

Finiteness as a functional category in the acquisition of Dutch

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1. Finiteness as a functional property of verb-second

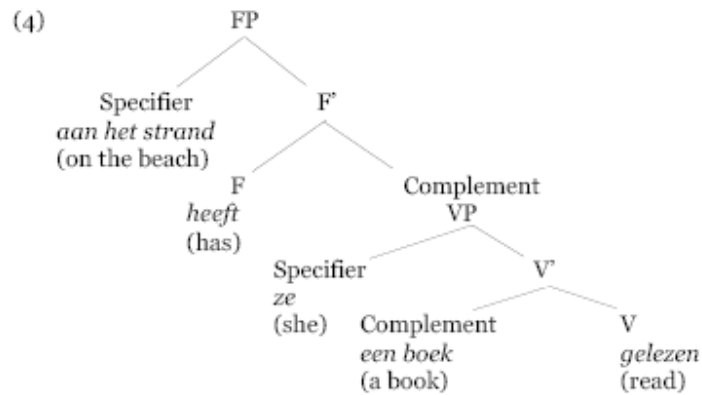
Finiteness is the property of an utterance to express the *illocutive function* of assertion (see Klein 1998, 226). The formal expression of finiteness in Dutch occurs with the morpho-syntactic properties of both inflectional morphology and word order. Thus, in (1) the finite verb *leest* ('reads') is used to express that the utterance is an *assertion* that holds for a particular situation. In (2), the finite verb *heeft* ('has') is used to express that the utterance is an *assertion* that holds for a situation in which an activity as described in (1) has been completed.

- (1) a. *Ze leest* aan het strand een boek
she reads on the beach a book
b. Aan het strand *leest* ze een boek
on the beach reads she a book
- (2) a. *Ze heeft* aan het strand een boek *gelezen*
she has on the beach a book read
b. Aan het strand *heeft* ze een boek *gelezen*
on the beach has she a book read

The morpho-syntactic properties of the finite verb in Dutch are known as *Verb-second* (V-2nd). V-2nd is a structural property of declaratives. In declaratives, as shown in (3), the inflected verb always occurs in second position, while the initial position may be taken by an NP-subject (3a, b), an NP-object (3c) or a PP (3d). The inflected verb can be either an auxiliary verb (3a, c, d) or a lexical verb (3b). If the inflected verb is an auxiliary verb the lexical verb occurs as part of the VP with non-finite morphology in final position.

- (3) a. Ze_i heeft e_i aan het strand een boek gelezen
she has on the beach a book read
b. Ze_i leest $_j$ e_i aan het strand een boek e_j
she reads on the beach a book
c. Dit boek $_i$ heeft ze aan het strand e_i gelezen
this book has she on the beach read
d. Aan het strand $_i$ heeft ze e_i een boek gelezen
on the beach has she a book read

A formal representation of the options in (3) is given in (4).



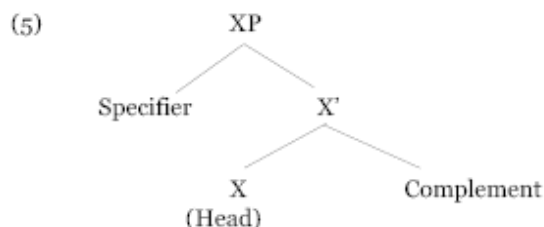
As shown in (4), the formal properties of finiteness are linked to the projection of F. F is a functional projection which accounts for both inflectional morphology and word order variation. VP is a lexical projection which accounts for the lexical-semantic properties of verb-argument structure.

The representation in (4) accounts for the fact that a main clause in Dutch consists of two main projections, i.e. the categories VP and FP. VP is a *lexical* category which projects the lexical-semantic properties of predicate-argument structure. The properties of a lexical category i.e. both its *semantic structure* (e.g. agent - object - action) and its *internal ordering* (i.e. head-initial or head-final) are stored in the mental lexicon. Semantic structure is represented syntactically in terms of a predicate-argument structure. For example, in (1) and (2) the predicate V' *boek lezen* (book read) consists of the verb V *lezen* (read) and the internal argument IA *een boek* (a book) as its complement. Furthermore, the predicate V' *boek lezen* (book read) *holds for* the external argument EA *zij* (she) as its specifier. Finally, word order determines the positioning of the IA with respect to the verb V and of the EA with respect to the predicate V'.

F is a *functional* category. The relation between its constituents is a matter of their functioning as part of information structure. In Dutch, F is used to express *illocutionary force* and *temporal anchoring*. The term illocutionary force refers to the intention with which an utterance is used. It expresses that the predicate-argument structure of VP is meant to serve with the illocutive function of, for example, a wish or a refusal, a promise or an apology, a permission or a prohibition, an obligation or a possibility and, in the default case, with the illocutive function of an assertion or a denial. F with its complement VP constitutes F'. F' represents the illocutive function of a predicate-argument structure as it *holds for* a constituent in SpecF. Hence, SpecF provides a position for the element that the utterance is about, i.e. the topic. The function of the topic as an element of information structure is to establish contextual embedding.

Summarizing, from a communicative perspective VP and FP have different functions. VP projects predicate-argument structure. With VP the speaker expresses that a particular predicate holds for a particular EA. FP represents information structure. With F' the speaker expresses illocutionary force and temporal anchoring of VP, while SpecF establishes its contextual embedding. Although the projections of F and V serve

different functions, they involve the same structural relations between their constituents. As represented in (5) they can be categorized as 'head', 'complement' and 'specifier'.



Both F and V are the head constituent of the structure they project, i.e. they determine the semantic and syntactic properties of a particular projection. The head may require a particular element as its complement, and with the complement it entertains a *hold-for* relation with respect to the element which is termed specifier.

The linguistic knowledge as represented in (4) seems rather complex. One may wonder how it is possible that language learners are able to derive this abstract knowledge system from the input they receive. One solution to account for this is to assume that relevant properties of linguistic structure are innate. However, I rather approach this learnability problem from another perspective.

A description as in (4) serves as an abstract formal representation that accounts for the possibilities of variation in utterance structure. Variation in utterance structure can be studied in terms of the underlying grammatical system. An adequate description of this grammatical system serves to account for the fact that native speakers generally agree on the kind of language structures that are to be judged as either correct, such as in (3), or incorrect, such as in (6).

- (6)
- a. * Dit boek_j ze_i heeft e_i aan het strand e_j gelezen
 this book she has on the beach read
 - b. * Aan het strand_j ze_i heeft e_i e_j een boek gelezen
 on the beach she has a book read
 - c. * Aan het strand_j heeft een boek ze e_i gelezen
 on the beach has a book she read
 - d. * Aan het strand_i lezen_j ze (3SG.FEM) e_i een boek e_j
 on the beach read she a book

However, such a representation does not account for the functional properties of structural variation, i.e. it leaves untouched the question of what variation in utterance structure is good for. This question determines the point of view from which I will investigate language development both in child L1- and adult L2-learners of Dutch. This means that I will focus on the acquisition of structural knowledge as a function of information structure. My claim is that initially utterance structure is based on *lexical* knowledge of predicate-argument structure as it is stored in the mental lexicon. At the relevant stage, this lexical knowledge is simultaneously used for the purpose of information structuring. This is unlike the target language. In the target language, information structure is expressed by means of functional elements. Therefore, I will

- f. Poes *o* bal pakke
kitty ball get

Agentive motion

- a. *nee* bad zitte
no bath sit
b. ikke *kan* paard opklimme
I cannot horse on-climb
c. Ik *doete* opzitte
I do on-sit

L2-Dutch

(Causative) Action

- a. Ik *kanniet* praten nederlands
I cannot talk Dutch
b. Nog drie maand ik *moet* trouwen
still three months I must marry
c. Ik *ben* / *moet* werken
I am / have to work
d. Hij *is* liegt
he is lied
e. Dan *is* die meisje ook hier slapen
then is the girl also here sleep

Agentive motion

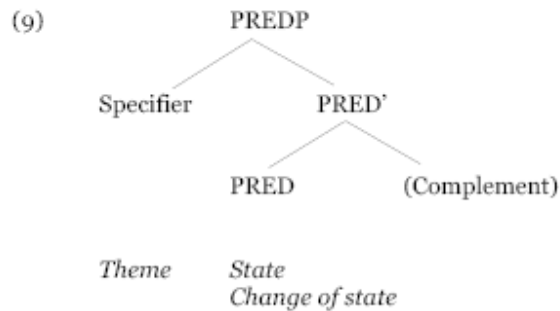
- a. Ik altijd *wil* zit met Nabil
I always wil sit with N.
b. Ik *hoefniet* ziektewet
I have-to-not health insurance

For the expression of the illocutive function in (7) it is not necessary for learners to have established the category verb of the target language. The examples in (8) show that for the expression of illocutionary force any modal lexical head (e.g. *nee*, *kanwel*, *hoefniet*) or its dummy substitute (e.g. *is*, *ben*, *doetie*, *gaatie*) might do.

At the relevant stage, MOD is the head of a lexical projection with head-complement structure. As pointed out the complement of MOD is a predicate. As a lexical entity the predicate may project its own internal lexical structure. Examples are lexical entities referring to (causative) actions such as *deze dichtdoen* (this-one closed-do), *alles opete* (all up-eat) or to agentive motions such as *bad zitte* (bath sit), *paard opklimme* (horse on-climb). The examples show that in the relevant cases lexical entities are stored with complement-head structure.

In (7) the EA in specifier position receives its theta role from the modal. It expresses that the volition, ability, permission or obligation holds for to the EA. For a predicate to occur as the complement of a projection of MOD its EA has to be co-referent with the EA of the modal lexical head. This accounts for the fact that the EA has the volition, the

ability, the permission or the obligation to perform the action denoted by the predicate. Thus, for a predicate to occur as the complement of a projection of MOD its EA must be an agent. What about predicates referring to a State or a Change of state? These predicates have a theme as their external argument and, therefore, they cannot occur as the complement of MOD. This explains, why at the relevant stage State and Change of state predicates appear as the head of a lexical projection as in (9).



Examples are given in (10).

(10) L1 Dutch

- a. Poes ligt
kitty lies
- b. Da zit
there sits
- c. Mijnie valt
M falls
- d. Poes komt niet
kitty comes not
- e. J vindt vies, deze
J finds yuk, this
- f. J heef au
J has ow

L2 Dutch

- a. Ik woon zwarte zee
I live black sea
- b. Jij blijft thuis
you stay home
- c. Hij vindt leuk
he finds nice
- e. Gisteren ik slaap bij mijn oom
yesterday I sleep at my uncle
- f. Dames o niet goeie chauffeur
ladies not good driver

Since State and Change of state predicates cannot occur as the complement of MOD, they can only be used in utterances to express the default illocutive function of assertion. Comparing utterance structure as represented in (7) and (9), the conclusion must be that it is the expression of the illocutive function which determines the position of the lexical predicate. With the illocutive function expressed by a head position for MOD the predicate occurs in final position, with the illocutive function expressed by the impossibility of a MOD head, the predicate occurs in head position. Verb morphology simply reflects the form in which the predicate occurs in the input. Hence, inflection as it seems to occur in (10) is not a structural property.

In the target language, as represented in (4), the position of SpecF allows both the IA and adverbials to occur in initial position, serving contextual embedding. At the lexical stage however, this possibility does not exist. With lexical projections, as in (7) and (9), there is only one specifier position sentence initially, which is taken by the EA. This means that at the lexical stage the IA cannot be used for contextual embedding. Furthermore, at the relevant stage lexical projections have no means to express temporal anchoring morphologically. As is the case with local embedding, temporal embedding can only be achieved lexically. However, at the relevant stage the specifier position is not available for adverbial elements to serve contextual embedding either.

Given these limitations, learners are facing a problem which is essentially a problem of information structure. Nevertheless, at the relevant stage, learner grammars seem to be able to provide a solution for this by the lexical means at hand.

As pointed out, lexical projections as in (7) do not allow the IA to occur in specifier position. Hence, the IA cannot serve contextual embedding. However, to compensate for this learner grammar makes it possible for transitive predicates to occur with the object functioning as the EA as in (11). Examples are given in (12).

(11) $EA_{Ag} + MOD + [IA_i + Pred]_{Pred'} \rightarrow EA_{Th} + MOD + Pred$

(12) L1 Dutch

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| a. [Ik nee deze afdoen] | → | Dit nee afdoen |
| I no this closed-do | | this no closed-do |
| b. [Jij magniet die afpakken] | → | Die niet afpakke |
| I cannot this get | | this cannot get |
| c. [Ik hoefniet deze meeneme] | → | Disse hoeniet meeneme |
| I have-to-not this with-take | | this-one has-to-not with-take |
| d. [Jij maar die hier doen] | → | Die maa hier doen |
| you please that-one here do | | that-one please here do |

L2 Dutch

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| a. [Ik kanwel eenduizend sparen per jaar] | → | Eenduizend kanwel sparen per jaar |
| I can one-thousand save per year | | one-thousand can save per year |

With a structural relation as in (11), learners create a solution on the basis of the lexical meanings with which modals can be used. In adult Dutch, the same phenomenon occurs with predicates such as *breken* (break), *smelten* (melt), *drogen* (dry). They can be used

both transitively and intransitively. However, this is a lexical property, i.e. only holds for a handful of causative action verbs. As with these causative action verbs, in Dutch modals can also be used both transitively and intransitively as, for example, in *Schaatsen? Ik weet het zeker. Je kunt het* (skating? I am sure. you can-do it) and *Schaatsen, het kan weer* (skating, it can-be-done again) or in *Je kunt de sticker erafdoen* (you can the sticker off-do) vs. *De sticker kan eraf* (the sticker can it-off). The examples in (12) are evidence that learners systematically make use of this possibility to use predicates referring to causative actions both transitively and intransitively. As with the causative action verbs, the difference between both options is the semantic functioning of the EA. With transitive verbs of causation the position of the EA is taken by the agent, with the intransitive alternative the position of the EA is taken by the theme. At the relevant stage, it is this possibility with causative predicates to use either the agent or the theme in the position of the EA, which enables learners to accommodate for the lack of a functional means to express topicality.*

At the lexical stage, adverbial elements are also not allowed in specifier position. Given that child utterances are mostly about the here and now, adverbial elements referring to place and time are rare. Hence, with children temporal and local embedding does not constitute a problem. L2 learners however, do use adverbial elements with local and temporal reference for contextual embedding. As long as the initial position of a lexical projection is taken by the EA, local and temporal embedding is achieved by placement of these elements (XP) sentence-initially, as in (13) and (15). Hence, L2 learners typically produce utterances with non-targetlike structure as in (14) and (16).

(13) (XP +) Specifier + MOD + Complement

- (14) a. Drie dagen ik altijd auto rijden
three days I always car drive
b. Nog drie maand ik moet trouwen
still three months I have-to marry

(15) (XP +) Specifier + PRED + (Complement)

- (16) a. Viertwintig juni mij man thuis
four-twenty june my husband home

Summarizing, at the lexical stage functional projections are absent. As a consequence, learner grammar is relatively simple. This is shown, first, in the absence of functional features of the target language as in (17).

- (17) no FIN → no auxiliaries (no object scrambling)
→ no inflection (no tense, no agreement)
no Spec-FIN → no inversion (no yes/no questions)
→ no topicalization of the IA
→ no adverbials in topic position
→ no *wh*-questions

Second, as shown in (18) properties of information structure are expressed lexically.

- (18) a. Illocutionary force by the presence or absence of a lexical modal predicate;
 b. Contextual embedding with the EA by means of variation in lexical structure;
 c. Contextual embedding with adverbials by fronting.

3. The functional stage

Projections as in (7) and (9) are lexical structures. That is, they consist of a lexical predicate - with or without an IA - which holds for an EA. The *hold-for* relation between the predicate and the EA is what constitutes the predication.

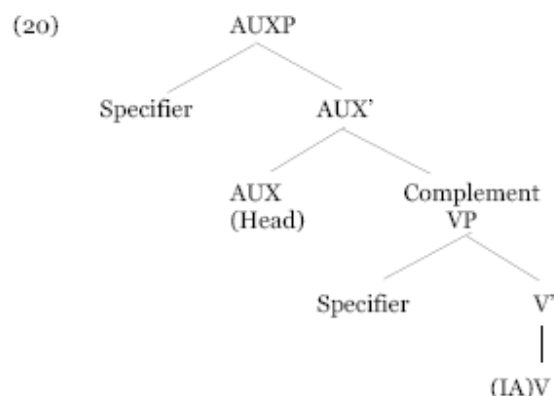
A crucial development leading to a complex structure as in (4) is the acquisition of *heb/heeft* (have-1:S/has-3:S) as an auxiliary verb. The relevant figures from my L1- and L2-data sources are given in (19).

(19) The acquisition of *heb/heeft* as an auxiliary verb in L1- and L2-Dutch

L1	% of use	Jasmijn	4%	(1;10-1;11)	38%	(2;0-2;2)
		Andrea	9%	(2;0-2;1)	53%	(2;2-2;4)
L2	type/token	Osman /T	2/2	(1.1-2.5)	12/18	(2.6-3.0)
		Mohamed /A	0	(1.1-2.0)	11/15	(2.1-2.5)

For the two children, the percentages in (19) refer to the frequencies with which they use the auxiliary verb *heb/heeft* in the context of a past participle. The data show a remarkable sudden increase as a function of age. For the two adult learners, (19) has the use of past participles with the auxiliary *heb/heeft* in terms of type/token ratios. The data show a significant difference between two consecutive time intervals. Both the L1- and L2-data evidence productivity emerging from one session of recordings to another.

In both learner varieties, the auxiliary verb *heb/heeft* is the first linguistic element with no lexical meaning. As a functional element it instantiates the projection of AUX as a functional category. That is, it provides the language system not with a single lexical item, but with an additional structural property, which, once established, holds for every utterance. This explains the abruptness of the process as it appears from the figures in (19). A formal representation of the relevant structure is given in (20).



As the head of the functional category AUXP, AUX has VP (the predication) as its complement and an element in initial position SpecAUX that AUX' holds for. AUX and V are both the head of a structural configuration with a complement and a specifier as in (5). However, while the lexical category V provides a projection of predicate-argument structure, the functional category AUX establishes a projection of information structure. In other words, the lexical category V accounts for the semantic content of an utterance, while the functional category AUX seems to account for the way the speaker uses it.

AUX is the head of a head-complement structure with VP as its complement. Elements in the position of AUX provide information about the communicative function with which the VP complement, i.e. the predication is used. AUX, thus, functions as an operator, it qualifies (validates) the relation between VP and its specifier. As shown in Hoekstra & Jordens (1994), this explains why simultaneously with the acquisition of the auxiliary *heb/heeft*, modal verbs are reanalysed as members of the functional category AUX. With a modal verb in AUX the speaker expresses that the predication (VP) has to be interpreted as a wish, a permission, a prohibition or an obligation. With *heb/heeft* in the position of AUX, i.e. in absence of a modal verb, the speaker expresses that the predication has to be interpreted as an assertion.

One may wonder what the acquisition of AUX is good for. Comparing utterance structure as represented in (7) with the one as in (20), the configuration in (20) discriminates between two specifier positions, SpecAUX and SpecVP, while (7) has only SpecVP. With the two specifier positions in (19) learners can discriminate between the semantic function of the EA and the function of the topic as a category of information structure. As a position which may hold elements with any kind of deictic function, SpecAUX serves the function of nominal, temporal or local embedding. Practically, this means that with AUX learners have acquired the possibility of topicalization, i.e. the use of AUX as a topicalization device. Hence, AUX does not simply emerge like a kind of *deus ex machina*. Due to its function of a topicalization device, it serves as the driving force in the development from a basic lexical learner variety to a target-like functional system. Evidence of AUX functioning as a topicalization device is given in (21).

(21) Topicalization in L1- and L2-Dutch

L1-Dutch

- a. *Die* heef mama maakt
that has mommy made
- b. *Da* mag papa wel doen
that may daddy indeed do
- c. *Dan* moet C weer make
then has-to C again make
- d. *Zo* kan J niks zien
this-way can J nothing see

L2-Dutch

- a. *Die* heb ik hier gedaan
that have I here done
- b. *Dat* heb ik nooit gezegd
that have I never said
- c. *Dan* ga ik mijn familie wonen
then go I my family live
- d. *Dan* moet ik huis zoeken
then have-to I house look-for

Given its function of contextual embedding, the position of SpecAUX can also be used for elements with which the speaker can express that he likes to know *how* or even *whether* a predication can be linked to a particular situation. If the speaker wants to know *for which* kind of situation a particular predication may hold, SpecAUX is the position for a *wh*-word. If the speaker wants to find out *whether* the predication can be linked to a particular situational context, the position of SpecAUX remains empty. This explains why at the relevant stage, it becomes possible for learners to acquire the structural properties of both *wh*- and *yes/no*-questions. Examples of the first occurrences are given in (22).

(22) *Wh*- and *yes/no*-questions in L1- and L2-Dutch

L1-Dutch

- a. *waa* ben je nou geweest?
where are you now been?

L2-Dutch

- a. *wat* moet ik doen dan?
what should I do then?
- b. *wat* heb ik gedaan?
what have I done?
- c. *waar* heb jij geweest?
where have you been?
- d. nou *hoe* moet ik doen?
now how should I do?
- e. dan *wat* moet ik doen?
then what should I do?

As pointed out, SpecAUX also serves as a position for nominal, temporal and local embedding. However, while children always apply V-2nd correctly, adult L2-learners often produce utterances with 'Verb-third' (V-3rd) as in (23).

(23) Verb-third in L2-learners of Dutch

Mohammed (L1-Arabic)

- a. Toen hij *moet* de koffer pakken
then he has-to the suitcase get
- b. Toen die meisje *gaat* snel lopen
then that girl goes fast walk
- c. S'morgens ik *heb* gesnipperd
in the morning I have taken-day-off
- d. Vrijdag nacht ik *heb* niet geslapen
friday night I have not slept
- e. Toen volgend dag zij *heeft* voor hem eten klaargemaakt
then next day she has for him food prepared
- f. Toen hier ik *heb* beetje geslapen
then here I have a-little slept

Ergün (L1-Turkish)

- a. Dan hij *heeft* beetje hard rijden
then he has a-little fast drive
- b. Bijna vier week ik *heb* niet werken
nearly four week I have not work
- c. Soms ik *heb* hele dag niet werken
sometimes I have hole day not work
- d. Nou ik *heb* net gegeten
now I have just eaten
- e. Misschien ik *heb* die ajax voetbal speel
possibly I have that ajax soccer play

The examples in (23) show that adult L2 grammar provides a position for an adverbial in sentence-initial position. This position however, is not a structural position, it is a position for an adjunct. This explains why in cases of V-3rd, the initial position is always taken by an adverbial, and why the number of adverbials is not necessarily limited to one. L2 learner grammars, thus, have a structure as in (24).

(24) (XP +) SpecAUX + AUX + VP

Given the possibility of an adjunct in initial position, the examples in (23) cannot be taken as evidence that these L2 learners have not acquired V-2nd. Examples as in (25) show that while with adverbials L2 learners use V-3rd, with topicalized objects and *wh*-argument questions they simultaneously use V-2nd.

(25) Simultaneous use of V-3rd and V-2nd

Mohamed (L1-Arabic)

1. no-inv (= correct)

- a. Ik heb daar achter die kast gemaakt
I have there behind that drawer made
- b. Ik heb jou vorig keer niet gezien
I have you last time not seen
- c. Ik heb daar geslapen buiten
I have there slept outside

*2. no inversion (= incorrect)

- a. S'morgens ik heb gesnipperd
in the morning I have day-off-taken
- b. Vrijdag nacht ik heb niet geslapen
friday night I have not slept
- c. Toen die ik heb opgedronken alleen
then that I have up-drunk alone
- d. Wanneer ik heb geslaap?
when I have slept?

3. inversion (= correct)

3.1

- a. Toen heb/hebben o hem gepakt
then has/have him caught
- b. Toen heeft hem politie gezien
then has him police seen
- c. Toen heeft ie teruggegeven aan
then has he back-given to

3.2

- a. Heb jij zaterdag televisie gezien jij?
have you saturday TV seen
- b. Heb jij geen klok gezien ?
have you no clock seen
- c. Heb je die auto gezien ?
have you that car seen

3.3

- a. Die heb ik allemaal vergeten
that have I all forgotten
- b. Die heb ik hier gedaan
that have I here done
- c. Dat heb ik nooit gezegd
that have I never said

- d. Die toyota die heb ik naar sloop gebrengd
that toyota that have I to breaking-yard brought
- e. Dat heb ik niks mee te maken
that have I nothing with to do

As shown in (25), it is evident that L2 learners have learned to use V-2nd. However, given this to be the case, why would they use V-3rd at all? Fact is that the input of the target language may give learners the impression of V-3rd. This is the case with elements such as *toen*, *wanneer*, *waar*, *wat* etc. in examples as in (26).

- (26) a. Toen ik *had* geslapen, voelde ik me weer beter
when I had slept, felt I myself again better
- b. Wanneer hij is gekomen, weet ik niet
when he is come, know I not
- c. Waar ze *woont*, heeft ze niet gezegd
where she lives, has she not said
- d. Wat jij *doet*, moet je zelf weten
what you do, have-to you yourself know

In (26) *toen*, *wanneer*, *waar*, *wat* are complementizers in the initial position of a subordinate clause and, thus, V-2nd does not apply. However, in Dutch these elements can also occur in the initial position of a main clause where they do cause V-2nd as in (27).

- (27) a. Toen had ik geslapen
then had I slept
- b. Wanneer is hij gekomen?
when is he come?
- c. Waar woont ze?
where lives she?
- d. Wat doe jij?
what do you?

Therefore, if the initial clauses in (26) are mistakenly interpreted as main clauses, learners must conclude that Dutch seems to allow V-3rd with adverbials and *wh*-words in initial position. Thus, V-3rd seems due to the ambiguity of elements which can function both as constituents in specifier position of a main clause and as a complementizer in a subordinate clause.

Evidence of V-3rd - both correct and incorrect - also occurs in subordinate clauses, as in (28). It shows that it is the homonymy of a particular set of complementizers which causes V-3rd.

(28) Subordinate clauses with V-3rd in L2 Dutch

Mohammed (L1-Arabic)

- a. *toen* ik in marokko ik *was* bij school, soms keer bus aan staken
when I in morocco I was in school, some time bus on strike
- b. *toen* ik *was* klein, ik heb ook un ongeluk gehad
when I was little, I have too an accident had
- c. *als* ik *ben* 65 jaar, *dan* ik *ga* rustig zitten
if I am 65 years, then I go quietly sit
- d. Hij heeft hem gezien, *wat* hij *heeft* gedaan
he has him seen, what he has done
- e. Hij tegen die politie, *dat* ik *heb* die brood ja gestelen of
he to that police (said), that I have that bread indeed stolen or

Ergün (L1-Turkish)

- a. ik begrijp niet *wat* hij *heeft* gezegd
I understand not what he has said
- b. *als* ik *heb* gezien *dan* ik *moet* zeggen
when I have seen then I must say
- c. *als* ik *heb* hier gevonden werken, *dan* ik *komt* terug hier
if I have here found work then I comes back here
- d. *als* ik *heb* die school opzitten (...) *dan* ik ook goed nederlands praten
if I have that school on-be (...) then I too good Dutch talk

The obvious question now is, why is it that *children* don't produce V-3rd? Subordination with children occurs rather late. Hence, for children V-2nd is well established, before they learn that some adverbials and *wh*-words may also serve the function of a complementizer.

4. Summary

Processes of L1- and L2-development are essentially the same. First, acquisition proceeds in two stages with distinct learner systems: a lexical system and a functional system. Second, at the initial stage, the lexical system also serves the function of information structuring. This means that the EA also functions to establish contextual embedding. Third, with the acquisition of the functional category AUX' elements in AUX' and SpecAUX' are established as categories of information structuring. AUX' serves to express illocutive function; SpecAUX' serves to express contextual embedding. Finally, cognitive development allows adults L2 learners to deal with complex utterance structure, which may lead them to misanalyse the target system as V-3rd.

Note

* Occasionally, children may produce utterances such as *Da kanniet zitte* (there cannot sit) and *Dan magniet rije* (then maynot drive). The predicates used here are intransitive. However, they are not the intransitive alternative of a causative action verb. Given that

children use utterances such as *kanniet zitte* (cannot sit) or *magniet rije* (maynot drive) as a systematic option to leave the EA position empty, it seems these cases can be accounted for as examples of precisely this possibility combined with a left-dislocated initial element with purely deictic function as in *Daar, (ik) kanniet zitten* (there, (I) cannot sit) and *Dan, ik magniet rijden* (then, (I) maynot drive).

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