

# *The development of referential activities and clause-combining as aspects of the acquisition of discourse in French as L2*

DANIEL VÉRONIQUE

*Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle*

(Received February 2004; revised July 2004)

## ABSTRACT

This article describes the development of temporal reference and clause-combining in the acquisition of French L2 by adult Moroccan Arabic L1 speakers. The contribution of iconicity and of transfer from L1 in this development is discussed. The path towards grammaticalisation is less clearly marked in the domain of clause combining than in the domain of temporal reference, where after use of lexical and pragmatic means, inflection on the verb develops. Grammaticalised subordination is rarely used, except for circumstantial clauses. Paratactic devices such as clefting and NP copy tend to be used for discursive functions such as the introduction of background information in narratives, for instance.

## I INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to study the acquisition of clause-combining and of reference to time in French L2 by adult Moroccan Arabic L1 speakers and to assess the role of iconicity in the development of these domains of L2 grammar. In this contribution, the acquisition of temporality is understood to imply the mastery of pragmatic, lexical and grammatical means and is not solely equated with the development of inflectional morphology on VP. It is generally agreed that the development of inflection on the verb in adult L2 learning is a late achievement (Prévost and White, 2000; Starren, 2001). The acquisition of clause combining and of temporal marking is partly interrelated both at the discourse and at the propositional levels (Noyau, 2002). The early marking of fore-grounded and back-grounded information for instance and the early development of *quand* clauses to mark temporal reference illustrate this interaction.

The acquisition of discursive capacities in L2 implies the ability to produce text in context and to meet the communicative needs of both speaker and addressee in terms of information organisation. The article attempts to illustrate information selection and packaging in context with regard to temporal reference and clause-combining. Section 1 of the article sketches a functionalist framework for the

study of second language acquisition. Section 2 provides the rationale for the study and introduces background information on the informants and the data analysed. Aspects of clause combining and temporal reference in French and Moroccan Arabic, the L1 of the informants, are contrasted in sections 3 and 4. Sections 5 and 6 are devoted to an analysis of the data. In section 5, an account of the course of development of reference to time common to the 4 informants is given. This developmental sequence which runs from use of iconic means to grammaticalisation is described. Section 6 shows how reference to time, linking of events and reference to entities are interrelated in various types of discourse. The main findings are summarised and discussed in the final section.

## 2 A FUNCTIONALIST PERSPECTIVE ON SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

### 2.1 *Some basic principles*

The analysis of the relation between discourse pragmatics, semantic representations and grammatical encoding constitutes a major area of investigation for functionalism (Givón, 1984, 1989, 1990; Hopper, 1988). Functionalist approaches to the study of SLA are quite diverse in type and method as illustrated in Pfaff (1987a, 1987b), Tomlin (1990) and Mitchell and Myles (1998). The particular brand of functionalism developed here, after Klein and von Stutterheim (1991), abides by some of the central tenets defined for functionalism by Tomlin (1990: 159–162): it is description-oriented, relates semantic, pragmatic issues to the development of syntactic features and emphasises the role of communicative factors in L2 development.

It is postulated that the mental representation of the experience to be conveyed may be presented under various discourse types: description, narration, evaluation and so forth, organised through the linguistic means available to the speaker and tuned to the addressee's demands. Once the perspective is selected, the body of information produced may be viewed as an organised textual structure that answers a question or *quaestio*. The underlying *quaestio* (and sub-*quaestiones*) shape reference to the semantic domains of entities (persons/objects), of actions, properties, states etc., of time and space and of modal values in discourse. It selects the domains to be placed in focus and their unfolding in text. Thus, informational structure in text is related to the construal of the experience to be conveyed, to planning, to perspective taking and to grammatical encoding (von Stutterheim and Kohlmann, 1998).

### 2.2 *The initial state and the development of L2 learner varieties*

The adult learner brings to the task of L2 learning knowledge of the world, experience in handling semantic and pragmatic issues in L1 and knowledge of L1 grammar. Following Klein and Perdue (1997), it is hypothesised that L2 knowledge is shaped by semantic and pragmatic principles and by the interaction of source and

target languages. The development of learner varieties is driven by communicative needs. Semantic and pragmatic principles governing information organisation supersede L1 grammatical transfer in the early stages of L2 development, at least in the domain of time reference and clause-combining. Iconicity (isomorphism and motivational iconicity), as a set of principles governing non-arbitrary form-function relations, is one of the communicative factors that shape early L2 grammar (Croft, 1990: 164–192; Swiggers, 1993; Danon-Boileau, 1993; Kleiber, 1993). According to Andersen (1984), during early SLA, learners seek a one-to-one relationship between TL forms and semantic and pragmatic functions. Klein (1989) asserts that learner utterances are shaped by semantic and pragmatic principles of transparency, salience, diagrammatic iconicity and isomorphism. However, resorting to iconicity implies neither a simplification of TL (cf. Valli, 1986) nor the use of simplification strategies. Meisel (1977, 1983) shows that learner varieties are marked by both restrictive – reducing TL complexity – and elaborative simplification – rendering the learner variety more complex.

### 3 RATIONALE

Bartning and Kirchmeyer (2003) show that in the early stages of the acquisition of French L2 by adult Swedish speakers (*stade initial* and *stade post-initial*) reference to time is expressed through adverbials, verb morphology is erratic and time and cause circumstantials are the only tokens of subordination in the data available. At intermediate level (*stade intermédiaire*), iconic parataxis and subordinate clauses, including *when*-clauses, are used by the learners. Tense emerges at this stage and the tense system unfolds at the advanced level (*stades avancés*). According to Bartning and Kirchmeyer (2003: 16–30), the development of discourse knowledge (*compétence textuelle*) in L2 implies the growth of the ability to package information in multi-propositions, to develop syntactic integration and to evolve from a one-to-one form to meaning relationship in grammatical marking to a one-to-many form-meaning relation.

Giacalone Ramat (1992, 1999, 2000, 2003) shows that a high degree of diagrammatic iconicity in Italian accounts for the early acquisition of verb morphology by Italian L2 learners. This author also argues that early learner varieties show a low degree of interclausal links and that development towards more intricate clause-combining strategies depends both on universal properties and language specific preferences for coding information. Thus, although time circumstantials are found quite early in learner varieties, Giacalone Ramat shows that the relativisation of time circumstantials is probably typical of advanced rather than elementary learners.

The previous research by Bartning and Kirchmeyer, and Giacalone Ramat, demonstrates the role of iconicity as a principle that shapes early learner varieties. It is postulated that there exists a relation between the development of syntactic integration in clause-combining and the development of verbal inflection and the marking of tense on the verb. In this article, I would like to pursue the same line of argument and show how clause-combining strategies and the expression of

Table 1. *The informants*

	Abdelmalek (AE)	Abdessamad (AB)	Abderrahim (AD)	Zahra (Z)
Age	20	24	26	34
Family status	Single	Single	Single	Married
SL schooling	Primary school	none	Primary school	none
Stay in TL country before ESF Project	14 months	12 months	2 months	approx. 12 months
TL schooling	1 H/ week- 7 months	1 H/ week- 7 months	none	1 H/ week- 7 months
Other languages known	Written Arabic + some Spanish	none	Written Arabic + some Spanish	none
Occupation	Fisherman	Mason	Dishwasher	Cleaner

temporality develop in a parallel way in the data produced by adult Moroccan Arabic learners of French. It is to be expected that the development of subordination and temporality in these learner varieties will be partly determined by the development of grammatical coding *per se*, i.e. the development of specific verb classes or verb morphology and through discourse functions, such as providing background information and expressing time deixis.

### 3.1 *Informants and database*

Data was collected from the informants on a monthly basis (see Table 1 for socio-biographic information). They were interviewed and then performed various tasks during three successive cycles of data collection comprising nine encounters, called Cycle 1, 2 and 3 (see Perdue, 1993a, b). Data collected from the four informants include free conversation with a native speaker, an instructional task (the informant directs the investigator in a sequence of activities), narratives (personal narratives and the re-telling of extracts of Chaplin's 'Modern Times') and picture description (the informant describes a poster depicting a scene that takes place in Marseilles).

## 4 ASPECTS OF CLAUSE COMBINING IN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND FRENCH

The way in which information is condensed into clauses shapes the verbal outcome of the task, i.e. text. According to Hopper and Traugott (1993: 168–170), a cline of clause combining with three 'cluster points' may be identified:

- (a) parataxis – the bonding between the different clauses involved is pragmatic;
- (b) hypotaxis – clauses involved are interdependent but not included within a larger constituent clause;
- (c) subordination which solely refers to clauses in complete dependency to the nucleus.

As shown, for instance, by Kirchmeyer, 2002, and Bartning and Kirchmeyer, 2003, clause combining may be analysed in terms of:

- the type of packaging of information (number and type of clauses within or across utterances) in use;
- syntactic integration and ellipsis;
- discourse planning.

The article will focus on syntactic integration and information packaging in the discourse produced by French L2 learners.

#### 4.1 Aspects of clause combining in spoken French

Complex sentences in French are produced at various points along the cline of clause combining constructions described by Hopper and Traugott (1993: 168–170). Examples (1) to (4) illustrate parataxis, hypotaxis and subordination in standard French.

##### Parataxis:

- Juxtaposition:* (1) Il pleure, elle rit  
*Insertion:* (2) Il pleure, je le crains, et elle rit

##### Hypotaxis

- Coordination:* (3) Il pleure et elle rit

- Subordination** (4) Il pleure tandis qu'elle rit

The following sections are devoted to the marker *que* /kə/ and to a typology of subordinated and paratactic constructions in spoken French.

#### 4.2 *Que*-clauses in spoken French

Contemporary descriptions of spoken French emphasise the high frequency of *que* /kə/, alone or in various compounds as a marker of clause combining (in François's 1974 data, more than 50 per cent of the tokens of conjunctions (208) are related to the use of *que*). Gadet (1989) and Blanche-Benveniste (1990) insist on the role of *que* as a *subordonnant passe-partout* as in examples (5) and (6):

- (5) L'homme que j'en parle/que je parle  
(6) L'homme que je parle de sa femme

It is often difficult to decide whether *que* marks a complement or a relative clause:

- (7) C'est un chien que je suis jamais toute seule

Blanche-Benveniste (1990) draws a sharp distinction between relative pronoun *qui* preceded by a full NP (which may be associated with preposition *à* as in *à qui*) as in (8), and *qui* as a particle, compounding subordinator *que* and personal pronoun

*il* [i] as in (9):

- (8) Et comment ils font les autres gens là qui veulent rentrer  
(9) Ce sont des gars qu'on croit qu'i(ls) [i] avaient fait la guerre

According to Blanche-Benveniste, in the case of the vernacular French relative (see (10) below), where *que* is a connector and *lui* a resumptive pronoun, the syntactic construct differs in meaning according to the nature of the antecedent.

- (10) La fille que je lui parle  
(= The girl to whom I speak or about whom I speak),

Thus, with a 'non-autonomous' antecedent such as *ceux*, the 'relative clause' is restricted to subject position, whereas with an 'autonomous' antecedent, the relative clause may be associated to the subject as well as object position:

- (11) Ceux qu'ils [iz] ont fait ça  
(12) Je vais voir les enfants qu'ils font beaucoup de bruit

#### 4.3 Types of subordinate clauses

Blanche-Benveniste (1997) identifies four major types of subordinated clauses in vernacular French:

- (13) a. On sait qu'il part demain  
b. Cela veut dire 'il vient'  
c. Il montre ce qu'on lui envoie  
d. Elle m'ordonne de m'évanouir

Subordination is exemplified in those cases where the two verbs involved retain their original meaning and their specific argument structure, as in (13c) for instance, where *ce qu'on lui envoie* may be pronominalised by *cela*.

Clauses built with weak governing verbs as in (14a) to (14d) are not to be included in the domain of subordination but pertain rather to hypotaxis. In examples (14a) to (14d), the dependent clauses may not be pronominalised.

- (14) a. On trouve que c'est confortable/on trouve ø c'est confortable  
b. Il a son père qui ne va pas bien  
c. Il va s'évanouir  
d. C'est à lui que vous ressemblez

Blanche-Benveniste's verb classification which combines both semantic and syntactic features is quite similar to Givón's. According to Givón (1990: 515–516, and 825 *et seq.*), clauses belonging to the types illustrated in (13a) and (13b), governed by cognitive verbs or verbs of saying are less tightly integrated at the syntactic and semantic levels than clauses as in 13c and 13d which are governed by modal and manipulative or causative verbs, which imply both strong semantic integration and syntactic dependency (see also Giacalone Ramat, 2000:126). For Givón, choice in the means of clause combining is based on isomorphism: the stronger the semantic and pragmatic integration of verb complementation or of clauses at the inter-clausal level, the higher the integration at the grammatical level.

4.4 Aspects of clause combining in Moroccan Arabic

Clause combining in Moroccan Arabic (henceforth MA) is interrelated with word order and verb morphology.

4.4.1 Word order

According to Caubet (1993: 4 *et seq.*), word order (i.e. VSO *vs* SVO) in MA varies according to discourse types and pragmatic intent. In narratives, verb phrases tend to be placed in initial position of the utterance to mark successivity of events as in 15, whereas the subject noun phrase is placed in the initial position in the case of the description of states or in background information as in (16):

- (15) Za:t hi:ja (. . .)      ʃafɔt di:k-ed-dZaZa      mʃa:t bHa:l-ha (. . .)  
Come-Perfective-3rd sg.(VP) she look-Perf.-3rd sg VP<sup>o</sup> this the hen go-  
Perf.-3rd. Sg.(VP) at her  
(= she came (. . .) she saw that hen she went back to her place)
- (16) Za:t      ha:dik-əl bni:ta u:dik-əl bni:ta katʃu:f      mɔn ɔʃ-ʃɔRZɔm  
Come-Perf.-3rd sg.(VP)    this the girl (NP) and this the girl (NP) look-  
Imperf. 3rd sg. through the window  
(came this girl and this girl looks through the window = This girl came  
to look through the window)

VSO tends to be the canonical order in subordinate clauses.

4.4.2 Indirect marking of subordination

Harrell (1962) and Caubet (1993: 174 *et seq.*) emphasise two striking features of clause combining in MA:

i) the absence of a linking word between the main clause and the dependent clause:

- (17) Ka nʃerfu Ø ka ifhem ʃ-ʃelha  
Know – Imperf. 1st sg. (VP) Speak – Imperf. 1st sg.(VP) the Shilha  
(= I know Ø he speaks Shilha)

ii) the use of morphological contrast (Perfective–Imperfective) between main and dependent verbs to mark dependency:

- (18) qolt lu iZi  
Tell- Perfective 1st sg. (VP) to him Come Imperfective 3rd sg.  
(I told him he comes = I told him to come)

Dependent verbs tend to be in the ‘imperfective’ or prefixed form:

**with modal verbs:**

- (19) jɔmkən iZi  
(It is possible he comes = It is possible for him to come)

**with verbs of motion:**

- (20) mʃa iqra  
(he went he studies = he went to study)

**in purpose clauses:**

- (21) Zit l-fransa baʃ ntÇallem θl-luRa  
(I came to France for I learn the language = I came to France to learn the language)

They are in the 'perfective' or suffixed form with *if-* and concessive clauses:

- (22) uka Zat amina θl-bareh uka mʃina l-θl-bhar  
(if she had come Amina yesterday if we would go to the seaside = If Amina had come we would have gone to the seaside)

After modals and verbs of saying, no explicit subordinator is expected,

- (23) ana qolt l-ek Çtini l-hellab  
(I told to you Ø you give me the milk pot = I told you to give me the milk pot)

#### 4.5 *Contrasting Moroccan Arabic and French*

Bonding of clauses is indirectly marked in MA when contrasted with standard French. Verb morphology is constrained by hypotaxis in MA and verb concord serves to mark inter-clausal combination. There is some degree of convergence between vernacular spoken French and MA because of the use of *que* as a *subordonnant passe-partout* and of the use of resumptive pronouns in vernacular French as in (13) above. Because of these clause-combining processes, it is expected that Moroccan learners of French will develop clause combining mainly through parataxis and hypotaxis before use of explicit subordination in learner varieties. Because of L1 transfer and convergence with L2, the Moroccan L1 speakers will tend not to use explicit subordinators when linking clauses in French as L2.

### 5 TEMPORALITY IN MOROCCAN ARABIC AND FRENCH

#### 5.1 *Temporal reference in French*

It is assumed that the French temporal system which is tense oriented does not need a detailed presentation, being better known than the MA temporal system. The 'rich' French inflectional verbal system conveys three main types of temporal, aspectual and modal meanings organised along three axes:

- a modal axis where verbal forms express *realis* (i.e. ongoing or observed in the past situations) (tenses pertaining to the indicative mood mainly) – *irrealis* continuum (inductive generalisations, statements of general habit, counterfactuality, 'unreal conditions') (Comrie, 1985: 39–40, Palmer, 1986: 188 et seq.) (conditional tenses and tenses pertaining to the subjunctive mood);
- an aspectual axis where simple tenses contrast with compound tenses (i.e. auxiliary + V in the past participle form);
- a time axis where the temporal values of tenses expressing BEFORE, AFTER and SIMULTANEOUS relations between the time of utterance (TU) and the



topic (TT), further express degrees of remoteness (see *je mangeais* and *j'avais mangé*) (Comrie, 1985: 83–101).

### 5.2 Temporal reference in Moroccan Arabic

The verb in MA has two main finite forms: the perfective and the imperfective. In the perfective, personal suffixes are post-posed to the verb:

- (24) mʃi:-t (I left)      mʃi:-na (we left)  
 mʃi:-ti (you left)    mʃi:-tu (you left)  
 mʃa:- Ø (he left)    mʃa:-w (they left)  
 mʃa:-t (she left)

In the imperfective, personal suffixes are pre-posed to the verb:

- (25) ne-mʃi (I leave)      ne-mʃi-w (we leave)  
 te-mʃi (you leave sg;)    te-mʃi-w (you leave pl.)  
 je-mʃi (he leaves)      je-mʃi-w (they leave)  
 te-mʃi (she leaves)

The imperfective verb form may combine with marker *ka/ta* to mark *realis*. Combination with prospective *Gha:di* excludes combination with *ka/ta*. The inflected verb combines with pre-verbs (such as *Gha:di* (to go), *bda* (to begin)), auxiliaries and adverbials (*di:ma* (always), *Ghðdda* (tomorrow), *mðn baÇd* (after), *bðzza:f* (always), *daba* (now), *l-ba:raH* (yesterday)) to express various temporal relations.

In (26), combination with non-finite *Gha:di*, active participle of 'to go', expresses futurity. It may be combined with auxiliary *Ka:n* (to be),

- (26) kan Gha:di ixelLeSni  
 Be Perfective 3rd sg. go Active participle pay Imperfective 3rd sg. me  
 (he was going he pays me = he was going to pay me)

MA's VP follows this sequence where + means concatenated, ( ) optional and [ ] choice between the constituents in brackets:

(*Adv*) + (*Auxiliary ka:n*) + (*preverb*) + (Ka/Ø) + [(*Inflected verb*) + (*active/passive participle*)] + (*Adv*)

The following sentences illustrate some of the temporal and aspectual values produced:

- (27) ʃra:t To:mo:bil  
 (she bought a car)

Topic Time (TT) is anterior to the time of Utterance (TU) and posterior to the time of situation (TS) (Klein *et al.*, 1993). Thus, in (27) past time reference and perfect aspect are combined.

- (28) l-ba:raH ʃra To:mo:bil  
 (yesterday he bought a car)

In (28), TT is marked by the adverbial *l-ba:raH*.

- (29) da:ba lqi:t mra  
(now I have found my wife)

In (29), TT as marked by *da:ba* produces a resultative reading of the utterance.

- (30) ka n̄ðhDaR kull nha:R-t-tni:n  
(I speak/I am speaking on every Monday)

In (30), the adverbial *kull nha:R-t-tni:n* (every Monday) as TT conveys an iterative value to the utterance.

- (31) d-darri bda kaj̄ðhDaR  
(the child begins to talk)

In (31), the pre-verb in the perfective form marks the incompleteness of the event depicted by the main verb in the imperfective form.

### 5.3 *Contrasting French and Moroccan Arabic temporal marking*

Although both systems contrasted exhibit verbal inflection, French verbal morphology varies in the verb form and in the endings producing many different tenses whereas the MA verbal system shows less inflected verb forms. Because of this difference in verbal inflection between MA and French, it is expected that temporal reference will be marked, especially in narrative discourse, through indirect, iconic means. Both temporal systems make use of similar lexical, morphological and syntactic means to express temporal and aspectual relations. In Moroccan Arabic, temporal information is marked primarily on the left side of the verb (Bamhamed, 1995). In comparison to MA, the French temporal system exhibits more inflected verbal forms especially for the expression of *realis*. In MA, anteriority and the perfect are mainly expressed through the use of auxiliary *ka:n* and inflection.

## 6 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEMPORALITY: FROM ICONICITY TO INFLECTION

Previous work shows that early learners make use of lexico-pragmatic means and discourse principles to express temporality before the emergence of verbal morphology (see Andersen, 1984; Pfaff, 1987a; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999). Starren (2001) found that, in naturalistic settings, the acquisition of temporality follows the following path of development: a lexical stage (recourse to temporal adverbials and connectives) followed by a morphological stage (inflection and auxiliaries). According to Bartning and Kirchmeyer (2003), temporal morphological contrasts appear earlier in guided settings.

The data analysed below consist of personal narratives and film-retellings obtained from the four informants. The examples quoted illustrate commonalities of development between the informants.

6.1 The lexical stage

During the lexical stage of temporal marking, informants use indirect and iconic means to mark temporal reference. These include:

a) recourse to scaffolding by the TL speaker and reliance on contextual inference as in (32).

- (32) (Zahra describes the classes she attends; Cycle 1, encounter 2)
1. Z (Zahra). et après *le livre*
  2. I (Investigator). *le livre* ouais? et qu'est-ce que vous faites? *un livre*
  3. Z. /e/ la dame la cassette comme ça (= and the lady plays the cassette like this)
  4. I. oui
  5. Z. /e//iparle/ (= and she speaks)
  6. I. ah d'accord
  7. Z. /kompri/?
  8. I. oui
  9. Z. /e/ après /e/ le livre comme ça /e/ la cassette /iparle/ comme la dame (and then is the book like this and the cassette speaks like the lady = and then the book being open, we listen to the cassette which speaks like the lady)
  10. I. oui
  11. Z. moi /iparle/ comme la cassette (= I speak/repeat after (?) the cassette)
  12. I. oui
  13. Z. /e/ après /e/ la dame tous tous la dame /iparle/ pour le livre (= and then everyone repeats what's in the book).

In this episode, Zahra is able to narrate her school lessons because of help provided by the native speaker who selects topical *le livre* and summons Zahra to introduce new information. The various stages of Zahra's narrative are marked by the preposition *après* and by the fact that the investigator monitors the taking of conversational turns.

b) use of the iconic principle of natural order

Events are recounted following the principle 'first happened, first mentioned' as in (32) above.

c) use of lexical information and formulaic expressions

In the following story, Zahra rounds off the narration with /saje/ used in some other narratives also.

- (33) Z. /jāna/ /lekase/ l'assiette /e/ la dame comme hafida zahra /røgard/ "/e/ ça /lekase/? /e/ toi /lekase/?" "oui madame /e/ moi /eskyz/ moi /lekase/" /e/ après /saje/ /laZelete/ la poubelle. (Cycle 1, encounter 2)  
(= The plate is broken and the lady, like Hafida, looks at Zahra 'This is broken' Did you break it? 'Yes madam, it's me, excuse me for breaking it' and then it's over, throw it in the dustbin)

In this passage, /*saje*/ (it's over), used to describe a perfective state of affairs, may be considered as a formulaic expression or a chunk in so far as it seems to be an unanalysed, non variable item, in a one-to-one relationship with the meaning of 'accomplished event' (Myles, Mitchell and Hooper, 1999). It is one of the many chunks that may be found in Moroccan adult learners French data.

d) use of adverbs and adverbials

According to Starren (2001), the main function of time adverbials is to mark anaphoric linkage other than Topic Time (TT) before Time of Situation (TS) and Time of Utterance (TU) (i.e. past reference), or after TU (i.e. future reference), in early learner grammar. *Toujours* (always) specifies TT and its relation to TS. It expresses habituality.

- (34) Z. toujours toujours l'ardoise  
I. oui d'accord? chaque fois?  
Z. non toujours l'ardoise le premier (...)/e/ après le livre (Cycle 1, encounter 2)

Adjacent to the predicate, *toujours* refers to TS and indicates iteration of the event:

- (35) AE. deux mois moi toujours /telephone/ papa (Cycle 2, encounter 4)  
(36) Z. un mois moi toujours mal la tête (Cycle 1, encounter 8)

*Toujours* expresses iteration in (35) and continuity in (36): this difference between the two sentences is related to the inherent meaning of the predicates (i.e. lexical aspect) involved: an activity in (35) and a state in (36).

*Encore* placed at the beginning of the utterance marks continuity of TT as in (37):

- (37) Z. encore Rachid mal le ventre (Cycle 2, encounter 4)

In focus, it relates TS to the preceding TS:

- (38) Z. /i parti/ à l'école encore (Cycle 3, encounter 2).

e) use of modal verb *fô/ilfô* and purpose clauses introduced by *pour* to mark futurity:

- (39) AE. il /fô/ tu /partir/ (Cycle 1, encounter 9)  
(40) Z. après moi /le parti/ mon docteur pour /il a fe/ les radios pour ma fille (= afterwards I go to the doctor so that my daughter be x-rayed) (Cycle 3, encounter 3).

Examples (39) and (40) illustrate indirect means to convey the meaning that the state of affairs *tu/partir/*, *pour /il a fe/* are posterior to the main state of affairs and to TU.

## 6.2 The grammaticalisation of temporal reference

The grammaticalisation of temporal reference implies the development of time circumstantials and of verb morphology. Use of dependent clauses to mark temporality precedes significant inflectional marking on the verb.

6.2.1 *Quand clauses*

Topic Time (TT) is regularly marked through temporal subordinate clauses as in (41):

- (41) Z. ton mari ta copine /eleparti/ le Maroc à vacances le/ la dame ne /se/ pas /e/ tous les papiers à la maison /e/ ton mari la femme tous les papiers passeport /e/ après /køø//parti/ le Maroc/køø/ /ilparti/ au Maroc /e/ après le /kominis//e/ après /saje/ (=the husband of my friend has left on holiday for Morocco with all the official documents and the lady is not aware of this when he arrives in Morocco/when he arrives in Morocco/he will visit the judge and get divorced) (Cycle 1, encounter 5).

In this extract, events are narrated following the iconic ‘principle of natural order’ (Klein, 1986), but the learner resorts also to the expression of topic time in a dependent clause, /køø/ /ilparti/ au Maroc (= when he arrives in Morocco). Two features in (41) must be highlighted: the marking of topic time in a dependent clause and the use of the idiosyncratic subordinator /køø/. In other contexts, Z. produces /kanø/ and /kalø/ with the same intent of meaning. Interpretation of /køø/ /ilparti/ au Maroc as a time circumstantial is due to its function in context. The origin of idiosyncratic /køø/ (cf. French /kã/ quand) is difficult to explain. This strategy is used early in the acquisition of temporality (see 7.2 below).

6.2.2 *Verb morphology*

Verb morphology in early Moroccan learner varieties of French exhibit two striking features:

- a) tokens of TL verb stems are preceded by a consonant + vowel cluster *l+e / or /l+i*, or by a sole vowel *e/i* and followed by a vocalic ending *e/i*, hence /lekase/, /lesini/ (= signed/has signed) etc. The initial cluster of the verb can neither be analysed as a clitic pronoun nor an auxiliary. In some contexts, the initial vowel or cluster alternates freely with Ø (see Véronique, 1983). In narratives, dynamic verbs pertaining to the foreground of discourse exhibit a long form, i.e either *l+Vowel + V+ Vowel* or *Vowel+ V+ Vowel* or *V+Vowel* (see 41 above).
- b) some verbs occur only in stem form like /res/ for instance while a few verbs exhibit both long and short forms like /kompri/–/køprã/in:

- (42) Z. /tikompri/ /e/ je /køprã/ pas /parle/ (Cycle 1, encounter 2)  
(=you understand and I do not understand/know (how to) speak).

/res/ is interpreted as a stem form, as compared to the corresponding present TL form. In 42, /kompri/ is interpreted as a long form because of TL corresponding past participle and /køprã/ as a short form because of TL corresponding present form.

Factors determining verbal alternation include:

- i) the fact that the verb is within the scope of a negator as in (42).  
ii) the presence of a controller in the utterance structure as in (43):

- (43) Z. Ton mari ta copine /eleparti/ le Maroc à vacances /e/ après /køø/ /parti/ le Maroc la femme le Maroc /saje/ /eleparti/ /køø/ /ilparti/ au

Maroc /e/ après /saje/ /ileparti/ le Maroc (Cycle 1, encounter 5)  
(= The husband of your friend has left for Morocco on vacation and after when left for Morocco when (he) left for Morocco and after that he left for Morocco)

iii) a possible indirect influence of L1, since in speech processing Moroccan Arabic speakers pay special attention to the initial part of the verb (Bamhamed, 1995) and are used to the marking of temporality, person, number and case on the verb.

iv) Attempts to tease apart connector /e/ and auxiliary /e/ may be also a contributing factor, as illustrated in (44) and (45) below:

(44) Z. /e/ après /e/ le livre comme ça (Cycle 1, encounter 1)  
(= and then the book is like this)

(45) Z. /e/ après /e/ la dame tous/tous la dame /iparle/ pour le livre (Cycle 1, encounter 1).  
(= and afterwards everybody repeats after the book).

v) the presence of the preposition à seems to be the triggering factor as in (46):

(46) Z. /e/ après avec euh /ledemâd/ euh + le commerce /e/ après /itravaj/ euh + à la France /e/ après /idemâde/ à/ à/ + /dômâde/ à + je /kôprâ/ pas + /dômâd/ avec la famille (Cycle 2, encounter 1)  
(= and after with euh/ask/ euh+ business and then he worked + in France and afterwards he asked + I don't know how to say that + asked for family reunion) (+ indicates untimed pauses).

vi) to mark off duration (V stem e.g. /ferf/) from punctuality (V+e e.g. /ferfe/):

(47) Z. /e/ après /ferf/ celui-là la maison grand /e/ après /rafte/ toutes les choses /e/ après moi /parti/ le Maroc /ferfe/ les enfants avec la carte jaune à la Paris (Cycle 2, encounter 1)  
(= and afterwards (we) looked for a big house and bought every thing and then I left for Morocco to collect the kids for Paris with the yellow card).

### 6.2.3 Early temporal and aspectual marking

According to Klein *et al.* (1993), in early varieties and even in later stages, verbal alternation  $V + \emptyset - V + e$  is multifunctional. It contrasts  $V + e$  for dynamic verbs and  $V + \emptyset$  for stative verbs.  $V + \emptyset$  refers also to the imperfective or prospective and  $V + e$  to the perfective. Finally,  $V + \emptyset$  tends to represent generics and habituais as in (51) whereas  $V + e$  relates individuated events in the past as in (49).

(48) AE. il /vjê/ il /done/ la clé /ilmadi/

(49) AE. moi je /demâd/ 160 francs il /don/ rien + l'autre /ilmadi/ "non je /don/ 140" moi je /di/ "non 160 francs" et je /vâdr/ 150  
(= me I ask for 160 francs he doesn't agree + the other man he tells me I give 140 me I say no 160 francs and I sell for 150)

By the end of the data collection period (Cycle 3, encounter 3), Zahra uses  $V + \emptyset$  and  $V + e$  with various temporal values:

- (50) I. Vous n'y allez pas souvent? (à l'école)  
Z. une fois pour hanan /tôbe/ à l'école (. . .) mais /jâna/ les os /gôfil/ comme ça après moi /parti/ avec hanan pour /levwar/ l'institutrice (= once because Hanan fell at school (. . .) but his bones were swollen like this then I went with Hanan to meet the teacher)  
Z. après moi /le parti/ mon docteur pour /il a fe/ les radios pour ma fille (= then I went to see my doctor so that he would X-ray my daughter)

Verb morphology in the three purpose clauses in (50) show diversity of form and meaning: /levwar/ is close to TL infinitive, /a fini/ looks like a TL compound past and /tôbe/ like a past participle, an infinitive or an *imparfait*. Although, at this stage, verbs in main and subordinate clauses exhibit inflection, I do not assume that these forms carry the same TL temporal and aspectual values. The only safe conclusion is that Zahra is attempting to reconstruct the TL temporal system as marked by verb inflection.

#### 6.2.4 Towards the TL temporal system

In (51), Zahra seems to have sorted out the TL auxiliary system (Cycle 3, encounter 9),

- (51) a. I. tu pars au Maroc cet été?  
Z. /se/ pas parce que /on arete/ le travail le patron /i ferme/ l'atelier /a fe/ faillite  
b. Z. parce que lui /ja/ beaucoup de problèmes pour /travaj/ /ja/ beaucoup /lisâsje/ (. . .) nous /on travaj/ la fin du mois /i pej/ pas les ouvriers dismissal (. . .) /se/ pas content pour /travaj/ comme ça (= because him there are a lot of problems with work many are fired (. . .) us we work at the end of the month he doesn't pay his employees, there's no satisfaction to work this way)  
c. Z. /se/ patron lui /ašte/ tissus beaucoup et après /i pej/ pas les clients après tout le monde /i poze/ plainte contre lui après la justice /port/ les papiers pour /il a fe/ le saisie pour les machines et tout toutes les semaines /i port/ les papiers pour saisie (= It's the boss he buys a lot of textiles but he doesn't pay the clients and afterwards everybody brings charges against him afterwards the bailiff brings documents to seize the machines every week he brings documents for the seizure).

In (51a), verbs are of the form  $V+e$  or  $a+V+e$ . They relate past events.

In (51b),  $V$  stem forms *pej*, *travaj* indicate habituality with TT anterior to TU.

In (51c),  $V+\emptyset - V+e$  contrast to mark order of anteriority (or sequence) between events, see for instance /ašte/ and /i pej/ and /poze/ *plainte*, and /port/ *les papiers*. In the course of acquisition, the use of  $V+\emptyset$  has expanded.

In (52), the correct placement of the negator after the inflected verb form of the compound tense shows that AE, another informant, masters the morphology of TL compound tenses. Contrast (52a), and (52b), where the negator *rien* is correctly

inserted:

- (52) a. AE. non je /sufl/ pas non (= no I didn't breathe out)  
AE. non je pas /sufle/ (= no I didn't breathe out) (Cycle 2, encounter 6),  
b. AE. voilà je /di/ rien /tuʃe/ de mandat (. . .) je rien /tuʃe/ de mandat  
je rien /travaj/ /Ze/ rien /tuʃe/ (= here, I say I received no money  
order (. . .) I had no money order, I did not work, I received  
nothing) (Cycle 3, encounter 6).

Gradually, all the Moroccan L2 learners succeed in breaking down the TL system. They develop verb inflection to express various temporal values in relation with verb inflection.

### 6.3 Summary

Reliance on indirect and iconic means to mark temporal reference is shared by Moroccan learners of French with learners from other linguistic backgrounds (Klein *et al.*, 1993). However, the unfolding of verbal morphology in these learner varieties seems more specific. Lexical aspect plays a major role both in the formal alternation of VP and in the temporal meaning conveyed. The first basic morphological distinction is set between  $V\emptyset$  and  $V\acute{e}$  which conveys temporal and aspectual meanings. The analysis of the preverbal sequence  $C+V$  (e.g. *li/le*) or  $V$  (e.g. *a/ i/ e*) as an auxiliary (see also Starren, 2001) paves the way to the expression of grammatical aspect and of tense.

## 7 CLAUSE-COMBINING

The general course of development common to the four informants will first be surveyed. This will be followed by an analysis of the relation between coding devices and discourse functions in various types of texts.

### 7.1 Parataxis

As can be expected with oral data, parataxis is of frequent use. In the domain of temporal reference, learners mark AFTER relations between discourse segments through the use of connectives */e/*, and *après* (cf. (35) *et seq.* above). As the learner varieties evolve, the temporal interval between events is marked by other connectives such as *avant*:

- (53) I. tu m'as dit que tu travaillais à l'atelier avec ton mari  
Z. avant mon mari /itravaj/ /jāna/ l'atelier /itravaj/ avec moi et ma sœur+  
Z. et après mon mari le commerce /imarʃ/ pas à le Maroc  
Z. et après /iʃāZe/ à la France (Cycle 2, encounter 1)  
(= before my husband worked in his workshop with me and my sister and  
then his trade did not prosper and then he changed to France)

Abdessamad, during an encounter of Cycle 3, marks simultaneity as well as sequentiality:

- (54) AB. alors le flic /ila ramen/ le mec /ki ivāde/ la drogue



Parataxis is also used to supplement relative clauses in conveying background information (see below).

## 7.2 Subordination

### 7.2.1 Circumstantial clauses

Temporal and causal clauses are acquired earlier than purpose clauses. In the case of the latter, the order of development goes from *pour* + NP to *pour* + inflected VP and more complex CP. *Quand* clauses as in (44) above are observed early in the data. Zahra ‘coins’ an approximate form of the TL marker /kã/, which is pronounced variously by Z. as /kale/, /kane/, /kalø/ or /kølø/. Except for some morphological adjustments, *quand* clauses do not change during the data collection period.

In the case of causal clauses, *parce que* is first used as a discourse marker as in (55), and then as a subordinator as in (56):

- (55) AE. comment le problème comme /ãtre/ la France?  
I. ouais par exemple ouais  
AE. ah ouais parce que moi /ãtre/ la France /jãna/ pas de passeport /jãna/  
pas de rien  
I. ouais  
AE. parce que /ãtre/ la France /e/ la montagne (Cycle 1, encounter 1)  
(=how I arrived in France, because I entered France by the mountains, I  
had no passport, nothing)
- (56) AE. après /ilaparti/ la police d’Espagne pourquoi /ita/ passeport ni rien?  
parce que moi /ena/ passeport//ila perdre/ (Cycle 1, encounter 1).  
(=then I went to the Spanish police. Why don’t you have any passport or  
nothing? Because I had a passport, I have lost it).

The syntax of purpose clauses evolves gradually as can be observed when (57), which is an instruction given by the informant to an investigator enacting a scene, is compared to (58) and (59) produced one cycle of data collection later (i.e. ca. one year later). In (58), the purpose clause is *pour* + non-finite verb, and in (59), the purpose clause is an inflected CP, although it is not target-like, whereas in (56) *pour* is followed by an NP:

- (57) AE. /ramase/ le cendrier pour le journal (Cycle 1, encounter 3),  
(= pick the ash tray and wrap it up in the news article)
- (58) AE. /il done/ un l’adresse pour /dormir/ (Cycle 2, encounter 1)
- (59) AE. voilà /se/ ça pour tu /vini/ /nerve/ (Cycle 2, encounter 3)  
(= OK that’s to get you to be nervous)

### 7.2.2 Complement and relative clauses

#### i) Modal verbs and complement clauses

By the end of the first cycle of data collection, the four informants master one or more modal verbs and at least one verb to frame reported speech, such as /*madi*/ (to tell). These verbs require an explicit subordinator in TL and no overt marker

in L1. The verbs in the learner varieties select complement clauses including finite and non-finite verbs without explicit marking of subordination in most cases. AB and AE show variable use of *que* with these verbs.

- (60) a. AE. il /fo/ tu /partir/ (Cycle 1, encounter 9)  
 (= you must go)  
 b. AE. voilà /il madi/ /fo/ tu /part/ le consulat (Cycle 2, encounter 1)  
 c. AE. voilà /il fo/ que tu /don/un dossier (Cycle 3, encounter 4)  
 d. AE. /fo/ tu /parti/ tu /travaj/ (Cycle 3, encounter 5)  
 (= you must go and work)
- (61) a. AB. après /Zarit/ /ifo/ que je /fleji/ (Cycle 1, encounter 9)  
 (= after I stop I must think this over)  
 b. AB. /ilmadi/ non /fo/ tu /done/ (Cycle 1, encounter 9)  
 (= he told me no you must give something)

ii) Relative clauses

Before the informants develop explicit relative clauses, they make use of two paratactic devices to fulfil the functions devoted to relative clauses in TL: clefting with presentational verbs without explicit subordinator and nominal copy. These devices introduce background information on the referent on stage. Two early examples in the data are (62) and (63) with presentational verb /se/ (there/it is),

- (62) AB. /se/ mon père /il e peje/ (Cycle 1, encounter 3)  
 (63) AD. /ilja/ madame /eleparle/ pour la police /se/ pas le Charlot /ile/ voleur du pain (Cycle 1, encounter 5)  
 (= There's a woman she speaks to the policeman, it's not Charlie he stole the bread)

Examples (63) and (64) are with /ilja/ *jāna*/. In (64), the clefting structure /jāna/... *qui* contains one of the rare tokens of *qui* in the whole corpora,

- (64) AE. /jana/ beaucoup de camionistes qui /jarz/ (Cycle 2, encounter 2)

Example (65) illustrates the use of nominal copy, co-referring nouns are indexed:

- (65) AB. /ja/ une petite fille<sub>j</sub> dans le fourgon même le fille<sub>j</sub> /ile vole/ + parce que /ja/ pas le du pain /ja/ /ile vole/ les bananes<sub>i</sub> et tout ça et /ile ramene/ les bananes<sub>i</sub> à son/ son père et tout (Cycle 2, encounter 5)  
 (= there's a little girl in the van even the girl has stolen because there's no bread she has stolen bananas and everything and has taken them back to her father)

The only tokens of *qui* as a relative pronoun in a relative clause are found when the antecedent NP is in controller position:

- (66) AB. alors le flic/il a ramen/ le mec qui /ivâde/ la drogue à la prison (Cycle 2, encounter 5)  
 (67) AE. beaucoup de monde qui /dorm/ avec toi les chambres (Cycle 2, encounter 7)

### 7.2.3 Summary

Circumstantial clauses develop earlier than complement and relative clauses in the learner varieties examined. *Que* and *qui* as markers of complement and relative clauses are rare. *Que* is selected by certain modal verbs such as *fo* (must). *Qui* is found either in the clefting device /*se*// /*il*ja/... *qui* or as a relative pronoun with its co-referring NP in controller position. Although relative and complement clauses are mastered by the informants, they tend to use paratactic devices such as clefting and NP copy to fulfill such discursive functions as the introduction of background information in narratives.

## 7.3 Clause combining in discourse

### 7.3.1 In narrative discourse

#### i) Introduction and maintenance of reference to protagonists on stage

Clefting and nominal copy are the main discursive devices used for reference introduction and maintenance as described above and illustrated in Table 2.

#### ii) Linking fore-grounded events

As already mentioned, connectives *et*, *et après* and *alors* are used to order fore-grounded events (see examples 53 and 54 above). Other connectives include *mais* (68), and phatic *voilà* (69):

- (68) AB. après /*iprã*/ l'arme le chapeau et tout ça/*idone*/ le la police/*idi*/ /*ale*/ au-revoir mais même pas lui aussi il /*esorti*/ (Cycle 2, encounter 5)  
(= then he takes the gun the hat and all that he gives to the policeman, he says good-bye but not even he himself does he leave).

In this example, *mais* contrasts shared knowledge of addressee and speaker about the previous state of affairs (the helplessness of the accompanying policeman, the escape of the young girl) and the course of action of the protagonist – what world knowledge leads one to expect (he should escape) and what actually takes place (he helps the policeman to recover).

- (69) a. AD. voilà /*ileparti*/ + ouais+ /*il*ja/ /*tôbe*/ un peu (Cycle 1, encounter 5)  
(= O.K he goes away and falls a bit)  
b. AB. /*idi*/ voilà /*se*/ vous /*kø*/ le responsable de manifestation (Cycle 3, encounter 5)  
c. AE. voilà /*ifo*/ tu /*pej*/ ça (Cycle 3, encounter 5)

Table 3 shows the distribution of discourse markers in AE's retellings. The tokens of 'après' decrease along the cycles of data collection while an increase of other devices which serve to introduce background information and to relate the information to the foreground narrative utterances can be noted (last two columns) (see also Véronique, 1990).

#### c) Perspective taking

Clefting (ja/*jãna* + NP + Ø/*qui* or *se*/*sete* + NP + Ø/*qui*) is used to set the perspective and introduce referents as in (70) and (71):

Table 2. *Introduction of protagonists in one episode of film retelling*

Informant	Cycle, encounter	The young woman	The old lady	Charlie Chaplin
Abderrahim	1.5	– /ilja/ un femme + /ilja/ madame /ja/ /se/ pas /māzi/ – le femme /li/ problème du pain	– /ilja/ madame /eleparle/ pour la police /se/ pas le Charlot /ile/ voleur du pain /ilja/ l'autre madame /ileregard/ mademoiselle	le charlot
	2.5	– .la fille /jāna / pas le /māze/ sa fille le chômeur	– ./jāna/ une femme et /ileparle/ le monsieur du fourgonnette	
	3.5	– ./se/ la fille /ilevole/ un baguette de pain	– ./jāna une femme /se/ une vieille /iladi/	
Abdessamad	1.5	– la femme /ilevole/ le banane	– alors/jāna/ la femme /elepase/ tu /ladi/ la patron boulangerie alors tu /madi/ /ja/ une fille /ilevole/ du pain /rogard/	charlot
	2.5	même le fille /ilevole/ parce que /ja/ pas le du pain		
Zahra	1.5	– la dame	– et après la dame l'autre /le rogard/ la dame / levalor/	
Abdelmalek	1.5	– /jāna/ le femme pas /travaj/ /jā/ pas des sous pas /mōzi/	– .le femme /ke garde/ il a vole un restaurant – comme le femme /sa le garde il avole il madi/ le patron la femme /il a vole/ le restaurant	charlot
	2.5	– une petite fille ++ déjà tu /vole/ avec un baguette de pain	– l'autre dame l'autre dame voilà tu /madi/ voilà la femme tu /vole/	

Table 3. Discourse markers in three Modern Times retellings by Abdelmalek

	après	bon	alors	voilà	/jāna/ X	/se/ X
Modern Times 1	13	Ø	1	Ø	4	6
Modern Times 2	13	1	2	44	21	25
Modern Times 3	6	28	Ø	13	4	19

(70) AD./jāna/ une femme et /ile parle/ le monsieur du fourgonnette (Cycle 2, encounter 5)

(71) AB.le première /sete/ charlot /ki pase/ dans la rue (Cycle 3, encounter 5)

### 7.3.2 In instructional discourse

Besides the use of *après* for sequencing instructions, connectives such as *bon*, *alors* and *donc* in mainly paratactic speech.

(72) AD. le blouson /me/ le sur la chaise voilà bon alors euh tu /prā/ le les chaises Ø là-bas contre le mur (Cycle 2, encounter 3)  
(= the jacket put it on the chair, ok, well so eh you take them the chairs, over there against the wall).

### 7.3.3 In picture description

i) Introduction and maintenance of reference to protagonists on stage

Introducing new referents in picture description is achieved through clefting as in the other types of discourse, i.e. through parataxis:

(73) Z. /jāna/ les hommes Ø /i Zue/ avec le chapeau et /jāna/ euh un garçon Ø /e plore le tōbe/ (Cycle 2, encounter 6)  
(= there are men, they play with the hat, and there is euh a boy, he is crying he fell).

ii) Perspective taking

In this task, Abdessamad, differently from the other informants, combines the use of */ilja/* and formulaic *tu vois* and *voilà* to introduce the referents and focus the addressee's attention:

(74) AB. et /ja/ quelqu'un Ø /ile gane/ tu /vwa/ tout le monde et quelqu'un /i lev/ le chapeau euh voilà l'autre euh et /i rigole/ /ja/ beaucoup beaucoup de choses ici /ja jana jana/ quelqu'un et tu /vwa/ Ø /ile sote/ (Cycle 2, encounter 6)  
(= there's somebody, he wins, you see everybody, and somebody waves his hat, there the other, he laughs, there are many many things here, there is somebody, and you see he jumps)

### 7.3.4 Summary

Parataxis and subordination are used in quite similar ways in the different discursive tasks surveyed. Clauses are sequenced through the use of connectives and perspective is marked through formulaic expression or clefting devices. The major mode of

organisation of the texts is parataxis. Subordinated clauses are mainly used for temporal reference and to provide background information.

## 8 CONCLUSION

This article is an attempt to describe, from a functionalist perspective, the path of development followed by Moroccan L1 adult learners of French to acquire the linguistic – pragmatic, lexical and grammatical – means to refer to time intervals at the propositional and discursive levels, and to combine clauses in various discourse contexts. A survey of the coding used to express temporal reference in discourse and to combine clause into text demonstrates both the contribution of TL and L1, especially where both are convergent. The comparison in sections 3 and 4 of this article led to the expectation that grammaticalisation of temporal reference and of clause combining would be slow. It could be expected that the principle of iconicity would lead the learners to favour indirect marking of time intervals and paratactic devices.

Internal discursive functions such as the introduction and maintenance of reference to entities or time intervals, or to provide background and fore-ground information also favoured the development of clefting and the use of weak governing verbs such as /*jāna*/ and /*se/sete*/.

The evolution from iconicity to arbitrary grammaticalisation is more clearly illustrated in the domain of temporal reference as illustrated in narration than in the domain of clause combining. The Moroccan learners observed acquire grammatical inflection on the verb and tense, especially reference to the past. Grammaticalised subordination is rare, except in the domain of circumstantial clauses.

*Author's address:*

Daniel Véronique

UFR de Didactique du Français Langue Etrangère

Université Paris III

46 rue Saint Jacques

75230 PARIS Cedex 05

FRANCE

*e-mail:* Daniel.Véronique@univ-paris3.fr

## REFERENCES

- Andersen, R. W. (1984). The one to one principle of interlanguage construction. *Language Learning*, 34.1: 77–95.
- Bamhamed, M. (1995). *Traitement en temps réel des énoncés complexes. Etude comparative interlangues (arabe/français)*. Thèse de doctorat: Université Paris V.
- Bardovi-Harlig, K. (1999). From morpheme studies to temporal semantics: tense-aspect research in SLA. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 21.3: 341–382.

- Bartning, I. and Kirchmeyer, N. (2003). Le développement de la compétence textuelle à travers les stades acquisitionnels en français L2. *Acquisition et Interaction en Langue Étrangère*, 19: 9–39.
- Blanche-Benveniste, C. (1990). *Le français parlé. Etudes grammaticales*. Paris: Editions du CNRS.
- Blanche-Benveniste, C. (1997). *Approches de la langue parlée en français*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Caubet, D. (1993). *L'arabe marocain*. Louvain-Paris: Peeters.
- Comrie, B. (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft, W. (1990). *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Danon-Boileau, L. (1993). De quelques préjugés relatifs à l'usage des notions de motivation et d'iconicité. *Faits de Langues*, 1: 79–87.
- François, D. (1974). *Français parlé*. Paris: SELAF.
- Gadet, F. 1989. *Le français ordinaire*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Giacalone Ramat, A. (1992). Grammaticalization processes in the area of temporal and modal relations. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 14.3: 297–322.
- Giacalone Ramat, A. (1999). Functional typology and strategies of clause connection in second language acquisition. *Linguistics*, 37.3: 519–548.
- Giacalone Ramat, A. (2000). Typological considerations on second language acquisition. *Studia Linguistica*, 54.2: 123–135.
- Giacalone Ramat, A. (2003). Introduction. In: A. Giacalone Ramat (ed.), *Typology and second language acquisition*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1–18.
- Givón, T. (1984). *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction. Volume I*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Givón, T. (1989). *Mind, code and context. Essays in pragmatics*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Givón, T. (1990). *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction. Volume II*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Harrell, R. S. (1962). *A short reference grammar of Moroccan Arabic*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Hopper, P. (1988). Emergent grammar and the a priori grammar postulate. In: D. Tannen (ed.), *Linguistics in context: connecting observation and understanding*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Co., pp. 117–134.
- Hopper, P. and Traugott, E. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirchmeyer, N. (2000). *Etude de la compétence textuelle des lectes d'apprenants avancés. Aspects syntaxiques, sémantiques et discursifs*. Mémoire de Phil. Lic., Dépt. de français et d'italien, Université de Stockholm.
- Kirchmeyer, N. (2002). *Etude de la compétence textuelle des lectes d'apprenants avancés. Aspects structurels, fonctionnels et informationnels*. Thèse de doctorat, University of Stockholm.
- Kleiber, G. (1993). Iconicité d'isomorphisme et grammaire cognitive. *Faits de Langues*, 1: 105–121.
- Klein, W. (1986). *Second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klein, W. (1989). *L'acquisition de langue étrangère*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Klein, W. and Perdue, C. (1997). The basic variety. *Second language research*, 13.4: 301–347.
- Klein, W. in collaboration with Dietrich, R. and Noyau, C. (1993). The acquisition of temporality. In: C. Perdue (ed.), *Adult language acquisition: cross-linguistic perspectives. Volume II The results*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 73–118.

- Klein, W. and von Stutterheim, C. (1991). Text structure and referential movement. *Sprache und Pragmatik*, 22: 1–32.
- Meisel J. (1977). Linguistic simplification: A study of immigrant workers' speech and foreigner talk. In: S. P. Corder and E. Roulet E. (eds), *Actes du 5<sup>ème</sup> colloque de Linguistique Appliquée de Neuchâtel*. Genève: Librairie Droz, pp. 88–113.
- Meisel, J. (1983). Strategies of second language acquisition. More than one kind of simplification. In: R. W. Andersen (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*. Rowley: Newbury House, pp. 120–157.
- Mitchell, R. and Myles, F. (1998). *Second language learning theories*. London: Arnold.
- Myles, F., Mitchell, R. and Hooper, J. (1999). Interrogative chunks in French L2. A basis for creative construction. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 21.1: 49–80.
- Noyau, C. (2002). Temporal relations in learner varieties: Grammaticalization and discourse construction. In: R. Salaberry and Y. Shirai, (eds), *The L2 acquisition of tense-aspect morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 107–127.
- Palmer, F. R. (1986). *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perdue C. (ed.) (1993a). *Adult language acquisition: cross-linguistic perspectives. Volume I The field methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perdue C. (ed.) (1993b). *Adult language acquisition: cross-linguistic perspectives. Volume II The results*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pfaff, C. W. (ed.) (1987a). *First and second language acquisition processes*. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Pfaff, C. W. (1987b). Functional approaches to interlanguage. In: C. W. Pfaff (ed.), *First and second language acquisition processes*. Rowley: Newbury House, pp. 81–102.
- Prévost, P. and White, L. (2000). Accounting for morphological variation in second language acquisition: truncation or missing inflection? In: Friedman, M.-A. and Rizzi, L. (eds), *The acquisition of syntax*. Harlow: Longman, pp. 202–235.
- Starren, M. (2001). *The second time. The acquisition of temporality in Dutch and French as a second language*. LOT: Utrecht.
- Swiggers, P. (1993). Iconicité: un coup d'œil historiographique et méthodologique. *Faits de Langues*, 1: 20–28.
- Tomlin, R. S. (1990). Functionalism in second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 12.2: 155–177.
- Valli, A. (1986). Le traitement de la variation linguistique dans l'étude de l'acquisition des langues secondes. In: A. Giacomi and D. Véronique (eds), *Acquisition d'une langue étrangère: perspectives et recherches*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, pp. 541–558.
- Véronique, D. (1990). Reference and discourse structure in the learning of French by adult Moroccans. In: H.W. Dechert (ed.), *Current trends in European second language acquisition research*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 171–201.
- Véronique, D. (2000). Observations préliminaires sur *li*. In: A. Giacomi, H. Stoffel and D. Véronique (eds), *Appropriation du français par des Marocains à Marseilles*. Aix en Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, pp. 297–317.
- von Stutterheim and Kohlmann C. (1998). Selective-hearer adaptation. *Linguistics*, 36: 517–549.