

# Table of contents

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/lald.51.toc>

Pages v–xiii of

**The Acquisition of French: The development of inflectional morphology and syntax in L1 acquisition, bilingualism, and L2 acquisition**

**Philippe Prévost**

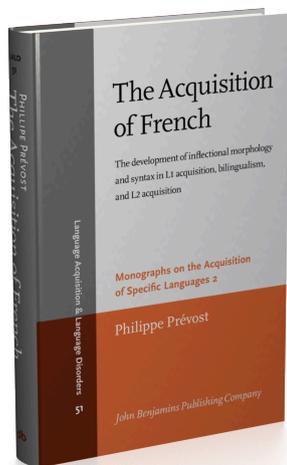
[*Language Acquisition and Language Disorders*, 51]

2009. xx, 458 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: [www.copyright.com](http://www.copyright.com)).

For further information, please contact [rights@benjamins.nl](mailto:rights@benjamins.nl) or consult our website at [benjamins.com/rights](http://benjamins.com/rights)



# Table of contents

Preface	XV
Abbreviations	XIX
Introduction	1
<b>PART I. The verbal domain</b>	
CHAPTER 1	
<b>The verbal domain: Syntactic assumptions</b>	<b>17</b>
1.1 Verbal morphology	17
1.2 Verb placement	20
1.3 Questions for acquisition	24
CHAPTER 2	
<b>The verbal domain in child L1 French</b>	<b>27</b>
2.1 Inflectional morphology in child L1 French	27
2.1.1 The first finite verbs in child L1 French	27
2.1.2 Root infinitives in child L1 French	30
2.1.3 Development of tense in child L1 French	33
2.1.4 Development of regular vs. irregular morphology in child L1 French	34
2.2 Functional categories in child L1 French	35
2.2.1 Underspecification of Tense values	38
2.2.2 Underspecification of Agreement	39
2.2.3 Underspecification of Number	41
2.2.4 The Unique Checking Constraint (UCC)	42
2.2.5 Truncation	43
2.2.6 Computational limitations	44
2.3 Knowledge of verb movement in child L1 French	46
2.3.1 Development of verb placement with respect to negation in child L1 French	46
2.3.2 Postverbal subjects in child L1 French	50
2.4 Conclusion	53

## CHAPTER 3

**The verbal domain in French bilingual acquisition  
and in children with SLI learning French**

55

- 3.1 The verbal domain in French bilingual acquisition 55
  - 3.1.1 Inflectional morphology in French bilingual acquisition 55
    - 3.1.1.1 Development of finite morphology in French  
bilingual acquisition 55
    - 3.1.1.2 Root infinitives in French bilingual acquisition 58
    - 3.1.1.3 Knowledge of tense and agreement in French  
bilingual acquisition 59
  - 3.1.2 The acquisition of verb movement by French bilinguals 62
  - 3.1.3 Conclusion 63
- 3.2 The verbal domain in acquisition of French by children with SLI 65
  - 3.2.1 Development of inflectional morphology  
in children with SLI learning French 65
    - 3.2.1.1 Development of finite inflection in children  
with SLI learning French 65
    - 3.2.1.2 Root infinitives in acquisition of French  
by children with SLI 72
  - 3.2.2 Grammatical knowledge of French in children with SLI 73
  - 3.2.3 Conclusion 76

## CHAPTER 4

**The verbal domain in French L2 acquisition**

77

- 4.1 The verbal domain in child L2 acquisition of French 77
  - 4.1.1 Inflectional morphology in child L2 French 77
    - 4.1.1.1 Development of finite inflection  
in child L2 French 77
    - 4.1.1.2 Root infinitives in child L2 French 80
    - 4.1.1.3 Finite forms in nonfinite positions  
in child L2 French 81
  - 4.1.2 Development of verb placement in child L2 French 82
  - 4.1.3 The content of child interlanguage  
grammars of French 84
- 4.2 The verbal domain in adult L2 acquisition of French 85
  - 4.2.1 Inflectional morphology in adult L2 French 86
    - 4.2.1.1 Development of finite inflection in adult L2 French 86
    - 4.2.1.2 Root infinitives in adult L2 French 89
    - 4.2.1.3 Incidence of finite forms in nonfinite positions  
in adult L2 French 92
    - 4.2.1.4 Theoretical analyses 94

4.2.2	Acquisition of verb placement by adult L2 learners of French	100
4.2.2.1	Production data	100
4.2.2.2	Experimental data	101
4.2.2.3	Theoretical accounts	107
4.2.2.4	Methodological considerations	110
4.3	Conclusion	111

## PART II. Subject and object pronouns

### CHAPTER 5

#### Subject and object pronouns: Morphosyntactic background 115

5.1	French pronouns: Types and formal representations	115
5.1.1	French pronouns and their distributional properties	115
5.1.2	Formal accounts of pronouns	119
5.1.2.1	The cliticization approach	120
5.1.2.2	The affix approach	121
5.1.2.3	Alternative accounts	124
5.2	Binding properties of French pronouns	125
5.3	Questions for acquisition	128

### CHAPTER 6

#### Subject and object pronouns in child L1 French 131

6.1	Overt pronouns in child L1 French	131
6.1.1	Development of subject clitics in child L1 French	131
6.1.1.1	General development of subject clitics in child L1 French	131
6.1.1.2	Detailed development of subject clitics in child L1 French	135
6.1.1.3	Distribution of clitic subjects in child L1 French	136
6.1.2	Development of accusative clitics in child L1 French	140
6.1.3	Development of reflexive clitics in child L1 French	143
6.1.4	Production vs. comprehension	145
6.1.5	Theoretical implications	147
6.2	Null arguments in child L1 French	150
6.2.1	Null subjects in child L1 French	150
6.2.1.1	The findings	151
6.2.1.2	Theoretical accounts	153
6.2.2	Null objects in child L1 French	160
6.2.2.1	The findings	161
6.2.2.2	Theoretical accounts	165
6.3	L1 acquisition of the binding properties of French pronouns	170
6.4	Conclusion	177

## CHAPTER 7

**Subject and object pronouns in French bilingual acquisition and in children with SLI learning French**

179

- 7.1 Subject and object pronouns in French bilingual acquisition 179
  - 7.1.1 Overt pronouns in French bilingual acquisition 179
    - 7.1.1.1 Development of subject clitics in French bilingual acquisition 179
    - 7.1.1.2 Development of object clitics in French bilingual acquisition 183
  - 7.1.2 Null arguments in French bilingual acquisition 187
    - 7.1.2.1 Null subjects in French bilingual acquisition 187
    - 7.1.2.2 Null objects in French bilingual acquisition 189
  - 7.1.3 Conclusion 194
- 7.2 Acquisition of French pronouns by children with SLI 196
  - 7.2.1 Development of overt pronouns in children with SLI learning French 196
  - 7.2.2 Null arguments in acquisition of French by children with SLI 199
  - 7.2.3 Acquisition of the binding properties of French pronominal elements by children with SLI 201
  - 7.2.4 Conclusion 201

## CHAPTER 8

**Subject and object pronouns in L2 French acquisition**

203

- 8.1 Development of overt pronouns in L2 French 203
  - 8.1.1 Overt pronouns in child L2 French 203
    - 8.1.1.1 Development of subject clitics in child L2 French 204
    - 8.1.1.2 Development of object clitics in child L2 French 206
    - 8.1.1.3 Theoretical implications 209
  - 8.1.2 Overt pronouns in adult L2 French 211
    - 8.1.2.1 Development of subject clitics in adult L2 French 211
    - 8.1.2.2 Development of object clitics in adult L2 French 215
      - 8.1.2.2.1 Spontaneous production data 215
      - 8.1.2.2.2 Experimental data 218
      - 8.1.2.2.3 Theoretical analyses 222
- 8.2 Null arguments in L2 acquisition of French 223
  - 8.2.1 Null arguments in child L2 French 223
    - 8.2.1.1 Null subjects in child L2 French 223
    - 8.2.1.2 Null objects in child L2 French 225
  - 8.2.2 Null arguments in adult L2 French 227
    - 8.2.2.1 Null subjects in adult L2 French 227
    - 8.2.2.2 Null objects in adult L2 French 228
- 8.3 Conclusion 229

## PART III. Determiner phrases

## CHAPTER 9

**Determiner phrases: Morphosyntactic assumptions** 235

- 9.1 French DPs 235
  - 9.1.1 The determiner system in French 235
    - 9.1.1.1 Gender and number 236
    - 9.1.1.2 Definiteness and specificity 238
  - 9.1.2 Agreement concord 239
  - 9.1.3 Determinerless NPs 239
  - 9.1.4 Noun placement 241
- 9.2 The formal representation of DPs 243
  - 9.2.1 The DP hypothesis 243
  - 9.2.2 The different types of determiners and their status 246
  - 9.2.3 The representation of agreement concord 247
- 9.3 Questions for acquisition 248

## CHAPTER 10

**Determiner phrases in child L1 French** 251

- 10.1 L1 acquisition of determiners in French 251
- 10.2 Development of definiteness in child L1 French 254
- 10.3 Development of number and gender in child L1 French 257
- 10.4 Theoretical implications 258
  - 10.4.1 The initial availability of D 258
  - 10.4.2 Knowledge of definiteness, gender, and number 261
  - 10.4.3 Relationship between the development of determiners and finiteness 261
  - 10.4.4 Relationship between the development of determiners and object clitics 263
- 10.5 Conclusion 264

## CHAPTER 11

**The development of DPs in French bilingual acquisition and in children with SLI learning French** 267

- 11.1 DPs in French bilingual acquisition 267
  - 11.1.1 Production of determiners in obligatory contexts by French bilinguals 267
  - 11.1.2 Development of definiteness, gender and number in French bilingual acquisition 271
    - 11.1.2.1 Development of definiteness in French bilingual acquisition 271
    - 11.1.2.2 Development of number in French bilingual acquisition 272

- 11.1.2.3 Development of gender in French bilingual acquisition 273
- 11.1.2.4 Development of noun placement  
in French bilingual acquisition 274
- 11.1.3 Theoretical implications 274
  - 11.1.3.1 The development of D 274
  - 11.1.3.2 The development of number and gender 276
  - 11.1.3.3 Relationship with the development of IP 277
  - 11.1.3.4 Relationship between the development of determiners  
and object clitics 278
- 11.1.4 Conclusion 278
- 11.2 The acquisition of French DPs by children with SLI 280
  - 11.2.1 Development of French determiners in children with SLI 280
  - 11.2.2 Development of number, gender, and noun placement  
in children with SLI learning French 281
  - 11.2.3 Comparison with the development of object pronouns  
in children with SLI learning French 285
  - 11.2.4 Relationship with the development of RIs  
in children with SLI learning French 286
  - 11.2.5 Theoretical implications 286
  - 11.2.6 Conclusion 288

## CHAPTER 12

**Determiner phrases in L2 French acquisition**

289

- 12.1 DPs in child L2 French 289
  - 12.1.1 Development of determiners in child L2 French 289
  - 12.1.2 Development of number and gender in child  
L2 French 290
  - 12.1.3 Theoretical implications 290
- 12.2 DPs in adult L2 French 291
  - 12.2.1 Development of determiners, definiteness, number,  
and gender in adult L2 French 291
    - 12.2.1.1 The production of determiners by adult L2  
French learners 291
    - 12.2.1.2 Development of definiteness in adult L2 French 294
    - 12.2.1.3 The clitic status of determiners in adult L2 French 295
    - 12.2.1.4 Development of gender in adult L2 French 296
    - 12.2.1.5 Development of number in adult L2 French 300
    - 12.2.1.6 Theoretical implications 300
      - 12.2.1.6.1 Knowledge of D 300
      - 12.2.1.6.2 Knowledge of gender 301
      - 12.2.1.6.3 Knowledge of definiteness and number 305

12.2.2	Noun placement in adult L2 French	306
12.2.3	The nominal domain and the syntax/semantics interface in adult L2 French	307
12.2.3.1	The semantic interpretation of adjective placement in adult L2 French	308
12.2.3.2	Acquisition of quantified expressions by adult L2 French learners	314
12.2.4	Theoretical implications	317
12.3	Conclusion	317

#### PART IV. Questions and embedded clauses

##### CHAPTER 13

<b>Questions and embedded clauses in French: Facts and analyses</b>	<b>323</b>
13.1	Root interrogatives 323
13.1.1	Wh-word placement 323
13.1.2	Inversion 325
13.1.2.1	Clitic/verb inversion 325
13.1.2.2	Complex inversion 327
13.1.2.3	Stylistic inversion 328
13.1.3	Infinitival questions 329
13.1.4	Theoretical accounts 330
13.1.5	<i>Est-ce que</i> questions 334
13.2	Embedded clauses 335
13.2.1	Embedded questions 335
13.2.2	Embedded declaratives 336
13.2.3	Embedded infinitival clauses 337
13.2.4	Theoretical account 338
13.3	Relative clauses 339
13.4	Constraints on wh-movement 342
13.5	Questions for acquisition 343

##### CHAPTER 14

<b>Questions and embedded clauses in child L1 French</b>	<b>345</b>
14.1	Development of matrix questions in child L1 French 345
14.1.1	The first questions in child L1 French 345
14.1.2	Development of wh-word placement in child L1 French 347
14.1.3	Development of inversion and <i>est-ce que</i> questions in child L1 French 349
14.1.4	Long distance (LD) wh-questions in child L1 French 351
14.1.5	Other properties of matrix interrogatives in child L1 French 352
14.1.6	Theoretical implications 353

- 14.2 Development of embedded clauses in child L1 French 357
  - 14.2.1 The findings 357
  - 14.2.2 Theoretical implications 359
- 14.3 Development of relative clauses in child L1 French 360
  - 14.3.1 The findings 360
  - 14.3.2 Theoretical implications 363
- 14.4 Knowledge of constraints on wh-movement by child L1 French learners 368
- 14.5 Conclusion 371

CHAPTER 15

**The development of questions and embedded clauses in French bilingual acquisition and in children with SLI learning French** 373

- 15.1 CP-clauses in French bilingual acquisition 373
  - 15.1.1 Development of matrix questions in French bilingual acquisition 373
  - 15.1.2 Development of embedded clauses in French bilingual acquisition 374
  - 15.1.3 Theoretical implications 375
  - 15.1.4 Conclusion 376
- 15.2 CP-clauses in the acquisition of French by children with SLI 377
  - 15.2.1 The findings 377
  - 15.2.2 Theoretical implications 383
  - 15.2.3 Conclusion 386

CHAPTER 16

**Questions and embedded clauses in L2 French acquisition** 389

- 16.1 CP-clauses in child L2 French 389
  - 16.1.1 Development of matrix questions in child L2 French 389
  - 16.1.2 Development of embedded clauses in child L2 French 392
  - 16.1.3 Development of relative clauses in child L2 French 393
  - 16.1.4 Other properties of the first questions and embedded clauses in child L2 French 393
  - 16.1.5 Theoretical implications 394
- 16.2 CP-clauses in adult L2 French 396
  - 16.2.1 Development of matrix interrogatives in adult L2 French 396
  - 16.2.2 Development of embedded clauses and relative clauses in adult L2 French 401
  - 16.2.3 Other properties of interrogatives and subordinates in adult L2 French 403

16.2.4	Theoretical implications	404	
16.2.5	The syntax/semantics interface in adult L2 French	407	
16.3	Conclusion	410	
	<b>Conclusion</b>		<b>413</b>
	<b>References</b>		<b>425</b>
	<b>Author index</b>		<b>449</b>
	<b>Subject index</b>		<b>453</b>