spontaneously from the children. They also show that some of these children were adept at finding linguistic means to convey different temporal points of view in their spontaneous speech. A similar finding was reported by Stevens (1984). In the stories told by the French-L2 children she interviewed, “[t]he children used a variety of tenses...with the *présent* being used frequently in descriptions, and a number of tenses appropriate to the context appearing in the narratives” (p. 192). In this study, Salim, Mumtaj, Farida, Istikar and Anjubai stand

²The dash is used to represent all possible singular verb endings (first, second or third person).

out particularly as displaying a gift for narrative despite the paucity of their linguistic resources.

A brief sample of the kinds of stories Mumtaj and Farida told (condensed, and reproduced with my intervening comments removed) is instructive as a way to better understand these children's rapidly-developing ability to handle long, complex stretches of discourse using a variety of verb forms, despite the still-emergent nature of their grasp of the French verb phrase. These children are both *Maternelle 5 ans* children who were nearing the end of their second kindergarten year at the time of data collection. They were in the same class in School North, and their teacher constantly "pushed" her young pupils to produce language to the limit of their capacity, bringing in extra resources and devising extra activities in a way that did not characterize all the teachers observed during the course of this study. This was a very rich environment for second language acquisition.

These two children each produced only one causative construction, in response to modelling, and did not have control over the correct use of *faire*. However, they were able to use verbs to do quite complex things in our conversations. When compared to the examples from the data from the monolingual French-L1 toddlers (see the relevant sections in Chapter 3, and the sample transcripts provided in Appendix D), these extracts provide ample support for the conclusion that some of the Bengali-L1/French-L2 children were indeed expressing 6-year-old ideas with their 2-year-old level of language (their Peabody age-equivalent scores were 2-2 and 2-3). The difference between the cognitive and narrative powers of these children and of the younger Francophone children comes through clearly, despite the crude nature of the linguistic instruments that are all that these young L2-acquiring children have at their disposal at this early point in their learning of French.

Mumtaj: J'ai allée, ben encore j'ai oublié qu'est-ce que j'ai vois, j'ai oublié. Moi j'étais pas très très longtemps pis j'ai, encore c'est très très longtemps. J'ai allée dans l'autobus. J'ai allée pas avec ma famille, j'ai allée tout seul avec professeur, avec mon ami aussi. C'est ça. C'est une belle chose, hein? Pis après j'ai dit à

mon maman, quand c'est le temps on va aller encore à Biodôme, parce que j'aime la Biodôme. Oui, ma maman a dit, "Je vais aller quand c'est l'été". Et moi quand j'ai venir back après j'étais pas content parce que Biodôme c'est belle. Pis quand j'ai allée à Biodôme j'ai contente. J'ai voir aussi l'Olympique quand j'ai allée.

Farida: Mais moi j'ai beaucoup soeurs et beaucoup frères mais c'est un autre pays. Tu sais, moi j'avais beaucoup cousins et beaucoup cousines [I had modelled these two items for her] mais les cousins et les cousines elle est xxx un autre pays. Bientôt il va aller ce pays-là, oui je connais beaucoup nenfants [*sic*] de moi. J'ai oublié parce que quand j'étais petit. Mon papa il a dit à mon cousin et à mon cousine "Viens-t'en en Canada". Elle a dit "Non je peux pas parce que nous on en veut pas [possibly for "on n'avait pas"] beaucoup d'argent".

Summary

The data on verb use overall by the French-L2 participants in this study, particularly the data on the production of single-agent infinitival complement constructions in their spontaneous speech, show that many of these children are able to manipulate complex verbal constructions with relative ease at this early point in their acquisition of French as a second language. Some of the children also showed that, with encouragement and scaffolding, they were able to combine single-agent infinitival complement constructions with simple present and compound past forms in the spontaneous construction of fairly complex narratives in which the ability to give linguistic expression to a variety of temporal points of view is evident.

The development of causative constructions

Comprehension

The baby-eating and top-turning examples from Laboni and Mustaq show that the youngest and least advanced children in the L2 sample, the *Maternelle 4 ans* children, may not understand simple causative constructions, in contrast to the 2-year-old French-L1 children who understood this structure in context even if they could not themselves produce

it. In the *Maternelle-accueil* group, there is evidence that both Salim and Belï may not have understood causatives expressed in clear contexts. All four of these children were the best talkers in their respective groups and produced single-agent infinitival complement constructions with great facility (including a small proportion of unmarked infinitives). Their developing linguistic competence with complex verbal constructions is impressive; it does not, however, extend to causative constructions. This is noteworthy, in light of the clear extralinguistic context that was being supplied. It suggests that, unlike younger L1 learners of French, the L2 children were focussing on the language itself, rather than on the context. When presented with words in the input whose syntactic function they did not understand, rather than guessing at meaning from the more global linguistic and extralinguistic context (as the L1 learners did), the L2 children stalled completely and made me understand that they were confused.

The most advanced speakers in the entire group of 24 were Nasim and Atia in *Maternelle 5 ans*. In their case, the data show that one cannot rule out the possibility that extralinguistic context may have been aiding their comprehension of causative constructions produced by the researcher. It would have been instructive to include more carefully devised comprehension checks (contrasting the same verbs in instructions with causatives and instructions without causatives) in which no help was available from extralinguistic sources; the rather informal nature of the comprehension checks that were actually carried out meant that this possibility was not provided for in this production study.

Production: *faire*+infinitive but non-causative meaning

There were several cases of responses to causative elicitation with immediate or delayed prior modelling that did in fact incorporate a *faire*+infinitive, but whether the children had analyzed the structure so as to have isolated *faire* as the causative-forming element remains an open question, given the leeway afforded by the context. *Faire* had been modelled for the children in causative constructions, but it had also been modelled in a variety of non-causative declarative and interrogative contexts. Early in Sikander's play

session (*Maternelle-accueil*), I showed him a frog puppet that could jump, and he produced “*elle fait les comme ça fait les sauter*”. Although the syntax of the last part of this utterance is causative, the context is so ambiguous that it is impossible to be sure about the meaning.

Other examples of this type were produced by Roksana and Beli. The relevant utterance types by Roksana (*Maternelle 4 ans*) and Beli (*Maternelle-accueil*) are, respectively, *Ça fait rouler* and *Je veux faire (encore) cacher/jouer*. In these examples there is no question that causative meanings are not intended despite the apparent causative form. Roksana appeared to be using the structure to be saying, in effect, “It’s doing X”; Beli appeared to be saying, “Let’s/I want to do X”, and no causing agent can be inferred for any of the utterances. Furthermore, when these two girls *did* produce constructions that require a causative interpretation, they did it in idiosyncratic ways that show how far they are from having complete control over the form coupled with the meaning. When I asked Roksana to “*Montre-moi ce que tu vas faire avec ton bébé puis la bouffe*”, she declared, “*Manger elle la frites, hot dog et le poulet*”. Twice before during the play session, Roksana had produced *Manger* alone in responses to questions of mine about what she or we were going to do with the hungry babies and animals; I took these instances to be causative in meaning. Beli produced a spontaneous causative early on in her session before I had modelled the structure at all, exclaiming, when I brought out the hand puppets, “*On peut dire avec la main!*”, and clearly intending to say, “We can make them talk!” (she produced *peu-*+infinitive productively many times during taping, with a variety of different infinitives). Since these children did *not* use *faire* when they were trying to convey a causative meaning, the presence of *faire* before an infinitive in other (non-causative) contexts must have had a different meaning in their interlanguage. There seemed to be a strong temptation for some of the children to combine *faire* with an infinitive to express something like the progressive or continuous aspect at a point in their development where this syntactic device had not yet been pre-empted for causative uses. The progressive aspect exists in Bengali and is very often used, as it is in English. The children may have been using *faire* to fill the aspectual

gap created by the lack of a corresponding form in French. The presence of a form of *faire* in the immediately preceding adult utterances, in a “What are you doing?” sort of context, may have helped to trigger this strategy.

This phenomenon was particularly striking in the data from Oman. Some of his utterances appeared to be well-formed causatives, but in the entire body of utterances produced in causative-requiring contexts by Oman, there were also nine *faire*-less responses to causative-requiring questions. It seemed unlikely that the use of *faire* as a causative-forming element was something Oman has separated out from other uses of *faire* at this point.

Faire in and out of causatives: possible confusion

Informal observation in kindergarten classrooms generally, and qualitative examination of the researcher utterances in the data collected for this study, show that forms of *faire* are frequent in the input to these French-acquiring children. Some of the L2 participants in this study seemed to be using *faire* quite systematically as an all-purpose “doing” verb, a use that is consistent with the discussion of the acquisition of French “support verbs” (such as *mettre*, *donner*, and *faire*) in Ibrahim, 1996. The participants in this study who used *faire* in this way clearly did not have full control over the causative-forming function of *faire* in the way that characterized much younger monolingual Francophones. They seemed, rather, to have been working on the proform and support functions of *faire* at the time of data collection. An analysis of the input in this regard might be revealing.

One L2 child in particular, Oman, seemed to have a rudimentary although undeveloped notion of the causative-forming function of *faire*. However, it seemed likely that he had not yet sorted out the four different functions of *faire* (proform, lexical verb, causative-forming and support verb) into their appropriate contexts. Another subject, Anjubai, included *faire* in her spontaneous causatives, but in a rather random fashion that made it seem unlikely that she had separated the causative-forming function from the

others. The fact that she produced no instances at all of *faire*+infinitive in the competitive game contexts supports this conclusion.

The only child who produced *faire* in causatives consistently in response to elicitation was Nurjehan (*Maternelle 5 ans*) during the Top Game. There is a possibility that this child may have actually been learning the *faire*+infinitive in causative constructions from me during the play session (if this was the case, it was the only instance of on-the-spot learning in the entire body of L2 data). Even so, her failure to continue to produce *faire* during the Frog Game (although modelling was provided in exactly the same way) showed that she too had not yet acquired full control over *faire* in causativization.

Two other children who responded to the competitive game contexts by using verbs in their prompts to me were Nasim and Atia (both *Maternelle 5 ans*), the highest scorers on the Peabody and among the most advanced L2 speakers in the study overall. Despite the dozens of instances of modelling they were exposed to, these two children consistently supplied their prompts in a form along the lines, “*Peux-tu sauter...*”, “*Tu peux sauter..*”, “*Tu veux sauter...*”. Is it possible that each time I said, “*Fais sauter...*” or “*Peux-tu faire sauter...*”, these children actually *heard* these utterances without the *faire*? Each of these children did produce an utterance with causative form in a causative context once, both times in response to a question of mine that included *faire* and that was not in the context of the competitive game-playing. It is possible that in a less fast-paced context than the competitive game scenarios, the *faire* was more salient than it was in the excitement of the game.

Semantic causative meanings without causative form

We have seen that expressions of causative meaning without *faire* are quite frequent in the L2 data. It also occasionally happened that *faire* was in fact included somewhere in an utterance that had causative meaning, but rarely in a systematic manipulation of *faire*+infinitive that would correspond to the adult model (or to the incipient causatives with *faire* that characterized the spontaneous speech of Francophones aged two and three). It was

always the case that such an occurrence of *faire* in a causative was immediately preceded by a highly salient instance of proform-function *faire* in a question by the researcher along the lines of “*Qu’est-ce que tu fais?*”.

If in fact the very few *Maternelle 5 ans* children who used *faire* in causatives did have some notion that *faire* belongs in an utterance with causative meaning, none of them seemed to understand that it must be used in a syntactically predictable way, cannot be omitted at will, and may coexist in that utterance with instances of *faire* with other functions (besides the causative-forming) that are themselves syntactically consistent in distinct ways. It seems clear from the L2 data collected for the present study that most of the 24 children whose data were analyzed were just beginning to sort out the various functions of *faire*. They were a long way from being able to control the syntax of *faire*+infinitive causative constructions. On the basis of these data alone, it is impossible to say just when these kindergarten-leaving children will acquire the French *faire faire* causative in its adult-like form.

The stage of causative acquisition observed here contrasts with these children's impressive control of single-agent infinitival complement constructions, which bear a purely formal similarity to causative constructions in that they include a tense-bearing verb followed by an infinitive. Many of the L2 children who participated in this study (including some of the youngest children with the least exposure to French) showed clear mastery of single-agent infinitival complement constructions in their oral production, using them fluently and for the most part accurately throughout their play sessions, despite the fact that no effort was being made to elicit such constructions.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARISON OF L1 AND L2 ACQUISITION OF THE *FAIRE FAIRE* CAUSATIVE

SUMMARY

The research questions that this study was designed to address were the following:

1. How do French-L1 children acquire the *faire faire* causative during the course of monolingual L1 acquisition?

2. How do Bengali-L1 children acquiring French for the first time at preschool acquire the *faire faire* causative?

It was predicted, first, that French monolingual children would start to develop the *faire faire* causative sometime after their second birthday, and that the structure would take on adult-like form before the age of 4. It was further predicted that during the course of development, non-adult-like syntactic features would be observed. The exact nature of these “errors” could not be predicted with certainty, but it was anticipated that omission of *faire* would be a likely developmental error during the early stages of emergence, and that word order errors might occur, especially with respect to placement of causee agent clitic objects:

Second, it was predicted that a group of Bengali-L1 preschoolers who had been intensively exposed to French at kindergarten for at least one year would have mastered the *faire faire* causative. It was anticipated that their oral production, like that of the L1 learners, might also be characterized by omission of *faire* in the early stages, and by difficulty with clitic object placement.

The findings presented in chapters 3 and 4 yield the following summary conclusions with respect to the initial predictions made in chapter 2:

The predictions made for the monolingual group were strongly supported by longitudinal data collected from eight children. In addition, it proved possible to sketch a

sequence of three developmental stages for the emergence of the *faire faire* causative in monolingual French-speaking children aged between two and four. *Faire*-omission was typical of the first stage. In this stage, causee agents were rarely supplied, and when supplied, were never in clitic-pronominal form. In the second stage, *faire* was supplied, but erratically, and clitic-pronominal causee agents made their appearance, sometimes in word orders that would not be used in the adult language. The third stage was characterized by the consistent and accurate production of *faire* in causatives and correct clitic object placement. However, even at the third stage, double-object causatives involving the causativization of a transitive utterance with dativization of the causee agent were only rarely elicited from the children. A further fourth stage during which double-object causatives emerge is postulated, although it was not attested to by the data collected for this study.

The predictions made for the bilingual Bengali-L1/French-L2 group were not supported by cross-sectional data collected from a group of 24 preschool children aged 5 or 6 years old. The children had not acquired the *faire faire* causative during their year or two in French kindergarten. Most of the children were able to express causative meanings—18 out of the 24—but only three children used *faire* as a causative-forming element more than once, and then only in the heavily supported imitative context of a competitive game. None demonstrated fluent and accurate control of the causative-forming function of *faire*. This pattern was in marked contrast to the developmental stages observed in the French-L1 children, who used *faire* to form causatives reliably and accurately after a short period of *faire*-omission. The French-L2 children who expressed causative meanings either did so without incorporating *faire* at all, or they inserted *faire* into their utterances in a way that indicated confusion about the different functions of *faire*. For these children, *faire* seemed to have primarily a support verb function: it was used to supplement gaps in the children's lexicons where an action verb was required and the child wanted to convey the sense of “doing” something specific but did not know the appropriate verb. Three children each

produced two or three utterances with correct *faire faire* causative structure, but the prevalence in their data of other utterances with causative meaning and no *faire* make it seem probable that the formally correct causatives they produced owed something to chance and to the fact that *faire* as a proform had preceded their utterance in the researcher's questions. The children clearly did not have complete control over *faire faire* causative formation in the same way as the Francophone 3- and 4-year-olds did. Even the most advanced L2 children were just beginning to understand that causative constructions in French require that *faire* be incorporated in a very specific way. They were a long way from mastering the rules of word order that govern French causativization.

A more detailed discussion of these summary conclusions follows.

Age of emergence in French-L1 acquisition

It was predicted that the *faire faire* causative would develop sometime between the second and fourth birthdays in the French monolingual group. This prediction was supported by the data. One of the children, Benoit, worked out the basic syntactic functioning of the causative shortly after he reached the age of 2. Another child, Réjeanne, was closer to the age of 4 before her formation of the causative was sufficiently developed that it was no longer productive to collect data every two or three weeks in the expectation that she would still be making interesting developmental errors. The other six subjects from whom data were collected fell somewhere between these two. The range of normal developmental variation was very wide, as one would expect for an aspect of argument structure, such as the *faire faire* causative, that is both semantically and syntactically complex.

Further analysis of the data from the eight French-L1 children showed that during the period when they were working out the details of causative formation, they were also learning to form single-agent infinitival complement constructions such as *je veux jouer* or *tu vas partir*. At the beginning of the observation period, many of their infinitival complement constructions, whether single-agent or causative, lacked obligatory

grammatical subjects or objects. The children seemed to approach the two kinds of infinitival complement constructions—causative and non-causative—at the same point in development, and to treat the two as if they were at a similar level of difficulty. Linguistic analysis of the two kinds of infinitival complement construction reveals that despite the similarity in surface structure, the underlying argument structure of causative constructions is more complex. A causative construction always has one more argument than its non-causative counterpart, and would seem to be of a higher order of difficulty than a single-agent infinitival complement construction from both the linguistic and the cognitive points of view. Nevertheless, the monolingual children acquiring French as their first language who were observed for this study acquired the two kinds of construction at about the same time. At any given point in development, developmental features such as subject or object omission were similar for the two types of construction.

A developmental sequence in L1 causative acquisition

Stage One in French L1

The most common developmental feature of causative formation observed in the speech of the French-L1 2- and 3-year-olds at Stage One was the omission of *faire*. It was predicted at the outset that this type of error was likely to occur. In the first of the three stages of causative acquisition that emerged from an analysis of the data, the omission of *faire* was the rule rather than the exception. The children expressed semantic causatives in very clear ways: *saute ça*, *tombe pas elle*, *veux marcher ça*, for example. The fact that *faire* was being supplied consistently in the adult model throughout did not seem to have any effect on the children's production at this stage. Even though they appeared to understand causative constructions well before the age of 3, and quickly became able to express causative meanings, the children continued to omit *faire*. It is not clear whether this was due to the semantic redundancy the children may have perceived to be present when *faire* was included, to a limitation on the length of the children's utterances at this early stage, to

possible phonological confusion between *fais* and the modal auxiliaries *vas*, *veux*, *peux*, *faut*, that are possible in pre-infinitival position, or to some other reason.

At this stage, causee agents were frequently omitted in contexts where the adult language requires their overt expression. When causee agents were present, they took the form of tonic pronouns or full noun phrases, never clitic pronouns.

Stage Two in French L1

The French-L1 children took some time to work out the details of clitic object causee agent placement in *faire faire* causatives. Difficulty with clitic placement had been predicted from the outset of the study. When clitic-pronominal causee agents began to appear in the children's production in Stage Two, there was a brief period during which they were sometimes placed between *faire* and the infinitive in a declarative sentence, which is not permissible in the adult language. For example, the children produced sentences like *Je fais les sauter* and *On fait la marcher à terre comme ça*, in which the syntax of the causative verb phrase conforms to imperative rather than declarative requirements. In the mature form of the spoken language, a clitic object comes between *faire* and the infinitive only in an imperative sentence. The children may have heard clitic objects frequently in this position in imperatives addressed to them, and this may have been a factor contributing to the temporary confusion. The period during which this type of error was made was very brief for all the L1 children observed, and was characterized by the occurrence of both correct and incorrect clitic placement during the same session. Given the complexity of causee agent clitic object placement in French, it was striking that as the L1 children worked on developing causative constructions, they in fact made relatively few errors over rather a short time. On the whole, once causative constructions emerged in oral production, the children sorted out the differences between word order in declarative and in imperative causatives remarkably quickly, where causative constructions with only one object—the causee agent—were concerned.

Stage Three in French L1

At the most advanced developmental stage observed in this study, the French-L1 children were able to form causative constructions with only one object (which by definition must be the causee agent) reliably and accurately. They no longer made any errors in clitic placement.

Double-object causative constructions: a possible Stage Four

Even when they seemed to have mastered causee object clitic placement in single-object causative utterances, the French-L1 children did not show evidence of being able to manipulate double-object causative constructions. Among linguists of French, the syntax of these double-object constructions has been much discussed. Such constructions involve the causativization of a transitive utterance, as in the formation of *Je fais boire son lait au bébé* from *Le bébé boit son lait*. If there is a cliticized direct object present in such a construction it does not replace the causee agent, but is the direct object (rather than the underlying grammatical subject) of the infinitive. The causee agent, whether nominal or pronominal, must then be expressed in the dative. In the adult spoken register, it is rare for both the direct object and the causee agent indirect object to be pronominalized.

The children may not in fact have heard double-object causatives of any kind very often, although the data collected for this study do not make it possible to confirm this. Two of the L1 children each produced one or two double-object causatives late in the data collection period (they were both well over 3 at the time) after considerable encouragement and modelling. None of these instances contained a causee agent clearly marked for the dative. It is impossible to say on the basis of these data just when the acquisition of double-agent causative constructions (with or without cliticized objects, whether marked as direct or indirect) is fully mastered by French-L1 children. A Stage Four during which double-object causatives are acquired can only be postulated on the basis of this study.

Emergence of causatives in the early L2 French of Bengali-L1 preschoolers

The prediction that the French-L2 group would acquire the *faire faire* causative in a rapid and error-free way during their first or second kindergarten year was not supported. In fact, none of the L2 children in this study had begun to use the causative accurately or productively.

On the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (French version, normed on a French-Canadian sample), most of the French-L2 children obtained age-equivalent scores indicating that their receptive vocabularies were similar to those of French-Canadian children aged between 2 years and 2 years and 6 months old. The real ages of several of the children in the French-L1 group were in this range when the *faire faire* causative started emerging in their productive speech. Thus, one might have anticipated that the L2 children would also begin to use the causative productively in their speech at this point in their vocabulary development. However, this proved not to be the case.

Of the three groups of French-L2 children, the youngest group with the least exposure—the eight *Maternelle 4 ans* children—did not show evidence that they could even understand the causative constructions which were modelled for them using extensive extralinguistic cues in the form of toys and appropriate actions. In this respect they were very different from the French-L1 children studied, who all showed evidence of understanding the researcher's modelling of causative sentences at a very early point in acquisition—perhaps because they focussed on broad features of context rather than on small details of syntax. In contrast to the complete lack of development of causative constructions they showed, two of the L2 children out of this youngest group of eight were able to manipulate single-agent infinitival complement constructions fluently and accurately.

The eight children in the *Maternelle-accueil* group showed a somewhat better ability to understand the researcher's modelling of causative sentences, although their comprehension could by no means be counted on. Several children in this group produced non-elicited semantic causatives in which a causative meaning was clearly expressed,

although *faire* was not present. In response to direct questioning, one child in this group included *faire* in an elicited causative half the time, but his control over the syntax of causative constructions and the inclusion of *faire* was very uneven.

In the group with the most exposure, the *Maternelle 5 ans* group, several of the eight children used *faire* in causatives in elicited contexts, but with uneven control of the inclusion and placement of *faire*, similar to that of the *Maternelle-accueil* group. None of the eight children was able consistently to repeat the model for causative formation provided by the researcher in the elicited-imitation-like context of the “Simon Says”-type competitive game scenarios. Two children each produced one or two causatives including *faire* spontaneously, without an immediately preceding model by the researcher, but *faire* was repeated two or more times in the utterances in a way that makes a support verb interpretation more likely than a causative interpretation, and object placement was not adult-like.

For the L2 group overall, the acquisition of the causative-forming function of *faire* is likely to have been impeded by the fact that there are three other functions of *faire* that must also be acquired (the proform, lexical, and support verb functions). The L1 children had an identical challenge to meet, but it did not seem to cause them the same kind of confusion. One possible hypothesis about the reason for this is that the input to L1 children and L2 children may be very different in this regard. Perhaps the four functions of *faire* are clearly modelled by parents in the course of normal French-L1 acquisition, using a number and a variety of instances in the input to any one child that is far beyond what a kindergarten teacher can supply to each one of her pupils in a sufficiently salient way. At the time of testing, the L2 children were more proficient at using *faire* as a proform or support verb than as a causative-forming element. The frequent occurrence of *faire* with these other functions in the adult speech addressed to the children (in the classroom as well as in the data-collecting contexts) is a factor that might explain this pattern. Although *faire* in its causative-forming function was also frequent in the data-collecting context for this

study, we do not have a body of empirical evidence to indicate how often it was heard by the children in their classrooms. Almost certainly *faire* occurred far more frequently outside causative constructions than inside them.

It is possible, furthermore, that semantic redundancy characterizes most instances of production of *faire faire* causatives by kindergarten teachers in a way that detracts from the salience of the *faire* element for L2 children. The causative meaning of many causative utterances can be grasped from context, even if the presence of *faire* is simply ignored by the listener; for example, after a painting session, the teacher takes a child's wet painting and walks over to the clothesline, calling out to other children, "*Maintenant tu vas faire secher ton dessin*", as she pins it up to demonstrate. To follow instructions, a child need only understand *secher*. Indeed, extralinguistic context alone may be sufficient. Context may be especially important in L2 kindergarten classrooms, in which the heavy use of contextualization and scaffolding characterizes all teacher talk. Suggestions for new research questions that arise with respect to the acquisition of the functions of *faire* by young second-language learners are explored in chapter 6.

The French-L2 group was remarkably proficient at forming single-agent infinitival complement constructions. Most of the *Maternelle-accueil* and *Maternelle 5 ans* children produced several such constructions in their spontaneous speech fluently and accurately, despite the fact that no attempt was being made to elicit them. The *Maternelle 5 ans* group was somewhat more likely to produce single-agent infinitival complement constructions that incorporated sentence elements beyond the bare essentials, such as adverbials of time, or direct objects more complex than *ça*. In Bengali, the L2 children's first language, single-agent infinitival complement constructions of the *Je veux jouer* type do exist, but it is not possible to map the syntactic and semantic functioning of such constructions onto French modal + infinitive constructions in any neat way. Other constructions (such as the simple future) are also very often used by speakers of any age, and constructs involving volition and intentionality may be expressed in Bengali using structures quite different from

anything in French. The children's proficiency at forming single-agent infinitival complement constructions in French was all the more striking.

In contrast to the French-L1 group, the French-L2 group did not acquire single-agent infinitival complement constructions and causative constructions at the same time. Despite the surface-structure similarity that causative constructions bear to single-agent infinitival complement constructions, there was a lag in the development of the French-L2 children's ability both to comprehend and to produce causative constructions. The data gathered for this study did not permit the precise extent of this lag to be determined. The French-L1 children in this study underwent a clear developmental progression with respect to causative constructions. Causative constructions emerged in their speech at the same time as single-agent infinitival complement constructions and went through a predictable sequence of developmental stages. No such progression was observed in the French-L2 group. Some of the French-L2 children may have been in a stage that would correspond to Stage One of the French-L1 children's causative development, a stage in which *faire* is normally omitted from causative constructions. However, since no evidence was seen of further stages that would correspond to Stages Two or Three in L1 development, it is impossible to know whether the L2 children follow a developmental progression for the acquisition of the causative in the same way as the L1 children.

Faire-omission

Faire was only rarely incorporated into the causative constructions produced (whether spontaneously or in elicited contexts) by the French-L2 group. Only the most advanced speakers sometimes included *faire* in causatives, but even they did not seem to have the causative-forming function clearly separated from the proform and support verb functions. The *faire*-less causatives produced by the L2 children sometimes occurred in the context of quite long utterances, such as *J'suis capable marche bien* (in a context that called for *Je suis capable de bien faire marcher ça*). By way of contrast, L1 children at the *faire*-

less stage were not able to produce utterances of comparable semantic and syntactic complexity.

Clitic placement

It is not possible to compare the performance of the French-L2 group to that of the French-L1 group where causee agent clitic placement is concerned, for the simple reason that none of the L2 children had progressed far enough in the development of causative constructions that clitics and *faire* were both being systematically incorporated (two children each produced one utterance with causative form that included a clitic object, but a causative interpretation is doubtful). In the rare instances of causative constructions produced by the L2 children, causee agents were often omitted. When they were present, they were placed after the verb as full noun phrases or tonic pronouns, as in *Manger elle les frites* (in a context that required *Je lui fais manger les frites*).

Conclusion

Of the 24 Bengali-L1 children who participated in the present study, fewer than half showed that they were able to understand *faire faire* causatives. Those who did demonstrate comprehension may have been relying on extralinguistic cues to a very great extent; there is no evidence that they would have been able to understand causatives from the language alone.

Most of the children were able to express causative meaning in their oral production at least once, although half the children did not do so more than five times. However, the children only rarely incorporated the obligatory causative-forming element *faire*, although they heard it modelled for them dozens of times by the researcher. Even though the L2 utterances were sometimes long and semantically quite complex, the expressions of causative meaning produced by the more advanced speakers in the two older groups were mostly *faire*-less, in a way that corresponded syntactically to the earliest stage of causative acquisition in younger French monolingual children. The children were indeed using 2-year-old language to express 6-year-old notions where the purely syntactic expression of

causative meaning was concerned. When *faire* was present in causatives, it was used in a way that showed speaker confusion about the different functions of *faire*. The causative-forming function was not clearly distinguished from the proform and support verb functions. For example, in response to my frequent question "*Qu'est-ce que le X a fait au Y?*" (proform), one child regularly used *faire* in his answer: "*il a fait tomber, il a fait rouler*", which has good causative form. However, the context makes it possible that the child was simply repeating *faire* back to me in his response, having interpreted it as a support verb, and therefore a permissible part of the answer, rather than as a proform, and therefore needing to be replaced by another verb in the answer: "it's doing falling, it's doing rolling". The same child's failure to produce *faire* in many other situations requiring causative constructions makes this explanation plausible. Some children produced utterances with perfect causative form in contexts where they clearly did not intend to express causative meanings. For these children, *faire* seemed to function as an all-purpose verb of doing. For example, one L2 child announced, "*On va faire cacher*" (support verb function) in a context where no causative interpretation was possible. A French-L1 5-year-old would have said, "*On va jouer à cache-cache*", but this idiom was not available to the L2 child. The same child also produced "*Je veux faire jouer ça une autre fois*", again in a context that ruled out causative meaning.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ACQUISITION OF THE CAUSATIVE BY THE MONOLINGUAL AND BILINGUAL GROUPS

The L2 group was at such an early point in the acquisition of the causative that it is not possible to make direct comparisons between the course of acquisition in the monolingual and bilingual groups other than the mention of early-stage *faire*-less causatives. The most striking single difference to emerge from a comparison of the L1 and L2 findings was the lag between the development of single-agent infinitival complement constructions and causative infinitival complement constructions in the L2 group. The French-L1 children worked on both kinds of infinitival complement construction at the

same time, and were proficient at forming each kind well before the age of 4—in some cases well before the age of 3. The French-L2 children reached a high level of proficiency in the formation of single-agent infinitival complement constructions early in the course of their L2 acquisition, showing that they were working actively at developing these constructions in their first and second year of exposure to French at kindergarten. In the children's first language, Bengali, constructions that convey meanings equivalent to those expressed by French modal auxiliary+infinitive constructions are formed somewhat differently, so it seems unlikely that the children were using direct translation when they constructed sentences such as *Je veux jouer*. Overall, they became able to construct relatively long sentences that were complex in several respects. However, none of them developed the ability to form causative constructions reliably or correctly during this time. The L2 data collected for this study do not make it possible, therefore, to state when causative constructions are fully acquired by this group.

The lag observed in causative acquisition in the L2 group with respect to single-agent infinitival complement constructions cannot be fully explained on the basis of the data for this study alone and would require more focussed investigation. Several possible reasons can be suggested, however.

Differences in the input: a possible factor

The first place to look for possible causes for the nature of a learner's linguistic output is in the linguistic environment to which that learner is exposed (rather than in the undiscoverable black box of the learner's mind). The possibility that there were differences in the causative input to the monolingual and bilingual groups must be considered. When I collected data from the L1 children in their homes, I sometimes asked parents to play with the children to help them relax, and as parents went to and fro in the house they often paused to comment on what the children and I were doing. Given the nature of the toys I was using—many little moving mechanisms that performed different actions—it frequently happened that the parents would use a *faire faire* causative with the children in short, simple

utterances that may have been highly salient as input. The nature of the language addressed to French-L2-acquiring children in multiethnic Montreal kindergartens was not analyzed in a systematic way in the present study, nor, to my knowledge, in any existing research to date. It is not known whether the immigrant children in these kindergartens hear language similar to what younger French-L1 children hear from their parents at home. Given the age difference, the more formal context of the classroom and the requirement that the teacher interact with many children, it seems inevitable that there would in fact be many differences between classrooms and homes. During the many hours I spent observing in classrooms, every few minutes I heard comments from teachers such as “*Fais pas ça!*”, “*Qu’est-ce que tu fais là?*” (proform), “*Attention, ça va faire un dégât*” (support verb, since “*dégâter*” is not a verb) or “*Ah, tu as fait une belle construction avec les Lego*” (lexical verb, equivalent of *fabriquer*). It was striking that while the teachers did also use *faire faire* causatives to the children, they were not heard nearly as often as the other three functions of *faire* combined. This evidence is admittedly anecdotal, and would need to be supported by more systematic information on the input to the L2 children. It is conceivable that one of the differences between the input to monolingual children and the input to preschool-age L2 children would be in the frequency of occurrence of *faire faire* causatives in the input, relative to the frequency of occurrence of other functions of *faire*—or perhaps in frequency of occurrence of *faire faire* in a form salient enough to lead to uptake by the individual learner. Such a difference, if it were found to exist, might at least partially explain the lag in causative acquisition by the L2 group in the present study.

Aspects of French causative acquisition

Inflection of *faire*

In a French *faire faire* causative construction, the causative-forming element *faire* carries the burden of agreement and tense marking. The requirement that these features be transferred from the lexical verb to *faire*, when causativizing, adds an element of

complexity that may take some time for L1 learners to acquire (as suggested by the *faire*-less stage), as well as posing a challenge for L2 learners. Of the L2 learners observed in this study, the few that had begun to acquire the *faire faire* causative were all still either at the early *faire*-less stage, or just beginning to move out of it.

The competing functions of *faire*

The L2 learners in this study who *did* occasionally include a form of *faire* somewhere in their semantic causatives did not seem to have the causative-forming function properly separated from the proform and support verb functions. It is likely that in their kindergarten classrooms, these children had plenty of opportunity to hear and begin practicing the verb *faire* in its proform, support verb and lexical verb functions. It might be revealing to inquire into the nature of the input to L1-acquiring children as far as the four functions of *faire* are concerned. Why did the L2 learners in this study have such difficulty sorting the four functions out, when presumably this does not pose the same kind of problem for L1 learners? The data analyzed for this study do not make it possible to say. Full transcription of the play session data and re-analysis of all occurrences of *faire* across both the L1 and L2 groups might be useful in this regard.

Phonological similarity of pre-infinitival elements

It is possible that for some learners, the *faire* element in pre-infinitival position in causatives may be confused with the tense-bearing modal auxiliary verbs that may occur in this position in single-agent infinitival complement constructions. *Va(s)* + infinitive and *veu-* + infinitive occur frequently in informal spoken Quebec French (a dash is used to indicate that first, second or third person singular are equally possible with this pronunciation). Both modals begin with a labial fricative sound that differs from the *f* in *fai-* only in that the initial consonant is voiced. The three vowel sounds do differ, but it is notoriously easy for beginning learners to confuse vowel sounds. Another modal that occurs frequently in pre-infinitival position, *peu-*, begins with an unvoiced labial stop

rather than an unvoiced labial fricative, a coincidental similarity that may add to the confusion.

The presence of protomodal filler syllables in the data of some of the French monolingual children observed for this study demonstrates that for at least some L1 learners, sorting out all these pre-infinitival possibilities may take some time. It is reasonable to conclude that a similar difficulty might exist for French-L2 learners. This may be especially likely to be true for L2 learners who (like all L1 learners) encounter the language through the spoken medium only, as these Bengali-L1 preschoolers did.

Evidence for this conclusion can be drawn from the data of three of the French-L2 *Maternelle 5 ans* children, Nurjehan, Nasim and Atia. These three children were among the most fluent speakers of L2 French of all the participants in the study. In the context of the competitive game scenarios, when the prompt they heard was “*Fais sauter la rouge*”, etc., they responded some or all of the time with variants on “*Tu peux sauter la rouge*”, or “*Tu veux sauter la rouge*”. They may be re-interpreting the verb they hear in pre-infinitival position in a way that makes it possible for them to produce a sentence that conforms to the rest of their interlanguage—which we know from evidence elsewhere in their data seems to include *faire*-less causatives, on the one hand, but perfectly formed single-agent infinitival complement constructions, on the other. We also know that these children are able to use *sauter* as a non-causative intransitive verb. On this interpretation, *sauter* is an alternating (and in this context a causative) verb for these children, just as it was for the French-L1 2-year-old Zéphirin, who, after trying in vain to make a frog jump, handed it to me and commanded, “*Saute ça!*”

Placement of causee agent clitic objects

We have seen that French-L1 children take some time to work out the correct placement of cliticized causee agent direct objects in causative constructions. The difficulty of sorting out this element in the *faire faire* causatives they hear in the input is likely to add to the complexity of the task faced by L2 learners of French as well.

First language influence

The choice of Bengali-speaking learners of French as participants in this study was motivated by the expectation that first language influence might result in different causative acquisition patterns for the French-L1 and French-L2 groups.

Intrinsic differences between first and second language acquisition

Analysis of the data collected from French monolingual children in this study shows that acquisition of the *faire faire* causative is well under way, and in some cases complete, by the age of 3. This is consistent with findings from other studies of causative acquisition, which report that for various languages (English, Italian, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, Inuktitut and Portuguese) the period during which developmental errors in causative formation were observed occurred sometime between ages 2 and 4. Ammon and Slobin (1978) and Slobin in subsequent work (e.g., 1985) have proposed that when a linguistic device such as the causative is expressed in a regular and transparent way in a given language, children acquiring that language as their L1 will acquire control over the linguistic *form* at the same time as they develop the cognitive prerequisites for expressing the corresponding *meaning*. From the available evidence, children develop the cognitive prerequisites for expressing causative meaning well before the age of 3 in most cases. For the French-L1 children who participated in the present study, the ability to produce the relatively complex argument structure of causative utterances emerged some time before the ability to translate that understanding into the complex syntax required by the grammar of French, as evinced by the period of *faire-less* causative formation characteristic of the first stage of causative acquisition. After a period of a few weeks, or sometimes a few months, the syntax of causative constructions caught up to the semantics for these children.

An assumption that underlies this study is that the Bengali-L1 children learning French L2 at kindergarten entered preschool at age 4 with a well-developed Bengali causative. The syntax of causative constructions in Bengali is more regular than the syntax of causative constructions in French. In Bengali, causatives are formed using a transparent

and highly productive verb-internal morphological marker. Although the French *faire faire* causative seems relatively regular, it is not the only option for causativization. Lexical suppletives (*voir/montrer, mourir/tuer*) and alternating verbs (*rouler, tourner*) also exist. In addition, the requirement that *faire* be added to most causatives brings its own set of syntactic problems to be solved, such as the requirement that *faire* be independently inflected and that the clitic object causee agent be properly placed. No such problems exist in Bengali. The cognitive and (it is assumed) the linguistic prerequisites for causativization were present in the Bengali-L1 children long before they encountered the French causative. It is not known to what extent this might make a difference in the way learners of this age approach the task of learning causatives in French L2. The initial prediction was that it would make the task easier. However, the existence in the children's L1 grammars of a well-developed mechanism for causativization that is more regular than its French counterpart may in fact have made the task of learning French causatives more difficult.

Causatives in Bengali and in French: a mapping problem?

One possible source of difficulty for Bengali-L1 learners of the French *faire faire* causative may lie in the fact that causativization is a phenomenon that occurs at different linguistic levels in Bengali and in French. In Bengali, causative formation is dealt with at the level of the individual verb, a level that can appropriately be labelled “lexicomorphemic”. Bengali causatives are formed simply by adding a morpheme to the verb stem, and adding or implying the required additional argument elsewhere in the utterance (such additional sentence elements are often ellipted in Bengali). The more salient features of Bengali causativization are governed by the principles of derivational morphology rather than inflectional morphology or word order. In effect, a new verb—a causative verb—is created from a non-causative verb, when the derivational infix *-a-* is inserted after the stem. Inflectional morphemes for person, tense and aspect must then be added in the usual way to this new “derived root” (as Chatterji calls it (1926/1970)).

French causatives, on the other hand, require the addition of the independent verb *faire* at the level of syntax, which must then be inflected for person, number and tense; causative formation requires syntactic and inflectional rather than derivational manipulation. The way in which additional arguments must be added to attribute agency to the causer and the causee is also syntactically more rigid than in Bengali, which is characterized by frequent ellipsis of arguments and flexible word order.

The Bengali-L1 learners observed in this study were at best at a very early stage in their acquisition of the French causative (in contrast to the ease with which they learned syntactically comparable single-agent infinitival complement constructions), despite the fact that they had control over causative formation in their first language. It may be precisely this latter fact that caused the trouble. The learners had to overcome the hurdle of mapping a derivational, lexicomorphemic L1 device onto an inflectional and syntactic L2 device with identical meaning (B. MacWhinney, personal communication, October 1998). There is no reason to think that the relationship between causativization in Bengali and causativization in French would be obvious to very young pre-literate L2 learners acquiring French in the naturalistic setting of the kindergarten classroom. It is easy to see why they would assume that the verb alone can be used with causative meaning.

Poor fit between levels for causativization

In addition, the mapping between linguistic levels in Bengali and in French is by no means perfectly regular where causativization is concerned. The Bengali causative is morphological, regular and maximally productive. Where Bengali has simply *dekhte/dekhate* (“to see”/ “to make see, show”), French uses lexical suppletion in some cases (for example, the pair *voir/montrer*), as well as using the relatively productive *faire faire*, sometimes with overlap in meaning between the suppletive and *faire faire* forms (for example, the *voir/faire voir* pair is very similar in meaning to the *voir/montrer* pair). Some alternating verbs also exist in French (*tourner, rouler*). We have seen that the *faire faire*

causative can be viewed as being “a type intermediate between analytic and morphological” (Comrie, 1981, p. 161).

From the point of view of a Bengali-speaker, causativization in French could therefore be said to be characterized by considerable confusion between the different linguistic levels of French itself. Not only is there the requirement to map between different levels of language when moving between Bengali and French causatives, but the mapping is not straightforward or predictable; a highly regular phenomenon must be mapped onto a relatively irregular one. For Bengali-L1 learners of French, the underlying regularity that the *faire*-addition rule does in fact present, and that seems to be transparent to younger French-L1 learners (who have not previously acquired an alternative and much simpler device to express causativization) may be obscured by this fact. This idea is not new. In the mid-sixties, using the then-current framework provided by Contrastive Analysis, Stockwell, Bowen and Martin (1965) suggested that when a single form in the L1 must be mapped onto two or more forms that perform similar semantic functions in the L2, it will be more difficult for the learner to learn the L2 forms than when there is an exact correspondence or when two L1 forms map onto the same L2 form.

The situation described makes it impossible to say whether the *faire*-less stage of causative formation that characterized the more advanced L2 learners in this study can more properly be attributed to French syntactic development *per se* (L1 fashion), to the influence of L1 Bengali, or to both acting in combination. It could have been anticipated that the Bengali-speaking children would have assumed that the French causative is similar to the Bengali causative—that is, that French, like Bengali, uses a verb-internal change to mark the causative—and that they might have attempted to form French causatives using a verb-internal change. However, there were no instances in the data of any such attempts. Perhaps such word-internal, derivational mechanisms belong to that part of a learner's L1 knowledge that is perceived as not transferable to the L2. In the literature on L1 transfer and cross-linguistic influence, it has often been remarked that certain aspects of the L1

system are not transferred by L2 learners. Most inflectional morphemes are among the features that are not transferred wholesale (for example, Jordens, 1986; Odlin, 1989; Zobl, 1983). Derivational morphemes such as the Bengali causative-forming infix *-a-* may fall into the same category.

Conclusion

We know very little about cross-linguistic influence from L1 to L2 in preschool-age learners, especially where specific phenomena in morphosyntax, such as causative formation, are concerned. The data gathered for the present study reveal that further investigation in this area is likely to be fruitful. The finding that these 24 Bengali-L1 children were unable to produce *faire faire* causatives was an unexpected one, especially given the children's ability to manipulate single-agent infinitival complement constructions in a way that showed considerable linguistic sophistication. Single-agent infinitival complements such as *Je veux manger* and causatives such as *Je fais manger* have identical surface structure if the causee agent of *manger* is not expressed (as is typical of beginning-stage French-L1 learners). Yet the L2 learners in this study, unlike the L1 learners, had no difficulty at all producing the former type of construction and great difficulty producing the latter. That this should be the case raises many further questions about the ways in which the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative may be different for young Bengali-L1 learners of French L2 when they are compared to monolingual learners of French L1.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER DIRECTIONS

The findings from this study of the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative in both L1 and L2 learners of French add new information to our knowledge of how young children master the verbal system of French in several ways.

With respect to the acquisition of French as a first language, a sequence of developmental stages for the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by monolingual speakers of L1 French has now been sketched out on the basis of longitudinal data gathered from several children. The three stages reported, including the stage of *faire*-omission, which had been predicted from the outset of the study, had not previously been attested to in other studies of the acquisition of French L1. Although several naturalistic corpora of the acquisition of French L1 exist, the occurrence of the *faire faire* causative in non-elicited data is too sporadic to have hitherto permitted a longitudinal examination of the emergence of this structure. The development and testing of an elicitation procedure for the *faire faire* causative in a naturalistic setting from children aged between two and four constituted an important part of the preliminary work for this study. It is reported here in sufficient detail that the L1 study with monolingual speakers of French may be replicable. Replication is a necessary step if we are to ascertain whether the developmental stages for the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative are generalizable to children outside the sample of eight French-L1 children who participated in this study.

In addition, the existence of a large new corpus of utterances by monolingual children acquiring French in Quebec constitutes a valuable resource for the further study of the acquisition of French as a first language by this particular dialect group. This resource is as yet untapped for its full potential. Full transcription of this corpus will enable the planning of new studies in which aspects of the acquisition of Quebec French can be compared to corresponding aspects of the acquisition of European French, for which more

corpora have been collected. It is possible, for example, that the phenomenon of left- and right-dislocation, with a concomitant reduction of subject clitics to grammatical marker status in child language, has proceeded further in Quebec French than in European French (C. De Cat, personal communication, July 1999).

With respect to the acquisition of French as a second language, the main finding reported, that 24 children aged 5 and 6 whose first language is Bengali and who had been exposed to French in their preschool classrooms for one or two years did not acquire the *faire faire* causative during that time, was unexpected. The initial prediction was that this structure would be acquired early and easily by this population. The lag observed between the early acquisition of single-agent infinitival complement constructions by the L2 children and their late acquisition of the *faire faire* causative (so late that only the beginnings of the process were observable, and then only in the most advanced learners tested) stands in contrast to the speed and ease with which the L1 children learned both types of construction—causative, and single-agent infinitival—at the same point in development, well before age 4.

The data collected for this study do not permit us to ascertain just when the *faire faire* causative is acquired by Bengali-L1 children in Montreal schools whose first exposure to French-L2 comes at preschool age. A host of further questions therefore arises in the domain of educational research into the needs of minority-language children undergoing schooling in a second language. First, do the children acquire the causative during their Grade One year, when the academic demands made on them will be more challenging and may require that they be able to manipulate this form? Second, does the children's lack of mastery of the causative at this early point in any way hamper them in their academic work from Grade One on? Third, are there other aspects of the acquisition of the verbal system of French that children from this L1-background or from other L1-backgrounds experience similar difficulty with? These and other related questions are potentially of considerable concern to educators.

The finding that the *faire faire* causative presents hitherto-unsuspected acquisitional difficulties for Bengali-L1 learners of French L2 opens up avenues for new research in second language acquisition from both theoretical and practical perspectives. The precise nature of the difficulties has yet to be established. It is to be hoped that principled, research-based explanations for this finding will be the object of future research endeavours. It is possible, for example, that the semantic redundancy of the causative-forming element *faire* in most contexts is at the root of the children's failure to reproduce it in their oral production in the early stages. This speculation would have to be tested using more focussed and less open-ended stimuli than the ones that made up the causative elicitation procedure used in this study. Finding appropriate stimuli for a production study would be a difficult task. On the other hand, perhaps *faire* presents particular difficulties for these children because of the existence of four functions for this "all-purpose" verb, only one of which is lexical. More research is needed on the way *faire* figures in the input to these preschoolers in their kindergarten classrooms, and on the kinds of linguistic demands that are made on the children where the use of *faire* is concerned. Pedagogical intervention studies make up a potential ancillary line of classroom-based research. Perhaps there are ways to help these children master the verbal system of French more effectively—ways that could be tested, refined, and made part of the kindergarten curriculum, to the benefit of many thousands of allophone children.

The questions that arise from the findings from the L2 portion of this study are more numerous than any answers found to date. That these questions needed to be asked was not apparent from any previous studies, and in itself constitutes a new contribution to the field of applied linguistics research.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Cross-sectional versus longitudinal research design

It might be argued that the ideal research design for Study 2, the bilingual study, would have been longitudinal, paralleling the design adopted for Study 1 more exactly, as was done in the studies by Lightbown (1977) and Nicholas (1987) to very good effect. However, the choice of a longitudinal design was not practical given the logistical problems that would have had to be overcome. Given the difficulty of getting access to the Bengali-speaking children through the schools, it was more feasible to request permission to interview many children over a short period of a week or two than to obtain permission to visit schools and classrooms at regular intervals over a long period—perhaps an entire school year. Part of such an undertaking would have been the need to request specific permission to do this from the school board and school administrations—naming the teachers, classes and children at or near the beginning of data collection. This was simply not an option. In any case, even if it *had* been possible to plan to go in and tape the same small set of children repeatedly over many months, it would have been very difficult to make sure that these children were at the right stage of linguistic development for the purposes of this research project. In addition, problems with attrition in this somewhat unstable population might have made it difficult to retain an adequate number of participants.

The cross-sectional design that was adopted for the L2 portion of the study made it possible to gather data that could be used to address the research question using a larger number of L2 children than it would have been feasible to include in a longitudinal study. Furthermore, there are principled reasons for preferring a cross-sectional sample in this case. With a true longitudinal design, the training factor enters into play. When administering a test, or interview protocol, or even a flexible and fairly open-ended play protocol such as the one used with both the L1 and L2 participants, if the same procedure is used many times over time, the participants' responses on later trials are increasingly likely

to be affected to some extent by their experience on earlier trials. Even when the procedure is administered at one-month intervals, the carry-over effect may be present. In the case of second-language children, the need to introduce more (and more systematic) variety into the set of stimuli would have been a *sine qua non* of a true longitudinal design. This would have introduced concomitant (and highly unwelcome) complications into the design.

The acquisition of causative constructions: some research directions

What is the nature of the causative input to French-L1 and kindergarten French-L2 groups?

On the basis of the data gathered for this study, it is not possible to say what the causative input to French-acquiring children is like. Further studies in which both frequency of occurrence and salience of *faire faire* causative constructions in natural child-directed speech were investigated, both in French monolingual homes and in French-L2 kindergarten classrooms, would enable us to answer some of the questions that have arisen as a result of the finding that the French-L2 children in this study did not acquire the *faire faire* causative with the facility that had been predicted. The question of frequency of occurrence in the input in French monolingual homes could be partially addressed using existing corpora (for example, De Cat & Plunkett, 1999; Plunkett, in press; Suppes et al., 1973, for European French). The input to children acquiring Quebec French may be somewhat different, and would require the analysis of input corpora collected in Quebec. For information on the language addressed to minority-language children in Montreal-area French-L2 kindergarten classrooms, completely new data would have to be collected.

How do French-L1 children learn to manipulate the 4 functions of *faire*?

Existing corpora could also be used to explore the question of how French-L1 children learn to manipulate the four functions of *faire*. The longitudinal data collected from the eight French-L1 children in this study, once fully transcribed, could be used for this purpose. A longitudinal study of the development of the support verb functions of *mettre*,

prendre, and *donner* was carried out by Martinot using data collected in a laboratory setting (1996, 1999). Her methods of analysis could usefully be applied to her own corpus and to other researchers' longitudinal data in a similar fashion for *faire*. Since *faire* has four functions (lexical, support, proform and causative) rather than two as in the case of *mettre*, *prendre*, and *donner* (lexical and support), it would be anticipated that the course of acquisition might be somewhat different for *faire* and for these other three verbs.

When are double-object causatives mastered in French-L1?

It was noted in Chapters 3 and 5 that the data collected for this study do not permit us to say just when double-object causatives, involving the causativization of a transitive utterance, are acquired by French monolingual children. A Stage Four of causative acquisition was postulated after analysis of the results, but is not yet attested to by any data. Further longitudinal or cross-sectional research with monolingual French-acquiring children between the ages of 3 and 5 or 6 might enable us to obtain evidence about this hypothetical Stage Four. Such a stage might also include the development of children's ability to create complex multiclausal causative constructions incorporating subjunctives and other sophisticated verbal manipulations.

How do French-L2 children learn to manipulate the 4 functions of *faire*?

The cross-sectional French-L2 data gathered for this study, once fully transcribed and analyzed for all occurrences of *faire* in the children's speech, might tell us something about the ways in which French L2 learners from this particular L1 background approach the task of sorting out the four functions of *faire*. Even more useful would be true longitudinal data collected from a similar group of learners. A comparison of the ways in which the four functions of *faire* are mastered by learners of different ages and from different L1 backgrounds might yield findings of interest to language educators as well as to language acquisition researchers. It is possible that learners from L1 backgrounds with a multi-purpose "doing" verb that functions in a way similar to *faire* in French (speakers of

other Romance languages, for example) would experience less difficulty than these young Bengali-L1 learners.

How does French causative acquisition proceed in L2 learners of this age from Romance backgrounds?

Educators who deal with extensive minority-language populations from many different L1 backgrounds might be interested in research evidence that showed clearly that children from certain language groups need focussed help learning specific aspects of their L2, more than children from other language groups. A research project replicating Study 2 on *faire faire* causative acquisition with young French-L2 learners from Romance language L1 backgrounds might yield very different results. In the kindergartens I observed at the outset of the L2 data collection phase of this study, there were many Spanish-speaking children. It would be a comparatively simple matter to use the causative elicitation procedure devised for this study with children from other L1 backgrounds. The verb *hacer* in Spanish functions much the same way as the verb *faire* in French.

When do Bengali-L1 children master the Bengali causative?

At the outset of data collection from the French-L2 group, it was assumed that the children were already proficient at creating and manipulating causative verbs in their first language, Bengali. To verify this assumption empirically before proceeding with the study would have required a further investment of human and financial resources that unfortunately was not practicable. Research on the acquisition of causative constructions in other languages suggests that by the age of four, normally developing children no longer make errors when they produce simple causative constructions. This has been found to be true for languages as diverse as English (Bowerman, 1974; Gropen, 1995), Brazilian Portuguese (Figueira, 1984), Turkish (Ammon & Slobin, 1979), K'iche' Maya (Pye, 1994) and Inuktitut (Allen, 1996). In the present study the same was found to be true for L1 learners of French. Like Bengali, the non-European languages mentioned mark the

causative using a regular and productive morpheme. The L2 children who participated in this study were between 4;11 and 6;7 when they were tested. They had long passed the age when most children produce non-adult-like developmental features in causative formation. The evidence from the causative acquisition literature suggests that it can safely be assumed that 5- and 6-year-old speakers of Bengali L1 will come to the second language learning task with an adult-like ability to form causatives in Bengali. In this case, the research evidence was supported by native-speaking informants' opinions and by many years of being a visitor in Bengali-speaking homes, where I have often heard 4-year-olds produce Bengali causatives.

The question of just when and how young Bengali-L1 children develop causative constructions in their spontaneous speech remains an interesting one that future researchers may decide to address. To the best of my knowledge, no research at all has been carried out on any aspect of the acquisition of Bengali as a first language. Additional information about the way in which Bengali-L1 children develop the Bengali causative during the process of first language acquisition might enable us to interpret the French second language data on causative formation with new insight. It would also be helpful to have information on the frequency of occurrence of Bengali causatives in the input addressed to the children at the time when they are developing this construction actively in their oral production, presumably sometime before the age of 3. It might prove interesting to conduct studies of this and other aspects of the acquisition of Bengali L1 in several different contexts of monolingualism or multilingualism. Children learning Bengali as a first language in Montreal may also be exposed to English and French during the period of primary language acquisition in a way that is not the case for children acquiring Bengali as a first language in Dhaka or Calcutta. There are large and well-established communities of Bengali-speakers in several British cities in which English is a commonly spoken second language and where French is of course not part of the picture. Studies of Bengali-L1 acquisition conducted in such bilingual speech communities might yield results quite different from parallel studies

conducted in monolingual contexts in India or Bangladesh, and in the trilingual context of Montreal.

When do Bengali-L1 children master the French causative?

Returning to the Montreal context, it was not possible within the restricted scope of the present study to find out just when Bengali-L1 children who first come into contact with French-L2 at kindergarten *do* acquire the *faire faire* causative. Further research could be done at Grade One and Two level to obtain information on this point. Use of an elicitation procedure very similar to the one used in this study would probably be feasible. After analyzing the data collected for this study, I was surprised to discover that even the *Maternelle 5 ans* children were a very long way from mastering causative constructions as they prepared to make the transition to regular Grade One after two years of exposure to French in their preschool classrooms. It is a matter of some concern to determine when in fact Bengali-L1 children attending Montreal schools from an early age do acquire this useful structure.

How does French causative acquisition proceed in older Bengali-L1 learners?

Bengali-L1 speakers who come to the task of learning French L2 at an older age may not experience the same kind of difficulty with the *faire faire* causative as the 5- and 6-year-olds who made up the L2 group of the study reported here. For older learners, L2 acquisition is mediated through literacy and is facilitated by the more developed cognitive and metalinguistic resources such learners may possess. A comparison of the results presented here with information on causative acquisition obtained from Bengali-L1 learners of French L2 whose first exposure came at various ages—upper primary, secondary, and adult levels—might help us understand how better to help the younger learners consolidate this particular aspect of the morphosyntactic system of French. Such older learners are present in Montreal schools in large numbers. The necessary pool of potential participants

would not be hard to find. However, somewhat different elicitation procedures would have to be worked out.

French-L2 pedagogy and young minority-language children

Are there classroom activities/teacher strategies that might make the *faire faire* causative more easily learned by this population?

Once we know more about how young Bengali-L1 children do in fact acquire causative constructions in French, it might be feasible to use those research results as a basis for devising pedagogical activities that might facilitate the learning of the causative and of other aspects of the verbal system in French by Bengali-speaking and other minority-language children. Some of the teachers with whom I worked during this study were surprised to hear how inadequately developed the children's knowledge of the verbal system was. Helping teachers develop greater awareness of the precise nature and the magnitude of the linguistic challenges faced by their young pupils might ultimately have beneficial repercussions in the classroom.

Would intervention in the early primary grades be useful?

More precise information about the early French second language acquisition of allophone children might enable teachers and curriculum developers to devise methods of intervention in the early primary grades designed to help minority-language children master complex aspects of the acquisition of the verbal system of French, such as the *faire faire* causative, more quickly and more effectively. It is possible that a relatively simple set of focussed activities might have an appreciable effect. This could be tested in the classroom.

The children who "fell through the cracks": the issue of language-disordered children from minority backgrounds

Of the 31 French-L2 children who were tested for this study, the data for seven were not retained. Four of these children were *Maternelle 4 ans* children. The exposure to

French these children had received at the end of their first year of half-day kindergarten had clearly not been enough to enable them to develop the expressive capacity in French that they needed to be able to participate in this particular study. It could have been predicted that this would be the case for some of the children from this group with less exposure to French. However, reasons that might explain why some children in this group acquire the second language more rapidly than others were not explored in this study.

In this connection, one of the other three children whose data were not retained had already been identified by the school as having an as-yet-undiagnosed language disorder and possibly cognitive difficulties as well. The likelihood that the child would receive appropriate help by professionals with a knowledge of his first as well as of his second language was slim, and his prospects of being able to catch up with both French and schoolwork during his early years in primary school seemed poor. Several teachers remarked to me that the Quebec school system does not yet have adequate resources in place for helping minority-language children whose problems go beyond a simple lack of knowledge of the language of schooling, nor does it have a principled way of distinguishing those children from children who are merely in need of extra help learning their second language (and see Cummins, 1984). Indeed, children who need only extra L2 help to enable them to catch up to their Francophone and allophone peers are usually not helped. It is not known how many of them, too, may “fall through the cracks” of the educational system. Given the growing numbers of allophone children in Montreal schools, the situation is one that should be of great concern to educators. The issue of language disorders in minority-language populations has not been adequately researched (but see Hus, 1997). It is important for educators to have a way of distinguishing normally slow development in the second language from abnormally slow or otherwise anomalous development related to language disorders that could, if their existence were confirmed, be at least partially remediated at an early age.

What other aspects of complex verb use pose problems?

The findings from this study, showing that Bengali-L1 children in French language kindergartens do not acquire facility in forming *faire faire* causative constructions as quickly as had been predicted, give rise to further questions regarding the acquisition of complex aspects of the French verbal system. How much difficulty do children like the children tested for this study, or their allophone peers from other L1 backgrounds, experience as they endeavor to express French temporal marking, conditionals, or subjunctives? What other facets of the verbal system might prove fruitful as avenues for future research? Above all, what are the repercussions for these children's eventual acquisition of literacy and the complex set of linguistic and cognitive skills needed to enable them to become not just fluent and accurate *speakers*, but also fluent and accurate *writers* of French as a second language? (See Armand, 2000, for research results reporting on the relationship between young allophone children's L2 oral proficiency and their early acquisition of reading; see also Fazio, 1999, for the results of a study of French second-language writing by Grade Five allophones in Montreal schools.) It is on successful acquisition in the domain of literacy that the children's school careers, and later their real-life careers, depend. Much more work will be needed to enable us to find the information that will let us help these children adequately.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

At the conclusion of this study, I find that although I have emerged with far more information on causative acquisition by French-L1 learners than I had anticipated (including a sequence of developmental stages that sheds new light on the acquisition of argument structure in French), I am left with more questions about the acquisition of the *faire faire* causative by Bengali-L1 preschoolers in Montreal kindergartens than I started with. The findings from this study show that the acquisition of the verbal system of French does not always proceed in a smooth, first-language-like fashion for even the youngest learners of

French as a second language. It is my hope that at least some of the suggestions for further research proposed here will be followed up by Montreal-area researchers, and that the results obtained be used to further our understanding of how to help allophone children integrate successfully into the French-language school system in Quebec, as well as to add to the growing body of information from SLA research on how languages are learned.

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APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORM FOR FRANCOPHONE PARENTS

Consentement à un projet de recherche

Nom et prénom de l'enfant:

Date de naissance _____ Sexe _____

Langue(s) parlée(s) à la maison _____

Nom et prénom de la mère _____

Nom et prénom de l'autre parent _____

Occupation de la mère _____

Occupation de l'autre parent _____

Education de la mère _____

Education de l'autre parent _____

Est-ce que l'enfant a des frères et soeurs? Oui___ Non___

Si oui, indiquez date(s) de naissance et sexe

Adresse de l'enfant _____

Téléphone _____

Messages _____

Objectif du projet:

Le projet a pour but d'accumuler une base de données sur le développement du langage chez les jeunes enfants francophones et allophones. L'acquisition du français chez des enfants bilingues sera comparée à l'acquisition du français chez des enfants unilingues.

Nature de la participation:

La chercheuse principale viendra à la maison une fois par deux, trois ou quatre semaines (l'intervalle peut varier en fonction de l'âge de l'enfant). Ces visites continueront pendant quatre à six mois. La chercheuse jouera avec l'enfant pendant une demi-heure environ. A l'occasion elle pourrait demander à un parent de jouer avec l'enfant pendant quelques minutes ou de l'aider à interpréter les paroles de l'enfant. La chercheuse apportera tous les jouets requis. Les sessions seront enregistrées sur cassette audio et vidéo. Chaque visite ne durera pas plus d'une heure (y compris le montage et le démontage de l'équipement).

Risques:

Il est entendu que la participation de l'enfant au projet ne lui fait courir, sur le plan physique ou affectif, aucun risque que ce soit.

voir au verso

Responsables du projet:

Ce projet est mené par Mela Sarkar, M.A., candidate au doctorat à l'université Concordia, sous la supervision de: Patsy M. Lightbown, Ph.D (professeure au Centre de didactique de l'anglais, langue seconde), Diane Poulin-Dubois, Ph.D. (professeure au Centre de recherche en développement humain, Département de psychologie), et Florence Stevens, Ph.D. (professeure adjointe au Centre de didactique de l'anglais, langue seconde), toutes de l'université Concordia, Montréal, Québec.

Confidentialité:

Toutes les données accumulées, y compris les informations sur cette formule, demeureront strictement confidentielles. Le dossier de l'enfant sera codé de façon à ce qu'il demeure anonyme. Seules les responsables du projet auront accès au nom de l'enfant et aux données relatives à l'enfant. Les enregistrements ne seront utilisés à aucune fin, autre que pour les analyses de langage nécessaires pour le projet de recherche, sans le consentement explicite du parent à cet égard (voir ci-dessous):

— visionnement des enregistrements vidéos par d'autres chercheurs:

Oui___ Non___

— visionnement des enregistrements vidéos par des étudiants universitaires

Oui___ Non___

— publication de photos extraites des enregistrements vidéos dans un article ou un livre

Oui___ Non___

Autorisation:

Je déclare avoir lu et compris les termes de la présente formule et j'autorise mon enfant à participer au projet. Je comprends que nous sommes libres d'interrompre notre participation à tout moment et que les responsables du projet répondront avec plaisir à toute question concernant le projet.

Je serais intéressé(e) à être contacté(e) de nouveau pour participer avec mon enfant à de futures études au Centre de recherche en développement humain:

Oui___ Non___

Signature du parent_____

Date_____

Je soussignée, _____, certifie

- (1) avoir expliqué au signataire intéressé les termes de la présente formule,
- (2) avoir répondu à toutes les questions qu'on m'a posées à cet égard, et
- (3) avoir clairement indiqué que le signataire reste libre à tout moment de mettre un terme à sa participation au projet de recherche décrit ci-dessus.

Signature d'un responsable du projet_____Date_____

Les responsables du projet peuvent être rejointes au Centre de didactique de l'anglais, langue seconde, de l'université Concordia, 1455 ouest, boul. de Maisonneuve, Montréal, Québec H3G 1M8. Téléphone: (514) 274-2547 (résidence, chercheure principale), (514)848-2450 (l'université Concordia; messages, Mme Sarkar, Dr Lightbown, Dr Stevens), (514)848-2219 (l'université Concordia; messages, Dr Poulin-Dubois).

APPENDIX B
INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE FRENCH-L1
DATA

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Benoit

15 sessions from 1;9;3 through 2;6.3

BEN 01	1;9.3	§ va ramasse (<i>he has just heard SAM say it</i>)	§ é manger (<i>I just asked "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ton bébé?"</i>)
BEN 02	1;9.21	§ va manger chevaux (<i>I have just asked, "est-ce que le serpent va manger une petite coccinelle?"</i>) § il va laver? (<i>wants to give baby a bath</i>)	
BEN 03	1;10.21		§ vas manger mon bébé (<i>5 times, to self; he is feeding baby, I am talking to SAM</i>) § vas boire mon bébé (<i>2 times, to self</i>)
BEN 04	1;11.10	§ il va monter?	§ fais tourner la [l] la [l] l'autre
BEN 05	2;0.2	§ on va jouer avec les xxx? § on va jouer avec les jouets (<i>3 times</i>) § on va jouer avec +... § les chevaux il va rentrer § on va jouer à un autre (<i>3 times</i>)	§ je bouge # comme ci (<i>after SAM has just said "c'est comme ça on le fait bouger"</i>)
BEN 06	2;0.16	§ veux jouer à ça (<i>2 times</i>) § moi aussi vas la craquer (<i>just after SAM; for "cranquer" a wind-up toy</i>) § va faire les grenouilles § tu vas pas partir?	§ il va tomber le chateau? (<i>referring to SAM who is threatening to knock it over with another toy</i>)
BEN 07	2;1.7	§ va jouer à les chevaux nous!	§ fais tourner ça § il fait # tomber! (<i>knocking castle down with horse</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
BEN 08	2;1.18	§ veux jouer à les bonhommes! § il veut faire AIYA! § il va rentrer! § après tu vas t'en aller?	§ fais manger (<i>in answer to my "tu le fais rentrer dans le chateau?"</i> , i.e. "Non, je le fais manger") § je fais les sauter § fais marcher lui (2 times) § fais marcher ça (2 times) § fais marcher encore celui-là § fais la [l] fais la marcher encore § fais encore la marcher (3 times) § fais encore marcher (2 times) § fais marcher (2 times) § fais marcher celui-là § fais marcher tous les deux § fais la tourner
BEN 09	2;2.4	§ il veut avoir du foin § va manger du foin (<i>about horse</i>) § après tu vas t'en aller?	§ fais marcher ça § fais la encore tourner
BEN 10	2;2.25	§ va ramasser la terre xxx le camion § veux jouer à ça! § veux jouer à un autre § le cheval il peut pas rentrer à la porte § je veux rentrer (<i>echoing me</i>) § il veut rentrer § oh il va descendre § il veut pas être en amour [<i>sic!</i>]	§ la pelle mécanique elle veut tomber! (<i>he is pushing something over with it and this looks like a clear case of "fait tomber"</i>) § fais marcher les coccinelles § fais marcher § ça a fait marcher! (<i>he has succeeded in getting coccinelle to keep moving by banging on it with pelle mécanique</i>) § j'ai fait les marcher § fais marcher l'autre (2 times) § je le fais arrêter § il fait tomber (<i>elephant knocks down castle when he tries to enter, as too big to fit</i>) § je vais [?] [<i>or veux ?</i>] le faire tomber (<i>knocking down castle wall with horse</i>)
BEN 11	2;3.20	§ il va ramasser les monsieurs	§ fais marcher l'autre (4 times) § c'est moi l'a fait tomber § c'est moi je les ai fait tomber (2 times)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
BEN 12	2;4.6	§ lui va faire son bain	§ fais lui marcher, fais le [//] la coccinelle marcher § l'autre fait rentrer
BEN 13	2;4.20	§ je veux jouer § non moi vas faire § on va jouer les autres jouets § veux jouer à un autre jouet § et lui il va faire AÏYA! § je veux lui enlever la selle § il peut pas aller	§ le chat l'a fait tomber § fais marcher [//] fais bouger lui § oh fais marcher lui! § fais marcher la toupie § fais marcher lui aussi
BEN 14	2;5.3	§ tu vas partir? § vas voir xxx (<i>he runs off to look at truck out of window, too far to hear</i>) § je vais aller pelleter la neige	§ fais la marcher
BEN 15	2;6.3	§ je vais mettre celui sur le cheval là § tu vas partir avec +... (<i>points at toys</i>) § moi vas regarder la télé	§ oui je vais lui fais manger (<i>I have just asked "Est-ce que tu lui fais manger?"</i>) § je veux marcher ça § sont où les faire marcher? (<i>turns toy over looking for button to push</i>) § on la fait tourner? § on la fait marcher encore § fais la rouler

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Denis

12 sessions from 2;1.19 through 2;8.8

DEN 01	2;1.19		§ fais à manger (<i>in response to my question, "Qu'est-ce que tu fais?"</i>) § moi ma~ manger à petit nounours (<i>putting a cup to bear's mouth</i>) § fais boire (<i>echoing my comment, "C'est pour faire boire"</i>)
DEN 02	2;1.29		§ é manger à petit bébé (<i>feeds baby with cup</i>) § boire mon bébé (<i>perhaps echo of Claudia who has just told me about her new baby brother: "faire boire à les seins à maman"</i>)
DEN 03	2;2.26	§ je veux jouer § il peut marcher tout seul (<i>echoing Claudia's "il peut pas marcher tout seul"</i>) § non veux jouer encore! § ici vas fermer (l)a porte	§ veux marcher (<i>he is trying to make coccinelle go; I ask "tu veux le faire marcher?" he answers "oui"</i>) § manger (<i>in response to my question, "qu'est-ce que tu fais?"; he is feeding baby</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
DEN 04	2;3.11		<p>§ xxx seul à marcher ça moi</p> <p>§ seul à marcher ça (<i>of little car: I have been asking "es-tu capable de faire marcher la petite voiture?"</i>)</p> <p>§ veux à xxx à marcher ça</p> <p>§ veux marcher ça (<i>2 times; of little car, which he is having difficulty winding up</i>)</p> <p>*****start sequence*****</p> <p>§ monter à petit bonhomme, là!</p> <p>§ monter petit bonhomme (<i>then I ask Claudia, "qu'est-ce qu'il dit, Denis, avec le petit bonhomme?" and Denis answers,</i></p> <p>§ è monter petit bonhomme, là! (<i>I say, "j'ai pas compris, Denis; he states</i></p> <p>§ xxx monter petit bonhomme (<i>I ask Claudia, "est-ce qu'il dit montrer le petit bonhomme?"</i>; Denis says "MONTER". I say "monter?" he says "xxx château". I ask "monter dans le château?"", he says "oui")</p> <p>*****end sequence*****</p> <p>§ fais-la tourner. ça (<i>of top</i>)</p>
DEN 05	2;3.24	<p>§ veux jouer encore</p> <p>§ m m cacher la barbe</p> <p>§ xxx pas mordre l'ours</p> <p>§ veux enlever la selle (<i>trying to take saddle off horse; pronunciation not adult-like</i>)</p>	<p>§ da de de da manger bébé (<i>in response to my question, "qu'est-ce que tu fais, Denis, avec ta cuillère?"</i>)</p> <p>§ é ou à manger</p> <p>§ oh a manger (<i>he is feeding baby with spoon</i>)</p> <p>§ é boire (<i>in response to my question "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?"</i>)</p>
DEN 06	2;4.6	<p>§ é pas serrer les animaux! (<i>I have just asked jokingly "est-ce qu'on serre les animaux?"</i>)</p> <p>§ xxx il xxx manger tous les enfants</p> <p>§ va cacher lui, va cacher lui</p>	
DEN 07	2;4.21	<p>§ tu veux tu fais du karaté? (<i>talking to karate-ka figurine</i>)</p> <p>§ il é pas monter dessus (<i>is rejecting my suggestion "on fait monter le lionceau sur le dos du papa"</i>)</p>	<p>§ vais faire à manger (<i>unmodelled; of babies</i>)</p> <p>§ fais boire à bébé (<i>I have just asked, "et ça qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ça?"</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
DEN 08	2;5.28	<p>§ non il va é mo-rdu (<i>all-purpose auxiliary "é" here probably for "être"</i>)</p> <p>§ il va é mangé</p> <p>§ il va voir</p> <p>§ lion il va é manger, lion il va manger!</p> <p>§ moi veux jouer avec les chevaux</p> <p>§ non les gens qui veut monter là</p>	<p>§ manger (2 times; I have just put bowl, spoon and cup in front of him and asked, "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ça?"; he takes spoon, feeds baby)</p> <p>§ vas fa boire (I asked "et avec la tasse, qu'est-ce que tu vas faire?")</p> <p>§ de faire tourner (he tried to turn top unsuccessfully, said "pas capagle"; I asked "pas capable de faire quoi?")</p>
DEN 09	2;6.12	<p>§ et puis lui il va m'ennuie, il a peur</p> <p>§ moi vas faire un jeu xxx</p> <p>§ moi veux, veux prendre ça, Mela!</p> <p>§ moi veux voir s'il y a d'autres xxx</p> <p>§ vas tasser les bonhommes</p> <p>§ moi vas prendre le sac</p> <p>§ lui lui il va [/l] il veut manquer eh patte</p>	<p>§ mon bébé! moi manger! (I have just asked Claudia, "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ton bébé?" and Denis grabbed it away)</p> <p>§ vas faire marcher des petites autos (I have just suggested, "tu peux faire marcher des petites autos")</p> <p>§ vas faire démonter des p'tites autos (again, I have just suggested, "tu peux faire marcher des petites autos")</p>
DEN 10	2;6.26	<p>§ la pépine elle va défaire le gros château</p> <p>§ la pépine elle va défaire ça</p> <p>§ moi vas faire ça</p> <p>§ moi vas faire</p> <p>§ après il va tomber, sinon +...</p> <p>§ sinon il xxx il va manger</p> <p>§ petits bébés il veut manger des xxx (<i>some of this hard to hear as 3 crying babies in background!</i>)</p> <p>§ demain là on va partir tous les deux en promenade</p> <p>§ la maman lionne là, elle va monter là</p> <p>§ ce bonhomme il va faire du karate debout</p> <p>§ non il va être assis tout seul</p> <p>§ moi je veux pas jouer avec ça</p>	<p>§ maman! wah! toi il fait tomber! (he is playing alone in foreground; has just made baby lion knock mama lion down off castle)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
DEN 11	2;7.17	<p>§ c'est moi vas faire ça</p> <p>§ pis elle, elle va passer, BOUM BAM BOUM BAM BOUM BAM</p> <p>§ pis toi tu vas aller chez toi?</p> <p>§ tu peux aller chez toi?</p> <p>§ xxx mon papa il va réparer ça?</p> <p>§ moi vas le casser</p> <p>§ vas le défaire</p> <p>§ mais moi vas garder ça (<i>he always hopes I will leave my toys with him</i>)</p>	<p>§ on fait la marcher à terre comme ça</p> <p>§ puis on la fait lever</p> <p>§ bon, ça fait lever comme ça (<i>all this is to explain to me how pépine works</i>)</p>
DEN 12	2;8.8	<p>§ moi vas voir s'il a des gros animaux</p> <p>§ non, ma~ veux jouer</p> <p>§ lui peut faire du cheval (<i>2 times</i>)</p> <p>§ ah lui peut aller sur cheval</p> <p>§ mais moi veux jouer encore!</p> <p>§ c'est où on va l'allumer?</p> <p>§ c'est moi vas tourner!</p>	<p>§ je l'ai fait tomber! (<i>knocking animal down from castle wall</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Zéphirin

13 sessions from 2;2.17 through 3;0.10

ZEF 01	2;2.17		§ tourne elle (2 times) § marcher elle (3 times)
ZEF 02	2;3.21	§ veux mettre xxx à ça § veux voir les bébés § va laver § puis elle pour laver	§ moi vas tourner § é tourne elle (<i>asking me to turn top</i>) § à tourne elle (<i>asking me to turn top</i>) § é marche ça (<i>asking me to make rabbit hop</i>) § é fa tourner comme ça (<i>asking me to wind up monkey</i>)
ZEF 03	2;4.4	§ je vas ouvrir ce xxx § va tomber là (<i>watching an ant climb wall</i>) § va tomber § va dormir § moi vas cacher	§ moi tomber! (<i>he has just pushed over cradle with baby doll in it</i>) § tomber à bébé (<i>after I ask "C'est qui qui l'a fait tomber?"</i>) § va pas tourner, va tomber! § pas capable les tomber, elle!
ZEF 04	2;4.18	§ vas les garder § faut peser § pas elle, va casser! § pas ça, va casser! § va casser § moi vas casser à tigre (2 times)	§ saute ça (<i>handing me frog</i>) <i>NB: after extensive modelling by me of "Peux-tu les faire sauter?"</i> § tourne ça (12 times) § là fa tourner vite (<i>ambiguous: "va"?</i>) § il fait ma marche (<i>he wants to knock over toys with a little car he has found</i>) § fais tourner pas à bonhomme, pas à bonhomme! § tombe pas elle! § fais casser ça (<i>in answer to my question, "Qu'est-ce que tu veux que je fasse avec ça?"</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 05	2;6.29	§ va faire +/ § moi vas faire à serpent § elle aussi veut tourner § (re)garde, peut marcher § elle veut mettre dans douche, toutes les bébés § va donner ses souliers § c'est elle va chicaner § va boire § va mettre des céréales § elle, vas mettre ma main dedans (of a "mummy" puppet) § vas ramasser ça avec ma main § vas manger tes céréales § non non dedans va manger § va manger une roche une grosse roche § il va toute ramasser § il va mettre dedans	§ fais deux tomber § va essayer de tomber à cheval § fa tourner à souris (<i>ambiguous: "va"?</i>) § moi va tourner ça (<i>ambiguous</i>) § tourne ça § il va faire dormir les bébés (<i>imitating me; I have just modelled "Pour faire dormir les bébés", showing action of cradle rocking</i>) § il va faire coucher dans l'eau (<i>incorrect use; he is putting baby to bed in bath</i>) § vas faire couler l'eau (<i>unmodelled</i>) § é vas tourner ça, moi (<i>of tops</i>) § pis ça aussi va faire tomber § fais tourner ça
ZEF 06	2;7.11	§ vas essayer § j'vas essayer § moi je vais peser son [//] c'est comme ça? § moi vas essayer ça! § après ça il va serrer	§ moi vas faire bouger (<i>I have just modelled "On peut le faire bouger"</i>) § moi vas faire bouger un chien § pis moi vas faire bouger le petit minou § vas faire tomber ça comme ça § on fait tourner ça? § fais tourner s'il vous plaît (<i>I have just asked him to say "Fais le tourner svp"</i>) § tourne ça <i>In response to "A quoi ça sert ce piton?":</i> § tourne ça (<i>7 times</i>) § tourne, toi § tourne § tourne tourne vite ça § tourne vite § tourne celle-là

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 07	2;7.25	§ é vas prendre mes bonhommes § j' veux essayer § je veux prendre les toupies § veux m'aider? § veux m'essayer § vas les mélanger pour pas que ça aille mal § vas les mélanger § vas mettre ici pis rebondir § vas la mettre là pis va bouger § ça il va rentrer dedans § ça va pas tomber § ça ça va rentrer vite! § pis ça va pas faire ça § deux en même temps on va essayer	§ fais le bouger, ça § fais tourner les toupies—ça! § comme ça ça fait tourner (<i>of top</i>) § moi aussi vas sauter comme ça (<i>I have just said "Moi aussi je vais la faire sauter par-dessus comme ça"</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 08	2;8.16	<p>§ c'est pour faire [//] pour ramasser du sable</p> <p>§ ça veut voir dans un cheval</p> <p>§ va faire ça</p> <p>§ faut pas casser</p> <p>§ comme ça il peut tomber</p> <p>§ pis ça il va faire un chevaux ça</p> <p>§ je vas prendre</p> <p>§ ça va tenir</p> <p>§ pis elle il va faire BOUM!</p> <p>§ on va mettre le cheval</p> <p>§ il va pas tomber, non</p> <p>§ il va sauter haut haut haut pis il va aller là</p> <p>§ elle va faire comme ça pis il va faire</p> <p>§ elle va faire encore</p> <p>§ encore elle va faire</p> <p>§ il va faire [//] remplir là!</p> <p>§ va faire comme ça</p> <p>§ pis il va aller dans le petit pot, ben oui</p> <p>§ il va faire ça</p> <p>§ avec ça il va pas manger</p> <p>§ pis il va rentrer</p>	<p>§ faire tomber (<i>in answer to my question, "Que'est-ce que t'aimes mieux, les faire tomber où les faire monter à cheval?"</i>)</p> <p>§ faire BOUM! les fais tomber, les fais tomber (<i>in answer to my question, "Qu'est-ce que tu fais avec les grenouilles?"</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 09	2;8.31	§ il faut faire ça! § le train va le faire § ben il va briser ça § pis le train va faire ça § elle peut le faire § moi va le taper § vas le mettre dans le château § vas le mettre dedans § veux l'essayer § elle aussi va aller dans le château § le train il va le faire § moi je vais faire avec le train tous les morceaux § on peut les mettre dedans?	§ là le train va le faire tomber! § train va le faire tomber! § pis le train va le faire tomber hein? § le train il va le faire tomber § faire tomber, c'est donner un PISCHNOUT! § lui il va faire tomber § ben le train va le faire [//] le train va faire tomber § et le train va le faire tomber § moi vas tomber (<i>pushes horse over</i>) § c'est quand je fais tomber les bonhommes avec le train § vas tout tomber les chevaux § là il a tout tombé tout le monde § le train va tout le faire tomber § le train va tout tomber § veux le faire tomber § va le faire tomber (<i>he has just said, "Le train il va le faire", and I have asked, "Va faire quoi?"</i>) § fais tourner celle-là

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 10	2;9.14	<p>§ moi vas le faire § moi vas le la mettre § moi vas prendre ça § est où on peut mettre ça? § il va faire ça pis il va tout aller là § moi vas ouvrir la porte § pis il va faire ça § pis il va faire toc toc toc § parce que moi vas faire ça pis il va sortir § il va les mettre debout § moi il va faire tout tout seul § lui va ouvrir la porte (3 times) § il va sauter, va monter pis va passer par dessus § elle aussi va passer § il va avoir peur les enfants § ça c'est les gros jouets va pas faire peur à les petits § moi je veux le faire § il peut le faire § oui je veux pas le dire § là il va faire ça § c'est lui qui va faire § pis elle elle va faire BOUM § l'autre il va tomber dans ça § moi j'veux les voir ça § elle, elle veut aller § elle aussi veut aller hein? § moi vas souffler § il va mettre +/- non § va apporter dans mon cheval</p>	<p>§ moi vas faire tomber le prince avec les lunettes</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 11	2;10.4	<p>§ il prendre ça</p> <p>§ moi je veux le mettre</p> <p>§ je peux le faire</p> <p>§ ah oui moi le maman veut le faire</p> <p>§ là le petit bébé ça peut aller faire +...</p> <p>§ je veux le petit bébé il fasse avec moi</p> <p>§ ça on peut mettre comme ça</p> <p>§ moi je veux faire celui-là</p> <p>§ il veut mettre comme ça?</p> <p>§ oui, pis il va tomber</p> <p>§ ben il va faire avec celle auto-là</p> <p>§ il va faire [/] lui c'est le conducteur</p> <p>§ là oui il va les relever</p> <p>§ et là il les remet pis lui il va tout les foncer dedans</p> <p>§ va encore faire ça pis va remonter</p> <p>§ moi vas le coucher pis moi vas le remonter</p> <p>§ il peut les remettre, mes bonhommes</p> <p>§ celui-là il peut monter</p> <p>§ il va mettre ça pis va le terrer (<i>for "enterrer" —he is playing with pépine</i>)</p> <p>§ pis lui là, va faire, là, va ramasser tous les bonhommes</p> <p>§ il peut chanter Bonne Fête</p> <p>§ veux juste l'essayer</p> <p>§ oui peux les peser celles-là</p> <p>§ moi vais jouer dans le sac</p>	<p>§ il fait tomber les animals hein?</p> <p>§ il va les faire toutes tomber</p> <p>§ ça aussi ça fait tomber les bonhommes</p> <p>§ moi vas les faire tomber</p> <p>§ est pour le faire tomber</p> <p>§ j' ai fait tomber les +/- ça fait mal hein?</p> <p>§ moi vas faire tomber deux bonhommes à la fois</p> <p>§ mais ça là j'suis capable de les tourner</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ZEF 12	2;11.20	<p>§ c'est comment on pourrait faire?</p> <p>§ non veux juste faire ça</p> <p>§ vas essayer l'autre</p> <p>§ vas juste essayer la souris</p> <p>§ vais le defaire</p> <p>§ là je le veux faire</p>	<p>§ é vas les faire sauter haut!</p> <p>§ vas juste sauter dans le château (<i>he is answering my question, "Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec les grenouilles?"</i>)</p> <p>§ moi je vais faire parler la maman pis le papa</p> <p>§ ça on fait tourner ça <i>In response to "A quoi ça sert?" prompt,</i></p> <p>§ pour tourner les roues</p> <p>§ il va faire tourner l'autre</p> <p>§ vas juste faire bouger le mouton</p> <p>§ regarde ça fait bouger sa tête</p>
ZEF 13	3;0.10	<p>§ hey, tu veux-tu jouer à ca?</p> <p>§ veux juste faire ça avec ma pâte</p> <p>§ faut enlever les petits morceaux</p> <p>§ peux-tu faire un serpent?</p> <p>§ je peux faire ça</p> <p>§ après ça là on va prendre un autre</p> <p>§ ben il va jouer avec une nouvelle pâte à modeler</p> <p>§ là on va prendre l'autre pâte à modeler</p> <p>§ faut pas le jouer, faut pas jouer</p> <p>§ sinon maman il va nous chicaner (<i>if the modeling clay is left out and goes hard</i>)</p> <p>§ là il va tomber POW!</p> <p>§ il va é tomber la xxx</p> <p>§ il va encore tomber</p>	<p>§ c'est moi qui fais tomber tout ça</p> <p>§ j'ai fait tout tomber avec la voiture</p> <p>§ j'suis capable de faire tomber le cloune</p> <p>§ je vas faire tomber le cloune</p> <p>§ je vas encore le faire tomber</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Léo

10 sessions from 2;4.28 through 3;0.6

LEO 01	2;4.28	§ c'est lui va conduire § lui aussi va aller (3 times) § elle va aller là (3 times) § ça va aller tomber (in response to mother, "Celui-là il va tomber?") § veux montrer à Esther	
LEO 02	2;5.11	§ elle va l'enlever (2 times) § là elle va aller là	
LEO 03	2;7.22	§ il va sauter sur lui § il va sauter sur sa tête	
LEO 04	2;8.12	§ faut pousser où? (in answer to "Faut le pousser") § hey, lui va marcher § peut marcher lui § regarde il va bouger la queue § il veut bouger ses mains § il est capable de bouger sa petite queue § oh, veut pas sauter, lui § oh, veut pas sauter!	§ c'est comment [/] comment on faire? (he is turning over truck, looking for a way to wind it up) § on comment on fait marcher?
LEO 05	2;8.24	§ j'veux pas faire ça § elle peut pas l'ouvrir	§ moi aussi veux sauter les autres (after modelling of "Je veux les faire sauter") § faire tourner lui (after modelling, "Es-tu capable de les faire tourner?") § veux faire tourner lui, ça lui, pis lui, moi
LEO 06	2;9.8	§ veux essayer! (2 times) § il peut balancer avec ça	§ il les fait tomber à terre
LEO 07	2;9.23	§ il veut mettre le chapeau § il va en mettre un autre	
LEO 08	2;10.12	§ veux placer ça § non je veux fermer ça! § veux voir! (2 times)	
LEO 09	2;11.4	§ peux-tu mettre ça? § il va me tuer!	§ regarde <il l'a il l'a> [/] il l'a fait tomber (apparently quite difficult to get this out)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
LEO 10	3;0.6	§ vas ramasser le petit bébé § je veux regarder juste les livres	§ comment on fait pour tourner? § ça va faire tomber encore

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Réjeanne

17 sessions from 2;7.20 through 3;10.10

REJ 01	2;7.20	§ veux cacher la tête	§ fais le marcher xxx fais marcher (<i>I have just asked, "es-tu capable de le faire marcher?"</i> ; <i>she wasn't, & handed me toy</i>) § fais monter cheval (<i>echoing my "peux-tu le faire monter à cheval?"</i>) § fais sauter (<i>echoing my "tu la fais sauter?"</i>)
REJ 02	2;9.14	§ faut pas toucher (<i>2 times</i>) § je veux jouer avec xxx § peut pas marcher § peut pas faire ça § veut ouvrir	
REJ 03	2;9.28	§ fais avec lapin xxx elle va sauter à Fanny § elle veut cacher	§ elle donner à manger à bébé (<i>gesturing for me to give her bowl and spoon</i>) § fais à manger (<i>she is feeding baby</i>) § elle donner à manger à bébé (<i>2 times</i>) § non pas tomber tigre (<i>I have just suggested, "on pourrait faire tomber le tigre avec le dinosaure"</i>) § pas tomber coco le singe (<i>2 times; I have been demonstrating how to knock over monkey with hopping rabbit</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 04	2;10.13	§ je veux regarder la photo! (3 times) § vais donner à manger à bébé (2 times) § maman va donner à manger § regarde manger bébé § vais donner à manger § vais donner boire bébé § veut cacher, p'tit lapin veut cacher § là va bouger les pattes (<i>subject appears to be cat toy; she is taking it, trying to push in right place to make legs move</i>) § é maman donner à manger à bébé (<i>"mushy" auxiliary</i>)	§ veux tomber coco le singe § veux tomber (2 times) § fais bouger les pattes (<i>of cat toy; she can't make it work, hands it to me</i>)
REJ 05	2;10.26	§ moi je veux jouer xxx § regarde je vais t'aider § veux enlever pantalon à bébé (2 times) § veux serrer les bonhommes § veux habiller bébé (2 times) § bébé il veut pas porter a pantalon (3 times) § veut bouge ses queues (<i>of cat toy; subject could be either Réjeanne— which would be non-causative—or cat—which would be causative</i>)	§ je danse le p'tit chat (<i>she is trying to make it dance</i>) § danse le p'tit chat (<i>handing it to me as her fingers not strong enough to push the button</i>) § é bouger la patte § é bouger queue

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 06	2;11.11	§ je veux serrer les bonhommes § je veux serrer les petits bonhommes § le bébé à veut mettre un pantalon (3 times) § le bébé a ma~ t'habiller, t'habiller § donne à bébé à manger à bébé § vas ferme la porte! (of puzzle box) § Fanny elle veut manger (2 times) § Fanny elle veut pas # tiens ici manger § tiens donne à manger à Fanny § tiens bébé elle va manger § Fanny elle veut pas manger (2 times) § tiens va manger xxx § Fanny elle veut boire son lait	§ fais manger bébé (uttered after session over; pointing to full bag of toys)
REJ 07	2;11.26	§ elle veut donne manger (3 times) § elle veut manger § maman va le consoler § la maman elle va consoler le bébé § non veut pas les serre les bébés! (I have just asked, "est-ce qu'on serre les bébés?")	
REJ 08	3;0.8	§ et pis é manger y'herbe (echoing my "et puis il va pas manger les herbes")	§ maman elle mange # le bébé (as she puts "mummy" puppet on her hand and tries to continue feeding baby, but with puppet) § avec ça la maman elle mange le bébé (taking spoon) § maman elle dit [/l] elle é manger (gives me puppet—her hand can't manage the task)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 09	3;0.23	<p>§ regarde é tourner (<i>cassette player</i>)</p> <p>§ (re)garde laver le bébé</p> <p>§ bébé va essuyer sa face</p> <p>§ le bébé veut manger les xxx</p> <p>§ veut mettre le bébé dans le lit</p> <p>§ il veut manger Barney</p> <p>§ le bonhomme il veut embarquer sur un tigre (<i>2 times</i>)</p> <p>§ il veut embarquer sur un cheval</p> <p>§ moi veux sauter</p>	<p>§ xxx faire manger le bébé</p> <p>§ donne à manger à bébé</p> <p>§ à manger à bébé</p> <p>§ fais manger a bébé (“a” for “la”?)</p> <p>§ (re)garde c’est faire manger le bébé</p> <p>§ c’est moi la faire manger</p> <p>§ non c’est pas faire boire (<i>I have just modelled “faire boire”</i>)</p> <p>§ on attend maman pour faire manger (<i>this is quite likely to be something she has often heard her mother say, as Réjeanne loves feeding her baby sister but is not allowed to</i>)</p> <p>§ non vas pas faire manger un tigre (<i>I have just asked, “et si tu voulais faire manger un tigre, qu’est-ce que tu lui donnerais à manger?”</i>)</p>
REJ 10	3;1.20	<p>§ a veut manger, le serpent (<i>I am pretending to make snake bite her</i>)</p> <p>§ veut enlever ça</p> <p>§ le serpent veut rentrer comme ça</p> <p>§ regarde mes doigts il veut manger</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut embarquer dans le gros cheval</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut bouge pas</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut asseoir à côté, elle</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut marcher, le monsieur</p> <p>§ le cheval va voir Mela</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut embarquer ici</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut embarquer sur le cheval</p> <p>§ elle, elle uh manger dans le bain</p> <p>§ elle donne à manger à son bébé</p> <p>§ elle va pas bouger, la maman (<i>because the puppet has been put away</i>)</p>	<p>§ moi a fais couler l’eau (<i>echoing my “tu fais couler l’eau” with toy baby bath</i>)</p> <p>§ elle, le bain, elle fait couler (<i>about mummy puppet who is running baby’s bath</i>)</p> <p>§ c’est moi le faire maman à manger (<i>I am not allowed to activate mummy puppet</i>)</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut pas manger (<i>she is referring to mummy not wanting to feed baby</i>)</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut pas faire manger (<i>REJ is jealous of having the puppet usurp “her” baby-feeding privileges and arranges to have her removed from the scene</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 11	3;2.3	<p>§ je vais mettre comme +...</p> <p>§ moi la mettre comme ça le pantalon à bébé</p> <p>§ moi a donner les céréales à bébé</p> <p>§ ici je vais mettre le pantalon à bébé</p> <p>§ moi vais la fermer, la barbe du monsieur</p> <p>§ ma~ l'embarquer sur l'autre cheval, le petit bonhomme</p> <p>§ tiens, le monsieur va le pousser</p> <p>§ tiens, le monsieur va pousser ça de là</p> <p>§ moi veux tenir la porte</p> <p>§ ma~ tourner le bouton pour faire bouger</p> <p>§ veux enlever ça comme ça</p> <p>§ veux enlever ça (5 times)</p> <p>§ mais moi veux la mettre dans la main la faire descendre (of slinky)</p> <p>moi veux mettre le bonhomme dans le camion</p>	<p>§ maman a fait parler # elle [/] elle montrait à Mela elle fait parler</p> <p>§ non j'aime pas ça la faire parler</p> <p>§ j'aime pas ça faire parler xxx</p> <p>§ moi la fais boire (echoing my "est-ce qu'elle capable de boire son lait elle-même, ou c'est toi qui la fais boire?")</p> <p>§ ma~ tourner le bouton pour faire bouger</p> <p>§ fais bouger le petit lapin (2 times, handing it to me—she is not able to manipulate the crank)</p> <p>§ mais moi veux la mettre dans la main la faire descendre (of slinky; I have just explained, "on peut la faire descendre"; she wants to make it descend from her hand to the floor)</p>
REJ 12	3;2.20	<p>§ moi je vais xxx faire comment c'est xxx ça</p> <p>§ mais veut pas sauter dans la boîte</p> <p>§ veut sauter [/] veut pas sauter dans la boîte</p> <p>§ veut sauter comme +... (all these instances of "veut sauter" could very well be causatives, for "je veux (pas) faire sauter", but impossible to be certain)</p> <p>§ vas ramasser les crapauds</p> <p>§ elle, elle va pas crier</p> <p>§ elle, elle va pas crier, elle fait ça</p> <p>§ elle, elle va pas crier xxx</p> <p>§ c'est moi vas faire manger le bébé</p> <p>§ lui va essayer</p>	<p>§ moi j'ai réussi à sauter comme ça</p> <p>§ moi j'ai réussi pour sauter comme ça (after I asked, in response to the preceding utterance, "t'as réussi à faire quoi?")</p> <p>§ Fanny est capable de faire les sauter</p> <p>§ non veux pas faire parler # oiseau</p> <p>§ veux pas faire parler oiseau</p> <p>§ c'est pas maman fait manger, c'est moi</p> <p>§ c'est pas la maman pour faire manger le bébé</p> <p>§ c'est moi vas faire manger le bébé</p> <p>§ c'est maman elle est pas manger le bébé</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
		§ elle, elle va prendre froid	§ non veux [/] veux pas faire lever le +...
		§ moi vais la mettre comme ça	§ veux pas le faire parler, moi, le oiseau
		§ veux serrer la maman	§ faire manger (<i>echoing; I have just asked, "est-ce qu'on serre les bébés, ou est-ce que tu veux les faire manger?"</i>)
		§ veux serrer la maman elle fait dodo	§ moi uh fais manger +... (<i>echoing my "c'est quoi que tu lui fais manger?"</i>)
		§ maman va faire dodo dans le sac à toi	§ xxx bébé elle fait cracher
		§ non le bébé [//] maman veut faire dodo dans le sac à toi	§ c'est moi vas faire coucher
		§ veux pas lever le batterie	§ pourquoi t'as fait coucher la maman?
		§ veux pas en mettre de batteries	§ non veux pas faire piquer moi!
		§ non veux pas mettre de batteries	§ c'est moi la faire la piquer toi! (<i>these 2 comments in response to my pretending to make the octopus bite her; she takes it and threatens to bite me back</i>)
		§ elle, elle va être couchée dans le bain après elle est habillée	§ regarde la faire piquer! (<i>she makes the octopus bite me</i>)
		§ moi veux dire un deux trois quatre et cinq (<i>imitating my mike testing</i>)	§ ça c'est pour faire avancer le bateau? (<i>I have just demonstrated how oars work, and said "ça fait avancer le bateau"</i>)
		§ moi veux mettre son pantalon (2 times)	§ moi j'ai fait tomber!
		§ moi a mettre un pantalon à bébé après elle manger	§ je veux pas faire tomber
		§ bébé va prendre son lait	§ c'est moi vas faire embarquer dans l'auto
		§ le bébé elle va boire son lait elle xxx +...	§ c'est moi vas faire l'avancer
		§ ah donne à manger	§ j'ai fait [//] l'auto a fait tomber la madame
		§ elle, elle veut cracher les céréales	§ regarde, il est dans le bateau pour le faire bouge
		§ veut les cracher	
		§ non, elle, elle veut cracher le tapis	
		§ moi [/] moi va mettre un pantalon avant coucher	
		§ non, veut pas piquer, la bébite	
		§ elle, elle va faire dodo dans le nautre sac	
		§ la pieuvre elle va manger ça	
		§ moi je donne à manger des crevettes comme +/	

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
		<p>§ regarde je donne à manger à la pieuvre</p> <p>§ moi vas donner un quelque chose à Fanny pour jouer</p> <p>§ moi vas mettre un pantalon à bébé et bébé, elle va +...</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut s'asseoir dans le bateau</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut manger les doigts</p> <p>§ non, elle peut pas manger le petit bonhomme</p> <p>§ moi veux donner a xxx à Fanny</p> <p>§ le veut pas faire de bruit</p> <p>§ elle, elle veut embarquer sur le cheval (2 times)</p> <p>§ elle va prendre l'autre (2 times)</p> <p>§ la pieuvre, elle va manger le poisson</p>	<p>§ c'est moi a faire avancer</p>
REJ 13	3;3.16	<p>§ j'suis pas capable de faire comme ça (<i>trying to manipulate Chinese snake</i>)</p> <p>§ faire manger un bébé, après ça le bébé va prendre son bain, après ça va coucher</p> <p>§ veux essuyer sa bouche</p> <p>§ vais donner son bain et dodo à elle</p> <p>§ ça va monter l'escalier pour monter dans le château</p> <p>§ elle, elle va rentrer dans le +....</p> <p>§ bon, le bébé, elle, va faire dodo dans le lit</p> <p>§ après ça le monsieur va monter dans le château</p> <p>§ elle, elle va manger dans son plat</p> <p>§ après ça elle veut monter dans le château</p> <p>§ elle veut monter ici, la madame</p> <p>§ elle va faire un chariot (2 times)</p> <p>§ ici va faire un chariot avec ça</p> <p>§ veux faire un chariot</p> <p>§ veux-tu voir le chariot à moi? (<i>pulls me up and takes me to see their bundle buggy</i>)</p>	<p>§ c'est le tour à bébé faire comme ça faire bouger ça (<i>referring to Chinese snake</i>)</p> <p>§ moi veux faire manger le petit bébé</p> <p>§ faire manger un bébé après ça le bébé va prendre son bain après ça va coucher</p> <p>§ ça, c'est un lit à bébé pour faire bercer comme ça</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 14	3;4.26	<p>§ (re)garde le chat il peut aller ici</p> <p>§ Fanny, elle mette le bonhomme dans le bain, elle veut mettre le bonhomme dans le bain</p> <p>§ après ça vais mettre serviette</p> <p>§ vais les secher (<i>she has just "washed" baby's "caca" pants; this could also be "fais les secher", phonology too mushy to tell</i>)</p> <p>§ (re)garde va mettre ici</p> <p>§ vais aider pour le faire avec moi (<i>she is asking me to help her put castle pieces together</i>)</p> <p>§ hey le xxx petit monsieur veut aller dans le cheval long comme ça</p> <p>§ le petit bonhomme ça va tomber</p> <p>§ va pas sauter dans le petit pot</p> <p>§ le serpent s'en va manger le petit papillon</p>	<p>§ veux les faire sauter dans le petit pot (<i>frogs</i>)</p> <p>§ moi la faire sauter</p> <p>§ la faire sauter dans le petit pot</p> <p>§ fais manger toi dans le serpent (<i>she wants me to make snake bite ME</i>)</p> <p>§ fais manger le poisson comme ça (<i>she means "papillon"—holding it out—and wants me to make snake eat butterfly</i>)</p> <p>§ mets en arrière pis faire rouler comme ça</p> <p>§ fais tomber coco le singe</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 15	3;5.23	<p>§ le bébé va faire dodo dans son lit</p> <p>§ il veut aller dans l'eau (<i>frog on blue washcloth</i>)</p> <p>§ je vais mettre le bébé dans le gazon avec son lit ("<i>gazon</i>" is <i>green washcloth</i>)</p> <p>§ veut aller dans le gazon</p> <p>§ le bébé elle va faire dodo dans le gazon</p> <p>§ quand le bébé veut être cachée dans en dessous le gazon # elle va avoir chaud, bébé</p> <p>§ le bébé elle va faire dodo</p> <p>§ maintenant le bébé va faire dodo</p> <p>§ le serpent va faire dodo dans le gazon</p> <p>§ la grenouille va regarder ici dans le gazon bleu</p> <p>§ vais enlever le pantalon (<i>baby's</i>)</p> <p>§ vais faire semblant pour faire manger</p> <p>§ je vais faire un tunnel</p> <p>§ vais mettre les arcs-en-ciel là-bas là-bas pour regarder</p> <p>§ veut passer par le tunnel</p> <p>§ veut passer dans le tunnel (<i>2 times</i>)</p> <p>§ maintenant vais encore passer dans tunnel</p> <p>§ il va passer sa tête # rentrer dans tunnel</p> <p>§ (re)garde ça va tomber</p> <p>§ ça va faire xxx s'il vous plaît</p> <p>§ ça va malade (<i>I repeat, puzzled, and she says:</i></p> <p>§ ça va être malade</p>	<p>§ vais faire semblant pour faire manger</p> <p>§ pour faire bien manger (<i>I am puzzled and ask "faire quoi?"; she answers, "pour manger"</i>)</p> <p>§ elle fait tomber (<i>REJ set up wind-up mouse to knock over monkey; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'elle a fait au singe, la souris?"</i>)</p> <p>§ tiens je vais faire passer</p> <p>§ vais faire passer</p> <p>§ lui, lui, lui, et lui, vais faire passer (<i>she is putting figurines through the slinky tunnel</i>)</p> <p>§ c'est pour faire passer tantôt le serpent</p> <p>§ fais tourner toupie s'il te plaît (<i>elicited imitation: I have been asking "peux-tu dire 'fais tourner la toupie s'il te plaît?'" and she eventually does, grudgingly</i>)</p> <p>§ fasses marcher (<i>echoing my "tu veux que je le fasses marcher?"</i>)</p> <p>§ puis je vais le faire sauter sur le bébé (<i>frog</i>)</p> <p>§ pas capable de faire lui bouger les pieds</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
REJ 16	3;7.4	<p>§ elle veut habiller le bébé</p> <p>§ elle va manger ça</p> <p>§ elle peut te manger</p> <p>§ non veut pas le manger son souris</p> <p>§ elle veut manger les autos sont là, son auto</p> <p>§ je veux l'essayer</p> <p>§ je veux habiller le petit bébé</p> <p>§ c'est moi vas faire ça</p> <p>§ je veux faire le serpent</p> <p>§ Réjeanne elle va toucher</p> <p>§ fais le encore, Réjeanne elle va toucher</p> <p>§ tiens, Réjeanne elle va tourner ça</p> <p>§ tiens, on va laisser Fanny toucher</p> <p>§ fais ça, Fanny Réjeanne elle va toucher, va toucher Réjeanne</p> <p>§ on va laisser Fanny toucher</p> <p>§ hey fais tourner la petite toupie, Réjeanne elle veut toucher</p> <p>§ elle va faire caca</p> <p>§ elle va mettre xxx</p> <p>§ Réjeanne elle va mettre son serviette</p>	<p>§ je la fais manger +... (<i>echoing my "qu'est-ce que tu la fais manger?"</i>)</p> <p>§ je te fais bouger le petit bonhomme (<i>talking to dinosaur</i>)</p> <p>§ moi je fais souffler (<i>hand pump, after I have shown her how</i>)</p> <p>§ hey fais tourner la petite toupie, Réjeanne elle veut toucher</p> <p>§ je veux faire manger ton bébé</p>
REJ 17	3;10.10	<p>§ après, le xxx, elle va prendre son manger</p> <p>§ mon bébé, elle va faire dodo</p> <p>§ il va encore aller voir Mela</p> <p>§ veux enlever son chapeau</p> <p>§ (re)garde, Maman, ça va faire des lumières dans ses yeux</p> <p>§ ça ça va tourner</p> <p>§ peux-tu l'ouvrir, Maman?</p> <p>§ (re)garde, Réjeanne elle va être capable, là</p>	<p>*****start sequence*****</p> <p><i>I ask: "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ton bébé?"</i></p> <p>§ je les mange (2 times); <i>I ask "tu les manges?"</i></p> <p>§ oui, ELLE mange (<i>I repeat, "elle mange"</i>)</p> <p>§ elle mange (<i>I say "tu la FAIS manger"</i>)</p> <p>*****end sequence*****</p> <p>§ ça fait tourner (<i>in response to mother's question, "c'est quoi?" about karate-ka's little "breaking" table</i>)</p> <p>§ fais-le marcher (<i>top</i>)</p> <p>§ c'est pour la faire marcher (<i>in response to prompt, "A quoi ça sert, ce petit piton-là?"</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Iseult

4 sessions from 2;9.19 through 3;9.6

ISE 01	2;9.19	§ la bébé va faire un gros gros dodo § le bébé va dormir (2 times) § elle va manger des céréales	§ la faire tourner? (<i>echo of Claudia's immediately preceding "est-ce que tu veux la faire tourner?"</i>) § difficile à rouler (<i>unprompted</i>) § pas capable faire la tourner (2 turns previously I asked her "es-tu capable de le faire tourner?") § veux manger les bébés (<i>I have just asked her "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec" all the babies and feeding implements</i>) § veux manger un bébé (<i>after above utterance I asked "hein?" as didn't hear clearly</i>) § les mange (<i>in response to "qu'est-ce que tu fais au bébé?"; then I correct, "tu les FAIS manger"</i>) § je les mange (<i>I have just asked "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?"; she then self-corrects immediately and with questioning intonation produces</i>) § je les bois, les bébés? § je les mange (<i>I have just asked "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec la tasse?"</i>)
ISE 02	3;1.23	§ moi aussi veux la faire okay? § moi je veux le faire	

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
ISE 03	3;6.24	§ vas t'aider à ranger	<p>§ manger les bébés (<i>I have just asked, "qu'est-ce que tu penses qu'on fait avec ça?"</i>, showing bag with babies and feeding utensils)</p> <p>§ je le fais manger (<i>she was feeding baby, and I asked, "qu'est-ce que tu fais, Iseult, avec ton bébé?"</i> and when she didn't answer (but smiled and looked shy), I prompted, "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec tout ça? c'est quoi ça, quand tu fais ça? est-ce que tu le fais sauter dans les airs?"; this made her smile, and she responded with correct form—like a drill...)</p> <p>§ je le fais boire du jus d'orange (<i>she is holding cup to baby and I have just asked, "c'est quoi que tu lui fais boire?"</i>)</p>
ISE 04	3;7.24	§ moi je vais aller le chercher	

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Samuel

12 sessions from 2;10.21 through 3;7.20

SAM 01	2;10.21	§ va ramasser § va ramasser le camion	
SAM 02	2;11.9	§ tomber ça va tomber § on va mettre le 'tit garçon à les chevaux à les chevaux § va ramasser les affaires et va jouer à un autre jeu § puis après va jouer à un autre jeu § va jouer à un autre jeu après? § va voir un [//] va jouer à un autre jeu	§ à tourner comme ça (<i>à quoi ça sert le petit piron?</i>) § uh mange au bébé là...mange au bébé (<i>Qu'est-ce que tu fais? He is feeding baby</i>) § non non BOIRE le bébé (<i>referring to BEN</i>) § moi fais manger à bébé
SAM 03	3;0.8	§ et les chevaux il va rentrer dedans § va ramasse les chevaux va jouer à un autre jeu § comme ça il peut aller, hein? § le bébé va aller dans le bain § on va mettre un xxx	
SAM 04	3;0.28	§ il va aller dans les deux balançoires § il peut marcher § moi aussi je veux toucher	§ vas tourner elle, elle, pas la rose, la bleue
SAM 05	3;1.20	§ on va la mettre la batterie § puis il va tomber, le chateau avec les chevaux § va la faire comme ça, regarde § puis après on va jouer à d'autres § il veut aller dans le bain	§ moi je le fais bouger, regarde § c'est comme ça on le fait bouger (<i>explaining to BEN</i>) § je le fais rouler § elle est pas capable faire la voler toute seule (<i>about butterfly finger puppet</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
SAM 06	3;2.3	§ il peut plus marcher § on va jouer à ça (2 times) § moi je veux le faire (2 times) § j'veux le faire § on va laisser son chat chez moi! (he wants to keep one of my toys) § j'veux le prendre § on peut faire ça § moi vas la craquer (for "cranquer" a toy) § il va attraper! § est-ce qu'il peut attraper ça? est-ce qu'on peut l'ouvrir? veux le faire. on va souffler? § moi je vas prendre mon chat	§ la fais tourner (<i>hands me top</i>) § j'veux le faire bouger
SAM 07	3;2.25	§ il va aller prendre le renard § on va mettre ça dans le chateau § mais elle on peut la mettre § va tomber dans le chateau! § parce que je veux voir papa § va faire SCHLACK! § il va faire SCHLACK! § mais lui va prendre ça et l'amène § il va prendre ça, il va l'amener dans son coin, il va le manger § il va les manger, miam miam § il va prendre le petit chien § il va le mettre dans son coin, il va le manger après	§ non, fais tourner elle § je fais changer le xxx de l'autre côté (<i>moving staircase from one side of castle to the other</i>)

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
SAM 08	3;3.5	<p>§ j'ai vu, tu vas voir xxx</p> <p>§ il va aller sur mon cheval</p> <p>§ mais lui il va aller l'attacher, puis après +...</p> <p>§ il va tomber BOUM!</p> <p>§ on peut plus faire le grue, il est dans l'eau le grue</p> <p>§ va mettre dans l'eau (<i>I ask about oars</i>)</p> <p>§ il y a un monsieur qui va bouger le bateau</p> <p>§ il va plus faire de bruit parce que j'ai enlevé le moteur à lui</p> <p>§ après tu vas t'en aller? (<i>just after BEN says it, but is really asking me, too</i>)</p> <p>§ elle il va chanter hein? et il va crier?</p> <p>§ tourne elle, elle va chanter</p> <p>§ le petit morceau on va le redonner là</p>	<p>§ tourne elle (<i>5 times</i>)</p> <p>§ tourne elle, elle va chanter</p>
SAM 09	3;3.22	<p>§ il veut faire AIYA!</p> <p>§ mais je veux faire AIYA!</p> <p>§ il peut tomber?</p> <p>§ va aller dans le bain lui</p> <p>§ il veut voir le papa bateau</p> <p>§ il est où l'autre serpent qu'on peut faire ça? (<i>I have just modelled "faire bouger"</i>)</p> <p>§ lui est-ce qu'on peut le mettre lui dedans?</p>	
SAM 10	3;5.24	<p>§ ça va être elle qui va xxx</p> <p>§ il va faire AIYA!</p> <p>§ mais d'abord il va attraper quelque chose</p>	<p>§ fais le marcher, toi</p> <p>§ fais la marcher # maintenant elle</p> <p>§ fais marcher lui</p>
SAM 11	3;6.7	<p>§ est-ce qu'on peut enlever les petits bonhommes?</p>	

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
SAM 12	3;7.20	§ est-ce qu'il va aller sur xxx? § il peut faire ça § oh regarde il y a quelqu'un qui va couper la tête, qui va faire peur aux voleurs POW POW POW! § regarde, il va attaquer lui § ça marche pas, il va tomber § on va tout tasser, d'accord? § sa maman elle va être debout § on peut pas mettre ça ici § lui va monter § ça va faire comme ça puis ça fait mal aux gens § il peut se défendre hein? § il pourrait se défendre § il peut se battre hein? § il va lancer une flèche BANG dans son dos!	

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
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Claudia

22 sessions from 3;0.19 through 4;8.9

CLO 01	3;0.19	<p>§ peux jouer à ça hein?</p> <p>§ il veut pas être debout</p> <p>§ on peut les laisser ici? (<i>wants me to leave my toys at her house</i>)</p>	<p>§ on le fait parler (<i>mother has just asked "qu'est-ce qu'on fait?" about wind-up dinosaur</i>)</p>
CLO 02	3;1.0	<p>§ mais des fois on peut mettre des [/]des animaux</p> <p>§ regarde on peut mettre un singe, là</p> <p>§ mais il faut le mettre +...</p> <p>§ ah puis là il faut pousser</p>	
CLO 03	3;3.13	<p>§ je veux essayer la souris</p> <p>§ je veux l'essayer, moi</p> <p>§ je veux l'essayer, le singe</p> <p>§ je veux essayer ça</p> <p>§ je veux l'essayer (2 times)</p> <p>§ je veux juste essayer</p> <p>§ je veux jouer avec toi (<i>role play with bonhommes talking to each other</i>)</p> <p>§ je vais te montrer comment ça fait, des grenouilles</p> <p>§ je vas l'essayer, je l'ai eu!</p> <p>§ je veux t'aider à rouler le tapis, moi</p>	
CLO 04	3;3.27	<p>§ je veux l'habiller, moi</p>	
CLO 05	3;4.10		<p>§ ça le fait bouger (<i>about puppet</i>)</p> <p>§ ça sert à le faire marcher (<i>in response to prompt: "ça sert à quoi le petit piton sur le lapin?"</i>)</p> <p>§ parce que le lapin l'a fait tomber (<i>in response to "pourquoi il est tombé, le petit singe?"</i>)</p>
CLO 06	3;5.3	<p>§ moi je vas faire le xxx</p>	<p>§ on la fait tourner (<i>referring to top</i>)</p> <p>§ moi je suis capable de la faire sauter, celle-là!</p>
CLO 07	3;7.26	<p>§ il va tout le mêler hein? (<i>about Denis, 1;7.25, and slinky</i>)</p>	<p>§ je le fais manger (<i>in response to "qu'est-ce que tu fais?"</i>)</p>

Appendix B: Infinitival complement constructions, French L1 data

Session	Age	Single-agent complements	Causatives (or attempts)
CLO 08	3;8.23	<p>§ j' vas essayer une verte</p> <p>§ j'aimerais juste jouer avec toi</p> <p>§ les chevaux que eux il peut réembarquer dessus</p> <p>§ pis je vais mettre des bonhommes puis je vais m'installer</p> <p>§ est-ce qu'on va ramasser les jouets?</p>	<p>§ tu l'as fait sauter dedans (<i>to Iseult, about frog and petit pot</i>)</p> <p>§ je veux que tu le fasses tourner! (<i>to me, about top; 2 times</i>)</p> <p>§ j'aimerais juste à les faire tourner</p> <p>§ est-c que tu veux la faire tourner?</p> <p>§ est-ce que je peux la faire tourner?</p> <p>§ est-ce que je peux la faire encore tourner?</p> <p>§ xxx les faire tourner, ugh!</p> <p>§ pas facile à faire tourner!</p>
CLO 09	4;0.13	<p>§ maman je veux essayer de faire gonfler les ballounes</p> <p>§ 'garde, je vais essayer de faire tomber le xxx</p> <p>§ Denis, laisse-la tomber (<i>of a top</i>)</p> <p>§ Denis, je vais en prendre un, bonhomme, okay? ces deux-là</p>	<p>§ maman je veux essayer de faire gonfler les ballounes</p> <p>§ 'garde, je vais essayer de faire tomber le xxx</p> <p>§ pourrait qu'il essaie de la faire parler (<i>of Denis, who is playing with nutcracker</i>)</p> <p>§ 'garde, je vais essayer de faire tomber le xxx</p> <p>§ juste le faire tourner comme ça</p>
CLO 10	4;0.26	<p>§ je veux jouer à ça là</p>	<p>§ on pèse ici comme ça, pis ça ça fait bouger la queue</p> <p>§ j' ai fait même bouger celle-là</p>

APPENDIX C
LIST OF FULLY OR PARTIALLY TRANSCRIBED FRENCH-L1
SESSIONS

French L1 data: Sessions fully or partially transcribed in CHAT format

Code for labelling CHAT files indicates: nth session for subject X (3-letter pseudonym), subject's age in brackets(years;months only), date.

CHAT filename	MLU (words)
08BEN(2;1)5NOV97.CHA	BEN: 3.212 SAM: 4.484
15BEN(2;6)20MAR98.CHA	BEN: 3.302
01IREJ(2;7)30NOV96.CHA	REJ: 1.952
02REJ(2;9)25JAN97.CHA	REJ: 2.984
09REJ(3;0)3MAY97.CHA	REJ: 3.507
11REJ(3;2)14JUN97.CHA	REJ: 4.333
12REJ(3;2)1JUL97.CHA	REJ: 4.189
06ZEF(2;4)25JUN97.CHA	ZEF: 2.123
08ZEF(2;7)18SEP97.CHA	ZEF: 2.724
13ZEF(2;10)11DEC97.CHA	ZEF: 3.854
15ZEF(3;0)17FEB98.CHA	ZEF: 3.172

CHAT filename	MLU (words)
04LEO(2;8)25SEP97.CHA	LEO: 2.828
01CLO(3;0)6NOV96.CHA	CLO: 3.560
09CLO(3;7)30MAY97.CHA	CLO: 3.000
11CLO(3;8)11JUL97.CHA	CLO: 5.733
02DEN(2;0)13NOV97.CHA	DEN: 2.000 CLO: 4.909
03DEN(2;1)28NOV97.CHA	DEN: 2.333
06DEN(2;3)30JAN98.CHA	DEN: 2.546
09DEN(2;4)13MAR98.CHA	DEN: 3.000
11DEN(2;6)1MAY98.CHA	DEN: 3.538
12DEN(2;6)15MAY98.CHA	DEN: 3.500
13DEN(2;7)5JUN98.CHA	DEN: 3.306

APPENDIX D

**SAMPLE EXTRACTS FROM FRENCH-L1 TRANSCRIPTS:
A SINGLE-PARTICIPANT SESSION—RÉJ 09 (3;0.23)
A MULTI-PARTICIPANT SESSION—BEN 08 (2;1.18)/SAM 08 (3;3.5)**

@Begin

@Participants: REJ Réjeanne Target_Child, MEL Mela Investigator, MOT Karine Mother, FAN Baby_Fanny Sister

@Age of REJ: 3;0.23

@Birth of REJ: 11-APR-1994

@Sex of REJ: Female

@Filename: 09REJ(3;0)3MAY97.CHA

@Date: 3-MAY-1997

@Situation: Free play, some causative elicitation

@Activities: REJ and MEL play together

@Language: French

@Transcriber: Mela Sarkar

*REJ: le bébé!
*MEL: sais tu, je pense que j'ai besoin
d'autres vêtements pour ces
bébés-là.
*MEL: ils ont pas beaucoup de
vêtements.
*MEL: j'en ai pas trouvé.
*REJ: avoir froid bébé.
*REJ: bébé avoir froid.
*MEL: bébé avoir froid?
*REJ: oui.
*REJ: elle mette xxx son manteau bébé
avoir froid.
*MEL: hein?
*REJ: elle mette xxx son manteau
avoir froid bébé.
*MEL: oh tu mets son manteau pour
pas qu'elle ait froid?
*REJ: oui.
*MEL: toi si tu sors dehors il va falloir
aujourd'hui que tu mettes un
manteau hein?
*MEL: parce qu'il fait froid.
*REJ: sors ta main!
*MEL: c'est pas facile hein +...
*REJ: ben oui hein?
*MEL: +, habiller un bébé.
*REJ: ben oui.
*MEL: le bébé aide pas beaucoup.
*REJ: (re)garde.
*REJ: le bébé est tout belle!
*REJ: (re)garde.
*REJ: le bébé est tout belle!
*MEL: le bébé est tout belle?
*REJ: ben oui.
*MEL: okay.
*REJ: c'est pas facile habiller hein?
*MEL: non.
*MEL: toi estce que tu t'habilles toute
seule ou estce que maman t'aide
beaucoup?
*MEL: bon ben tu l'as eu.
*REJ: xxx du taches [?].
*MEL: ça s'attache pas.
*REJ: oui.
*MEL: mais je te dis quoi.

*MEL: la prochaine fois je mettrai des
petits boutons ici pour qu'on
puisse l'attacher.

*REJ: des petit boutons?

*MEL: il y en a pas mais je peux en
mettre chez moi.

*REJ: oh non il y en a pas +...

*MEL: il y en a pas mais je peux en
mettre [>].

*REJ: <(re)garde> [<]!

*REJ: (re)garde!

*MEL: <<c'est beau> [/] c'est beau
comme ça> [>].

*REJ: elle est belle [<].

*MEL: j'aime beaucoup ça.

*MEL: oui elle est belle.

*REJ: elle est belle la petite petit
manteau bébé.

*REJ: (re)garde bébé avoir froid bébé
xxx manteau.

*REJ: avoir froid mon bébé.

*REJ: <bébé avoir froid> [>].

*MEL: <bébé est correc> [<].

*MEL: bébé a peut-être faim par
exemple.

*MEL: j'sais pas.

*REJ: la [?] bébé avoir froid elle a
xxx.

*MEL: ses petits sourcils, son petit nez.

*MEL: ses petits yeux.

*REJ: xxx.

*REJ: petite bouche.

%act: imite une maman qui lave un
bébé

*REJ: xxx faire manger le bébé.

*REJ: donne à manger à bébé.

*MEL: donne à manger au bébé?

*REJ: oui.

*REJ: à manger à bébé.

*REJ: xxx bébé et verre.

*REJ: maman.

%act: indique à MEL les objets qui
l'intéresse dans le sac

*MEL: ça prend une maman pour faire
manger un bébé?

*REJ: non.

*MEL: c'est qui qui fait manger le
bébé?

*MEL: c'est la maman ou c'est toi?

*REJ: moi.

*REJ: la maman puis [?] moi.

*MEL: c'est la maman puis c'est toi?

*REJ: pas xxx.

%act: elle met la maman-marionette de
côté

*MEL: as tu besoin de la maman?

*REJ: oui.

*REJ: c'est xxx xxx xxx la maman.

*MEL: j'espère qu'elle est pas triste.

*REJ: non non c'est pas xxx.

*REJ: non!

*MEL: je veux que ça soit mon tour!

%exp: elle fait parler la maman-
marionette en pleurnichant

*REJ: xxx il reste ici xxx.

*REJ: le bébé xxx.

*REJ: c'est maman.

*REJ: après ça c'est maman.

*MEL: après ça c'est maman?

*REJ: oui.

*MEL: okay.

@Begin

@Participants: BEN Benoit Target_Child, MEL Mela Investigator, SAM Samuel
Brother

@Age of BEN: 2;1.18

@Birth of BEN: 17-SEP-1995

@Sex of BEN: Male

@Age of SAM: 3;3.5

@Birth of SAM: 30-JUL-1994

@Sex of SAM: Male

@Filename: 08BEN(2;1)5NOV97.CHA

@Date: 5-NOV-1997

@Situation: Free play, some causative elicitation

@Activities: MEL, BEN and SAM play together

@Language: French

@Transcriber: Mela Sarkar

*BEN: t'as d'autres jouets, Mela?

*SAM: ah non!

*MEL: oui, puis c'est ça qui va faire
avancer le bateau.

%exp: semble être dérangé par le gros
bruit de BEN

*BEN: ah oh xxx d'autres jouets.

*MEL: c'est la fin du monde!

*SAM: xxx le tout petit +...

*SAM: le lapin il marche plus.

%act: il approche le plus petit des
deux bateaux

*MEL: il marche plus.

*SAM: <xxx le peti> [>].

*MEL: on peut pas le faire bouger.

*MEL: estce que tu vas mettre [<]?

%com: SAM joue avec le petit lapin

*SAM: regarde xxx il va plus faire de
bruit parce que j'ai enlevé le
moteur.

*SAM: il est malade.

*MEL: à quoi c'est supposé servir le
petit piton?

*MEL: il sera très silencieux.

%add: SAM

*MEL: mais on peut encore +...

*BEN: <fais marcher lui> [/] fais
marcher lui!

*MEL: +, on peut toujours le faire
avancer +...

%act: donne une toupie à MEL

%com: bruit soudain; BEN qui verse
beaucoup de jouets à terre; une
toupie "chantante" qui
commence à crier toute seule

*SAM: il peut plus sauter regarde.

*SAM: il peut plus sauter parce qu'il est
malade.

*MEL: +, juste avec des rames.

*MEL: c'est ça.

*BEN: fais marcher ça [>]!

*SAM: le petit bateau peut plus faire du bruit, là [<].

*MEL: fais marcher ça?

*BEN: oui.

*MEL: okay, attends.

*MEL: as tu essayé toi même?

*MEL: t'es peut-être capable.

*MEL: essaie.

*BEN: fais marcher ça.

*MEL: okay.

*MEL: attends.

*MEL: on va faire un peu de place.

*MEL: la toupie ça prend un peu de place.

%com: bruit de la toupie qui crie.

*SAM: oh!

*MEL: O [=! rit].

*SAM: c'est quoi ça?

*MEL: ça aussi c'est une toupie.

*MEL: c'est une autre toupie que j'ai trouvée.

*SAM: elle marche jamais.

*MEL: non elle marche pas.

*MEL: elle tourne mais elle fait pas de bruit.

*MEL: oh hey!

*MEL: <<on va> [/] essayer> [//] on va peut être essayer de la faire chanter un petit peu.

*MEL: non!

*MEL: ça veut pas chanter.

*SAM: il a chanté, là.

*MEL: c'est ça, c'est celle là.

*MEL: c'est pas celle là.

*MEL: celle là a plus de voix.

*SAM: aha j'ai xxx +...

*SAM: là il va chanter hein?

*MEL: pas exactement # il va plutôt crier # c'est pas exactement une chanson +...

*MEL: tu veux tu que je la fasse tourner?

*SAM: oui.

*SAM: et il va crier?

*MEL: oui.

*MEL: faire un bruit du yable.

%exp: "un bruit du yable" est québécois pour "un bruit de diable"

*MEL: ah attends.

%act: elle actionne la toupie et le bruit du yable s'ensuit

*MEL: pas ça.

%act: succès et bruits criards.

*MEL: O [=! rit].

*SAM: t'en as d'autres?

*SAM: xxx.

%com: parle seul dans son coin.

*MEL: oui j'ai toutes ces toupies là.

*SAM: <tourne elle tourne elle tourne elle> [/] tourne elle!

*MEL: xxx.

%com: toute cette énoncé indéchiffrable car BEN parle trop fort par-dessus

*MEL: je vais essayer avec celle là.

*MEL: elle est facile à faire tourner elle.

*MEL: c'est pour ça que je l'ai apportée.

%act: tourne la grande toupie en forme de poupée

*MEL: oui!

*MEL: elle est facile.

*MEL: on fait n'importe quoi puis elle tourne.

*MEL: c'est une petite fille.

%act: elle la montre à BEN de plus proche

*SAM: tourne [/] tourne, ça.

*SAM: il marche plus?

*MEL: il marche!

*SAM: mais elle, il marche plus.

*MEL: laquelle?

*MEL: oh, celle là?

*MEL: non.

*MEL: elle marche +...

*MEL: +, elle tourne +...

*MEL: mais elle fait pas de bruit.

*SAM: mais elle fait du bruit.

*MEL: oui, un petit peu, hein?

*SAM: ah xxx.

*MEL: un petit bruit militaire, on dirait.

*SAM: je l'avais le moteur du petit bateau pour lui faire xxx du bruit.

*BEN: fais marcher encore ce(l)ui là.

*MEL: fais marcher encore celui là?

*MEL: attends.

*MEL: okay.

*MEL: mais oui.

*MEL: il a fait un beau beep.

%act: elle actionne la toupie qui part à faire un bruit

*MEL: es tu content?

*MEL: qu'estce que t'en penses?

*SAM: 0.

%act: il arrête la toupie qui tourne; elle crie comme un animal en douleur

*MEL: <euh euh> [/] euh Samuel lui a fait mal.

*SAM: il tourne un peu.

*MEL: il tourne un peu.

*SAM: ça fait mal [>].

*BEN: <fais la> [/] fais la marcher encore [<]!

*MEL: fais la marcher encore, okay.

*BEN: moi va +...

%act: il empêche à la toupie de tourner.

*MEL: oh non non attends Samuel.

*MEL: pauvre la petite toupie!

%com: beaucoup de bruit

*SAM: chus l'a tapée.

*SAM: xxx va l'aussi +...

*MEL: estce que tu vas la laisser tourner?

*SAM: xxx.

%exp: on ne l'entend pas à cause du bruit

*MEL: 0 [=! rit].

*MEL: eeek!

*MEL: mais elle pleure quand tu la touches comme ça.

*MEL: elle aime pas ça!

*SAM: oui elle aime ça.

*MEL: elle dit <eeek> ["]!

*MEL: 0 [=! rit].

*BEN: fais encore marcher.

*BEN: fais encore marcher.

*MEL: okay.

*MEL: 0 [=! rit].

*MEL: pauvre la petite toupie.
*MEL: oh Samuel!
*MEL: oh c'est pas gentil!
*MEL: tu vas faire mal à la petite toupie.
*MEL: estce qu'on fait marcher juste ces toutes petites qui ne font pas de bruit?
*BEN: oui.
*MEL: il y a peut être moins de danger que Samuel les arrête.
%com: bruits.
*MEL: oh, attention.
*SAM: le petit morceau on va le redonner là.
*MEL: oh, c'est ici que j'ai laissé le petit morceau?
*SAM: oui.
*MEL: oh merci Samuel.
*SAM: on peut le mettre où?
*MEL: je me demandais justement où estce que je l'avais laissé.
*BEN: comme ça.
*SAM: mais l'échelle on le met où?
*MEL: merci d'y avoir pensé.
*SAM: on le met où l'échelle?
*BEN: ils sont où, les toupies?
*MEL: elles sont tous là, les toupies.
*BEN: ils sont où, les tou& toupies.
*MEL: sont toutes là.
*BEN: fais marcher.
*BEN: fais marcher.
*BEN: fais marcher tous les deux.
*MEL: hein?
*BEN: fait [/] fait plus de bruit?
*MEL: elle fait plus de bruit.

*MEL: on peut pas la faire chanter.
*MEL: on peut juste la faire tourner.
*SAM: elle y va là, là.
*BEN: fais la tourner.
*MEL: okay.
*BEN: après tu vas t'en a(II)er.
*SAM: après tu vas t'en aller?.
*MEL: je vais m'en aller bientôt.
*MEL: elle tourne même pas très bien.
*MEL: j'sais pas pourquoi.
*MEL: elle est comme +...
*MEL: elle a plus de balance [>].
*BEN: celui là [<]!
*MEL: xxx.
%exp: parle à elle-même tout bas en essayant de comprendre le bobo dans la toupie pendant qu'elle l'agite près de son oreille
*MEL: ah oui il y a quelque chose qui a décroché à l'intérieur.
*BEN: ce(l)ui là [>]?
*SAM: xxx est fâché [<]?
*BEN: ce(l)ui là?
*MEL: celle là?
*MEL: estce qu'on la serre?
*BEN: non.
*MEL: non?
*MEL: estce qu'on fait tourner celle là?
*BEN: O [=! hoche la tête].
*MEL: okay.
*MEL: woopsie.
*MEL: attends.
*MEL: enlève ton pied.
*SAM: il marche plus.
*MEL: non non +...

*MEL: +, on a réussi à la faire chanter
des fois.
*MEL: oui, c'est ça.
*MEL: tu vois il y a la petite lumière qui
s'allume aussi.
*BEN: xxx.
*MEL: O [=! rit].
*BEN: fais encore la marcher.
*MEL: fais encore la marcher, celle là?
*MEL: ouk!
*MEL: eek!
*MEL: tu lui a fait mal.
*BEN: fais encore la marcher.
*SAM: il peut plus marcher là là.
*SAM: ah oui xxx ça puis ça!
*BEN: fais encore la marcher.
*SAM: regarde [/] regarde!
*MEL: c'est beau ça!
*MEL: tu pourrais mettre un petit
bonhomme [>] +...
*BEN: je l'ai arrêtée [<]!
*MEL: tu l'as arrêtée, c'est ça.
*SAM: ah il va tomber.
*MEL: estce que tu la ranges dans le
petit sac?

APPENDIX E

**COMPLETE LIST OF DATA-GATHERING SESSIONS WITH FRENCH
MONOLINGUAL SUBJECTS (CALENDAR FORMAT)**

Month/ Year	Nov 96	Jan 97	Feb 97	Mar 97	April 97
Session/ Date ¹	01CLO(3;0)6NOV96 02CLO(3;1)20NOV96 01ZEF(1;9)21NOV96 01REJ(2;7)30NOV96	02REJ(2;9)25JAN97 03CLO(3;3)31JAN97	03REJ(2;9)8FEB97 04CLO(3;3)14FEB97 04REJ(2;10)24FEB97 05CLO(3;4)28FEB97	05REJ(2;10)9MAR97 06CLO(3;5)21MAR97 06REJ(2;11)22MAR97	07REJ(2;11)6APR97 07CLO(3;5)11APR97 08REJ(3;0)19APR97 02ZEF(2;2)24APR97

Month/ Year	May 97	June 97	July 97	Aug 97	Sept 97
Session/ Date	08CLO(3;6)2MAY97 09REJ(3;0)3MAY97 03ZEF(2;3)14MAY97 10REJ(3;1)31MAY97 04ZEF(2;3)28MAY97 09CLO(3;7)30MAY97	01LEO(2;4)10JUN97 05ZEF(2;4)11JUN97 10CLO(3;7)13JUN97 11REJ(3;2)14JUN97 01BEN(1;9)20JUN97 01SAM(2;10)20JUN97 02LEO(2;5)24JUN97 06ZEF(2;4)25JUN97	12REJ(3;2)11JUL97 02BEN(1;9)9JUL97 02SAM(2;11)9JUL97 11CLO(3;8)11JUL98 01ISE(2;9)11JUL97 13REJ(3;3)27JUL97	03BEN(1;10)7AUG97 03SAM(3;0)7AUG97 04BEN(1;11)27AUG97 04SAM(3;0)27AUG97	06ZEF(2;6)4SEP97 03LEO(2;7)4SEP97 14REJ(3;4)6SEP97 05BEN(2;0)19SEP97 05SAM(3;1)19SEP97 07ZEF(2;7)18SEP97 04LEO(2;8)25SEP97

¹The sessions are named in accordance with the naming conventions for CHAT files, in anticipation of a time when it will be possible to contribute a full set of transcriptions of these data to the CHILDES databank.

Month/ Year	Oct 97	Nov 97	Dec 97	Jan 98	Feb 98
Session/ Date	09ZEF(2;7)20OCT97 06BEN(2;0)30OCT97 06SAM(3;2)30OCT97 15REJ(3;5)40OCT97 05LEO(2;8)70OCT97 06LEO(2;8)21OCT97 10ZEF(2;8)23OCT97 07BEN(2;1)24OCT97 07SAM(3;2)24OCT97 01DEN(2;0)31OCT97	07LEO(2;9)4NOV97 08BEN(2;1)5NOV97 08SAM(3;3)5NOV97 11ZEF(2;8)6NOV97 02DEN(2;0)13NOV97 02ISE(3;1)13NOV97 16REJ(3;7)15NOV97 12ZEF(2;9)20NOV97 09BEN(2;2)21NOV97 09SAM(3;3)21NOV97 08LEO(2;10)25NOV97 03DEN(2;1)28NOV97	13ZEF(2;10)11DEC97 10BEN(2;2)12DEC97 09LEO(2;11)17DEC97 04DEN(2;1)18DEC97	11BEN(2;3)7JAN98 05DEN(2;2)16JAN98 10LEO(3;0)19JAN97 12BEN(2;4)23JAN98 10SAM(3;5)23JAN98 14ZEF(2;11)27JAN98 06DEN(2;3)30JAN98	13BEN(2;4)6FEB98 11SAM(3;6)6FEB98 07DEN(2;3)12FEB98 15ZEF(3;0)17FEB98 14BEN(2;5)20FEB98 17REJ(3;10)21FEB98 08DEN(2;4)26FEB98

Month/ Year	Mar 98	April 98	May 98	June 98
Session/ Date	09DEN(2;4)13MAR98 15BEN(2;6)20MAR98 12SAM(3;7)20MAR98	10DEN(2;5)16APR98 03ISE(3;6)16APR98	11DEN(2;6)1MAY98 12DEN(2;6)15MAY98 04ISE(3;7)15MAY98	13DEN(2;7)5JUN98 14DEN(2;8)27JUN98

APPENDIX F

**DESCRIPTION DU PROJET DE RECHERCHE:
INFORMATION GIVEN TO PARTICIPATING TEACHERS AND
PRINCIPALS**



DESCRIPTION DU PROJET DE RECHERCHE

Mela Sarkar

Je poursuis des études de doctorat à l'université Concordia en linguistique appliquée. Mon projet de thèse a pour but d'accumuler une base de données sur le développement du langage chez les jeunes enfants francophones et allophones. En particulier, l'acquisition du français chez des enfants ayant pour langue maternelle le bengali sera comparée à l'acquisition du français chez des enfants unilingues. J'espère éventuellement pouvoir apporter des suggestions utiles pour améliorer les programmes et les matériaux relativement à l'enseignement du français aux jeunes enfants allophones.

Tout en vous assurant que le dérangement des activités de la salle de classe sera minimal, l'étape du projet qui se poursuivra dans votre école comprend deux phases distinctes.

Dans un premier temps, je viendrai observer les enfants dans la salle de classe pendant deux ou trois jours. Mon but sera uniquement d'identifier les enfants ayant pour langue maternelle le bengali, chez qui l'acquisition du français est bien amorcée, mais qui sont encore sujets à faire des erreurs de construction de phrases. Pendant cette période d'observation, je ne dérangerai aucunement le fonctionnement de la classe. Je serai également disponible au besoin pour aider à quoi que ce soit. Ceci permettra également aux enfants de faire ma connaissance et de s'habituer à ma présence.

Dans un deuxième temps, quelques jours après la période d'observation, je passerai une demi-journée à jouer avec les enfants ciblés dans une petite salle à part. Je vous demanderai de me prêter les enfants par petits groupes de deux ou trois. Les enfants seront absents de la salle de classe pendant 45 minutes environ. Pendant cette période, les enfants joueront avec des

objets que j'aurai apportés avec moi. La session sera enregistrée sur audio et vidéo. J'apporterai avec moi tout l'équipement requis; les appareils sont légers et discrets. Votre participation se limite à la permission de laisser partir les enfants avec moi pendant la courte période requise, au moment de la journée qui conviendra à votre horaire évidemment.

Je m'occuperai par la suite du consentement des parents pour des entrevues avec la famille à la maison. C'est à ce moment-là que j'expliquerai le projet au parents dans leur propre langue.

Si vous pouviez communiquer votre décision à la direction de l'école pour ce qui est de votre consentement à la participation au projet, je vous en serais très reconnaissante. Il va de soi que vous êtes complètement libre d'accepter ou de refuser.

Je serai bientôt en communication avec la direction de l'école qui me fera part de votre décision. Je vous remercie à l'avance de votre attention.

APPENDIX G

**CONSENT FORM FOR BANGLADESHI PARENTS:
BENGALI AND FRENCH TEXT OF LETTER SENT HOME WITH
BENGALI-L1 CHILDREN
(INCLUDES COVER LETTER FOR TEACHERS)**

ସୁନାକିତ ଜିଲ୍ଲାରେ ଏହି ଭାଷଣର ଶିକ୍ଷକ ମାତ୍ର ତଥା ହିନ୍ଦୀ ପଢ଼ିଛନ୍ତି
ହୋଇଛି । ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ, ପୁସ୍ତକ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା ବ୍ୟାପକ
ପାଠ୍ୟ ।

ଯଦି ଆମେ ଅନୁଭବୀ ହୋଇ ଭାଷଣର ଶିକ୍ଷକ ଏହି ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ପ୍ରକୃତ ଭାଷା
ମାନର ଭାଷା ଭାବେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିବା ତେବେ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ଉପାଦାନ
ମାଗିବାକୁ ହେବ ଏବଂ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା ମାତ୍ର ଏହି ପ୍ରକାର ଉପାଦାନ
ରୂପେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରି ପାରିବ । ଏହି ଉପାଦାନଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବ୍ୟବହାର ହେବା ପରେ ଭାଷଣର
ପଢ଼ନାରେ ସୁଗମତା ହେବ । ଏହାପରେ ଭାଷଣର (ଯେ ଯେଉଁ ଭାଷାରେ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀ
ହିନ୍ଦୀ ଭାଷାରେ ଭାଷଣ କରନ୍ତୁ) ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା ମାତ୍ର
କରିବାକୁ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ ।

ଏହି ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ପ୍ରକୃତ ଭାଷା ଭାଷଣର ଅନୁଭବୀ ହିନ୍ଦୀ କି ନା ଏହି ଭାଷା
ନିମ୍ନ ଭାଷଣର ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ (sign) ବାଧ୍ୟତା । ଭାଷଣର ଭାଷଣାତ୍ମକ ଗୁଣ-
ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ପ୍ରକୃତ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା ମାତ୍ର ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବାକୁ
ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ଶିକ୍ଷକ ଉପାଦାନ ମାତ୍ର କରାଯିବ ବୁଝାଇବା
ଅନ୍ତରାଳ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ଭାଷଣର ଉପାଦାନ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା
ହେବ । ଏହାପରେ କରାଯିବ ନିମ୍ନ ଭାଷଣର ଭାଷଣର ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ ଓ ଗୁଣାଘୋଷଣା
ଅନୁଭବୀ ହିନ୍ଦୀ ଭାଷଣର ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ ଏବଂ
ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ । (ନିମ୍ନ ଭାଷଣର ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ
କାରଣ ଏହି ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ
କାରଣ ଏହି ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ)

ଅତିରିକ୍ତକାରୀ ନାମ _____

ହଁ, ଆମି ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ ପ୍ରକୃତ ଭାଷଣର ଉପାଦାନ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଦିଅନ୍ତୁ ଏବଂ ଗାନ୍ଧୀଜୀଙ୍କ
ଅନୁଭବୀ ହିନ୍ଦୀ ନାମ _____

ନା, ଅନ୍ୟ କିଛି ନା ଭାଷଣର ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ ଏହି ପ୍ରକୃତ ଭାଷଣର ଉପାଦାନ ଦେବାକୁ ହେବ _____

ଅତିରିକ୍ତକାରୀ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭ _____ ଭାଷଣ _____



Chère

Durant les dernières semaines j'ai eu la possibilité d'observer des enfants ayant pour langue maternelle le bengali dans votre classe et dans d'autres classes de maternelle dans votre école; j'en suis très reconnaissante, et j'ai développé un très grand respect pour le travail énorme que vous êtes toutes en train de faire au niveau de la francisation et de "l'occidentalisation" de vos élèves! C'est maintenant le temps pour moi de procéder à la prochaine étape du projet de recherche, c'est-à-dire les sessions de jeu filmées avec les enfants ciblés. Pour cela j'aurai besoin de la permission écrite des parents. Vous trouverez donc ci-joint une copie en bengali du formulaire de consentement pour chaque enfant ciblé dans votre classe. Pourriez-vous, s'il vous plaît, envoyer le papier chez l'enfant suivant votre procédure habituelle? L'enfant devrait rapporter le coupon-réponse qui se trouve à la deuxième page. Si vous avez le gentillesse de m'appeler (ou de demander à la secrétaire de l'école de le faire) quand vous aurez la réponse du parent, je m'empresserai de venir chercher le papier à l'école. C'est à ce moment-là que je pourrai passer à l'étape de l'enregistrement proprement dit. Je serai évidemment en communication avec vous quand viendra le temps de déterminer un bon moment pour celui-ci, dépendamment de votre horaire et de celui des autres classes.

A la fin de cette lettre vous trouverez la version française du formulaire de consentement. N'ayez pas peur, la version bengali a été rédigée par un "bengalophone" (pas moi!) et vérifiée plusieurs fois! La version française que vous voyez ici n'est que pour vos yeux et je n'ai pas pu la faire corriger par un professionnel. Je m'excuse des erreurs dont elle est sans doute remplie!

Je vous remercie encore de votre précieuse collaboration.

Sincèrement,

Mela Sarkar

Formulaire de consentement à un projet de recherche

Votre enfant, _____ a été choisi pour un projet de recherche qui étudie le développement de la langue française chez de jeunes enfants ayant pour langue maternelle le bengali. Ce projet est conduit à l'université Concordia par Mela Sarkar, M.A., chercheure en linguistique appliquée, sous la supervision de Dr P. Lightbown, Dr D. Poulin-Dubois et Dr F. Stevens. Le projet a été approuvé par le siège social de la commission scolaire, le directeur ou la directrice de l'école de votre enfant, et le professeur de votre enfant. Pour que votre enfant puisse participer au projet, nous avons aussi besoin de votre permission.

Si vous donnez votre permission, votre enfant participera à une session de jeu avec la chercheure et d'autres enfants une fois ou deux, avant la fin de l'année scolaire. Ces sessions seront d'une durée d'environ 45 minutes et seront enregistrées sur audio et vidéo. L'information sur ces enregistrements sera encodée de façon à ce que seule la chercheure pourra savoir l'identité de l'enfant. Les sessions de jeu auront lieu dans une salle à part que l'école fournira à la chercheure pour une période d'une journée. Votre enfant sera absent de la classe de maternelle pour une heure au maximum. Si votre enfant préfère ne pas participer et veut plutôt retourner en classe, la session arrêtera immédiatement. L'enfant ne subira aucune pression. Cependant, la session de jeu devrait être amusant pour les enfants. Le but de la session sera de voir si l'enfant fait du progrès en français parlé. La chercheure a déjà été présente dans la salle de classe pour une courte période pour observer les enfants. Votre enfant la connaît donc déjà un peu. Elle parle anglais, français et bengali.

Si vous donnez votre consentement à la participation de votre enfant au projet de recherche, la chercheure vous appellera plus tard pour arranger une entrevue où on parlera du développement linguistique de votre enfant en bengali. Cette entrevue aura lieu en bengali, au moment et au lieu qui vous conviendront. Les informations que vous donnez seront strictement confidentielles. Quand les résultats de recherche seront disponibles à la fin du projet, la chercheure se fera un plaisir d'en discuter avec vous.

S'il vous plaît, signez dans l'espace prévue ci-dessous et indiquez si vous donnez ou non votre permission à la participation au projet de recherche par votre enfant. Nous espérons que les résultats de cette recherche aideront le personnel de l'école à améliorer l'éducation linguistique des enfants ayant pour langue maternelle le bengali, ainsi que les enfants

venant de d'autres milieux linguistiques, dans les écoles québécoises. S'il vous plaît, retournez le coupon-réponse au professeur de votre enfant aussitôt que possible.

Nom du parent:

OUI, je permets que mon enfant soit enregistré sur vidéo pour le projet: _____

NON, je veux pas que mon enfant participe au projet: _____

Signature du parent: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX H
ENGLISH TEXT OF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR BANGLADESHI
PARENTS

Questionnaire for Bangladeshi parents (English rendering)

1. Birth

What is the child's place and date of birth?
Was there anything unusual about the pregnancy? Was the child born at the expected time? Was it a normal birth? or was it difficult?
Was the child breastfed? For how long?
2. Early childhood

Has the child had any serious health problems?
Does the child have a tendency to get ear infections?
When were the child's first intelligible words?
When did the child start producing short sentences of two or three words?
At the time, did you feel that the child was starting to talk at the usual time, or did you feel that it was unusually early or unusually late?
What kind of temperament does the child have? (shy? outgoing and friendly? naughty? obedient? inquisitive? inclined to temper? etc.)
3. Family

Father's occupation back in Bangladesh (if any) and level of education?
Mother's occupation back in Bangladesh (if any) and level of education?
How many brothers and sisters does the child have?
Please give their names and dates of birth.
For older siblings: How many years of school attended in Bangladesh?
How many years of school attended in Montreal?
Are there, or have there been in the past, any other children living with the family? (cousins, for example, in a joint family situation back home)
If so, how old were they and how many years of schooling had they had?
Who else (besides parents) now lives or has lived with the child? (for example, grandparents, aunts, or uncles, in a joint family situation back home) Did these family members spend much time with the child?
4. Language in the home

What languages are now spoken in the home? By whom?
What languages are usually used when talking with the child?
What languages does the child use? In what situations?
Has the language situation in the home changed at all in the last 5 years?

5. Immigration history

When did the family arrive in Canada? (If the father and mother arrived separately, when did they each arrive?)

Has the family lived anywhere else besides Bangladesh and Canada? Where? For how long?

6. Current L1 level and L1 literacy plans

Right now, do you think the child speaks Bengali the same way a child of that age back in Bangladesh would speak? If there are any differences—what kind of differences?

Are there plans to teach the child to read and write in Bengali?

Does the child like to listen to or to tell stories? What kind of stories?

APPENDIX I

**SAMPLE EXTRACTS FROM FRENCH-L2 TRANSCRIPTS:
A *MATERNELLE 4 ANS* SUBJECT—LABONI
A *MATERNELLE-ACCUEIL* SUBJECT—GOPAL
A *MATERNELLE 5 ANS* SUBJECT—NASIM**

@Begin

@Participants: LAB Laboni Target_Child, MEL Mela Investigator

@Age of LAB: 4;11.21

@Birth of LAB: 20-MAY-1993

@Sex of LAB: Female

@Filename: LAB.CHA

@Date: 11-MAY-1998

@Situation: setup 1 minute, EVIP 9 minutes, free play/causative elicitation 37 minutes

@Language: French

@Transcriber: Mela Sarkar

- *MEL: comment ça s'appelle <des> [/]
des choses qu'on met sur notre
main
comme ça?
- *MEL: c'est des +...
- *LAB: euh +...
- *MEL: des marionnettes.
- *MEL: oui.
- *LAB: marionnettes.
- *MEL: as tu appris le mot avec Lyne?
- %exp: Lyne est la professeure de pré-
maternelle de LAB
- *LAB: avec Lyne je vais dans la classe
je vais avec Lyne je fais comme
ça.
- %act: LAB démontre avec des
marionnettes sur les mains
- *MEL: oui tu fais comme ça avec les
marionnettes [>]?
- *LAB: xxx cacher après je fais comme
ça.
- *LAB: bonjour les amis!
- %act: LAB montre comment qu'on
fait un spectacle de marionnettes
- *MEL: oui c'est ça.
- *MEL: qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des
marionnettes [>]?
- *LAB: c'est c'est [<] +...
- *MEL: c'est fait pour +...
- *LAB: pour manger.
- *MEL: qu'est-ce qu'on +...
- *MEL: les marionnettes?
- *LAB: oui.
- *MEL: quand on fait ça avec des
marionnettes +...
- *MEL: ça parle.
- *MEL: ça parle à Laboni.
- %int: voix grave
- *MEL: ça parle aux amis.
- *MEL: bonjour.
- *MEL: bonjour.
- *MEL: on les fait +...
- *LAB: euh +...
- *LAB: je veux pas faire ça.
- *MEL: tu veux pas faire ça?
- *LAB: non.
- *MEL: mais c'est vrai qu'on peut les
faire manger.
- *MEL: on peut les faire parler.

*MEL: on peut faire tout plein de choses avec des marionnettes.

*MEL: attends.

*MEL: si tu veux les faire manger +...

*MEL: oui tu veux voir je sais +...

*MEL: attends.

*MEL: ça c'est pour des marionnettes +...

*MEL: +, qui veulent manger.

*LAB: moi je vais [?] mon maison fait ça.

*MEL: tu fais ça à la maison?

*LAB: oui.

*LAB: pour jouer pour manger +...

*LAB: +, comme ça.

*LAB: hey!

*LAB: je fais xxx pas comme ca.

*MEL: non tu peux pas l'enlever.

*MEL: il s'enlève pas.

*LAB: xxx.

%exp: bruit des jouets qui tombent sur la table trop fort

*MEL: ça aussi c'est pour euh +...

*LAB: manger.

*MEL: pour manger.

*LAB: ah!

*LAB: c'est quoi?

*MEL: qu'est-ce que tu penses qu'il y a à l'intérieur?

*LAB: un macdonasse.

*MEL: oui c'est une boîte macdonald +...

*MEL: <qu'estcequ'on> [/]
qu'estcequ'on trouve dans des boîtes comme ça?

*LAB: une assiette.

*MEL: beaucoup d'assiettes +...

*LAB: bonjour!

*LAB: xxx [>]!

*MEL: et ça c'est une boîte à [<] +...

*LAB: à macdonasse.

*MEL: <à mac> [/] à hamburger.

*MEL: c'est un hamburger ça [>].

*LAB: hamburg [?] [<].

*MEL: oui.

*MEL: savais tu ça?

*MEL: ça s'appelle un hamburger?

*LAB: moi je +...

*MEL: qu'est-ce que tu manges?

*LAB: je mange +...

*MEL: regarde t'as beaucoup de choses ici.

*MEL: tu peux choisir ce que tu veux pour manger.

*MEL: sais tu comment ça s'appelle en français?

*MEL: c'est quoi ça?

*LAB: mmm +...

*LAB: de kangaroo?

*MEL: un kangaroo?

%com: les deux utilisent la prononciation anglaise de ce mot

*LAB: je sais pas [>].

*MEL: t'aimes beaucoup ça les kangaroos [<]!

@Begin

@Participants: GOP Gopal Target_Child, MEL Mela Investigator

@Age of GOP: 6;4.0

@Birth of GOP: 1-JAN-1992

@Sex of GOP: Male

@Filename: GOP/EVIP.CHA

@Date: 6-MAY-1998

@Situation: setup 3 minutes, EVIP 16 minutes, free play/causative elicitation 27 minutes

@Language: French

@Transcriber: Anie Desautels

*MEL: pis là regarde bien et mets ton doigt sur mesurer.
*GOP: mesurer.
*MEL: ok c'est beau.
*MEL: pis là regarde bien et mets ton doigt sur enveloppe.
*GOP: enveloppe.
*MEL: oui.
*MEL: xxx mets ton doigt sur hélicoptère.
*GOP: héli # coptère.
*MEL: c'est ça!
*GOP: elle est là, elle est là.
%act: GOP montre plusieurs images du test.
*MEL: mais ça ce n'est pas un hélicoptère.
*GOP: c'est fait comme ça pchou@o [=! bruit d'avion].
*MEL: ça c'est un avion.
*GOP: un avion comme ça.
%act: GOP étend le bras comme l'aile d'un avion.

*MEL: oui un hélicoptère ça pas d'ailes.
*GOP: comme ça.
%act: GOP fait le mouvement d'une hélice d'hélicoptère.
*MEL: ça juste un +...
*MEL: comment ça s'appelle déjà, un affaire qui tourne comme ça.
%act: MEL fait le mouvement d'une hélice d'hélicoptère.
*GOP: hélice [>]!
*MEL: aileron je crois [<].
%exp: c'est un mot que GOP connaît et que MEL ne connaît pas!
*MEL: okay là, regarde bien et mets ton doigt sur pneu.
*GOP: pneu comme ça.
%act: GOP fait semblant de frapper avec un marteau.
*MEL: pneu.
*GOP: pneu.
*MEL: okay.
*GOP: avec il couper c'est ça.

@Begin

@Participants: NAS Nasim Target_Child, MEL Mela Investigator

@Age of NAS: 6;5.21

@Birth of NAS: 14-APR-1992

@Sex of NAS: Male

@Filename: NAS.CHA

@Date: 25-MAY-1998

@Situation: setup 2 minutes, EVIP 11 minutes, free play/causative elicitation 34 minutes

@Language: French

@Transcriber: Mela Sarkar

*MEL: c'est quoi ça, Nasim, <quand> [/] quand je fais ça?
*MEL: peux tu faire sauter la grenouille verte.
*MEL: qu'est-ce que je fais? *MEL: dans le petit pot.
*NAS: ça saute. *MEL: c'est beau.
*MEL: ça saute. *MEL: mais tu l'as perdue.
*MEL: mais moi qu'est-ce que je fais? *MEL: c'est moi qui l'as.
*NAS: ça pousse ça après ça saute. *MEL: okay.
*MEL: attends on va faire un autre jeu *MEL: là c'est toi qui me poses une question.
que je vais te montrer ici encore plus difficile. *NAS: tu sautes la grenouille rouge?
*MEL: je vais te donner quatre couleurs *MEL: oui.
de grenouilles +... *MEL: hey!
*MEL: je vais me donner quatre *MEL: okay j'ai un autre tour.
couleurs aussi +... *MEL: pose moi une autre question.
*MEL: et puis ceux-là on a pas besoin *NAS: tu <sautes> [//] sauter la grenouille verte.
+... *MEL: verte?
*MEL: okay. *MEL: laquelle?
*MEL: d'abord c'est à mon tour et moi *MEL: celle-là?
ce que je fais <je te dem> [//] *MEL: oh okay.
<je te> [/] je te pose une question. *MEL: <c'est toi qui l'as gagné> [//]
c'est toi qui l'as.
*MEL: okay? *MEL: okay.
*MEL: et puis après toi tu me poses une *MEL: peux tu faire sauter <la> [/] la grenouille bleue.

*MEL: wa.
 *MEL: peux tu faire sauter la grenouille rouge.
 *MEL: c'est très bon mais je l'ai gagné celui là.
 *MEL: okay.
 *MEL: à ton tour.
 *MEL: à me demander.
 *NAS: tu sautes la grenouille jaune.
 *MEL: hey okay.
 *MEL: à mon tour xxx.
 *NAS: veux tu saute la grenouille bleue.
 *MEL: oh c'est toi qui l'as gagné.
 %int: en riant
 *MEL: oh attends attends il faut que je pose xxx.
 *MEL: peux tu sauter la grenouille jaune.
 *MEL: <peux tu sauter la> [/] peux tu faire sauter la grenouille verte.
 *MEL: c'est moi qui l'a gagné [>].
 *NAS: peux tu saute la grenouille rouge [<].
 *MEL: okay peux tu faire sauter la grenouille bleue.
 *MEL: ah c'est moi qui l'as okay.
 *NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille vert.
 *MEL: tiens xxx.
 *MEL: hey okay encore moi.
 *NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille bleue.
 *MEL: ah c'est toi qui l'as.
 *MEL: okay peux tu faire sauter la grenouille rouge.
 *MEL: okay moi.

*NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille vert.
 *MEL: encore moi.
 *NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille rouge.
 *MEL: peux tu faire sauter la grenouille rouge.
 *MEL: O [=! rit].
 *MEL: je pense c'est moi qui a gagné.
 *MEL: parceque j'ai plus de grenouilles.
 *MEL: c'est beau!
 *MEL: tu l'as presque eu.
 *MEL: veux tu jouer une autre fois?
 *NAS: hein?
 *MEL: <c'est moi> [/] c'est moi qui a gagné parcequ'il me reste plus de grenouilles.
 *MEL: <celui> [/] celui qui gagne c'est celui qui a plus de grenouilles <à la fin> [/] <à la> [/] à la fin du jeu.
 *MEL: attends.
 *MEL: da da da da +...
 %int: en chantonnant pendant qu'elle arrange les grenouilles pour la deuxième partie
 *MEL: okay.
 *MEL: non c'est pas ça.
 *MEL: okay.
 *MEL: cette fois c'est toi qui commences.
 *MEL: non non.
 *MEL: pose moi la question.
 *NAS: peux tu saute la grenouille bleue.

*MEL: <peux tu faire sau> [//] non non
+...

*MEL: j'ai pas un autre tour.

*MEL: <c'est toi> [//] c'est à ton tour.

*MEL: peux tu faire sauter <la> [//] les
deux grenouilles bleues en
même
temps.

*MEL: hey!

*MEL: c'est beau!

*MEL: même +...

*MEL: okay tu l'as perdu celui là mais
t'as un autre tour parceque
<t'as> [/] t'as rentré une
grenouille.

*MEL: peux tu faire sauter la grenouille
verte.

*MEL: presque!

*MEL: okay mais c'est moi qui l'as
gagné.

*MEL: okay.

*MEL: à mon tour.

*NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille
bleue?

*MEL: hey!

*MEL: okay encore moi.

*NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille vert?

*MEL: celle là ou celle là?

*NAS: celle là.

*MEL: hey!

*MEL: okay encore xxx.

*NAS: peux tu saute la grenouille
rouge.

*MEL: O [=! rit].

*MEL: oh m'excuse!

*MEL: okay encore.

*NAS: peux tu sauter la grenouille
jaune?

*MEL: oups.

*MEL: c'est toi qui l'as.

*MEL: okay.

*MEL: peux tu faire sauter les deux
grenouilles jaunes en même
temps.

*MEL: tu me les as donnés exprès.

*MEL: t'as fait ca exprès.

*MEL: okay.

*NAS: <tu peux> [/] tu peux sauter la
grenouille vert?

*NAS: <tu peux> [//] veux tu veux
sauter c'est la grenouille jaune?

*MEL: celle là?

*NAS: oui.

APPENDIX J
INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE FRENCH-L2
DATA

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle 4 ans (8-9 months' exposure, half-days with trained teacher)			
LAB	1-11	§ je veux jouer docteur § je veux pas faire ça § je veux jouer euh toujou § quatre après je vais cinq (<i>in answer to "t'as quel âge?"</i>) § après je vais cinq § je veux manger mon maison (<i>for "j'aime manger ça à ma maison"?</i>) § moi je veux manger ça § moi je veux pas mange ça § je veux manger, je veux manger céréales (<i>imitating the way she speaks to her mother</i>) § shooji, je veux manger shooji	
KHU	1-11		
DRA	1-11		§ manger (<i>in response to my "qu'est-ce que tu fais pour ton bébé?"</i>)
SHU	2-0	§ ça va manger	
ABB	2-0	§ lui le manger lui (<i>in response to "qui qu'il va manger?"</i>) § il va manger § lui va manger § c'est moi qui va faire	§ pour manger (<i>in response to "c'est pour faire quoi ça [des marionnetes]?"</i>) § le manger, lui le manger (<i>in response to "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec ton crocodile?"</i>) § lui le manger (2 times; <i>ambiguous</i>)

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle 4 ans (8-9 months' exposure, half-days with trained teacher)			
MUS	2-2	<p>§ il veut tomber?</p> <p>§ il veut gagner ça, okay?</p> <p>§ qui veut gagner ici?</p> <p>§ qui veut gagner?</p> <p>§ il veut frapper l'autre</p> <p>§ moi c'est 'pourquoi tu veux frapper moi?' (<i>making one toy talk to another</i>)</p> <p>§ il peut manger lui</p> <p>§ ah! ah! il veut manger +/.</p> <p>§ oh, il veut pas manger le souris</p> <p>§ il veut pas marcher, hein? (<i>of broken wind-up toy</i>)</p> <p>§ ah puis il fait comme ça puis il veut marcher</p> <p>§ il veut marcher</p> <p>§ il veut marcher, lui</p> <p>§ il veut manger le xxx</p> <p>§ il veut marche +/.</p> <p>§ il veut marcher</p> <p>§ il veut monter avec le cheval it veut tout l'amis frapper</p> <p>§ 'pourquoi tu veux manger?' (<i>making one toy talk to another</i>)</p> <p>§ on veut les faire dedans [?]</p> <p>§ pourquoi tu peux tourner tout tout suite?</p> <p>NB: he seems to use VEUT + INF for VA + INF.</p>	<p>§ où fa elle marcher fait comme ça, lui à marcher? (<i>trying to figure out how a wind-up toy works</i>)</p> <p>§ regarde, un c'est pour tourner (<i>of tops</i>)</p> <p>§ tuah patte ah grenouille jaune (<i>attempting to imitate "fais sauter la grenouille jaune"</i>)</p> <p>§ pa tauter grenouille bleue (<i>attempting to imitate "fais sauter la grenouille bleue"</i>)</p> <p>§ fais grenouille bleue (<i>for "fais sauter la grenouille bleue"</i>)</p>
SHA	2-3		

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle 4 ans (8-9 months' exposure, half-days with trained teacher)			
ROK	2-8	§ il fait reste là (2 times; for "il veut rester là"?)	<p>§ manger! (in response to "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire au mouton avec ton crocodile?")</p> <p>§ manger (in response to "qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec ces bébés qui ont faim?")</p> <p>§ manger elle la frites, hot dog et le poulet (in response to montre-moi ce que tu vas faire avec ton bébé puis la bouffe")</p> <p>§ rouler (in response to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec ça?" [des toupies])</p> <p>§ a fais rouler (in response to "qu'est-ce que tu vas faire avec ca")</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle-accueil (8-9 months' exposure, full days with FSL-trained teacher)			
MOB	2-0	§ il va parler § après il va parle avec celui § il va parler comme ça! § il va dire manger § il va manger à moi § il veut mange à toi! § il va pas manger § après il va briser § il va parler, après il va dire trois- quatre-go § il va faire ci § il va gagner, ça § il a parle (for "il va parler?") § il va donner § oui il va manger comme ça § après il va manger § après je le prends il va mourir § parce qu'il va marcher (in response to "à quoi ça sert, le p'tit piton?") § je veux aller avec Linda (his teacher; I returned him to the classroom)	§ les courir (in response to "qu'est- ce que tu fais avec tes voitures de course?")
OST	2-3		§ fais tourner jaune (immediately prior modelling) § tourne le grand rouge § tourne les verte § tourne les orange (no immediately prior modelling for these three) § é sauter bleu (immediately prior modelling) § sauter rouger § tu peux sauter les vert § tu sauter # jaune

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle-accueil (8-9 months' exposure, full days with FSL-trained teacher)			
SAL	2-5	<p>§ j'aime jouer les animaux § est-ce que tu veux donner un, Mela? (<i>he wants one of my tops</i>) § oh c'est toi qui va gagner § oh je vas pas gagner § attends je veux voir § je veux les voir, les l'autos. moi § et après je vais répéter à papa je veux +/- § on va mettre ici (<i>2 times</i>) § non je veux pas jouer ça § je veux jouer (<i>2 times</i>) § est-ce que je peux amener ça à ma maison? § ooh je vas voir § je vas la faire § oh je veux jouer ça! § non je veux mettre ca ici § on va voir § tu vas voir § qu'est-ce que je vas faire?</p>	<p>§ j'suis capable marche bien, hein? (<i>for "faire bien marcher"</i>) § je vas sauter là-dedans (<i>I have just asked him two questions about whose turn it is to make frogs jump, with 2 instances of "faire sauter"</i>)</p>
SIK	2-6		<p>§ elle fait les comme ça fait les sauter (<i>of puppet; no modelling</i>) § elle est # en arrière § elle est avancer (<i>these 2 of remote-controlled car; in response to "qu'est-ce que la madame a fait à l'auto?"</i>)</p>
GOP	2-9	<p>§ va tomber! § va le mettre § va pas tomber § on va aller, ça aussi § on va toucher ça § on va mettre ça comme ça § va rouler (<i>of a top</i>)</p>	

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
OMA	2-9	<p>§ il va en reculer (<i>about car, when I press button</i>)</p>	<p>§ saute (<i>I have made a frog jump and asked him, "c'est quoi que je fais?"</i>)</p> <p>§ qu'il a fait tomber (<i>2 times; rhinoceros knocked down sheep; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait, le rhinocéros?"</i>)</p> <p>§ courir (<i>similar scenario but sheep ran away; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait au mouton?"</i>)</p> <p>§ fait tomber (<i>elephant says to rhinoceros, "moi je vais faire ça" and knocks him down; I ask, "qu'est-ce que l'éléphant a fait?"</i>)</p> <p>§ tomber (<i>similar; I ask "qu'est-ce que l'éléphant a fait au rhinocéros?"</i>)</p> <p>§ pour rouler (<i>I show button on wind-up toy and ask "à quoi ça sert? c'est pour faire quoi?"</i>)</p> <p>§ rouler (<i>another identical scenario</i>)</p> <p>§ il l' a fait rouler (<i>I make bonhomme "wind up" ladybug, then ask "through" puppet, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait?"</i>)</p> <p>§ tomber (<i>I made one monkey knock down another, then asked "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait, ce petit singe-là?"</i>)</p> <p>§ on roule comme ça (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des toupies?"</i>)</p> <p>§ roule (<i>I turn a top and ask, "c'est quoi faire ça?"</i>)</p> <p>§ tu le roules (<i>remote-controlled car; I corrected, said "c'est pas moi qui conduis—là je le fais ..."</i>)</p> <p>§ vient en arrière l'auto t'as fait</p> <p>§ t'as fait en arrière aller l'auto (<i>these two when I made car go backward and asked "qu'est-ce que j'ai fait?"</i>)</p> <p>§ on fait piquer (<i>another little button; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec ça?"</i>)</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
BEL	3-0	<p>§ on va faire cacher (<i>context is NOT causative; for "on va jouer à cache-cache?"</i>)</p> <p>§ je veux faire encore cacher (<i>context is NOT causative; for "on va jouer à cache-cache?"</i>)</p> <p>§ je veux faire jouer ça une autre fois (<i>context is NOT causative; she seems to mean "je veux faire ce jeu-là une autre fois"</i>)</p> <p>§ tu peux à l'envers pour toi ça (<i>for "tu peux l'enlever"</i>)</p> <p>§ on peut manger</p> <p>§ on va donner ici à ici à ici à ici</p> <p>§ on peut jouer</p> <p>§ est-ce que je peux mettre dans mon poche parce que peut-être on va oublier ici</p> <p>§ et ça aussi elle peut mettre ici?</p> <p>§ attends je vais montrer à toi</p> <p>§ elle, elle peut faire ça</p> <p>§ après, après, xxx ami qui veut aller après</p> <p>§ toute la famille veut jouer</p> <p>§ peut-être tu veux jouer avec les toupies</p> <p>§ peut-être elle qui veut aider pour faire les toupies</p> <p>§ peut-être il veut aller</p> <p>§ toi tu veux voir</p> <p>§ toi aussi, Kobi, tu veux voir?</p> <p>§ il veut montrer comment on fait les toupies</p> <p>§ maman je veux pas voir ça je veux voir</p> <p>§ oui je veux voir</p> <p>§ je veux aller quelques minutes</p> <p>§ non non tu vas juste rester avec moi</p> <p>§ parce que après je vais dire ooh! ooh! où es-tu?</p> <p>§ je ne sais pas, vas dire après</p> <p>§ il peut aider les enfants</p>	<p>§ on peut dire avec la main (2 times: <i>when she sees the marionnettes; for "on peut faire parler"</i>)</p> <p>§ moi aussi je fais à manger (<i>I have been modelling "faire manger les bébés"</i>)</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
		<p>§ qui veut dire allô?</p> <p>§ il veut se calme et tout</p> <p>§ veut voir un grand grand grand des marionnettes</p> <p>§ mais on va faire un petit marionnette</p> <p>§ oui on va mettre ça</p> <p>§ elle peut pas range ça (2 times)</p> <p>§ et ça, tout ça, on va ranger</p> <p>§ attends je veux montrer toi quelque chose</p> <p>§ je vais mettre ici</p> <p>§ quand je vais balayer dans la classe, je vais aller xxx</p> <p>§ quand je vais aller avec tous les amis, avec Marielle à Biodôme (context calls for past tense)</p> <p>§ je vais voir des chauvesouris (context calls for past tense)</p> <p>§ quand je vais aller +...</p> <p>§ quand je vais aller dans la classe, tu vas rester dans la classe?</p> <p>§ quand tu veux venir après tu vas aller avec les amis de Monique et je vais aller à la +...</p> <p>§ je veux revenir en classe</p> <p>§ comme les serpents mais ça veut dire +...</p> <p>§ on peut toucher</p> <p>§ je vais rester dans la Bangladesh (context calls for past tense)</p> <p>§ avec un avion je vais partir ici (context calls for past tense)</p> <p>§ je veux faire ça</p> <p>§ veux le montrer à toi</p> <p>§ j'aime cacher</p> <p>§ j'aime faire le cuisiner</p> <p>§ oui je veux pas faire ça</p> <p>§ on peut faire ici</p>	

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
		<p>§ on peut ouvrir ça § on peut donne des bébés ici § elle peut mange ça § on peut pas mettre ici § elle va mange § tu peux manger maintenant § et tu peux faire ça aussi § tu peux brasser le thé (<i>I have just said "on peut brasser le thé avec ça"</i>) § et tu veux # coupe avec ça § je vais donne à bébé § et toi tu peux donner ça à bébé § tu veux faire euh +... § quand elle est fini tu peux donner un autre xxx ici § il peut mange le boeuf § grand parce que je pense bébé veut pas mange beaucoup § est-ce que je peux le nomme § on va aller on va serre tout on va ranger § la première va ranger § je t'aide à le faire ici</p>	

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
NAZ	3-2	§ oh je veux te viens pour manger § je veux faire ça § je vais mettre ici xxx comme ça § je vais mettre ici § je veux mettre aussi § qu'est-ce que tu veux manger? § tu veux manger le hotdog § elle va manger le tout ça § mais pas tout ça je le veux manger le patate § elle veut les manger § on va tourner	§ <elle fait elle ça elle elle met de tasse de euh> [//] elle met de l'eau dans la tasse puis <euh euh elle de > [//] elle <donne pour> [/] donne pour son bébé <puis elle les xxx> [//] puis son bébé <c'est est> [//] boit § je tourne puis elle marcher (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert?" prompt</i>)

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
Maternelle 5 ans (8-9 months full days with trained teacher this year; 10 months half-days in previous year at Maternelle 4 ans)			
MUM	2-2	<p>§ je vais aller quand c'est l'été</p> <p>§ mais quand on va aller avec Marie-Hélène elle sait où il est (<i>Biodôme</i>)</p> <p>§ quand on va aller avec maman et papa, papa il sait pas</p> <p>§ elle dit je veux voir le biodôme je veux voir le biodôme</p> <p>§ tu vas voir</p> <p>§ il faut que je veux pas aller dans le biodôme, il faut que elle mon maman va aller dans la biodôme</p> <p>§ moi je pense que ici va mort</p> <p>§ peut-être il va mort</p> <p>§ quand je vais aller à Toronto, je ne sais pas si je vais aller autobus</p> <p>§ on va aller encore à biodôme</p> <p>§ quand on va aller à biodôme c'est ici l'olympique, ici la biodôme</p>	<p>§ pis je mange [//] je fais manger (<i>talking about how she feeds her Barbies at home</i>)</p> <p>§ quand on va tourner il marche comme ça (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le p'tit piton?"</i>)</p> <p>§ quand on va tourner il le glisse pis comme ça</p>
FAR	2-3	<p>§ bientôt il va aller ce pays-là (<i>talking about a cousin who is coming to visit from Bangladesh</i>)</p> <p>§ est-ce que toi tu veux viens premier? (<i>I asked "es-tu capable de faire tourner les toupies?"; she isn't, and wants me to go first</i>)</p> <p>§ je vais faire quelque chose</p>	<p>§ on fait marche (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec ce singe-là?"; I have modelled "on le fait marcher" recently</i>)</p> <p>§ ça tourne (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le p'tit piton?"; I say "pis ensuite?"; she says, "ça marche"</i>)</p> <p>§ je vole (<i>she is making butterfly fly; I ask, "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec ton papillon?"</i>)</p> <p>§ saute (<i>she made frogs jump; I asked, "quand tu fais ça, qu'est-ce que tu fais à la grenouille?"</i>)</p> <p>§ pour rouler (<i>in answer to "c'est pour faire quoi, les toupies?"</i>)</p>
IST	2-3	<p>§ ça ça peut être méchant</p> <p>§ va chercher de l'eau glou@o</p> <p>§ vas voir</p>	

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
ANJ	2-5	<p>§ il veut manger</p> <p>§ il peut manger fromage</p> <p>§ il peut manger zoeufs</p> <p>§ on va manger ça, on va manger ketchup</p> <p>§ nous on va dire mon petit bébé Hafid (<i>talking about her baby brother</i>)</p> <p>§ attends je veux voir (2 times)</p> <p>§ comme ça vont manger</p> <p>§ mais mon bébé il peut grandi aussi (<i>talking about her baby brother</i>)</p> <p>§ maman maman je veux aller à la toilette! (<i>imitating herself at a younger age</i>)</p> <p>§ non avec comme ça va faire +...</p> <p>§ ça veut dire couleur rose</p> <p>§ après on peut relaxer</p> <p>§ il veut manger hamburger, il peut manger les oeufs</p>	<p>§ on mette main dedans, après on fait parle!</p> <p>§ il fait [//] le monkey le l'est fait tou comme ça tou comme ça après stop (<i>the mouse made the monkey turn around by pushing against it; I asked, "qu'est-ce qu'il a fait, la petite souris?"</i>)</p> <p>§ qu'est-ce qui il fait il est tour comme ça tour comme ça tour? (<i>for "qu'est-ce qui l'a fait tourner comme ça?"</i>)</p> <p>§ comment tu fais comme ça la faisait faire une couleur? (<i>for "comment tu faisais pour la faire faire une couleur?"</i>)</p> <p>§ on &saute [//] grenouille il saute (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec les grenouilles?"</i>)</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
NUR	2-5	<p>§ mon frère toujours il veut manger la céréales</p>	<p>§ on bouge, je bouge la bouche (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des marionnettes?"</i>)</p> <p>§ mon maman il le fait de manger (<i>I have asked about her baby brother: "est-ce qu'il mange comme ça, tout seul, ou est-ce que c'est ta maman qui le fait manger?"</i>)</p> <p>§ pour bouger (<i>in answer to "c'est pour faire quoi le p'tit piton?"</i>)</p> <p>§ pour bouger (<i>in answer to "c'est pour faire quoi?", speaking of push dance monkey</i>)</p> <p>§ ça bouge son tête (<i>monkey; she is able to make just its head move</i>)</p> <p>§ je bouge (<i>she is making cat dance; I ask, "qu'est-ce que tu fais au chat?"</i>)</p> <p>§ pour rouler (<i>I just said, "les toupies c'est pour faire ..."</i>)</p> <p>REST OF UTTERANCES TO END ARE ALL DURING "TOP GAME", AND THEN "FROG GAME" AFTER I HAVE ASKED HER TO SAY "FAIS TOURNER LA JAUNE")</p> <p>§ fais tourner la jaune</p> <p>§ fais tourner la rose</p> <p>§ fais tourner la rouge</p> <p>§ fais tourner l'orange</p> <p>§ fais tourner la mauve</p> <p>§ fais tourner la autre rose [//] la rouge</p> <p>§ fais tourner la vert</p> <p>§ fais tourner l'orange</p> <p>"FROG GAME"</p> <p>§ prends la bleue (<i>after I asked,</i></p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
			<p><i>“est-ce que tu peux poser toute la question?”)</i></p> <p>§ prends la rouge</p> <p>§ fais la jaune</p> <p>§ fais sauter le rouge</p> <p>§ prends la vert</p> <p>§ prends la bleue</p> <p>§ prends la vert</p> <p><i>more in the same vein; in between all her turns I am modelling, “fais sauter” on MY turns)</i></p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
SAN	2-5	<p>§ non je sais # faire ça</p> <p>§ ça veut dire stop light</p> <p>§ ça c'est pour dire on peut pas aller là</p> <p>§ ça ca veut dire on pas aller là</p> <p>§ quand on va y aller là, quand on va gagner dit, 'lui est gagné lui est gagné'</p> <p>§ on peut pas aller là</p> <p>§ quand tu mets, les voitures, veut aller là</p> <p>§ quand le camion va venir, c'est lui c'est va venir</p> <p>§ on peut met ça</p> <p>§ ça c'est cadeau, va donner à quelqu'un (<i>of racing trophy</i>)</p> <p>§ peut pas le voir xxx</p> <p>§ je sais faire</p> <p>§ il va voir là, les animaux</p> <p>§ ça ça veut dire [//] ça c'est pour Macdonald's mettre</p> <p>§ non je sais faire</p> <p>§ Nurjehan elle va voir jouets? (<i>I have said we have to get toys ready for the next child, a classmate</i>)</p> <p>§ parce que je veux aller à classe d anglais</p> <p>§ elle va aller lundi</p>	<p>§ quand je fais ça il marche (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le p'tit piston?"</i>)</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
NAS	3-7	<p>§ et si quelqu'un gagne il peut voir ça (<i>of racing trophy</i>)</p> <p>§ moi je veux prendre bleues grenouilles</p> <p>§ il peut bouger son corps</p> <p>§ va voir xxx on fait xxx</p>	<p>§ on xxx la main et on faite parle avec la marionnette (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des marionnettes?"</i>)</p> <p>§ ça pousse après ça saute (<i>I asked. "qu'est-ce que je fais?" when I made frog jump</i>)</p> <p>"FROG GAME": <i>I have modelled</i></p> <p>§ tu sautes la grenouille rouge?</p> <p>§ tu sautes [//] sauter la grenouille verte</p> <p>§ tu sautes la grenouille jaune</p> <p>§ veux-tu saute la grenouille bleue</p> <p>§ peux-tu saute la grenouille rouge</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille vert</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille bleue</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille vert</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille rouge</p> <p>§ peux-tu saute la grenouille bleue</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille bleue?</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille vert?</p> <p>§ peux-tu saute la grenouille rouge</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille jaune?</p> <p>§ tu peux sauter la grenouille vert?</p> <p>tu peux [//] veux tu veux sauter c'est la grenouille jaune?</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter la grenouille jaune?</p> <p>§ ça tourne, après ça [//] il marche (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le petit piton?"</i>)</p>

Appendix J: Infinitival complement constructions, French L2 data

Pseud.	EVIP	Single-agent complements	Causative attempts
ATI	5-6	<p>§ là il va faire le spectacle</p> <p>§ moi je veux essayer</p>	<p>§ manger (<i>I asked, "qu'est-ce que tu fais avec eux [bébés]?" AS she is feeding them; she is obviously perplexed; when I ask "tu les manges?", she says "non!"</i>)</p> <p>§ on tourne +... +, après il va (<i>I took out wind-up mouse and asked "qu'est-ce que tu penses qu'on fait avec la petit souris?"</i>)</p> <p>§ de marcher (<i>in answer to "tu vois le petit piton ici? à quoi ça sert? c'est pour faire quoi, ça?"</i>)</p> <p>§ c'est pour faire marcher (<i>in answer to "à quoi ça sert, le petit piton ici?"</i>)</p> <p>§ on tourne (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on fait avec des toupies?"</i>)</p> <p>"TOP GAME": <i>I have been modelling "peux-tu faire tourner la toupie X?"</i>)</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie orange</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie rouge</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie rose</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie jaune</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie orange</p> <p>§ tu peux tourner la toupie vert</p> <p>§ on saute (<i>in answer to "qu'est-ce qu'on va faire avec eux [les grenouilles]?"</i>)</p> <p>§ est-ce que tu peux sauter la grenouille jaune</p> <p>§ peux-tu le sauter le grenouille bleue</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter le deux grenouilles rouges</p> <p>§ est-ce que tu peux sauter la grenouille vert</p> <p>§ peux-tu sauter le grenouille jaune</p>