

INTERROGATIVES, NEGATION AND LINGUISTIC PLAY
IN
THREE CHILDREN ACQUIRING FRENCH
AS A FIRST LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

This study reports the spontaneous linguistic behaviour of three children acquiring French as a first language. The introductory chapter presents such information as the children's ages and the parents' linguistic background. In Chapter Two, the children's abilities to pose questions, make requests, and give commands are described. Chapter Three discusses the various negative speech actions that the children are able to perform, and the scope or range of each child's negation vocabulary. Chapter Four discusses the children's abilities to initiate, participate, and recognize linguistic play, that is, speech which is in direct contradiction with the facts and is not intended to be serious. Finally, the concluding chapter summarizes the study and points out its significant findings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	ii
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1 The Study	1
1.2 The Children.	4
1.3 The Parents	5
1.4 The Data.	6
1.5 Presentation Procedures	10
CHAPTER TWO: QUESTIONS, REQUESTS, AND IMPERATIVES	12
2.1 Preliminaries	12
2.1.1 Theoretical considerations	12
2.1.2 Relevant literature.	16
2.1.3 Questions, requests and imperatives in adult French	19
2.2 The One-Word Utterance Stage: Remi	20
2.2.1 Yes/no questions	22
2.2.2 "Where" questions.	27
2.2.3 "Huh" questions.	29
2.2.4 Requests and imperatives	32

	<u>Page</u>
2.3 "Telegraphic" Stage: Jean	34
2.3.1 Yes/no questions	35
2.3.2 "Where" questions.	38
2.3.3 "Why" questions.	44
2.3.4 "What" questions	47
2.3.5 Requests and imperatives	48
2.4 Complete Sentence Stage: Sophie.	49
2.4.1 Yes/no-tag questions	51
2.4.2 "Where" questions.	55
2.4.3 "Why" questions.	57
2.4.4 "What" questions	59
2.4.5 "How" questions.	61
2.4.6 "Who" questions.	62
2.4.7 Requests and imperatives	63
2.5 Summary	66
CHAPTER THREE: NEGATION	67
3.1 Introduction.	67
3.1.1 The semantics of negation.	67
3.1.2 Negation in adult French	71
3.2 A Scale of Negation Abilities	72
3.3 Lexical Usage: Negative Utterances	79
3.3.1 Remi	80
3.3.2 Jean	83
3.3.3 Sophie	92

	<u>Page</u>
3.4 Summary	95
CHAPTER FOUR: THE APPEARANCE OF NON-SERIOUS UTTERANCES.	97
4.1 Acquisition and Play.	97
4.2 Theoretical Considerations.	100
4.3 Discussion.	103
4.4 Summary	113
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	117
APPENDIX A: REMI: QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS.	120
APPENDIX B: JEAN: QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS.	132
APPENDIX C: SOPHIE: QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS.	163

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Study

The introduction of a transformational approach to linguistics, principally by Chomsky (1957, 1965), has been the catalyst for numerous experiments and studies on the acquisition of English as a first language. As a result, there has been a vast increase of information on the various stages and developmental characteristics of the language of children acquiring English. At the same time, relatively little is known about the acquisition process in other languages. In comparison to English, French has received little attention in the past fifteen years. Since French is similar to English in many respects, it is of interest whether or not comparable patterns are followed. The study of acquisition in languages other than English, then, provides information of two kinds: first, new data on acquisition in the language in question, and two, comparative data toward establishing a general theory of acquisition.

This study reports the spontaneous linguistic behaviour of three children who are acquiring French as a first

language. The two youngest subjects had advanced to the one-word utterance and "telegraphic" stages respectively. The third subject had proceeded to the stage at which she could produce syntactically well-formed sentences of five to ten words in length. Thus, while the data were gathered over a short period of time and supply a fragment or non-longitudinal view of the children's verbal behaviour, it does resemble a longitudinal study in that the stages are progressive. Of course, these "stages" refer to composites of numbers or words uttered and various linguistic abilities and no two subjects acquire language in exactly identical time or order. Nevertheless, these subjects fall generally into well defined complexes of abilities and reflect in general terms the process of early acquisition.

I will focus here on the three most impressive characteristics of this particular data: the ability to undertake appropriate questions and requests, to react negatively either to language or situations, and the role of linguistic play or ritualized transactions with a parent in language acquisition.

While the analysis in the chapters to follow will describe linguistic abilities, particularly in terms of acquisition of vocabulary and the presence of explicit terms in utterances, it will be equally interested in considering contextual information as in Bloom (1970). Along with the

actual utterances used, I include the context or situation of utterances. This inclusion may be expected to shed light on the broader question of how a child learns when a particular utterance is appropriate. Such contexts can also indicate abilities on the part of children to convey information where an explicit utterance is unavailable to them.

Chapter Two discusses the general question of the formation of interrogatives, including requests, questions, and commands. Not only is the form of such expressions at stake there, but also, and more importantly, the function and types of these expressions. I present certain theoretical considerations for treating questions, requests and commands at one time. Also, I suggest an order of question acquisition which compares favourably to that observed by Ingram (1972) and M. Smith (1933). Furthermore, I discuss the different types of questions gathered for each subject while presenting an order of questions based on the frequency of their occurrence.

In Chapter Three I discuss the semantics of negation, as well as the form various negative utterances may take. Of particular interest is the discovery of connections between negative expressions, as these suggest certain structures of acquisition. In this chapter I present the range of the negating abilities of the three children, and the various speech actions that can be performed by negative

utterances. Also, based on their frequency, an order of acquisition is suggested for these actions.

In Chapter Four the discussion turns to the children's abilities to participate in linguistic games. Such games include intentional mis-naming of objects, assuming contrary beliefs, and role playing. The transactions which characterize such games may contribute greatly to language acquisition. This chapter departs from the previous two, in that it does not discuss the more typical issues of language acquisition such as the lexicon, the acquisition of bound morphemes, transformations, and other syntactic complexities. It discusses, instead, the three children's abilities to initiate and participate in linguistic games. The concluding chapter, Chapter Five, summarizes the study and poses further question for language acquisition studies.

1.2 The Children

The material presented in this study was gathered from the speech of three children acquiring French as their first language. Remi, the youngest of the three at 22 months and 27 days old, was an only child of French-speaking parents. Sophie, who was the first born and was 38 months and 6 days old, and her younger brother Jean, 24 months and 25 days old, had been brought to Vancouver from France at the end of the Summer of 1972.

Although at the time of the taping French was the sole language spoken at home for all three children, Remi was exposed to English in his environment, and Sophie through her peers and at day school (two mornings a week). For Remi, his exposure to English came from the occasional evening baby sitter, television (two hours a week), his parent's English-speaking friends, and other outside contacts such as the postman, busdrivers, etc. At this time, Remi did not associate with English-speaking children of his own age on a regular basis. Likewise, Sophie was only beginning to substitute a few English items into her French by the end of the observation period, and Jean's exposure to English came mainly from Sophie and two to three hours of television per week. If Jean's French was being affected by English at all, it was not noticeable. Thus, English language influence was minimal, and it may be safely assumed that French was in fact the first language for the subjects.

1.3 The Parents

Remi's parents had immigrated to Canada two years before his birth. The mother was a high school graduate and came from Paris. The father was an electrician and was originally from southern France. Both parents spoke French in the home and English was used outside the home and then only minimally.

Sophie and Jean's parents were both from Paris and like Remi's parents spoke French in the home. Their mother had been a teacher for children with learning difficulties, and their father, a mathematician, was a visiting professor in Canada for one year.

During the time of observation both mothers were at home and caring for their children. Remi's mother was present during all ten sessions. However, since she was busy with household duties, her interaction with Remi was limited. Sophie and Jean's mother was present during most of the sessions and she participated in the children's activities. On one occasion the father was present and, again, he also participated in the children's activities. The three children's interaction with their mothers will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

1.4 The Data

The first session with Remi was held when he was 22 months and 27 days old (henceforth 22,27). The data were gathered in ten one-hour sessions, eight hours of which were recorded on cassette tapes. It should be noted that every session was either taped in whole or in part and notes were made during the sessions to provide additional contextual information for the transcriptions. Remi's mean length of utterance (MLU) for the first session was 1.27 and by the tenth it was

1.68. There were 512 utterances gathered over the ten sessions MLU was arrived at by counting the number of comprehensible words, words which corresponded to Standard French and words which were idiosyncratic, and dividing this number by the number of occurrences (excluding repetitions). If an utterance would have been definitely realized as more than one word in Standard French, then it was counted as such. For example, [ũnə], un autre (another), was counted as two words. This procedure was followed for all three children.

Remi, perhaps like most normal children at this stage, was constantly engaged in producing strings of incomprehensible utterances marked with different intonational contours and gestures, addressed to his mother, to me, or at times to no one in particular. Bloom reports that when one of her subjects, Eric, was 19 months and 1 week old, with an MLU of 1.10, "he produced extended strings of sounds with recognizable English sentence intonation patterns -- but containing few intelligible words, if any" (1970:102). This type of linguistic behaviour, prior to and during the one-word utterance stage, has been termed "jargon" (Menyuk 1971:4), and appears to be a common linguistic behaviour for this stage of development. Remi, however, was not the only one of the three children to produce jargon. Jean, to a much lesser extent, also engaged in such behaviour. Sophie, on the other hand, did not.

With the exception of two sessions with Jean alone, all of the other sessions were held with Jean and Sophie together, with the first session taking place five weeks after Remi's observation had started and less than two months after the children's arrival in Vancouver. At the start of the study Jean was 24 months and 25 days old (24,25) and Sophie was 38 months and 6 days old (38,6). There were nine sessions with Sophie and Jean together over a period of nine weeks, and these totaled nine hours and forty-five minutes of tape. As mentioned above, there were two taped sessions held with Jean alone, thus totalling eleven hours and forty-five minutes for Jean. Although there was approximately an hour of taping and note taking per session, additional time was always spent during each session in observing the children and in becoming more familiar with their linguistic behaviour.

There were 1812 utterances gathered from Jean. It should be noted that utterances which could not be understood by either the mother or myself are not included in this figure. The inability to make sense of certain utterances (on my part) was not necessarily due to the fact that Jean was engaging in jargon, but simply because a correspondence between Jean's French and the adult version could not be drawn, e.g., [papüsa~~k~~val lot pak^ht^h lot pak^h papü]. Although the underlines portions of the utterance are comprehensible, pas pu ça (cannot this), cheval (horse), l'autre (the other), no conclusions can be drawn concerning its meaning.

Jean's mean length of utterance of words in the first session was 1.78. Unlike Remi, Jean's free utterances were not strictly one word in length. If those utterances consisting of oui, non, and the names of objects were excluded from the MLU count, his MLU for the first session would consist of at least two items. Likewise, the last session's MLU of 2.16 would also be somewhat higher.

During the nine sessions with Sophie, 1393 utterances were gathered. Sophie's utterances were typically novel, in that she did not have word combinations or phrases which she used repeatedly simply because she had no better linguistic means at her disposal. This is not to say that she had mastered the target language, but only that her utterances were not limited to a set number of expressions. Sophie's MLU for the first session was 3.37 and for the last, it was 4.15.

In comparing the mean length of utterance of words for the first and last sessions for each child, Table I.1,

Table I.1
Description of the Three Children's MLU

Session	<i>Remi</i>		<i>Jean</i>		<i>Sophie</i>	
	MLU	Age	MLU	Age	MLU	Age
First	1.27	22,27	1.78	24,25	3.37	38,6
Last	1.68	25,20	2.16	26,23	4.15	40,1

the greatest difference in MLU appears in the data gathered from Sophie. This difference should not be taken strictly as a measure of the change in linguistic development. Rather, since during the last session there were fewer one word utterances, such as oui and non, the MLU resulted in a higher figure. The same could be said of the difference that appears in Jean's MLU. Remi, however, at the last session exhibited the beginnings of the two-word utterance stage, that is, enlargement of vocabulary, and frequent appearance of two-word utterances.

1.5 Presentation Procedures

Although the children's utterances will be given in Standard French, this is not to attribute to the child any knowledge implicit in the conventions of orthography. Phonetic transcription of utterances will be given only in those cases in which a standard rendition would be either impossible, e.g., [ə], or inadvisable due to a lack of certainty, e.g. [lɛ], item designating "where" for Jean. An English translation for the French will be given only in the corpus of this study. Each utterance will be presented in its context. The context will include such information as the activity prior to the child's utterance along with what, if anything, the adult has said to the child, and activity and speech after the child's

utterance. If the child's activity is noted while he is uttering, that will be presented in the context also. The position of the child's utterance in the context will be marked by >. The mother of the child will be referred to as M, the father as F, Sophie as S, the observer as O, and Jean and Remi as J and R respectively.

The appendices will present raw data and these will be organized for each child. The following diacritical marks will be used throughout the presentation of the children's utterances: (···) for pause, (:) for lengthening of utterance, and ([]) for phonetic representation.

CHAPTER TWO

QUESTIONS, REQUESTS, AND IMPERATIVES

2.1 Preliminaries

2.1.1 Theoretical considerations

This chapter will develop an account of the three children's respective abilities to pose questions, make requests, and differentiate between requests and commands. While these three issues may seem to merit separate analyses, since questions are demonstrably different from commands, my analysis will attempt to show that each of the three issues depends uniquely on a single ability: the ability to express needs in language. Questions, requests, and commands all stem from circumstances in which a speaker's desire will not be fulfilled, all things remaining equal, if he does not make his need known. He must undertake questions, requests, and commands to see that his need is met. In which of these three forms the utterance will appear must depend on the status of the hearer, the urgency of the need, and other considerations any theory of language acquisition should include. From this perspective, then, to treat these three abilities at one time

is theoretically justified, since they share a common source and since they are each generalizable as utterances made to see that a need is met.

From a more formal perspective, a clear separation between the semantic properties of questions, requests, and imperatives has been difficult to maintain. Katz and Postal (1964:85), for example, have pointed out:

An important fact about questions is that, semantically, they are somewhat like imperatives in that questions are requests of a special kind. However, unlike imperatives, which, in general, request some form of nonlinguistic behavior or action, questions are concerned primarily with linguistic responses. (1964:85)

Also, Gordon and Lakoff have suggested a logical analysis of questions as types of requests rather than as types of question, i.e., a request that the hearer provide some information (1971:66). This view was shared by Chafe, who states:

The meaning of interrogative is that the speaker requests the hearer to provide him with new (and true) information of a sort which is made explicit by the rest of the sentence. (1970:312)

Hence, although questions, requests, and commands are clearly delineated on the surface, they share a common semantic proposition in that they request either information or action.

This semantic characteristic is of vital importance in recognizing and isolating questions, requests, and commands from the early linguistic behaviour of children such as the

subjects in this study, since syntax and intonation have shown to be of minimal assistance. For the two boys, both questions and requests seem to have similar intonational contours, and since few questions are morphologically, let alone syntactically, marked, information provided by the context must figure in whether the utterance requests information or an action. Similarly with Sophie, context distinguishes requests from imperatives since many requests and imperatives have identical syntax and often intonation does not provide a distinction. Thus, contextual information plays a crucial role in distinguishing which utterances might be requests, questions, or imperatives, and should be included in the discussion and description of the children's (communicative) abilities.

With regard to what to take as a question, for example, there are several possible methodological alternatives, involving the issue of how questions may most interestingly be subclassified. In most cases, utterances containing both question morphemes and rising intonation qualify as questions. But, such standards are inadequate for other, less explicit, utterances which function as questions. Certain of these question-like utterances request new or additional information, others request reinforcement of what the child already knows or supposes, others ask agreement, and still others require no response at all. M.M. Lewis has made a similar observation:

First, the child continues to play the game of question-and-answer; he asks what we may call "pseudo-questions"--questions the answer to which he already knows and which he asks simply for the pleasure of the verbal interchange with someone. Secondly, he continues to ask questions to test the correctness of what he believes--a rudimentary form of testing a hypothesis. Finally, he asks questions by which he seeks real information--what he as yet does not know.
(1968:94)

In inexplicit or unmarked cases, the reasons a subject has for making an utterance, as shown by its context, may qualify that utterance as a question. Along with morphologically marked utterances, those which function as questions would, then, be included in the class of requests. Thus, to widen the spectrum of what may be taken as a question is to intensify the problem of how and where to classify and make distinctions between questions. This problem becomes even more acute in the face of one-word and two-word utterances, since the intentions of the subject cannot be properly assigned, becoming highly ambiguous, and open to various interpretations.

This study does not pretend to have solved the problem of subclassifying questions; it does however provide ample contextual information to facilitate description and make analysis possible. It will offer a description of the different function of the question utterances during the three stages represented by the subjects, with regard to appropriateness in context.

2.1.2 Relevant literature

In recent developmental psycholinguistic research, questions have had the most attention among the three issues under discussion here. Most of this research has been conducted with children learning English as their first language. The interest in questions has been varied. For example, Brown and Hanlon have looked at questions in order to answer such questions as "is derivational complexity related to the order in which constructions emerge in child speech" (1968:13). On the other hand, Gruber has looked at questions to provide evidence that a child learning a language uses "innately known topic-comment construction to compose richer sentences" (1967:382). Also, questions have been looked at to describe formally children's linguistic competence. In fact, Klima and Bellugi-Klima have written a set of rules to describe the various periods in the acquisition of the syntactic structures of questions (1966:420-424). They point out that interrogative word preposing, inversion of verb and noun in yes/no-questions, and DO deletion, do not appear until the third period with a mean length of utterance of morphemes of 2.75-4.0. Questions produced by children with an MLU of 1.0-1.5, however, are not discussed by Klima and Bellugi-Klima.

Of the recent studies of one-word utterances in English, most either make no mention of questions (e.g., Bloom, 1970) or simply state that children at this stage of

linguistic development do indeed ask questions and this they do by means of a rising intonation (Menyuk 1971:60-62). A study conducted by Menyuk and Bernholtz (1969) is often cited as indicative of the existence that prosodic features (question, statement, emphatic) constitute a part of the child's utterances. In a recent draft of a study by Greenfield, Smith, and Laufer on the nature of children's one-word utterances, questions are dismissed (1972). Greenfield and her colleagues report that "intonation is the cue most often used in interpreting an utterance as a question" (157). Questions are treated as a modality element which excludes them from discussion since their study is concerned with those elements which do not belong in the modality component as expounded by Fillmore (1969).

Unlike the one-word utterance stage, subsequent stages of linguistic development, have had more attention. Ingram (1972) reports on the spontaneous questions asked by ten normal children between the ages of 2-1/2 and 3 years, with one child at 1-1/2 years of age. From this data, he discusses frequency and stages of question acquisition. The more frequently asked questions were yes/no questions (47% of the total questions asked), followed by "where" (18%), "what" (18%), "why" (8%), "how" (5%), "who" (2%), and "when" (1%). Yes/no, "where," and "what" questions were used by all the children. Eight used "why" and "how," and only five children

used "who" questions. These are suggested as possible stages of development.

Somewhat comparable results were found in this study. Table II.1 shows the percentage of the different types of questions posed by the three children.

Table II.1
Frequency of Questions Posed

	Total No.	huh	<u>yes/no</u>	where	why	what	how	who
Remi	42	61%	34%	5%				
Jean	82		21%	48%	19%	12%		
Sophie	106		22%	22%	21%	23%	10%	2%

Although yes/no-questions are frequent, for Jean "where" questions have higher percentage of occurrence. None of the French-speaking children used either "when" or "which" questions. M. Smith reports that "who," and "which" made up only 2% of all questions asked by her 219 children between the ages of 18 to 72 months (1933:201, 206). She also reports that "what" and "where" were the most frequently used question words, 15% and 11%, respectively; and "how" appeared 6% of the time (206). The results of this study suggest the following order of acquisition:

1. yes/no
2. where, what (why?)
3. how, who
4. when, which

2.1.3 Questions, requests and imperatives in adult French

All wh-questions in French can be formed with either the question element alone or with est-ce que. As in English, when the question contains wh-element inversion occurs between the verb and the pronoun, if a pronoun is present. The following are the standard forms for questions containing wh-element.

ou (where)	:	<u>Où est le livre?</u>	(where is the book?)
Quoi (what)	:	<u>C'est quoi ça?</u>	(what is this?)
Pourquoi (why)	:	<u>Pourquoi fait-il ça?</u>	(why does he do this?)
Comment (how)	:	<u>Comment fait-on le gâteau?</u>	(how do we make the cake?)
Qui (who)	:	<u>Qui est à la porte?</u>	(who is at the door?)
Quand (when)	:	<u>Quand viendras-tu?</u>	(when will you come?)
Quel (which)	:	<u>Le quel est votre livre?</u>	(which one is your book?)

In this study only the first five elements appear. Also, since the est-ce que forms of questions do not appear at all, it will not be necessary to expound on them. It should be noted only that when the est-ce que form is used no inversion

of pronoun and verb occurs, e.g., pourquoi est-ce qu'il fait ça? (why does he do this?).

Otherwise, yes/no-questions in French, as in English, do not have a specific element which identifies the utterance as a yes/no question. Again, in yes/no-questions inversion occurs, for example, Viens-tu ce soir? (Are you coming this evening?).

Requests can be couched in either the verb pouvoir (to be able to) or vouloir (to want to). For example, "would you give me the book?" would be: Veux-tu me donner le livre? Here, the statement has a question intonation. Finally, a command in French has the same structure as that in English, for example, eat!, mange! These are some of the forms that the children will have to acquire to approximate their language to that of the adult's.

2.2 The One-Word Utterance Stage: Remi

At the one-word utterance stage in particular, to understand what a child intended is to understand what he said. Morphologically speaking, one-word utterances are highly ambiguous when the interpreter has no recourse to contextual information such as posture, facial expressions, hand and head gestures, and utterances occurring before and after the child's comment. Extra-verbal behavioural factors such as

these seem to be very helpful in deciding what the child's intentions are in cases where such a decision can be made. Where the child's linguistic behaviour contradicts his actions, his actions might be better designators of his intentions. For instance, if a child follows an order but says "no," it would be assumed that he meant to carry out the command rather than to overtly contradict himself. Of course, if his utterance is in agreement with his actions, then the more explicit will his intentions be. Thus, the utterances described here have been classified as such on primarily contextual and behavioural grounds.

As compared to requests, there are relatively few questions in the data gathered from Remi. Although it was not until the last session that a syntactically marked question appeared, it can be construed that from the start of the observations Remi questioned the whereabouts of objects and requested yes or no answers to his utterances. Not included in this discussion are all the questions formed with [l̥arta]. This item and its phonological variants occurred with great frequency during the first two sessions. They occurred both as questions and as statements. For example, pointing at the tape recorder during the first session Remi uttered [l̥ʔata?] and its variants eleven times. Then looking at O's glasses, he said [Il̥arda]. The mother also did not understand what was meant by this 'word.' However, by the third

session it had disappeared. Bloom also reports the appearance and the disappearance of such a phenomenon [widə] in Allison. She concluded that "the form had no identifiable element of experience, content, or meaning that would distinguish it, as a linguistic fact" (Bloom 1971:21). So, bearing in mind that the following tables list only the comprehensible utterances, the data can now be discussed.

2.2.1 Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions appeared the most frequent during the period of observation. In this group, questions which require a reinforcement of what the child has already heard can be distinguished from those which require new confirmation or denial. This distinction is made on several grounds. Firstly, those utterances which seem to request reinforcement are utterances which have appeared in the adult's speech immediately preceding Remi's. Below are examples of such instances.

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
1. chocolat?	R is having a snack. "Tu veux du chocolat?" (Do you want some chocolate?) > R waits while M goes to cupboard. R is given some chocolate.

2. boîte?
- R is holding a small box.
 "C'est une boîte, c'est une petite boîte." (It is a box, it's a small box).
 >
 R picks up another toy from toy box. "Ça, ce n'est pas une boîte." (That's not a box).

Secondly, when Remi's utterance is not preceded by an adult's, then he is very familiar with the object he is questioning, for example,

3. train?
- >
 R is holding a train.
 "Oui, c'est un train." (Yes, it's a train).

Finally, by his utterance, Remi is not initiating a new event, rather, he is continuing the old one.

Although each utterance may have various expanded structures, those utterances which are instances of reinforcement could be said to have two possible interpretations: (a) "Did I understand you right? You said x?" and, (b) "Tell me if what I see is x." It should be pointed out that the item which Remi uses to form his question, is the item which carries the most information in the adult's speech. Thus, the child chooses the item that has most meaning to him and in turn requests to see if he has made the appropriate emphasis.

The first two utterances above seem to be of the type (a) above. Another utterance of type (a) of particular interest is the following:

4. non?
- "Non, non, ne touches pas le buffet." (Ix) (No, no, don't touch the buffet).
- >
- R looks at M while touching.
- "Il ne faut pas toucher, interdit." (You mustn't touch, forbidden).

As will be discussed in the next chapter, Remi had not acquired negation to the point of being able to produce negative utterances with fluency. Non, above, could be construed as saying more than "Did I understand you right? Did you say no?" Remi here might be requesting information about the object of non, whether it holds for touching or avoiding. He might in fact simply be repeating the word that the mother has used, so that she could explain it for him. This possibility is supported by the fact that he is touching the buffet while asking the question.

Utterances (3) above, and (5)-(8) are like type (b) above, in that unlike type (a) (with the exception of kaka?), Remi initiates the utterances himself. In the cases of type (a), he merely repeats items from the speech context around him, whereas here he produces speech independently. It should be pointed out that the items that Remi uses are very familiar to him, but that he apparently wants to make sure that his judgement is the correct one.

- Tayo, their dog, has urinated in next room.
 "Il a fait pipi, c'est très vilain." (He pee peed, it's very naughty).
 >
 R watches M clean spot.
 "Oui, il a fait pipi, c'est très vilain."
5. kaka?
 >
 T has had another accident.
 "Oui, T a fait pipi, pipi."
 (Yes, T pee peed).
 R repeats pipi.
 "Oui, il a fait pipi."
6. [ə] kaka?
 >
 "Oui, c'est un grand pipi. Quoi?"
 (Yes, it's a large pee pee. What?).
7. [ələ] kaka?
 >
 R points to sponge.
 "Non, ce n'est pas l'éponge pour T." (No, that's not the sponge for T).
8. un autre? un autre?

Although Remi's questions are not rejected by the mother as being incorrect, notice that she does use a different word (pipi) in the reinforcement. At this point, the term kaka seems to be generalized to mean anything for which there is punishment or severe scolding for the offender if not done in the appointed place. The fact that he continues to use kaka, even after pipi has been offered and is available to him in his speech context, indicates that he sets more store in stabilizing his term than in making more distinctions.

Unlike the utterances discussed so far, the following are cases which require new information for Remi.

9. koukie huh?...non?
 M has finished cookie. R gets another cookie.
 >
 R extends cookie to M.
 "Merci." (Thank you). M takes cookie.
10. koukie?
 O finishes cookie. R gets another cookie.
 >
 R extends cookie to O. Cookie is refused. R eats it instead.
11. là? là? (1x)
 R is playing with letters that can be dropped in box with holes made for letters.
 >
 R has a letter in hand and is going to drop it through slot.
 "Non, on le met là." (No, we put it there). Different slot is pointed out.

In the first two utterances, we find cases of yes/no questions in its true sense. Remi is unbiased toward either answer. Thus, the distinction between questions that require reinforcement and questions which are neutral is developed. The third utterance seems to be an initiative by Remi with the end in mind of testing to see which is the best alternative.

With the utterance un autre? un autre? it is uncertain whether or not the question requests a neutral answer, i.e., yes or no, or requests the item itself. Since un autre ([ũnə]) (another), is used to request items, this could be understood as a request. However, when Tayo's sponge was found Remi made no gestures toward using it. Of course, this does not provide confirming evidence in either direction, but

does demonstrate the difficulty of interpreting such abbreviated questions. These, then, are the only yes/no questions that Remi posed during the ten sessions.

2.2.2 "Where" questions

According to the data gathered, Remi seems to have only one type of wh-question, namely where, of which there are only two instances. Often, Remi's search for objects or persons took the form of original searching, and, in general, this action was not accompanied by any verbal behaviour. It was not necessary to have a verbal stimulus in order for Remi to look for objects or persons. He could initiate it on his own, and only when he located the object was it known that the wandering about indicated searching. In short, although he did not verbalize his search, it was not the case that he did not know that objects or persons not in view could be looked for and found.

The first non-syntactically marked "where" question appeared when Remi was 23 months old.

12. balle? balle?

Remi has been playing with tennis balls. They are now all dispersed about the room.

>

R looks behind stove and finds nothing.

Continues looking for balls.

The first could be interpreted as a question requesting a yes or no answer, something like "Is the ball here?," since the composition of the utterance is not related to any form of a "where" question in French. However, if we were to attribute such a meaning to it, we would also be attributing a level of linguistic sophistication which is not apparent at this stage. This is not because Remi does not have yes/no questions, but because a yes/no question in this context would mean that the child was engaged in some form of a game. This would mean that the child is more interested in playing the game than in actually finding the balls. Obviously, this would be developmentally premature.

The second question which appeared when Remi was 25,20, is the first and only syntactically marked question in the Remi data.

13. il est où? il est où?

Remi was playing with a toy boat which is now out of sight.

>

R looks around, while eating. Mother finds boat and hands it to Remi.

Although the question does not specify the object that is being looked for, the mother does not hesitate in finding the boat and giving it to the child. Since Remi took the boat only too readily and started to play with it, it can be assumed that the mother had not made a mistake in supplying

the boat. If indeed Remi did want the boat, how this communication took place is not explainable, since the boat was sitting on the table along with other objects that Remi could play with.

Unless Remi restrained himself from behaving naturally, which the mother claimed was unlikely, it could be concluded that Remi inquired about the non-presence of objects and asked for either a confirmation or denial of his question. A distinction could be made here concerning "where" questions. That is, rather than being interested in where a certain object was, Remi was more interested in where a certain object was. He was more interested in acquiring the item than in knowing the location of the item in question.

2.2.3 "Huh" questions

Throughout the data, there are utterances which take the phonetic form of [həh] and are marked by a rising intonational contour. There are twenty-six of these utterances in the corpus, and in comparison with "where" and yes/no questions, they appear the most frequently.

It should be mentioned from the outset that Remi's [həh] had a close resemblance to that of the mother. The mother would use either [həʔ] or [hĩʔ] when she did not understand what Remi said, and had to signal him to repeat it.

Clearly, while the mother is the probable source of this expression, Remi did not fully understand its adult consequences as he was prone to use it both appropriately and inappropriately as well. For example, one appropriate usage can be seen below where huh?* has the meaning of "what did you say?"

14. huh?
- "Elle est où ta poche? Remi?"
(Where is your pocket? Remi?)
>
R looks at M.
M repeats question. R shows his pocket.

On the other hand, the early cases are marked by many inappropriate instances.

15. huh?
- R is coring potatoes with knife.
"Ça te fait mal, non?" (That hurts doesn't it?).
>
R continues coring.
"Ça ne te fait pas mal?"
(Doesn't that hurt you?)
16. huh?
- >
R inspects potato-eye.

These two cases of huh? are not meant as true questions; rather, their function seem to be best described as keeping the channel of communication open with acknowledging sounds.

*Henceforth [həh] will appear as huh while retaining the same pronunciation.

A distinction should be made here, purely on behavioural grounds, between those instances in which Remi follows his huh? utterance with an action, linguistic or otherwise, consistent with the speech event and those instances in which Remi is not sincere about his inquiry and demonstrates this by either taking up some different activity or by not paying more attention to the adult's remarks.

In addition to (14) above, (17) and (18) are also instances in which Remi's huh? is consistent with the action that follows his utterance.

17. huh? "Met ça là." (Put this there).
A construction cube is extended
and toy box is pointed at.
>
R looks at speaker and takes
construction cube.
"Dans la boîte." (In the box).
Toy box is pointed at. R puts
cube in toy box.
18. huh? "Où est le train?" (Where is
the train?). Train not in view.
>
R runs to another room and
comes back with train.

Like (15) and (16) above, (19) and (20), also, are instances in which Remi does not follow his huh? utterance with a consistent behaviour.

19. huh?

"Où est ton téléphone?" (Where is your telephone?).

>

R hands train.

"Non, ce n'est pas le téléphone." (No, that's not the telephone).

R is occupied with train.

M is holding duck.

"C'est quoi ça? c'est quoi?" (What is this? It's what?)

20. huh?

>

R looks at M Continues handing toys to M.

"C'est quoi? C'est un canard." (It's what? It's a duck).

These "mock" questions ((19) and (20)), come very close to that which Lewis calls "pseudo-questions" and which Piaget recognizes as ego-centric speech behaviour. Speech behaviour, even at this early stage, is wide-ranging. On the one end of the spectrum Remi can participate in socialized speech where he seeks his listener's attention, and on the other hand, he indulges in non-socialized behaviour. According to Piaget, utterances which belong to this category have no social function and thus are not meant to influence the hearer.

2.2.4 Requests and imperatives

As opposed to questions, which ask for information, requests on the whole take as objects certain actions or even

situations the speaker would like to have brought about. Two types of requests could be distinguished in the corpus, based on their respective functions. The first requests a repetition of an activity, or that an object which Remi had previously would be returned to him, and the second requests either that a new activity take place, or the requested item be given to him. This last sort of request verges on being a command. However, although no request has the emphatic intonation of a command for Remi, not all requests, like questions, are marked by a rising intonational contour.

If the item cannot be obtained by Remi, he will name the object once and follow this with a variation of un autre along with a gesture of pointing or pulling. (21) is an example of this, and involves the first type of request enunciated above.

21. balle? un autre?

R is playing with tennis balls,
has thrown a ball.

>

R wants a ball.
He is given a ball.

There are 43 occurrences of such requests in the data gathered from Remi. Each instance requests the reoccurrence of an activity or the repossession of an object. In all these cases what is being requested has been experienced by Remi at least once previous to the request.

The second type of requests, on the other hand, are initiated by Remi and the object or activity requested has not occurred immediately previous to his utterance. Both (22) and (23) are instances of this second type.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 22. un autre?...boire...
boire [nono] | R goes to M.
"Hein? Qu'est-ce que tu veux?"
>
"Eh?" M explains R wants water.
"Qu'est-ee que tu veux?"
>
R is given water. |
| un autre | |
| 23. [da]? | R is sitting on floor.
>
R points to spot next to him.
"Tu veux que je m'asseois
auprès de toi?" |

There are 16 occurrences of utterances in which Remi names the object wanted and accompanies it with un autre with or without a rising intonation. There are 41 additional utterances like (23) above.

2.3 "Telegraphic" Stage: Jean

At this stage, four types of questions can be identified in the corpus gathered from Jean; these are: "where," "what," "why," and yes/no questions. Only "where" and "why" questions are syntactically marked. However, those utterances which are not marked can be confidently construed as being

26. enfant...enfant...
 enfant là?
 J sees a picture of a school
 bus with children in it.
 "Qui est dedans?"
 >
 "Les enfants."

In each case Jean is fairly sure that his answer to the adult's question is the right one; he, nevertheless, puts his answer in a rising intonation which in turn prompts the adult to confirm it.

On the other hand, those questions which seem to be neutral and thus request either a yes or a no answer, actually do receive a oui or non; for example, (27), (28) and (29).

27. boule? boule?
 pas boule?
 J wants more questions with
 picture book.
 "Encore? encore voyons."
 (More? more, let's see).
 >
 J sees a picture of bird with
 ball in beak.
 "Oui, il a une boule dans le
 bec."
 (Yes, it has a ball in its
 beak).
28. là?
 J is putting puzzle piece in
 wrong slot.
 "Non, on ne met pas ça là."
 (Non, we don't put this there).
 >
 J finds right slot.
 "Oui, juste là." (Yes, just
 there).

29. là?

J is looking for hidden puzzle piece.

"Non, non il n'est pas là."
(No, no it's not there).

>
"Non, là non plus." (No, not there either).

Of interest here is the appearance of a negative question in (27). It seems to indicate the neutral nature of the question. It explicitly offers two possibilities, yes or no. In (28) and (29), on the other hand, the negative possibility is not offered overtly.

A third type of question which appears in this corpus is only a question in that it is marked by a rising intonational contour. These questions neither request new information nor confirmation of what is already suspected to be the truth. They occur very often in adult speech as "fillers" of space before a meaningful utterance is made. In each case of these questions, (30), (31)-(33), Jean repeats part of the adult's utterance while doing what the adult requested.

30. là? papa ça papa.

J is looking at some items in catalog.

"Et là?" (And there?) pointing to a man's garment.

>

M comments to O that J is not familiar with garment.

31. Pilou? bateau
(boat)
- J wants M to ask more questions.
"Encore? Où est-ce qu'il est
le Pilou? Where is Pilou?)
>
- J looks at dog on boat.
"Sur un bateau." (On a boat).
- J sees moon in picture book as
M turns pages. J: la lune.
"La lune? ou elle est la lune?"
(The moon? where is the moon?).
>
32. la lune?
- Looks for moon and finds it.
- J is doing puzzle.
"Où est le deux-chevaux qui
ce met là?" (Where is the deux-
chevaux which is put there?).
>
33. deux-chevaux? chevaux
jaunes? [a] pas.
- J looks around for yellow car.
"Tu ne le vois pas? Derrière
toi." (You don't see it?
Behind you).

2.3.2 "Where" questions

As with Remi, it is Jean that initiates the "where?" questions, and typically no mention of the object or person being looked for has appeared prior to the time of the question. And, in most cases, the object in question is not in sight.

Certain questions meet with no response and the inquiry stops there abruptly; in other words, the question involved is not repeated until such time as the object either is produced for him or he is able to produce it himself. This does not mean to say that these questions are a form of

ego-centric speech behaviour in that they do not entail a response and are produced gratuitously (since Jean does not actively follow them up), but rather that the item that is being searched for is perhaps not essential to his present activity. Thus, his attention may be drawn away from his initial undertaking rather easily; possibly a criterion of importance is at work, since limited attention span would not explain his immediate movement to other issues after having such questions. (34), (35) and (36) are appropriate examples of such cases.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| | J has seen a duck in picture book. |
| | "Comment il fait le canard, tu te souviens Jean?" (How does the duck go, do you remember Jean?). |
| 34. | l'autre...canard
l'autre? |
| | > |
| | J wants to look through book. |
| | "L'autre quoi?" (Other what?). |
| 35. | l'autre...canard?
l'autre? |
| | > |
| | J is looking through book. |
| | Thinks he has found it, but decides otherwise and questions again. |
| 36. | l'autre? |
| | > |
| | "Quel?" (Which?) |
| | No response from J. His attention is caught by cow in book and demonstrates sound cows make. |

Here, Jean questions the location of another duck; the adult is interested in finding the duck, but the item is never found

since Jean finds another interesting picture and stops the line of questions and starts another speech event.

Also, we can see that Jean does not, or is not able to, supply the item's name and thus abandons the pursuit. Examples of such utterances are (37), (38) and (39)-(40).

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 37. | [ε] ça...[ε] ça...[ε]
l'autre?...maman l'autre
autre? | M is helping J with puzzle.
>
"l'autre quoi?" (Other what?)
J does not respond. |
| 38. | [1ε] l'autre? | J is doing puzzle.
>
"Qu'est-ce que tu cherches?"
(What are you looking for?)
J replies: <u>l'autre</u> .
"Sous le divan." (Under the
couch).
J goes under couch and lies
there. |
| 39. | [1ε] quelquechose? | >
J looking around.
"Hein?" |
| 40. | [1ε] quelquechose là? | >
Still looking around, receives
no response. |

In each instance, the initial utterance receives a question in return none of which lead Jean to specify the item. Instead, either the whole event is disregarded because the child has not been understood or interest in the question fades. So, on the one hand, we have understandable question events which do not meet with a positive result and are thus abandoned, and on the other hand, there are incomplete

questions (where the name of the item is not provided by Jean). These meet with no response from the adult and are abandoned because they cannot be disambiguated.

Unlike the other types of questions Jean is able to pose, "where" questions do not have any instances of practice or echo (where by "echo" I mean that he imitates Sophie's "where" questions). In other "where" question utterances, some event takes place, either verbal or otherwise, which satisfies Jean's need to carry on his activity. Of some interest here is the fact that, at least in one instance, Jean does not need to see the object or person named in order to be satisfied. In (41) below, Jean asks where his mother is, and once her whereabouts are known, he ceases asking

41. maman...[1~~2~~] maman?

J is playing with toy with ball.
>
"Où est maman? maman est en haut."
(Where is mama? mama is upstairs).
J. continues playing.

In all of the other cases, there is either some visual contact established or, again, he acquires some knowledge of the item, which knowledge seems to be sufficient to stop further questioning.

Certain conditions have to be present for the successful execution of questions like these:

- a) Jean's need to see or use a particular object.
- b) The object is nowhere in sight.
- c) A sympathetic listener is present.

Jean's basic strategy seems to be a matter of deriving "where" question surface structures from a rule such as Q(where) + object, where Q represents a "locative" question element and "object" is any object that can be pointed out. This type of constraint on "object" reflects the fact that Jean may not always know the name of the object, but makes the question successfully anyway.

Q"where" for Jean takes the form of [lɛ] or [μ]. [μ] can be explained as standing for the locative advert où, and [lɛ] can be an early form of où il est. Often, when Jean is asked by his mother where a certain object is the question takes the form of où il est le or où elle est la. In rapid speech, both end up as [μlɛ]. Another form that the adult's question might take is où est le/la, which would result in [μlɛ]. Also, when the question is posed without naming the object, then the surface structure is il elle est où? which in rapid speech becomes [lɛμ]. The step from [μlɛ], [μlɛ] or [lɛμ], to [lɛ] would be a matter of simplification. Likewise, Guillaume has reported that his subject formed "where" questions by using il est...? (1927:241). Although this subject's utterances were not given to us in terms of the phonetic alphabet, one could venture to guess that [ilɛ] could easily have occurred as [lɛ].

To continue with "where" questions, one type of surface structure is the type in which only two elements appear: one the question item and the other the object or person being looked for. For example, (42), (43), (44) and (45).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 42. [1 e]...[1 e] panpan | J is looking for hammer.
>
"Hein?" J can't find hammer,
uses knife instead. |
| 43. [1 e] nono? | J is looking for his cloth.
>
M gets cloth for J. |
| 44. [1 e] maman? | J is playing.
>
"Elle travaille dehors."
(She is working outside). |
| 45. [1 e] patins?
(skates) | J is looking for F's skates
in closet.
>
"Alors, tu sais bien que papa,
il n'a pas de patins." (You
know well that papa doesn't
have any skates). |

The process of acquisition of questions for English-speaking children seems to be similar to the above. Klima and Bellugi-Klima provided a similar description (1966). As with Remi, inversion does not occur. However, in Jean's case, inversion is not a possibility since verbs and nouns do not both appear at the same time.

Those utterances which have more than two substantives, such as [lə] lit Jean?, [lə] pantoufle à Jean? and [lə] marteau Papa?, and also those utterances which are repeated, such as ponpon...[lə]ponpon?, l'autre...[lə]l'autre? and maman...[lə]maman? seem to point to two distinct linguistic phenomena. In cases like [lə] lit Jean? the last two words hold a certain relationship to each other, designating position. Jean seems quite aware of the existence of this relationship. It occurs often in answer to questions, such as "what is this?" and "whose is this?"

In conclusion, Jean's "where" questions are morphologically marked and are uttered with the serious intention (disregarding those instances in which he does not pursue his question) of gaining knowledge about the whereabouts of the object.

2.3.3 "Why" questions

The next type of question, also morphologically marked, are "why" questions, and although they do not constitute a large body of the corpus, they are interesting as a separate ability that Jean must acquire.

Perhpas the most striking information to include about "why" questions is that only in one case is the "why" question asked seriously. This lack of intended "why" question

is also reported by Brown and his colleagues (1968:402). They report that although Adam, one of their subjects, asked a number of "why" questions, he was unable to respond to "why" questions. Whereas in asking "where" questions Jean was seriously interested in an answer (although easily distracted) and knew what an answer to his question would be, here it is anything but clear that Jean really understands the nature of explanation. For example, in (46) and (47), nothing has happened in the situational context to warrant an explanation: my saying merci does not logically precede a "why" question.

- | | |
|---------------|------------------------------------|
| | J has given O a peanut. |
| | "Oh merci." (Oh thank you). |
| 46. pourquoi? | > |
| | J is busy shelling another peanut. |
| | "C'est bon." (It's good). |
| 47. pourquoi? | > |
| | Receives no response. |

Likewise, (48) is a case in which a "why" question rather mysteriously is asked after my utterance of bravo, in commendation.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| | J is misplacing an object in bookcase. |
| | "Non, non Jean." J rearranges it. |
| | "Bravo." |
| 48. pourquoi? (2x) | > |
| | "Pourquoi? comme ça." (Why? because). |

2.3.4 "What" questions

Jean's "what" questions again reveal limitations in question application. Here such questions appear to be replicas of what the mother asks during question-answer periods, as with picture books and catalogues. She will start the questioning typically by something like, oh regarde, qu'est-ce que c'est? and subsequently the child provides the name of the picture or the object pointed to. Then, the mother continues with et ça? pointing to another object, and introducing the term ça into the speech context. At times, Jean switches roles and asks in turn et ça? knowing well the answer to his own question. For example, in (52), Jean succeeds in having the mother provide the name of the animal. However, when he continues with the mother's role (53), he does not succeed since his familiarity with the picture is obvious to the mother.

52. à ça?

J is naming objects in picture book after being asked what it is. He has named a fox.
"Hein?"

>

J points to same fox.
"Un petit renard." (a small fox).

53. renard...ça?
renard...

>

Points to a boy.
"Petit..., tu sais ce que c'est ça Jean, c'est un gar..." (small..., you know what this is Jean, it's a b...).
J supplies çon (oy).

The fact that such usage of ça is characteristically "teacher-like" in that the answer is known beforehand, indicates a limitation of usage for this type of question. Again the expression ça appears in isolation, accompanied by no objects, and is not a true "what" question in that Jean really only wants the name of the object and not an explanation of what an object is in other terms.

2.3.5 Requests and imperatives

It is difficult to clearly distinguish between requests and commands since neither type of utterance is internationally distinct from the other, and since a distinction cannot be made functionally; both types request the listener to perform a certain act which will content the speaker. Otherwise, Jean has two forms of expressing a request: one is the action independent expression 'Jean aussi,' and the other is either nonverbal or naming the action.

If Sophie is either doing or getting something and if Jean would like to do likewise, then he simply says Jean aussi. He uses this expression also when he sees an object in a picture book and would like to have one. There are no instances of Jean aussi where the object requested has not already been mentioned in the speech event. A typical request is the following.

54. Jean aussi.

S is using the yoyo.
>
Awaits his turn.

There are, on the other hand, requests initiated by Jean. In these cases Jean is unable to perform an act and asks the mother to help. When Jean does not know how to verbalize his desire, he either points to whatever it is that is causing the unhappiness or extends the object to the mother with a whining sound. On one occasion in which Jean wanted a yoyo to be rewound, he extended the object to his mother and said [əh] mamie. Some time later, he was able to achieve the same result by uttering otez ça but only because the mother pressed him to articulate his need by refusing to cooperate.

2.4 Complete Sentence Stage: Sophie

Sophie had the ability to form each of the types of questions used by Remi and Jean, and had acquired the ability to form "how" and "who" questions as well. In addition, she could undertake tag questions, although none of these were morphologically marked by n'est-ce pas. Of some interest here is the fact that she did not produce any forms of "when" or "which" questions. Considering the data of all three children, "where" questions seem to be the first to be fully

acquired (among the wh-type questions) and "which" and "when" questions seem to be among those last and most difficult to acquire.

Although all the wh-questions were morphologically marked, as yet neither inversion nor the acquisition of the qui est-ce que/qui and qu'est-ce que/qui forms were noticeable in Sophie's linguistic behaviour. Unlike English, where a lack of inversion in question formation (and the appearance of do) at this stage of linguistic development would seem deviant, Sophie's questions do not appear to be highly ungrammatical since they resemble colloquial French to a great degree. That is, whereas a lack of inversion in questions in English would seem unacceptable, a similar lack in French does not seem so. Therefore, it may not be as essential in the acquisition of French that inversion take place as it is in English, accounting for the relative lateness of inversion here.

Sophie is nearing fluency in French; nevertheless, confusions remain in her speech and her acquisition of the language is by no means complete. In the subsections to follow, major emphasis must be placed on a comparison between the three children, with Sophie forming the target abilities for the other two. I shall proceed then, to her various abilities, noting interesting points of comparison, especially in terms of using these question forms appropriately.

2.4.1 Yes/no-tag questions

Questions in this section exhibit a number of differences from Remi's and Jean's. One difference is that Sophie has acquired the ability to ask questions where the listener is requested to agree with the speaker's point of view, better known as tag questions. Another major difference is that Sophie, unlike Remi and Jean, does not repeat the adult's utterance in a question intonation in order to receive a confirmation. Here, Sophie poses yes/no questions to acquire new information and clarify what may seem to her ambiguous context.

The n'est-ce pas form which designates a tag does not appear. However, the colloquial hein and d'accord appear to be appropriately used. Sophie inserts these items at the end of statements as would an adult. Below are some examples of colloquial questions.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 55. c'est pas bon les
bonbons : hein?
(The candies isn't
good, is it?) | S has had a mint.
>
"Non, ce n'est pas bon."
(No, it's not good).
Neighbour's baby is present.
Baby is touching tape recorder.
>
No response from infant. |
| 56. faut pas toucher,
d'accord?
(mustn't touch, OK?) | |

57. c'est quoi difficile, > S is changing baby's diaper.
 hein? S can't change diaper, M helps.
 (it's so difficult,
 isn't?)
 M agrees with S.

With exception, the questions are negations. On the other hand, among those questions which are neutral or open and thus request either a yes or no answer, there is only one instance of negation.

58. tiens, tu peux faire > S is playing with yoyo, would
 ou tu ne sais pas? like adult to use it.
 (here, can you do it or
 you don't know?).

This sentence clearly offers the listener a choice in the utterance itself.

Among these neutral questions, there are utterances which have a rising intonation and yet do not simply request a yes or no answer. Instead, they request the listener to perform a certain action. For example, in the following sentence Sophie would not have been satisfied if the adult had merely said "yes" and done nothing. In this sense, then, these utterances could be said to be requests.

59. tu peux le faire?
(can you do it?).
- S has been drawing, sees a boat in picture book, would like to have O draw it.
- >

Likewise, the following is more a request to enlist the mother's help, then to be assured that her move is the right one.

60. alors, ça se met
comme ça?
(this goes like this?)
- The neighbour's baby needs to be changed. S is changing diaper with M's help.
- >
- Receives no verbal response.

Judging from the number of times that Sophie requested instructions during play, (61) is again a request for help rather than a yes or no answer.

61. il faut faire comme ça
t-à-la pâte à modeler?
(must do like this to the clay?)
- F, J and O are talking.
S is making a clay man.
- >
- Receives no verbal response.

Such utterances as the following three are instances of yes/no questions which request new information.

62. tu vas dîner, avec nous?
(are you going to have dinner with us?).
- S is playing with toys.
- >
- "Non."
S asks why.

63. à ta maison?
(to your house?)
- "J'ai besoin d'aller autre part."
(I need to go elsewhere.)
S is playing with toys.
>
- "Oui." (Yes).
64. c'est Tante Dominique ça? >>
(Is it T.D. this?)
- M comes into house, S give her letter. S watches M read letter.
"Non, ce n'est pas T.D. ça."
(No, it is not T.D. this).

On the other hand, there are utterances such as (65) and (66) which seem to request clarification of what the adult has said.

65. dans la cabine?
- S and M are talking about swimming pool.
"Qu'est-ce qu'on avait donné à la dame pour la cabine?
(What did we give the lady for our cabin?).
"C'était très amusant tu te souviens?" (It was very funny, do you remember?)
>
- "Oui." S. supplies answer.
66. oui?
- S wants to write. She has clay in hand.
"Tu veux écrire sur la pâte à modeler?" (You want to write on the clay?)
>
- She writes on clay.
"Ça n'écrit pas."

In (65) what the mother is describing doesn't seem to be sufficient for Sophie to provide the answer, so, by asking dans la cabine? Sophie obtains further reassurance which leads her to provide the answer. In (66), permission to write on the clay seems unbelievable to Sophie, so, by her oui? she not only seems to express her surprise but also seems to request clarification that indeed she is allowed to write on the clay.

As with the other types of questions, there is no hint that Sophie has acquired or has started to acquire either the est-ce que form, or verb and pronoun inversion. Nevertheless, Sophie's ability to pose yes/no questions is far more sophisticated than that of either Jean or Remi's.

2.4.2 "Where" questions

For Sophie, the use of "where" questions is very well established, with no inappropriate usage or non-seriously intended utterances. Of course, this is to some degree true of each of the three subjects, as all actually want to know where something is when they ask its location. For Sophie, however, there is no question of being easily distracted from an answer or from articulating her question fully due to inadequate vocabulary. The data indicates the wide range of her acquisition of "where" questions, although the data is characterized by the form où est + _____ where the object

in question is inserted into the blank. When the object is not actually mentioned in the question utterance, then the utterance takes the form of il/elle est où? That this form should seem simple is and should be taken as no indication of her true ability, but only as perhaps the most efficient form of questioning. That she is capable of more sophisticated expression when the occasion demands it can be seen in the other, longer, expressions.

Compare the frequency of appearance of this type of question with that of Remi and Jean. The "where" question is virtually non-existent for Remi, and the most popular question form for Jean. For Sophie, however, "where" questions are equal in use to "why," "what," and yes/no questions, a fact which indicates she assigns no special status to this form. Also, the presence of the où element, which is rarely present in Jean's speech is fully articulated here.

That her use of this form yet needs improvement, however, can be seen in cases like the following in which there is an agreement problem between a singular verb and plural object.

67. où est les joujoux?
(where is the toys?)

S is looking for special toys
in catalogue.

>

Since this question type exists for Sophie as a formula, in which the object, whatever the number, is merely fitted into the object slot of the formula, then such disagreement is expectable, and poses a final point of acquisition before fluency is reached.

2.4.3 "Why" questions

Unlike Jean, Sophie seems to be fully aware of the nature of the "why" question, although she did pose "why" questions in situations which did not warrant them. Also, unlike Jean, Sophie does not simply ask pourquoi; she is capable of presenting the object of her question. But, again, pourquoi is simply attached to the rest of the utterance.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| | | S has taken O's glasses.
"Non, je ne vois plus, non
c'est interdit!"
(No, I can't see anymore, no
it's forbidden). |
| 68. | pourquoi? | >
O takes glasses back.
"Parceque je ne peux pas voir
sans mes lunettes." (Because I
can't see without my glasses). |
| 69. | pourquoi tu vois rien?
(why don't you see
anything?) | >
"Hein?" |
| 70. | eh pourquoi? | >
"Comme ça." |

Notice, for example, that in (69) if the question were to be asked correctly, it would appear in the form: pourquoi ne vois-tu rien? There are two possible explanations for Sophie's deviant form. She might simply be tagging a pourquoi on what is otherwise a statement, utilizing the statement as a formula. On the other hand, however, the mother on occasion also used such a form, raising the possibility that Sophie has fully acquired a heard form, rather than altering the original form.

Examples (68)-(70) form a single sequence, and as an individual speech event demonstrate the frequent gratuity of Sophie's "why" questions. The apparent end of such questions is to continue the conversation, since sufficient explanation is provided by the adult. Such questions are not serious and compare to many of Jean's "where" questions in this regard. Also, Jean's use of pourquoi was characteristically playful and not seriously intended to receive a full explanation. Sophie, then, has two difficulties outstanding in her acquisition of "why" questions: the formulaic use of a statement preceded by a pourquoi and the failure to ask appropriate and intended "why" questions (a problem which is by no means limited just to children acquiring French).

2.4.4 "What" questions

Like the "what" questions asked by Jean, Sophie's "what" questions also resemble teacher's questions, or questions asked when the speaker already knows the answer. Examples of this type are (71) and (75).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 71. et puis ça c'est quoi?
(the, what's this?) | O draws a man and names head.
> points to neck.
"Qu'est-ce que tu penses que ça doit être?"
(What do you think it must be?)
After two additional questions, S provides answer. |
| 72. maman, c'est quoi ça?
(mama, what's this?) | S and M are looking through catalogue. S points to pots.
> |
| 73. c'est quoi ça? | "Oh c'est quoi ça macchérie?"
> |
| 74. ça:::? | "Hein?"
> |
| 75. petits pour les
enfants, et ça? | "Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?"
S persuades M to "raconter."
"Ce sont des petits pots pour les enfants." (They're small pots for children).
> |
- S points to a mould.
 M refuses to answer and asks S instead.
 S provides answer.

Aside from those quoi questions which are teacher's and are posed to carry on the question-answer dialogue and thus do not require an answer, there are those quoi questions which stem from a need to acquire new information. For example,

words, quoi questions are not simply formed by juxtaposing the question element to the front or end of an utterance. Sophie, for instance, seemed to have acquired the knowledge that whenever a preposition (or a prepositional phrase) or a pronoun is not fronted, then quoi must appear finally. Thus utterances such as *c'est ça quoi?, *il y a dedans quoi?, and *Jean il a pour Noel quoi? do not appear. Whereas ça c'est quoi does appear. Also, of interest is the fact that Sophie did neither pose any quel questions spontaneously, nor any form of qu'est-ce que.

In conclusion, there doesn't seem to be any clearly delineated progressive changes, either in form or function, during the time of my observation either for "what" questions or for other types.

2.4.5 "How" questions

All of Sophie's "how" questions request instruction rather than the manner in which a certain thing is to be done. Nine of the eleven utterances are of the how to do type. In each case Sophie has undertaken a project and requests further instructions and demonstrations from the adult. In these utterances comment always follows faire. Of interest here is the following.

S is building a home.

79. mamie, pour faire
comment il faut faire
une maison?
(mamie, in order to
how, must I make a
house?)

>

"Eh bien, réfléchis."
(Well, think)

Since Sophie's strategy is to have faire comment in these questions, the question element in the above occurs with the first faire, thus resulting with an anomalous utterance (if it is at all possible to judge degrees of semantic and syntactic anomalies at a given stage of language acquisition). A more typical version of (79) would have been something like pour faire une maison, il faut faire comment? or il faut faire comment pour faire une maison? Thus, in the data, "how" questions seem to serve only one function, that of obtaining instructions. Also, in addition to having to acquire the more formal est-ce que and inverted forms of "how," Sophie, at the time of observation, had yet to acquire the other functions of "how" questions (manner, instrumental and ability).

2.4.6 "Who" questions

Although two "who" questions do appear in the data, there is no sign that Sophie has acquired the ability to request the type of information that a serious "who" question

provides; both utterances below are prompted by the adult's question in which *qui* appears.

80. chez qui ça?

S and J are looking through
catalogue while eating peanuts.
"Ça c'est comme chez qui?" (Whose is
this like?)
> drops peanuts on floor.
"Attention S, tu ramasses."
(Be careful, gather).

87. maman, c'est de qui ça? >
 (1x)
 (mama, whose is this?)

S still looking through catalogue.

"Hein? C'est quoi Sophie ça?" (Huh? S is referring to unanswered what's question of (80) above. this S?)

It is possible that the lack of appearance of this type of question is a result of the non-extensive period of sampling, since Sophie certainly understood "who" questions when they appeared as "whose" and "whom" in such utterances as c'est à qui ça? and tu étais avec qui? for which she readily supplied answers. Thus, with this fact in mind, there doesn't seem to be a thorough explanation for its lack of appearance.

2.4.7 Requests and imperatives

If at all a distinction could be made between requests and commands in the data gathered from Sophie, it would have to rely solely on slight intonational differences. It

could be said that if the utterance is made in a soft, whine-like tone, and is marked by a slight rising intonation, then that utterance must be a request. Otherwise, a distinction cannot be made since syntactically the two types of utterances are identical. For instance, Sophie is cooking with a pot, but would like a second one, she says: Donne une casserole, maman, the tone does not designate whether it is a request or a command. So, at least for Sophie, a distinction between the two types of utterances is not clearly made.

Sophie's requests or wishes are not limited to any one type. She is able to express any desire brought forth by a given situation, whether it is a request to have the event repeated, e.g., looking through a picture book, to perform a new action, or still, to have the listener perform an action for Sophie. Usually, those requests which entail an action to be performed by Sophie are expressed by informing the listener that Sophie wants to do something. For instance, if Sophie wants to write and she does not have all that is necessary to do so, then she will say veux écrire to signal a request. This type of desire is not often met by: bien, écris si tu veux, rather, the listener provides Sophie with whatever is necessary to execute the action. Instances of requests of this type are many, for example:

82. veux voir dedans.

S has O's purse and wants to look in.
>

Clearly, some of Sophie's utterances are unambiguously commands; tu pleures, and vas t'en, as well as tu t'assieds, are clearly imperative. However, Sophie has not acquired as yet the inversion of verb and reflexive pronoun and the deletion of the pronoun tu.

Like Sophie's yes/no questions, requests exhibit a higher degree of complexity and are not limited to requests of reoccurrence of events.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has described the different types of questions that appeared in the data, and discussed the different functions that each served. Also, it described the children's abilities to make requests. Assuming that the data gathered were a valid sampling of the linguistic behaviour of French-speaking children at three different stages, then Table II.10 would be a characterization of the order of appearance of questions.

CHAPTER THREE

NEGATION

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 The semantics of negation

A child's use of negative particles is of particular interest for acquisition studies. While at the one-word utterance stage a subject might be typically limited to yes/no question answers and an occasional use of the particle pas, his ability to use these elements correctly can indicate and specify other, larger and possibly unarticulated, language understanding. Both questions and negations serve to direct attention to the context of utterance, and where a child may not have the ability or acquired vocabulary to express his knowledge of the language, his proper use of just these actions, in appropriate circumstances, indicates language abilities beyond what an enumeration of his vocabulary could reveal. In addition, by including context of utterance in the analysis, it is possible to categorize different functions such particles can serve; in this way what appears at first only to be the acquisition of non and pas as lexical items

signals the acquisition of several important language abilities.

The analysis to follow distinguishes and gives independent treatment to many separate abilities, each entailed by the appropriate use of negatives in context. While a credible argument could be made for including all negative utterances under a single ability, too many generalizations of interest to acquisition studies are missed at this level of abstraction. The more adequate approach must look at what a child is able to do in using utterances with negatives, rather than simply what negatives he is able to employ. Thus, along adult grammatical lines while he may be negating some proposition (logically speaking), he could be undertaking actions as distinct as making a negative assertion, making a yes/no denial or disagreement (to either serious or teacher yes/no questions), or refusing to comply or obey a command.

The range of negating abilities acquired by a child, even with a limited vocabulary, suggests the usefulness of setting up a scale of negation abilities by which to measure the three children. For the purposes of this study, such a semantics of negation must specify first the various negating actions open to a child and second the syntactic scope of the particular negative morpheme used. For example, when a child simply says "no" he may be referring to the non-existence of some object as in "no cookie." "No" here would work as an

adjective. Or, he might be expressing his desire that some action not take place, as in "no go," which would be a case of a negative working as an adverb. Or, finally, he might mean that he is unwilling to see some event take place, using "no" with the scope over an entire sentence. In the first case "no" might work as an adjective or a quantifier, in the second case as a verb particle or adverb, and in the third case as a negative ranging over an entire sentence. In this way, the task of determining a subject's increasing ability to use negatives can become one of determining the acquisition of the ability to use negation with different scope. The scope of any negation, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, depends uniquely on the situation in which the negation takes place or on whether the negation is an answer to a question.

With regard to the various negating abilities that children may acquire, the following are of direct interest here: disapproval, denial, non-possession, refusal to act, rejection of offer, non-existence assertions, assertions of inability, and "omnibus" negations. Disapproval would constitute a case in which some action is being performed and someone disapproves the action. For example, if Remi were to throw a garment out of the window, a sharp "No!" would be a disapproval. Denial is a case in which the truth value of a previous utterance is being denied. An assertion of non-possession expresses the lack of possession of a certain object.

Refusal to act differs from a rejection of offer only in that what is being refused or rejected in one case is an order and in the other an offer. Assertions of non-existence express the absence of objects or persons. Inability on the other hand, expresses an action which the speaker cannot perform. Finally, negation which may refer to a variety of actions is referred to as omnibus negation.

Some of these abilities have been discussed by other studies. For example, Bloom in her study of three English-speaking children, discusses non-existence, rejection, and denial. She states that the order of acquisition is first non-existence, then rejection and lastly denial (1970:218). This order of acquisition compares unfavourably with the findings of this study. Here, Remi, who would be comparable to Bloom's subjects, expressed non-existence only once. An ability not mentioned by Bloom, that of disapproval, occurred far more frequently.

Another study which discusses the negating abilities mentioned above, is one conducted by McNeill and McNeill. There, the authors report that their subject, 27 months of age, expressed in Japanese the non-existence of events and objects, the incorrectness of statements and subsequently the child used "no" to mean disapproval or rejection by Stage 3, 31 months (1968:60-61). The last two negations to appear, according to the authors, were Entailment-Non-Entailment and

omnibus negation. It is interesting to note that whereas in Japanese omnibus negation, negation expressing more than one action, appears late, at least 31 months; in this study omnibus negation appears as early as in the data from Remi. To further describe the occurrence of the various abilities discussed here, the table below presents the three children's usages.

Table III.1
Occurrence of Negation Abilities in
The Three Children

	Remi	Jean	Sophie
Omnibus	x	x	x
Disapproval	x	x	x
Rejection of offer	x	x	x
Refusal to act	x	x	x
Non-existence	x	x	x
Non-possession		x	
Inability		x	x
Denial		x	x

3.1.2 Negation in adult French

Negation in standard French is constructed with two negating elements: ne and pas. Ne always has to occur in the negative sentence, however, pas can be replaced by either plus, jamais, or rien. In a sentence, ne always appears before

the verb, and pas, after, for example, je ne parle pas (I don't speak). If the tense is past, then pas occurs after the auxiliary and not the main verb, for example, je n'ai pas parlé (I did not speak).

Briefly, the target form that is to be acquired in French is not complex. That is, no forms such as the do in English, have to be acquired.

3.2 A Scale of Negation Abilities

In describing the three children's negative utterances, a primary question to be answered concerns what alternatives each child has when making a negation. Negation can be described, not only in terms of which morphemes are used and what scope the respective morphemes have, but in terms of the actions a child may undertake by his utterance. What are only one-word negative utterances, like non may serve in a variety of ways. It will be important to the analysis to follow that these various possible actions be enumerated. What are the more complex and morphologically structured utterances are not necessarily the most complex negating actions.

Perhaps the most complicated action to describe with regard to negation is that of omnibus negation. As the term implies, omnibus negation includes a variety of actions. The

fact that this type of action is perhaps most complicated by no means should suggest that it is to be performed by older subjects. In fact, its best example may be an utterance made by Remi, who has only two negative lexical items in his vocabulary or repertoire. It is best characterized by a "blanket" negation, in which disapproval and rejection are required for more than one specific event.

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
1. non.	Tayo is bothering R. R tries to get away from dog. >

In the above example a situation occurs in which Remi shouts non at his dog. The dog in this case has been rough with Remi, jumping on him and pulling at him. Remi's utterance is simultaneously a disapproval of the dog's behaviour, a command or imperative for the dog to stop, and a reprimand for his behaviour. Remi is able to success in all of these tasks with one term, uttered with the appropriate interjectional force. Thus, 'omnibus' negation can be carried on by adults as well as by children at the one-word stage, provided that several negative acts are performed simultaneously.

Continuing the description of negation in terms of actions, perhaps the next most complicated action is that of disapproval.

- S feeding doll. J eating doll's
flakes. S pushes J away from
her.
2. il faut pas manger ça, >
allez.
(mustn't eat this, go)

The above is a good example of this action, and involves a case in which Jean is eating or trying to eat the doll's cornflakes while Sophie is feeding it. She responds to Jean's action by retorting il faut pas manger ça, allez, and by pushing Jean away from the bowl. Disapproval here is a matter of active resistance to Jean's action and compares to those cases in which she becomes more outraged at Jean. Again, the context here helps to define the action she is trying to accomplish. By pushing Jean away, Sophie emphasizes her disapproval of Jean's behaviour since Jean would not heed Sophie's verbal disapproval alone. Such an action can range from sharp disapproval, when accompanied by anger, to mild disapproval when the situation is less pressing.

Another action which also is a response to situational context rather than to speech context is the assertion of inability, for example, (3) below.

- J is going to show new puzzle
which is under table in toy box.
J can't get puzzle out of box.
3. pas bien. (1x) >
(not good)
- "Hein? Tu ne peux pas?"
(Huh? you can't).

This situation provides a case in which Jean is preparing to show me his new puzzle, which is in a toybox under a table. Failing to extract the puzzle from the toybox, he says pas bien to indicate his inability and to indirectly ask for my help. He understands that to express his own lack of ability is to obliquely elicit help from nearby adults. Sophie also is able to undertake action to indicate inability.

S is playing with clay on paper sack. S can't roll clay on sack, gets help.

4. peux plus rouler. (lx) >
(can't roll anymore)

In the above situation, not being able to roll the clay on the paper, she complains, peux plus rouler (can't roll anymore) and receives help with her activity. Unlike Sophie and Jean, Remi cannot as yet indicate inability.

Turning now to actions which form responses to the language in the immediate context, all seem equally complex. Refusal to act is one such case and is present in all three children. Remi, for example, is told to wipe his mouth, but stands in front of the towel instead, and says non.

"Essuie la bouche." (wipe your mouth).

5. non:

>

R stands in front of towel, does nothing.

Similarly, Remi can also express non-existence, although on only one occasion does he do so. In what might be a correlate to location questions, in that similar understandings are entailed, Remi is asked the whereabouts of Tayo. Looking under the cupboard, where he suspects Tayo to be, he looks up and says non, proceeding to look elsewhere for the dog. Here, he has given information to the effect that the desired object does not exist or is not located in a specific place. Although non-existence has very low frequency in the data from Remi, namely once, in the data gathered from Sophie and Jean its occurrence is far more frequent.

An instance of rejection of offer is when Jean is asked to sit down, or rather, a place is offered to him to sit. He replies non lever non... meaning that he rejects the offer, insisting on standing up.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 6. <u>non lever non...</u> l'autre | J is standing and M wants him
to sit down and work with clay. |
| [pāpā] avec... | > |
| (no stand no.... | J won't sit down. |
| ôthèr hammer with...) | > |
| | "Eh bien, tu peux taper sur la
pâte à modeler si tu veux pour
la faire très jolie." |

This rejection of an offer is distinct, as an action, from assertions of non-existence and from refusals to act.

7. non, je veux écrire.
(no, I want to write).
- "Tu veux jouer avec la pâte à modeler?" (Do you want to play with the clay?).
>
Starts getting paper.

Here, Sophie is presented with an offer to play with the clay, instead, she rejects it: non, je veux écrire. With this remark, she proceeds to get the necessary material for writing. Remi, in a lesser sense, executes the same action by refusing to eat by rejecting the offer of food.

8. non::non! (3x)
- R stops eating. M starts feeding him. T is under the table pulling R's pajamas.
>
R turns away from spoon.
"Allez, une autre bouchée? non? non? hein?" (Come, one more mouthful? no? no? huh?).

Here, Remi might be doing more than rejecting an offer. Since Tayo was under the table while Remi was eating, and since it was pulling at his pajamas, Remi's emphatic non! could have been directed at the dog as well as the mother's offer.

Cases of assertion of non-possession exist only in the data gathered from Jean. Although Remi may not be able to express non-possession, it is not to say that this may also be the case for Sophie. Unlike Remi, Sophie could assert possession, and a lack of assertion of non-possession in the

data may be a result of non-extensive sampling rather than a reflection of a lack of ability. In the case of Jean (9), expresses non possession.

9. Jean pas ruban ça.
(Jean no tape this).
- "C'est pour A. c'est un ruban."
(It's for A. It's a tape). J
says ruban.
"Oui, un ruban!" (Yes, a tape).
>
points to tape recorder.
"Non, Jean n'a pas un ruban
comme ça."
(No, Jean doesn't have a tape
like this).

In (9), as Jean observes the tape recorder I say c'est un ruban, whereupon Jean remarks that he does not have one (or that the tape is not his) by Jean pas ruban ça. Clearly, Jean is expressing non-possession of the tape in question, whether (9) is interpreted as The tape is not mine or I don't have a tape. Of more importance, however, is that this language use reflects the notion of possession and the ability to deny it.

Finally, the action of denying the truth of the preceding utterance is undertaken by Jean and Sophie only.

10. non.
- J sees picture of car with a
girl in it, says it is his.
"Ce n'est pas pour Sophie?"
(It's not for Sophie?)
>

"Regarde, il y a une petite
fille là, c'est pour Sophie."
(Look, there is a little girl
there, it is for Sophie).

In a weaker sense, non is an example in which Jean denies that the car in the picture book is for Sophie since he does not specify. On the other hand, Sophie in (11) explicitly denies the truth of what the adult says.

S is looking through catalogue
and pointing to doll carriages
which she wants.

"Ça c'est mignon, regarde."
(That's cute, look).
looking at carriages.

11. non, c'est pas mignon. >
(non, it's not cute).

Upon hearing the adult's comment that one of the carriages is cute, Sophie denies that it is cute.

3.3 Lexical Usage: Negative Utterances

A grammar of the respective language abilities of my three subjects should include the fact that they used the following particles and combinations to render negative utterances: non, pas, pas bon, plus, pas pu, pas peux, and pas bien. Of course, such negative particles occurred with terms other than those above, but I distinguish here only those combinations

which occur with sufficient frequency to be considered figures of speech in themselves. Negative utterances can be approached first from the point of view of what actions they are used to perform and how they fit into the situational and speech context, and second, from the point of view of morphological frequency and complexity. Section 3.2 concerned the action approach, and this section will involve a morphological description.

Such a description should include at least two items of information for each child: the morphemes he is capable of using or has internalized and the scope or complementary distribution of his various negative particles. It should also reveal the general frequency of use for the different particles. In this way, on a comparative basis, a general pattern of acquisition may be outlined: the scope of negation for Remi is virtually undeterminable, while for Sophie it is similar in distribution and variety of scope to that of an adult. Jean, on the other hand, demonstrates varying scope of negation.

3.3.1 Remi

Remi's negation repertoire consists of two lexical items: non and pas bon. Of these two, pas bon is restricted to use in situations in which food is involved. When he

refuses to continue eating, whether the food is tasty or not, he will utter pas bon. In this sense, then, pas bon becomes a figure of speech in itself, since he does not mean exactly what he says here and is not in fact combining pas with an adjective. Thus, pas may not be a qualified negative element in his lexicon, although he may subsequently be able to identify it as such and expand its usage.

Non is the single true negative element or particle for Remi. It should be noted here that it was not until the fourth session with Remi when he was 23, 7 days old that his use of this term could be called motivated. Before this time, non appeared only four times, two of which were inappropriate to the point of unintelligibility and the other two were special cases. The first was a non? question and the second is (12) below.

12. non.

R is standing by cupboard and
its door is open.
"Tu veux la fermer?" (You want
to close it?).
>
R closes door.

This second example is situationally contradictory. Remi is asked to close the cupboard door; he does so but says non. If one were to assume that he was not in fact contradicting himself (or did understand what he was saying and was capable

of correct usage of non) then the remaining interpretation would resemble something like.

(12') Adult: "Do you want to close it?"
(Tu veux la fermer?)

Remi: "No, I don't want to, but I will anyway" (non).

An interpretation such as the above would attributing to Remi a degree of sophistication which is unsubstantiated by any other aspect of his behaviour. The more likely and defensible explanation for (12) or its correlate (12') is that until the fourth session Remi's internalization of non usage was incomplete.

After session four, however, non occurs frequently and is used appropriately, even though it occurs by itself, as Remi is yet in the one-word stage. The fact of this isolated occurrence makes any determination of scope, as to whether non is intended to hold for substantives, predicates, or over entire sentences, virtually impossible. Since it is basically used in reaction to situations, the scope question is often not a meaningful one. Also, in those situations in which it is used in response to the adult's language, no better answers are forthcoming. For example, the following utterances relate a situation in which the mother, taking precautionary measures, asks if he is going to faire kaka?

13. non! > "Tu veux faire kaka?" (Do you want to go caca?)
looks insulted and hurt.
"Non, tu es sûr? faire kaka?"

14. non! > eyebrows are kneaded.
"Tu est sûr?" (your're sure?)
R resumes play.

Carlota Smith has pointed out that during the one-word utterance stage, the child seems to decode or "understand" only the "high-stress content words" which he himself utters (1970: 118). So, when Remi is asked a question or given a command (characteristically, his mother did not speak to him in any other mood; in particular, she did not speak to him as if a dialogue were possible) the scope of his response would range over the events which the recognized item might evoke. In this case, he was playing and had no desire to be placed on his toilet chair for periods of time as was the custom. Thus, he may well be responding to his conception of the situation rather than to his mother's speech.

3.3.2 Jean

Jean's negative vocabulary consists of the following lexical items: non, pas, pas bien, pas pu, pas peux. As the list indicates, many of these are expressions like Remi's pas bon. However, they are not reserved to one situation or

set of situations only, and have increased generality. Yet, they are expressions meant to be taken as entities in themselves, with special usage. In terms of relative frequency, non is easily the most frequent, followed by pas bien. Interestingly enough, pas appears in isolation and with other items. The last two above have to do with expressing inability and non-existence; pas peux appears only once, but pas pu is very productive, occurring some fourteen times. This compared favourably with pas bien occurring some eighteen times.

With regard to scope and complementary distribution, Jean's negative particles, unlike Remi's, can range over verbs, substantives, adjectives, and sentences. Notice that in the following Jean is able to use non with both an adjective and a verb.

15. non difficile couper > J is using knife to shell peanut.
 (not difficult cut) He has been told it is difficult
 to do this.
 "Non, c'est difficile." (No,
 it's difficult).
 continues cutting.
 "Comment?" (what)

He uses non on one occasion with demain in response to the mother's remark that tomorrow would be the day to vacuum the apartment.

J has been trying to get vacuum cleaner from closet and use it.
 M has been trying to put it back.
 She tells him vacuum will be done tomorrow.
 "Demain." (tomorrow)

16. non, non demain...
 aujourd'hui.
 (no, no tomorrow...
 today).

>

trying to use vacuum.

There are also cases of non appearing with an adjective in isolation; (17) is such an example.

J is trying to use vacuum cleaner.
 M is trying to dissuade him. J
 says: ça va
 "Ça va? ça un peu difficile."
 (OK? This, little difficult).

17. non...non difficile.

>

continues with vacuum.

Finally, for sentences, perhaps the most frequent use to which Jean puts non, the corpus is replete with cases in which Jean negates the entire sentence before with a single non.

J has put clay in mouth.
 "Non Jean, ce n'est pas bon,
 ouvre la bouche." (It's not good,
 open your mouth).

18. non!

>

will not open mouth.
 "Non?" J opens mouth.

This last non is intended to negate the entire previous utterance.

Thus, Jean is well into the process of becoming able to negate lexical items with different syntactic status. It should be pointed out, however, that most of Jean's negative utterances consist of single lexical items and not their combinations with grammatical categories.

With the exception of those cases in which pas bien and pas pu comment over an entire situation, these two negation expressions can range over substantives and pronouns. It should be noted that pas pu may also be realized as pas plus in certain speech events such as (18').

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| | 0 asks S if she has seen other camel. Jean says: <u>Jean</u> . |
| | "Jean a un chameau, où est l'autre." |
| | (Jean has a camel, where is the other?) |
| 18'. l'autre pas pu (plus) > | |
| (other can't (no more)). | Other camel can't be found. |

However, this interpretation has not been prevelant, also the parents never attributed pas plus to Jean's utterances when they themselves were repeating to him. In the case of pas bien, the scope extends to verbs. Whereas usages of non maintain an order of non+ negated item, this order is not maintained for all cases in which pas bien nor pas pu appear. In the case of substantives and pronouns, pas bien and pas pu can appear either before or after the lexical item over which

they range their scope. For example, in (19), when Jean is unable to continue his game because the ball in the toy is stuck, he utters boule pas bien three additional times with a plaintive sound.

19. boule pas bien (3x)
(ball not good)

J is playing with toy which has a ball in it that travels from one segment of toy to another.

J can't free ball,
receives no response.

Although there was no previous utterance, it is clear that pas bien is making a comment about the ball. Similarly in the utterance below, while a used cassette is replaced by a new one, Jean comments that the other either is no longer working or that it is gone.

20. l'autre pas pu...
l'autre
(other not can...
other)

New cassette is put in tape recorder.

J watches change.

In any case, his negation utterance, l'autre pas pu...l'autre, whether it expresses non-existence or ineffectuality, ranges over the pronoun. It should be pointed out that Jean's [papũ]

utterance can equally well be interpreted as pas plus (no more). However, as mentioned above, when Jean's utterances were expanded by his parents, his [papu] was always expanded as pas pu. Here, Jean's utterance cannot be disambiguated to indicate his true intentions.

Of course, the more usual order in which pas bien and pas pu appear is pas bien + negated item. The following two utterances are typical examples of such order.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 21. | non pas bien...pas bien Jean.
(no, not good...not good Jean) | > | J wants M to put puzzle piece in.
"C'est Jean qui met." (It's Jean who will put) |
| 22. | non, pas bien met ça
(no, not good put this) | > | Does not work with puzzle.
"Si, Jean très bien fait."
(Yes Jean does well). |
| | | | J doesn't or won't place piece right in puzzle.
"Mais tu fais n'importe quoi." |
| 23. | pas pu patin...maman
(no can skates...mama). | > | J has been cleaning M's skates which he now puts in closet.
"Bravo Jean, très bien."
(Bravo Jean, very good).
comes back from closet
"Pas pu patins, ils sont arrangés."
(But you are going anything).
(No can (more) skates, they are in place). |

In both these instances the scope of the negative expression ranges over nouns. In (21), when Jean requests that the mother put in a puzzle piece, the mother says, c'est Jean qui met (typically, the participants of a dialogue are spoken to in the third person rather than the second, thus, instead of using pronouns proper names are used). This does not seem to please Jean, and he retorts, non pas bien...pas bien Jean. Clearly, the negated item here is Jean. In (23), upon putting the mother's skates in the closet, Jean says, pas pu patin...maman. Here again, the scope of negation ranges over the noun.

Only pas bien appears with a verb. (22) above, is the only case in this corpus. Here, Jean expresses his inability or lack of interest in finishing the puzzle by uttering non pas bien met ça (no not good put this) in answer to his mother's si, Jean très bien fait (yes, Jean does very well). Very likely the ça refers to the puzzle piece which Jean is putting in the wrong slot as he says this. Unlike non, pas bien and pas pu do not have occurrences in which they range over entire sentences. If they do not appear with a lexical item, then they comment on an entire situation. The data is replete with utterances of this type.

The only other morpheme which expresses negation in the data from Jean is pas. This particle appears both in isolation and in conjunction with substantives, pronouns, and verbs. Its scope can also range over a previous situation.

When pas appears alone it is a reduced form of sais pas. There are a number of these cases, the utterance below is a typical utterance in point.

24. pas.

J is looking through catalogue.

"Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?"

(What is this?)

"Tu ne sais pas?"

(You don't know?)

Here, Jean is asked what a certain item in the catalogue is, and he answers pas. When the mother asks if he does not know, he answers her question negatively. Otherwise, in (25) the range of pas is over a noun.

25. non...pas un crayon.

S has a pencil. J doesn't and requests one.

"Tu n'as pas un crayon toi, eh?"

(You don't have a pencil, eh?)

"Quoi?" (what?) J repeats
crayon.

In answer to tu n'as pas un crayon toi, eh? Jean says non...pas un crayon. It could be said that Jean was imitating what he had heard, however, crayon belonged to Jean's spontaneous vocabulary, and this was not the only utterance in which the scope of pas ranged over a substantive. In (26), Jean's use of pas ranges over the pronoun ça which, in turn, represents an

action, that of drawing.

26. non...[ə] pas ça
- J wants something but he is not comprehensible.
 "Jean dessine?" (Jean draws?)
 > does not draw
 "Pas ça? pas plus écrire?"
 (Not this? no more writing?)

Here, Jean is not being understood easily and is questioned in order to possibly clarify his wish. So, when asked the wrong question Jean dessine?, Jean says non...pas ça. It is interesting to note that non negates the entire previous question, and pas ça reinforces the negation. The only instance of pas ranging over a verb is the following utterance.

27. non non...non non
 avec mette non pas
 fait non non aspirateur
 est là.
- J is trying to get vacuum cleaner.
 "Le balai est mieux." (The broom is better). M is trying to dissuade J.
 >
 still trying to get vacuum out of closet.

In this case, the scope of pas can be said to range over fait only if the utterance ...non pas fait non... is interpreted to refer to the broom in the mother's utterance: le balai est mieux. If not, it would have to be concluded that Jean did not use pas at this point in his acquisition as an element which

could range over verbs. When pas is used to negate an entire event or situation, as in (28), speculation about its scope is futile, since its range is virtually impossible to determine.

Knives are taken from J, starts crying, saliva runs from mouth. A tissue is placed under his mouth since he is lying on floor.

28. non pas. > pushes tissue away, continues crying.

3.3.3 Sophie

Perhaps the most important generalization to be made with regard to Sophie's corpus is that the special usages and negative combinations common to Remi and Jean have disappeared. Whereas Jean used pas peux on one occasion, Sophie (29), uses peux pas.

29. non, peux pas l'ouvrir. >

Her repertoire includes all those correct elements of both Jean and Remi and systematically excludes all of their special expressions and ad hoc usage. In fact, her ability in this regard is close to adult level, with the exception that the negative particle ne appears only six times in this corpus,

but is correctly used each time. In addition to the common negative particles, which were being acquired by Remi and Jean, Sophie also has plus and rien, but, again, these appear in isolation without the ne particle. These two items do not appear (at least in any intelligible form) in the speech of either Jean or Remi.

However, the fact that Sophie has acquired a vocabulary of this completeness, and the fact that she avoids special combinations, might lead one falsely to expect that her usage is more adult than it is. In fact, the characteristic formula, found in both Remi and Jean, in which non appears first and by itself, followed by a sentence which corrects the previous one, occurs predominately in Sophie's speech. In only 23 of her 97 negative utterances reported here does she deviate from this formula and use a more direct (adult) form. Compare (30) with (31): non, huh moi pas petit estomac and ça (77%), c'est pas des pommes ça (23%).

S has been eating peanuts.
 "Comment peux-tu manger tout
 ça? Tu as un tout petit
 estomac." (How can you eat all
 this? You have a small stomach).

30. non, hein moi pas petit >
 estomac.
 (no, me not small
 stomach).

S and J are looking through picture book at a picture of an onion. J says it's pomme (apple).

"Tu connais ça Sophie?" (Do you know this Sophie?).

31. Ça, c'est pas des
pommes ça.
(This, it's not
apples this).

>

looks at picture.

Thus, the early pattern of response lingers in her speech, showing that acquisition at this level requires not only expansion of working vocabulary, but the overcoming of less adult speech patterns. As in Jean's speech, for Sophie it is easier to respond with non to an utterance which expresses something contrary to her belief, and then follow this interjection with an utterance which positively expresses her belief, then to simply deny with the appropriate negative particle the first utterance.

To discuss her ability to use negative particles with other classes of words or with other grammatical category terms is essentially the same as discussing that of an adult. She exhibits no deficiencies in using negative particles with any other classes of term, or with entire sentences for that matter. This situation, however, does not mean that her combinations or syntax using negative particles is consistently correct. The fact that she has no scope problems does not entail that negation has been completely internalized with regard to the

longer utterances. In the utterance below, for instance, she says non, te pas manger.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 32. non, te pas manger.
(no, you not eat). | <p>S is feeding doll. O pretends to be eating also.</p> <p>></p> <p>pushes hand away.</p> |
|---|--|

The correct form here is non, ne manges pas, an utterance which has no surface pronoun. The command form into which the negative particle is to be placed demands that pas follow the verb. Her confusion could stem from several distinct sources: lack of full internalization of command forms, failure to hear the realization of ne in rapid French speech, or transposition of the pronoun over from the indicative form. Thus, Sophie's speech is similar to that of an adult's in a variety of important ways, but also retains the early usage, each of which indicates a problem to be solved at this stage of language acquisition.

3.4 Summary

The abilities to undertake negations are both diverse and variable from one stage of linguistic development to the next. In addition to the expansion of the lexicon, the scope of negation widens and specifies its range as the child's

language becomes more sophisticated. Whereas Remi exhibited no specificity in his usage of non, Jean, on the other hand, used non to range over substantives and predicates. Sophie demonstrated no scope problems. Furthermore, the action that the negation lexicon can perform varies from one stage to the next. On the one end of the scale, Sophie could perform such acts as denying an assertion, disapproving, refusing to act, rejecting an offer, asserting non-existence, inability, and non-possession. Remi, at the other end of the scale, could undertake to disapprove, refuse to act, assert non-existence, and reject an offer. The order of the acquisition of these negation functions is different from that described by Bloom (1970) and McNeill (1968). Both psycholinguists observe that the first function to appear in their subjects was non-existence, the second, rejection and the third, denial. In Remi's case non-existence appeared only once, and it was not the first function of negation. Greenfield, et al. also report a different order of acquisition of functions. They report that rejection of an ongoing act or proposition is the first "semantic relation" acquired by their subjects. The second was non-existence and the third denial (1972:99).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE APPEARANCE OF NON-SERIOUS UTTERANCES

4.1 Acquisition and Play

Nothing characterizes this corpus so much as the fact that each session, and hence each tape, contained numerous instances of play behaviour on the part of the subjects. No study to this date has given play phenomena the emphasis it deserves, since the children's time, whether by themselves or with their parents, is virtually taken up in this activity. It follows from this observation that early language acquisition may be closely related to or aided by such physical activity. In the chapter on play to follow, we look directly at language transactions between parent and child in which uniquely verbal play is involved. To extend the analysis to non-linguistic play behaviour is well beyond the scope and range of this study. Nevertheless, the examples to be included in this chapter will provide at least a preliminary description of the effect of play in aiding a child's linguistic awareness. It seems to be the case that many of the conditions that normally obtain in language use are called into question here.

Language users normally mean what they say (sincerity conditions) and usually do not undertake to utter something unless there is a reason to do so, and their utterance is relevant to the immediate situation. In play sessions, first by the parents intonation and then by the strict meaning of the utterances of the parent, the child learns to differentiate between serious communication and play communication.

Since the original intention for the sessions was to record the spontaneous speech of the children in their natural environment, the sessions evolved into play periods, due to the fact that the children were typically always engaged in some form of play, whether linguistic or physical. I participated in these periods, following the inclinations of the children. At times I would point to objects or toys and ask what they were called; later I might point to the same or a similar object and offer the wrong name for it, waiting to see if the child could make the correction. In following this line of procedure for Jean and Sophie, I repeated the mother's customary behaviour of question and answer dialogue.

In fact, Jean and Sophie had daily play session with their mother. This play consisted of answering questions about objects in picture books and puzzles, building different things with blocks and clay, drawing, and make-believe games such as playing house, cooking and cleaning. Such physical activities were all accompanied by linguistic interchange with

the mother. Included in this interchange was a type of verbal behaviour which can best be described as 'linguistic play' and will be discussed subsequently. The activities in which the children engaged required the assistance of an adult who was sympathetic and ready to narrate the activity. This meant that the adult would pose questions, and the child would answer them. These were questions such as "What is this?," "Who has one like this?," "What does this do?," and "Where did you see one like this?" This seemed to provide a means by which their answers were either reinforced and rewarded, or rejected and corrected. Also, it seemed to be a good memory exercise since the questions had been asked before. Occasionally, however, new items would appear and the question/answer dialogue would cease to play a reinforcing role or "practice game" (Piaget 1962:111) role and provide new information. Often, Sophie or Jean would take on the role of the questioner and pose the questions themselves.

For Remi, on the other hand, a dialogue of this type did not seem to be of either interest or importance. Our play sessions consisted of emptying the toy box while conversing about its contents which were various sizes of rings and building blocks, an assortment of stuffed animals, small cars, trucks, balls, and trains. Although questions about where or what a familiar toy was would often go unanswered, this special attention and dialogue seemed to be both new and very pleasant

for Remi. This dialogue often failed to elicit a response from Remi since his primary interest was not in establishing a verbal contact with the adult but in having the adult participate in the activity. It should be pointed out that with the exception of Remi's milk breaks when the mother and I joined him for a cookie, most of the linguistic interaction recorded was between Remi and myself.

4.2 Theoretical Considerations

In general, studies of children's speech have been most interested in delineating and defining "stages" of acquisition. To succeed in justifying and defending such stages, primary attention has been placed on just the child's lexicon, complexity of syntactic combinations, mean length of utterances, and acquisition of bound morphemes. From such information about the surface structures of early utterances it is possible to write grammars for the various stages, concentrating on a child's intelligible utterances. More recently, investigators have looked at the underlying semantics for children's speech, asking "functional" questions. Some of their methodology has been utilized here, in Chapter Two and Three. This study has not limited itself strictly to such surface syntactic and underlying semantic concerns, but has also asked question of when an utterance is appropriate to the situation in which it

occurs. While it is clear that children must internalize both the formal and semantic rules of a language, it is equally clear that pragmatic or contextual conventions must also be acquired.

In order to determine if such conventions have in fact come to shape a subject's utterance, it is necessary to look at his errors rather than at his successful utterances. The comparison which reveals such errors is not one between the subject and other children of the same age, or even between his stage and other stages, but one which must take into account the target language or adult speech. Recent study of the conventions surrounding adult speech has produced several general conventions underlying adult usage which may be brought to the language of children in order to determine if such conventions have been acquired.

Specifically, in contrast with babbling behaviour, at one end of the spectrum, adults assume that someone will not begin to speak unless he has a reason to do so, a reason which will become clear when his utterance is understood. A second convention of adult speech is that the speaker ostensibly means what he says, and is most typically not being ironic or sarcastic (which is the case when he does not mean what he says). An additional convention is that the speaker will not use language that his hearer cannot or is unable to understand. Thus, a speaker avoids misleading his audience by

making sure that his utterance is relevant to the situation, is serious if the situation does not indicate otherwise, and is intelligible because it is phrased in language an audience can understand.* For Jean, then, pourquoi questions are usually inappropriate, due to irrelevance, although he seems to be serious about such questions. His pourquoi utterances are a case in which the "stage" approach would record that he was able to make such questions, without emphasizing that he asked unsuccessful pourquoi questions.

This chapter is interested, therefore, in locating those areas in the corpus in which adult conventions of communication have not been maintained, which results in what might be called "play" utterances. These involve speech events in which the child can recognize that what an adult says, or what he says, is in direct contradiction with the facts. And, thus, the speaker does not intend what he says. In the two preceding chapters, irrelevant utterances were pointed out, and all utterances which were unintelligible (for whatever reason) were excluded from discussion. Clearly, not all of a child's

* These three generalizations about language use are formalized in P. Grice's "The Logic of Conversation" (Berkeley mimeo), 1968. They are incorporated in less philosophical and more linguistic terms in D. Gordon & G. Lakoff, "Conversational Postulates," Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society (Chicago, 1971), and in Geis and Zwicky's "On Invited Inferences," Linguistic Inquiry, II:4 (1971). With regard to sincerity conditions for language use, see J. Searle, Speech Acts (Cambridge, 1969), p. 65.

speech is intentional which would in adult usage, result in cases of irrelevancy and bad faith. What may be regarded as such in adult usage, seem to be, natural in early linguistic behaviour. Here, then, I shall be primarily interested in the acquisition of an understanding of when utterances are sincere and when they are made in play.

4.3 Discussion

Here, the children's ability to participate and initiate linguistic play, as a first indication of their ability to understand which utterances are sincere is of direct interest. Without the acquisition of the conventions surrounding intended speech, conversation and the target language would not be completely internalized. We can identify those periods in the corpus in which the "sincerity convention" is at stake by locating behaviour which does not seem to either acquire or give serious information about the event(s) surrounding the speech. Such behaviour divides itself into two basic types depending on the intentions of the speaker. In one case, the speaker tells what he knows to be a falsehood (not necessarily a lie) in order to benefit himself, obtaining what he believes he could not achieve otherwise. For example, if a person were to claim to being a student in order to obtain some object restricted to students, he would be telling a lie.

A second case exists in which the speaker misnames an object, or is uncooperative in order to turn an ordinary situation into a humorous one.

Unsurprisingly, not all three children engaged in linguistic play. Remi, being at the one-word utterance stage, did not either initiate or participate in such behaviour. Often, Remi did not pay attention or did not seem to be aware that any language was being addressed to him. In this respect, he had not reached the point of question and answer games, seemingly the threshold for play behaviour for the other two children. It was during such sessions with the mother that play behaviour seemed to develop first. Remi lacked even the ability to recognize all utterances which were directed to him, and thus was unprepared to engage in the question/response format. Since he did not readily supply the names of objects he was very familiar with, any attempt at eliciting a reaction by misnaming an object received no response at all. Consequently, Remi's stage of ability is one in which no conventions as to which utterances are serious have been developed.

Taking the three subjects as a scale along which such a convention is acquired, Remi, at the one-word stage, represents the negative pole. Sophie, on the other hand, and to a lesser extent Jean, could distinguish between serious and non-serious utterances. Thus, she showed marked acquisition of this convention of adult speech.

Turning to Jean, it is possible to identify an ability to engage in non-serious speech. Jean, like Sophie, would agree to a falsehood in order to achieve a certain desired end. (1) is a case in point.

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
1.	M, S and O are having tea, J wants to join. "Pourquoi, tu es une petite fille?" (Why are you a little girl?)
oui (yes)	>
	J prepares to sit at table. "Tu es une fille?" (You're a girl?)
Jean fille	> J receives a cup of tea and helps himself to cookies.

Initially, the mother had commented that Sophie would join us for tea, like a big girl; and the tea seemed to be a "girl's" affair. So, when Jean makes a move to join the party, the mother asks if he is "a girl" for wanting to join us. This last feature of the situation seems to have been understood by Jean also, since he says Jean fille as he joins the party. In this case, Jean is agreeing with what he knows to be an obvious untruth, in order to enter into the activity. Of course, this is not to say that if he had not agreed to being a "girl," he would not have been allowed to join the party, but only that he was capable of recognizing and going along with the mother's non-serious remark.

Likewise, in the situation below, Sophie tells a falsehood to alleviate the consequences of her action.

2. S has put clay in her mouth and pieces of it have stuck to her teeth. M tells her, with a scolding tone, that her teeth are blue.
- et Jean
(and Jean)
- moi mange plus à la bouche.
(me, not eat in the mouth)
- >
- "Non, Jean joue avec. Non, c'est blanc." (No, J plays with it. No it's white).
- >
- "Mais, j'espère."
(But I hope)

Since Sophie had put clay in her mouth before, and the mother's comment was not her first, the situation could have led to serious consequences for Sophie. To distract the mother, Sophie falsely enlists Jean as an accomplice, knowing full well that Jean was not putting clay in his mouth.

Furthermore, both children could deny obvious physical facts either by disagreeing with a correct statement, or by misnaming objects. Although in (3) below Jean starts to insist on his point of view, the mother's persistent questioning forces Jean to break off his playful speech and agree with the mother.

3. J is looking through catalogue,
sees an exercise bicycle.
- ah bicyclette... >
Jean bicyclette Jean
bicyclette
- "Non, c'est pour les mamans, ça."
(No, it's for mamas).
- non...non...Jean >
oui "Pour Jean?" (For J?)
- non mamie >
"Tu crois?" (You think?)
- non...Jean...papa aussi >
(papa also) "Oui, c'est mieux pour mamie."
(Yes, it's better for mamy)
- oui >
"Papa aussi?"

This, perhaps, is one of the more important examples in which the seriousness convention is involved. Jean begins with a non-serious claim which he discovers he must subsequently modify since the mother's persistence indicates that she wishes him to be serious. (3), then, demonstrates the underlying co-operation between parties necessary for play utterances to be made and shows that Jean understands this convention. His subsequent resumption of the "play" claim lends additional support to this contention, since he includes both himself and his father in the second revision of the claim. In this situation, his search is for the claim which is most appropriate given his mother's desires and his own wish to be humorous.

In (4), Sophie takes advantage of Jean's idiosyncratic ba and calls the duck ba.

4. S and J are looking at a duck in picture book.
 "C'est quoi ça?" (What's this?)
- S: c'est comme on l'a vu. >
 (it is like we saw)
- J: ba...ba ça.
 ([ba] this)
- J: non...ba >
 points to duck.
 "C'est un canard ça."
 (It's a duck)
- S: ça c'est du ba. >
 (This is [ba])
- S: du ba, c'est du ba. >
 "Ba? qu'est-ce que c'est que ba?"
 (Ba? what is ba?)
- S: du ba, c'est du ba. >
 "Ça c'est du ba? c'est un canard
 ça."
 (This is [ba]? This is a duck).
- J and S are giggling.

When Jean first said ba, he may not have been intentionally playing; however, encouraged by Sophie's playfulness, he joins in the laughter, indicating his understanding of the situation.

Whereas in examples (1)-(4) above, what was in question was non-serious linguistic behaviour (misnaming, telling falsehoods), in (5) and (6) below, Sophie engages in a type of "ultra" seriousness.

5. S and J are playing.
 "Vous ne voulez pas des petits
 peanuts?" (You don't want some
 peanuts?)
- S: oui >
- J: oui
- S: non, des petites cacahouettes.
 (no, small cacahouettes)
- "Oui, c'est pareil." (Yes, it's
 the same).

6. "Tu mets toutes les petites cubes dans la boîte." (Put all the cubes in box).
 >
 ah, c'est des petits carrés.
 (It is small squares)
 "Des petites cubes, des petits carrés, c'est pareil." (It's the same, it's not the same).
 >
 c'est pareil, c'est pas pareil.
 S sings as she plays with blocks.

In both instances, Sophie "corrects" her mother. She is aware that what the mother is saying is indeed true, but sees an opportunity to correct her. Here, she may be reversing the game roles that she has learned from her mother. This is not to say that the mother has been hyper-correct with Sophie; rather, Sophie knows two expressions for the same object and exaggerates the seriousness of the situation.

It is not always the case that a non-serious utterance is recognized by Jean and Sophie. In both (7) and (8), the playful tone of the adult's utterance does not engage the children in a non-serious dialogue.

7. S has obtained a cooking pot from M.
 >
 J: Jean aussi
 J follows S to kitchen.
 "Jean aussi?"
 >
 J: oui
 J gets a cooking pot also.
 "Jean va perdre son pantalon."
 (Jean is going to lose his pants).
 J: oui
 >

J leaves kitchen, M has to follow him to next room to adjust his pants.

Jean is engaged in a serious situation in which he is getting a cooking pot. A lighthearted comment such as the Mother's, Jean va perdre son pantalon does not seem to register, since Jean makes no move to either inspect his pants or stop to get help with them. The other's playful tone does not seem to be expected. Thus, Jean intently continues his game of cooking. A somewhat similar situation occurs below.

8. looking at a picture of a basket with dog in it.
"C'est une table ça?" (Is this a table?).
8. maman, c'est une table ça?>
(mama, is this a table)
- "Non, regarde bien avec tes yeux, qu'est-ce que c'est?"
(No, look well with your eyes, what is it?)
- ça, panier
(this basket) >

Sophie has been reading a picture book in a question/answer period. My question seems to be unexpected. Not being able to judge the situation, Sophie turns to the mother. So far, she had been naming objects after being asked what they were. Here, however, she sees a basket with a dog in it, and yet is asked if it is a table. Clearly, she is familiar with both tables and baskets. But, she is unable to

respond in the playful tone that the non-serious nature of the question elicits.

Whereas the examples before tended to demonstrate that Jean and Sophie understood the necessary conventions, these last two examples reveal that neither child has complete understanding. To lose one's pants hasn't become for Jean a significant situation. And, Sophie, when faced with my question, which she could not recognize as peculiar, could not decide immediately whether I was duplicating the mother's usual role. She followed the target language assumption that a strange speaker will avoid misleading their hearer. It is interesting in contrast that when Sophie is asked the more conventional "what" question, she is able to respond readily.

(9) is an instance in which Jean initiates an insincere speech event.

9. J sees a television in catalogue.
 9. télévision...Jean aussi >
 "Qui, Jean aussi a une télé,
 où est la télé à toi? où est la
 télé de papa maman Jean?"
 (Yes, J too has a TV, where is
 your TV?, where is J's daddy's
 mama's TV?).
 pas >
 "Tu ne la vois pas? regarde
 bien, regarde bien dans la
 maison." (You don't see it?
 look well in the house).
 (TV is visible in corner of
 room).
 ah non >
 "Tu ne la vois pas la télé?"
 (You don't see the TV?).

non >
 la > "Tu ne la vois plus?"
 > (You don't see it anymore?)
 > points to TV

Notice that Jean continues playing until the fourth utterance of the mother when her tone designates something like "I won't believe what you are saying." Clearly, Jean seemed to be aware of the contradiction that his negation expressed, since he was familiar with the household television set, and at the start of the speech event, he indicated that he too had a television (according to the mother's interpretation of the utterance). Thus, like Sophie, Jean can, in addition to participating in non-serious dialogues, occasionally initiate such events himself.

Finally, (10) below represents an ambiguous situation.

10. J is playing, M joins in.
 "Qu'est-ce que tu fais de jolies?
 tu me racontes?" (What pretty
 things are you doing, will you
 tell me?).
 does not respond.
 "Eh bien, Jean fait un garçon
 ou bien un polisson?" (Is J
 a boy or a naughty boy?)
 >
 "Hein?"
 >
 "Tu es un polisson?"
 >
 "Oh c'est terrible ça. C'est
 terrible. Jean n'est pas le
 grand garçon de mamie?" (Oh,
 that's awful. J isn't mama's
 big boy?).
- [səsõ]
 [səsõ]
 oui

In answer to the mother's initial question, Jean replies [səs̃]. This could be a reduced form of either garçon or polisson. However, the mother understands it to be polisson; and, in turn, Jean confirms it. Due to the nature of Jean's oui responses, he may not be saying oui to the actual utterance. In other words, it is likely that Jean either did not pay attention or did not understand the exact wording of what the mother said. Or, he thought that the mother understood his utterance as he intended it, and therefore, he automatically answered oui. Jean's oui responses do not always seem to be motivated by an understanding of the adult's utterance. Rather, Jean seems to assume that he is being understood and when he is questioned, his immediate reply is oui. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be enough further information to disambiguate (10).

4.4 Summary

This chapter has pointed out that the older children are able to recognize non-serious usage. They can determine those utterances which do not mean what they state, because they are in direct conflict with the situation in which they appear. This inconsistency with the facts is one good indicator that the standard constraints on conversation are being ignored, which may result in non-serious usage. As Remi is

only at the one-word utterance level, he has not yet begun to acquire this understanding of conversational rules. Correspondingly, his speech is characterized by idiosyncratic and situationally irrelevant utterances. On the other hand, by the two-word utterance stage, Jean begins to acquire the conversational conventions underlying the target language. Nevertheless, as I pointed out, even Sophie makes non-serious utterances only with regard to persons, situations, and objects with which she is thoroughly familiar.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

This study has discussed three prominent features of the children's linguistic behaviour. It reported the three levels in the acquisition of such interrogatives as questions, requests, and imperatives. It then discussed the various negative speech actions that each child was capable of undertaking while describing the range or scope of their negation lexicon. Departing from a syntactic-semantic consideration of language acquisition, it also pointed out the children's abilities to participate and recognize linguistic play.

In addition to contributing new data to a field which has lacked work on languages other than English, this study has provided useful information for a general developmental theory. In discussing interrogatives, a possible order of acquisition of questions has been suggested. It has pointed out that a clear distinction between requests and commands did not exist even in the behaviour of a child at the complete sentence stage. Also, it was seen from the

data that not all three children could undertake the same negative actions and that the youngest child did not perform speech actions that the oldest could. A significant aspect of the study was that not all the children could distinguish between serious and non-serious speech. The linguistic awareness necessary to make such a distinction was seen to be non-existent in the youngest child, whereas the older two had started to acquire the ability. It is suggested that this finding may be used as an additional difference between children at the holophrastic and "telegraphic" stages.

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APPENDIX A*

REMI: QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS

A.1 Question UtterancesA.1.1 Yes/no questions

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
22,17	R is having a snack. "Tu veux du chocolat?"
1. chocolat?	> R waits while mother goes to cupboard. R gets chocolate.
23,4	R pulls mother to cupboard, touches bread.
2. c'est ça?	>

*The appendices will present each child's question and negative utterances. The context of each utterance will be on the left and will contain a description of the event and speech directed to the child. The child's utterance will appear on the right hand side and its position in the context will be designated by >. The mother will be referred to as M, the father as F, Remi as R, Jean as J, Sophie as S, and the observer as O. The following diacritical marks will be used: (...) for pause, (:) for lengthening of utterance, and ([]) for phonetic representation. The number of repetitions of an utterance will be marked by (x) after the utterance. Throughout the data [həh] will appear as huh and [hɛ] as hein. The age of the child will appear above the child's utterance.

"Non, ça c'est du pain."

R goes on to some other activity.

3. non?

"Non, non, ne touches pas le buffet." (2x)

>

R looks at M while touching.

"Il ne faut pas toucher, interdit."

23,7

R is holding a small box.

"C'est une boîte, c'est une petite boîte."

4. boîte?

>

R picks up another toy from toy box.

"Ça, ce n'est pas une boîte."

5. train?

>

R is holding a train.

"Oui, c'est un train."

23,11

R is playing with construction boxes, and is looking for third box.

"C'est là bas." Box is pointed at.

6. là bas?

>

still looking around.

"C'est là bas. Où est la troisième?" R finds box.

23,25

The dog has urinated in next room.

"Il a fait pipi, c'est très vilain."

7. kaka?

>

watches M clean spot.

"Oui, il a fait pipi, c'est très vilain."

R is stacking boxes on top of each other with some assistance.

"Et puis une autre" as another box is added.

8. et comme une?
 he hands a box to stack.
 >
 "Et puis une autre."
9. [ə] kaka?
 Tayo, the dog, has had another accident.
 >
 "Oui, T a fait pipi, pipi."
 R repeats pipi.
 "Oui, il a fait pipi."
10. [ələ] kaka?
 >
 "Oui, c'est un grand pipi. Quoi?"
11. un autre? un autre?
 >
 R points to sponge.
 "Non, ce n'est pas l'éponge pour T."
- 24,19
 M has finished cookie. R gets another cookie.
12. kookie huh?...non?
 >
 R extends it to M.
 "Merci."
13. kookie?
 same action as (12) directed to O.
 >
 O refuses. R eats cookies.
- 25,20
 1r. lā? lā? (1x)
 >
 R has a letter in hand and is going to drop it through a slot.
 "Non, on le met lā."
 different slot is pointed out.
- A.1.2 "Where" questions
 23,0
 R has been playing with tennis balls. They are now all dispersed about the room.
15. balle? balle?
 >
 R looks behind stone and finds nothing. Continues looking for balls.

25,20

R was playing with a toy boat which is now out of sight.

16. il est où? il est où?

>

R looks around, while eating.
M finds boat and hands it to R.

22,27

"Tu n'as pas envi?"
looks up at mother.

17. huh?

>

"Envi d'aller au cabinet? pipi?"
No verbal response from R.
Resumes some other activity.

18. huh?

"Où est ton téléphone?"

>

R hand train.
"Non, ce n'est pas le téléphone."
occupied with train, pays no attention.

23,0

R is watching the tape recorder.
"Qu'est-ce que ça fait?"

19. huh?

>

R watches while tape is changed.

23,4

M is holding a duck.
"C'est quoi ça? c'est quoi?"

20. huh?

>

R looks at M for a moment then continues handing toys to M.
"C'est quoi? c'est un canard."

21. huh?

O asks R to give piglet from toy box. R hands train.

"C'est un train?"

>

looks at train he has just given.
"C'est un train?" R imitates train.

22. huh?
 >
 "That tickles" (English). R is being tickled.
 >
 looks at 0, then proceeds throwing toys off table.
23. huh?
 >
 R is coring potatoes with knife.
 "Ça te fait mal, non?"
24. huh?
 >
 R continues coring.
 "Ça ne te fait pas mal?"
 >
 inspects potato eye.
 "Qu'est-ce que c'est? potato-eye?"
25. huh?
 >
 R and 0 have been throwing a ball of paper back and forth, ball is on floor.
 "Je l'ai perdu."
 >
 R is waiting with outstretched arms.
 "Je l'ai perdu." R requests un autre?
- 23,7
 26. huh?
 >
 "Met ça là." motioned to toy box.
 >
 looks at 0 and takes a construction cube 0 is extending.
 "Dans la boîte." Box is pointed at again. R puts toy in box.
27. huh?
 >
 R is hammering.
 "Tu fait comme papa?"
 >
 continues hammering, doesn't pay attention.
 "Tu fais comme papa?" no verbal response from J.
- Toy is about to fall off table.
 "Ça va tomber!"

28. huh?

>
looks at 0.
"Regarde, ça va tomber." R looks
at toy being pointed.

23,11

29. huh?

R has given a car wheel.
"Qu'est-ce que c'est?"
>
looks at 0, then runs off to play
with dog.

30. huh?

There is a banana in bag for R.
"Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?"
>
looks in bag, finds banana.

31. huh?

R is playing with construction
boxes.
"Où est la troisième?"
>
looks around.
"C'est là bas." box is pointed
out.

32. huh?

"Où est le train?"
>
looks around but produces nothing.

23,14

33. huh?

"Où est ta chaise? ta petite
chaise?"

34. huh?

>
looks at 0.
"Dans ta chambre?"
>
still looking.
we get his chair from his room.

35. huh?

"Le train," as 0 looks through
toy box.
>
R finds train in box.

23,21

R is using a pencil which doesn't write.

"Pourquoi ça n'écrit pas le crayon?"

36. huh?

>

R continues using pencil.

23,25

R is looking in my bag.

"Il n'y a rien dedans."

37. huh?

>

R keeps on looking in bag.

"Il n'y a rien."

38. hein?

"Remi, où est le canard?" duck is in toy box.

>

R is occupied with small boxes, question repeated several times, no attention from R but he says canard once.

39. huh?

"Où est le train?" train not in view.

>

R runs to another room and comes back with train.

25,20

R has a letter in hand.

"Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire maintenant?"

40. huh?

>

R is putting letters in slots. Question is repeated, R says [me].

41. huh?

"Elle est où ta poche? Remi?" question is repeated

>

R looks at mother, question repeated. R shows his pocket.

A toy letter falls to floor.

"C'est tombé?"

42. huh?

>
looks for it and finds it.

A.2 Negative Utterances

22,27

Cupboard door is open. R is standing by it.

43. non.

"Tu veux la fermer?"
>
R. closes door.

23,7

44. non!

"Tu vas faire kaka?"
>
looks insulted and hurt.
"Non, tu es sûr? faire kaka?"

45. non!

>
eyebrows are kneaded.
"Tu es sûr?" R continues playing.

46. c'est pas bon.

R is having a cookie break.
"Ce n'est pas bon ça? si? c'est bon?"
>
keeps eating cookie and drinking milk.
"Ce n'est pas bon ça?"

47. c'est pas bon...
c'est bon.

>
keeps eating cookie and drinking milk.
"Huh, ce n'est pas bon? c'est bon où ce n'est pas bon?"
no response from R.

23,11

48. oh non!

R gets spoon from drawer to get lid off cookie can.
>
can't get lid off, then he succeeds.

49. non!
 Tayo (puppy) is biting him.
 >
 R hits dog.
 starts playing with dog again.
50. non! (1x)
 R is trying to get away from T.
 >
51. oh non!
 T is on R's back, R pushes it.
 >
52. non!
 "Il est où le chien? il est où T? il est caché?"
 R looks under cupboard, dog isn't there. Looks for it behind
 >
 Looks for it behind wash and finds dog.
- 23,14
 T is rough with R, jumping and nipping.
53. non...non!
 >
54. non.
 R is eating cereal.
 "C'est de la céréale. Tu dis céréale?"
 >
 keeps eating.
 "Non?" R requests bread.
55. non:: non! (3x)
 R stops eating, M starts feeding him. Tayo is under the table pulling R's pajamas.
 >
 R turns face away from spoon.
56. pas bon.
 "Allez, une autre bouchée? non? non? huh?"
 >
 won't eat.
 "Ce n'est pas bon?"
 R answers est bon and starts eating.

57. non.
 >
 R upsets bowl of dry cereal.
 M starts gathering cereal while talking to O.
 R pushes M's hand and gathers cereal himself.
58. non Tatu
 >
 "Tu as fini avec la céréale?"
 T is around, R has stopped eating "Tatu?" R does not respond.
59. oh non:::
 >
 R has unhooked trains.
60. oh non:::
 >
 R topples rings down.
61. non.
 >
 R gives O a calender from toy box, has a picture on one side.
 "C'est un calendrier."
 >
 takes calender back.
 "Ce n'est pas un calendrier?"
 R goes to door and pretends the mailman has brought it.
 no verbal response.
62. oh non:
 >
 R is playing with toys, nothing unusual.
63. non Tato.
 >
 T is eating shoelaces.
 "Non Tayo!"
 R looks at O.
64. non Tayo.
 >
 "Non Tayo!"
 >
 still looking at O.
65. oh non.
 >
 R tries to get free while giving T cereal.

66. oh non.
 > R is crushing cookie in bowl.
67. ah non.
 > R upsets bowl of crushed cookies on floor.
68. ah non:::
 > "R qu'est-ce que tu as fait encore, vas ramasser, va ramasser."
 > gathers cookie from floor.
 M agrees.
- 23,21
 69. non.
 > R is trying to get away from T.
70. non:::
 > "Mets les trains ensemble. (1x.)"
 > pushes trains off table.
 "Pourquoi tu fais ça? Tu veux que T les mange?"
 no response from R.
71. non!:
 > R gives 0 trains to hook up.
 "Essaye, toi, toi essaye." 0
 pushes trains towards R.
 > pushes trains to 0.
 "Ok, ok"
72. non:
 > R gives 0 trains to hook up.
 "Essaye, toi."
73. non:
 > does not do anything.
 "Si, essaye, toi."
74. non pas moi.
 > does not do anything.
 "Si, essaye, toi."
 > does not do anything.
 "Huh?"
 pushes trains towards 0.

76. non!
 R gives 0 trains to hook up.
 "Essaye, toi."
 >
 does not do anything.
77. non!
 "Si, toi, tu le fais."
 >
 throws trains around room.
 R starts another activity.
78. non:
 "Essuie la bouche."
 >
 R stands in front of towel,
 does nothing.
- 23,25
 R is building house with help,
 gives 0 a block.
 "Merci, c'est tout? non." 0
 looks at other blocks.
79. non.
 >
 R gives another block.
80. oh non!
 R pushes toys around.
 >
- 25,20
 M helping R put alphabet letters
 into right slot.
 "C'est où l'N?"
- 81 non [ə] la... (1x)
 >
 R points to different slots.
82. non (1x)
 As R puts letters into slots.
 >

APPENDIX B

JEAN: QUESTIONS AND NEGATIONS

B.1 Question UtterancesB.1.1 Yes/no-questions

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
24,28	J is looking through book and answering questions. "Et là, tu reconnais?" pointing to dog.
1. wouwou?	> "Wouwou."
25,2	J is being asked to name items in catalog. "Et là?" pointing to a man's garment.
2. là? papa ça papa.	> M comments to me. "ça, il ne connaît pas bien, ça"
3. non papa ça?	> M turns page. J receives no response.
26,7	J was looking through book and answering "what" questions.
4. ça va?	> J has finished with book and receives no response.

5. pilou? bateau.

J wants M to ask him questions.
 "Encore? Où est-ce qu'il est
 le pilou? où il est le pilou?"
 looking through book.

>

J looks at dog on boat.
 "Sur un bateau."

6. la lune?

M is turning pages of book, J
 sees the moon, la lune.
 "La lune? où elle est la lune?"

>

J looks for moon and finds it.

7. deux chevaux? chevaux
 jaune? [] pas.

J is playing with puzzle.
 "Où est le deux-chevaux qui
 ce met là?"

>

J looks around for yellow car.
 "Tu ne le vois pas? derrière
 toi."

26,14

J wants more questions with book.
 "Encore? encore voyons."
 J sees a bird with a ball in
 its beak.

8. boule? boule?
 pas boule?

>

"oui, il a une boule dans le
 bec."

9. confiture? oui

There's a picture of a jar of
 jam in book. J is asked what
 it is, answers: tartine.
 "De la confiture."

>

"De la confiture."

10. enfant...enfant...
 enfant là?

J sees a picture of a bus with
 children in it.
 "Qui est dedans?"

>

"Les enfants."

J is putting puzzle piece in
 wrong slot.
 "Non, on ne met pas ça là."

11. là?

>

J finds right slot.

"oui, juste là."

M not in room. J asks where she is and is told "upstairs."

>

12. encore occupée
maman? (1x)

"Comment? pourquoi elle est en haut maman?" J's question is misunderstood, however, J responds with oui.

Playing hide and seek with puzzle piece. J is looking for it.

13. là?

"Non, non il n'est pas là."

>

J looks,

"Non, là non plus."

26,20

S is looking for a hair clip in O's bag.

"C'est dans l'autre sac."

>

14. l'autre sac?

J is watching O.

"oui, voyons si j'ai une barette."

M is leaving and talking with O. F is present.

15. maman [ə] part?

F "Pardon? maman part? c'est quoi ça?"

16. maman [ə] part?

>

M "Pardon, qu'est-ce qu'il y a mon cheri?"

17. [ə] part? maman?

>

"Maman elle va jusqu'à la poste."

B.1.2 "Where" questions

24,25

18. panpan...lé panpan?

>

J is looking for his hammer.

"Comment?" O doesn't understand.

19. panpan? >
 Hammer is found for J.
- 24,28
 J is shelling peanut with knife.
 Knife falls off table.
20. couteau? couteau? >
 J looks around.
 Le couteau est tombe."
 J picks up knife.
- 21 panpan? >
 J looking for hammer.
 "huh?" can't find his hammer,
 uses knife to hammer with.
- 25,3
22. [vəlyɛ] marteau papa? >
 [lɛ] marteau papa?
 J is looking for father's hammer,
 finds it and starts hammering.
 "Qu'est-ce que tu fais avec
 [lɛ] marteau de papa?" No verbal
 response from J.
23. l'autre crayon? >
 J is looking for other crayon,
 receives no response.
- 25,12
 We are all looking through a
 catalogue, at another time.
 J had noticed a bed like his.
24. [lɛ] lit Jean? (3x) >
 "Quoi Jean?"
25. [lɛ] lit Jean? >
 "Oh, où est le lit de Jean?"
 cannot be found in catalogue.
 "Oh, je crois qu'on l'a déchiré."
 Continues to look through
 catalogue.
- J mumbles something.
 "Pardon mon cheri?"
26. lit Jean? >
 J enquires about his bed again.
 "Jean, oui," M thinks J wants
 to look through catalogue.
27. lit Jean? >
 "Où est le lit de Jean? Je
 crois qu'on l'a découpé."
28. lit Jean? [lɛ]
 lit Jean? >

- 26,7
29. é [lɛ] porsche? >
J is not satisfied, wants to see his bed, receives no response. M has gone on to some other activity.
30. l'autre...canard
l'autre? >
J is looking around for a puzzle piece.
"Où elle est la porsche?" J locates piece.
31. l'autre canard?
l'autre? >
J has seen a duck in picture book.
"Comment il fait le canard, tu te souviens Jean?"
32. l'autre? >
J wants to look through book
"l'autre quoi?"
33. [ɛ]ça...[ɛ]ça...[ɛ]
l'autre?...maman
l'autre? >
J is looking for it through book. Thinks he has found it, but decides otherwise and questions again.
"Quel?"
No response from J. His attention is caught by cow in book and demonstrates sound cows make.
34. [ɛ]ça? >
M is helping J with puzzle.
- >
"L'autre quoi?" No response from J.
- >
J has been putting pieces into puzzle.
- >
J has a piece in hand.
"Ça, tu n'as pas mis ça encore."
- >
J is playing with puzzle.
"Ici, qu'est-ce qu'on met?"

35. dame...où est dame?

>

J looks for woman's figure that belongs to space. Finds the piece and puts it in slot.

"Tu vas mettre ça là?"

The woman's figure in (35) is driving a baby carriage.

>

36. où est bébé?
où est bébé?

"Où il est le bébé?"

J is playing with puzzle, one slot is empty in puzzle.

>

37. [1É] l'autre?

"Qu'est ce que tu cherches?"

J: l'autre.

"Sous le divan." J goes under couch and just lies there.

26,10

38. mami...[É]nono
Jean?

J is looking for his cloth.

>

"Elle est dans le lit."

J still looks for cloth.

M gets it for him.

26,14

40. [1É] boule?

Small ball is trapped in toy.

J can't see it.

>

Locates ball and resumes play.

"Ça ne descends plus."

>

41. [1É] boule?

Receives no verbal response.

42. oh ou[1É] boule?

>

Same event as (40).

"Où est, où est la boule?"

>

43. Oh [1É] boule?

Same event as (40).

Receives no verbal response.

J is playing with toy with the ball.

>

44. maman...[1É] maman?

"Où est maman? maman est en haut."

J resumes play with toy.

>

45. [1É]? [1É]?

J is looking for something.

"Où est quoi? qu'est-ce que tu cherches?" Questions is repeated by adult.

- 26,23 He is looking in the closet for F's skates.
"Alors, tu sais bien que papa, il n'a pas de patins."
54. maman...où ça?
>
J is building a structure with construction blocks.
55. [lɛ] quelquechose?
>
J has a block in his hand.
"Où ça?" M helps J with block.
56. [lɛ] quelquechose là?
>
J looks for something
"huh?"
>
Still looking, receives no response.

B.1.3 "Why" questions

- 24,25 S has asked why to the fact that the mint was not good, and received an answer.
57. pourquoi?
>
J echos S's why, receives no verbal response.
- 24,28 J has given O a peanut.
"Oh merci."
58. pourquoi?
>
J is busy shelling another peanut.
"C'est bon."
59. pourquoi?
>
Same activity as (57), J receives no verbal response.
- 25,2 J is playing with tape recorder.
"Non, non Jean, jamais!"
- 60 pourquoi? (2x)
>
J looks at O.
"Quoi?" J answers ça still looking at O.
- 61 pourquoi?
>
J is eyeing the t.r. and says: ça touche.
"Non, il ne faut pas toucher."

- 25,9 "Parceque." J starts another activity.
- J is misplacing an object in bookcase.
- "Non, non Jean." J rearranges it.
- "Bravo."
62. pourquoi? (2x) >
- 26,7 "Pourquoi? Comme ça."
- M has given a long explanation about the sick baby that J and she are going to pick up from hospital.
63. pourquoi? >
- J is playing with puzzle
- "Pour le guerir." J continues with puzzle.
- 26.14
- 3 utterances before, M had refused to give J the sponge because she said it was dirty.
64. pourquoi sal maman? >
- J is helping M with cleaning.
- "Comment mon cheri?"
65. pourquoi sal? >
- J still cleaning.
- "Je vais. pourquoi sal encore?"
- J answers oui, and M provides explanation. J continues with cleaning.
- J is messing up S's puzzle.
- "Sophie va être très fâchée comme ça, tu sais."
66. pourquoi fâchée
[ə]...pourquoi
Sophie fâchée?...
Sophie? >
- S not present in room.
- "Sophie va être fâchée, oui, parceque tu prends ces petits peuses et tu ne les mes pas dans l'endroit."
67. pourquoi? >
- O is putting pieces into puzzle, J is watching O.
- "Comme ça."

68. pourquoi [ə]
Sophie fâchée?

26,20

69 pourquoi?

70. pourquoi?

71. pourquoi?

26,23

72. pourquoi?

B.1.4 "What" questions

24,25

73. ça?
s

26,7

>

S putting pieces into puzzle.
"Pour ça." J wants to mess
up puzzle again.

J is in kitchen asking for
something, M refuses.

>

J is sent out of kitchen.

S give J a baby bottle.
"Comme c'est gentille de Sophie
de te donner ça." J makes an
incomprehensible utterance.
"Huh? comment?"

>

J is inspecting bottle.
Receives no response.

M is leaving.
"Maman elle va jusqu'à la poste
chercher des petites mandarines
pour le déjeuner de bébé Jean."

>

J watches M as she prepares to
leave.
"Tu veux de jus de pomme?"
J answers pomme.

S is talking to M about garage
she is building.
J is playing with blocks too.

>

S answers: Parceque c'était
un beau garage, regarde."
Her garage is intact.

S asks et ça? about lipstick.
J echos S.

>

"De rouge, rouge à lèvres."

74. et ça?
 J is playing with puzzle and naming what he sees. He has put in a truck, answers to "C'est quoi ça?" "Un camion, oui."
 >
 J points to a different truck. "Un camion."
75. a ça?
 J is looking through book and is naming objects as he's asked what it is. He has named a fox. "Hum?"
 >
 J pointing to same fox. "Un petit renard."
76. renard...ça?
 >
 Points to a boy. "Petit..., tu sais ce que c'est ça Jean, c'est un gar..."
 J supplies çon.
77. a ça?
 J is playing with puzzle. Puts in porsche and names it.
 >
 J has police boat in hand. "Eh, c'est le bateau de po..."
 J supplies lice. M responds with: "Police, très bien."
78. [ə] ça?
 J is playing with puzzle. Names figures as he places them in slot.
 >
 J has a piece in hand. "Oui, qu'est-ce que c'est?"
 No verbal response from J. Later J comments he can't put it in slot.
- 26,10
79. [ə] ça maman?
 J and S are looking through book. S is giggling. J turns page. Page has many objects.
 >
 "Qu'est-ce que c'est ça, mon cheri?"
 J provides name for shower.

80. [ə] la?

26,14

81 et ça?

26,23

82. et là?

S has been describing pictures in book while J is watching.

>

J points to child painting.

"Et là? qu'est-ce qu'il fait là?"

S provides answer.

J is naming objects in book after being asked what it is.

>

J points to frying pan.

"Et ça poêle."

J has a pad with numbers on it.

>

"Et là quoi? c'est un chiffre ça, non?"

J says: chiffre.

B.2 Negative Utterances

24,25

83. non...non

"Tu veux t'asseoir là?" spot is pointed out.

>

J sits at pointed place.

"Non? oui."

S has a pencil, J doesn't and requests one.

"Tu n'as pas un crayon toi, eh?"

>

J waits.

"Quoi?" J repeats "crayon."

J is playing with T.R.

"Il ne faut pas toucher."

>

J withdraws hand.

Cat is under couch, J is on floor looking at it but cannot reach it.

>

86. ah! wawa...wawa...
ah! pas peux...Jean
ca.

- "Quoi? qu'est-ce qui arrive?
elle s'endort?" Jeans answers:
oui.
- J goes to tissue box for a
tissue as pot holder.
"Non Jean, tu en as un déjà."
>
87. non...non chaud
cela...chaud
- Gets a tissue.
- J wants more tissues.
"Non, non, non Jean, regarde
tout ça." Pointing to tissues
on floor.
>
88. non (4x)
- Tissue box is taken away from J.
"C'est fini, prends un et c'est
tout."
- S and J are cooking. S says:
Jean, n'a pas fini.
>
89. non
- J busy cooking. Does not look
at S.
S asks if J is finished, J does
not respond.
- 24,28
- M comes into room, J is playing
with clay.
"Tu fais des jolies choses,
Jean?"
>
90. non
- J is playing with clay.
- J has put clay in mouth.
"Non Jean, ce n'est pas bon,
ouvre la bouche."
>
91. non!
- J will not open mouth.
"Non?" J opens mouth.
- J is standing and M wants him to
sit down and work with clay.
>
92. non lever non...
l'autre...avec...
avec...
- J won't sit down.

93. comme ça comme ça
pas bien.
"Eh, bien, tu peux taper sur la
pâte à modeler si tu veux pour
la faire très jolie."
>
J is not happy with what he is
doing, receives no response.
J announces he is going to hammer
upstairs.
"Non, non tu fais ponpon près
de maman."
>
does not come.
"Tu viens jouer avec Sophie."
>
does not come.
"Tu viens jouer avec Sophie
un petit peu?"
>
does not come.
"Est-ce que tu as montre les
petits peuses a A? (1x)
>
gets puzzle.
"Viens lui montrer." (1x)
J is looking through catalogue.
S says she wants a doll carriage.
J says: Jean aussi.
"Pourquoi? qu'est-ce que tu
promeneras dans la poussette?"
>
"Qui a une comme ça?"
M tells J to ask O for help in
shelling peanut.
>
does not ask.
"Tu vas faire tout seul?" J
says: couteau couper.
"Couper couteau." J answers
oui then.
>
"To, tu veux un to?" J gets
knife.
94. non! (2x)
95. non.
96. non.
97. ah non.
98. pas ça.
99. non.
100. non...[ə]mamie
couteau.

101. non.
 J is using knife to shell peanut.
 "On ne peut pas le couper avec le couteau."
 >
 J continues cutting.
102. non couper a.
 "C'est difficile Jean."
 >
 J continues cutting.
103. non difficile couper.
 "Non c'est difficile."
 >
 J continues cutting.
104. couper difficile couteau.
 "Comment?"
 >
 still cutting.
105. non! non!
 J has shelled peanut with knife.
 Peanut is in palm.
 "C'est pour Jean? huh?"
 >
 Gives 0 peanut.
 "Oh merci, c'est bon."
106. non
 J is on the phone.
 "C'est fini avec le téléphone."
 >
 J does not want to hang up.
- 25,2
 J is being tickled, does not want it.
108. pas...[lə]pas pu.
 J is using blocks, but is not satisfied.
 >
 Receives no response.
109. non.
 J has put clay in mouth.
 "Non, je vais prendre. Alors, tu ne mets plus dans la bouche."
 >
 J agrees with M.
110. non ça.
 J is in kitchen.
 >
 "Ah la brosse." J comes back with brush.
- J is heading towards kitchen.
 "Tu veux prendre ton petit marteau Jean?"

111. non: fourchette (2x) >
Crying, he was told could not have fork.
J wants a fork, can't have one.
cries
112. non! (1x) >
"Tu viens avec maman mettre les affaires."
S and M are singing. J is hammering, would like M's attention.
113. pas pu...pas pu... >
pas pu...mamie pas pu.
"Viens chanter avec mamie."
114. pas pu. >
J is hammering.
Receives no response.
115. non non. >
J is trying to plug in vacuum.
M tells him to stop.
J continues with activity.
"Non Jean, qu'est-ce que maman a dit?"
116. non balai...non balai... >
ménage...ménage.
J tries to use vacuum.
"Tu fais le ménage encore?"
J says: oui. M tells him to use small brush instead.
117. non ça...balai. >
J is getting rest of vacuum.
J is busy with vacuum.
"Comment?"
118. ménage, non...non balai >
J gets vacuum.
"Le balai est mieux."
119. non balai...balai >
est mieux.
J is still getting vacuum.
"Aspirateur:::" J answers oui.
"Non pas maintenant, demain matin on fera aspirateur."

120. non non...non non
avec mette non pas
faire non non aspirateur
est la aspirateur. >
getting vacuum.
"Trop petit toi encore."
121. non Jean il fait
aspirateur. >
122. non va...non va ça va >
"Ça va? ça un peu difficile."
123. non...non difficile. >
J is getting vacuum.
124. non...[ə] pas >
M tells J to put vacuum back in
place. "C'est trop long."
>
still with vacuum.
M occupied with S
125. prise...non...non...
non[ə]la >
J is trying to plug vacuum in.
"Non, non tu range la prise..."
J has unplugged clock.
>
continues with vacuum.
126. non maman. >
"Non, il faut mieux mettre dans
la cuisine."
>
J continues with cleaner.
127. non!non!non...
aspirateur ça [ə] fait...
mamie aspirateur. >
M tries to get J to the bathroom.
128. non. >
J is using vacuum.
"On utilise pas l'aspirateur
tout seul, tu es trop petit."
>
still using cleaner.
M takes it away, but does not
put away.
129. non (2x) >
upset.
"heh?"
130. non >
J again busy with vacuum.
"Tu vas ranger l'aspirateur
de maman."

131. non non ... passe encore.
 using vacuum on rug.
 "Si, mon bébé."
 >
132. non non demain... aujourd'hui.
 using cleaner.
 "Il faut passer l'aspirateur encore?" J says: oui.
 "Demain."
 >
133. non!...avec...avec non avec
 using cleaner.
 M occupied with S.
 J gets broom.
 "Range le balai, c'est dangereux!"
 >
134. non...non...[ə] fasse.
 tries to use broom.
 J wants to use plug.
 "On range maintenant la prise."
 M wants to plug clock, and arrange papers.
 >
135. non [ə] fasse
 wants to use plug.
 "Non, non"
 >
136. non (2x)
 wants to use plug.
 "Non, non."
 J is removing papers to expose socket, has plug in hand.
 "Tu ne mets pas la prise dans le trou."
 >
137. non.
 continues with activity.
 M takes plug away from J.
 cries.
 >
138. non.
 J is asked to join S & A.
 crying.
 >
139. non...mamie là...là.
 J has clay in hand.
 "Vas te mettre sur un papier a côté d'A."
 >

- sits by M.
- J has seen a television in catalogue.
 "Où est la télé à toi? où est la télé de papa maman, Jean?"
 >
140. pas.
 "Tu ne la vois pas?" M tells J to look around room.
 >
141. ah non.
 J looking at pictures in catalogue.
 "Tu ne la vois pas la télé?"
 >
142. non.
 J looks around room.
 "Tu ne la vois plus?"
 >
143. là.
 points to T.V.
- S is drawing, J wants to draw also.
 "Jean? non il va continuer avec M."
 >
144. non!
 wants to draw.
 "Après, S utilise les crayons maintenant."
 "Oh que'est-ce que c'est ça?"
 M trying to get J's attention.
 >
145. non! Jean regarde.
 looks at picture pointed out.
- M is turning page of catalogue.
 >
146. non! non!
 doesn't want M to turn page.
- J is looking through catalogue.
 "Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?"
 >
147. pas.
 J looks at picture.
 "Tu ne sais pas?"
 >
148. non.
 still looking.
 M explains.
- J is looking at a picture.
 >
149. pas pu...papa pas pu...
 papa pas pu.
 "Il n'a pas pu faire quoi?"
 No response from J.

150. non...non Jean.
 J sees picture of exercise bicycle. Says it is for J.
 "Non c'est pour les mamans ça."
 >
 J is still looking at picture.
 "Pour Jean?" J says: oui.
 "Tu crois?"
 >
 "Oui, c'est mieux pour mamie."
 151. non mamie
 >
 152. non Jean...papa aussi.
 >
 "Papa aussi?"
 S is putting block in sac, one falls out.
 >
 154. ah baboum.
 0 tries picking up block.
 >
 155. non Jean.
 J picks up block.
 25,5
 J is looking through picture book.
 "Que'est-ce que c'est ça?" House.
 >
 156. sait pas [ə] la...
 il [ə] pas.
 "C'est une maison." J repeats.
 S wants a hair pin.
 "Jean veut une barette aussi?"
 >
 S gets a pin, J says he wants one too.
 25,9
 J is looking through catalogue and claiming items as his.
 "Rien pour Papa?"
 >
 158. non.
 Looking through catalogue.
 J is not comprehensible.
 "Jean dessine?"
 >
 159. non...[ə]pas ça.
 Doesn't want to draw.
 "Pas ça? pas plus écrire?"
 >
 160. Jean.
 "Dessine Jean?"
 >
 161. non.
 "Quoi?" J points to S's clay.

162. non ça...pas pu ça...
pas pu pas pu...ça.
S is asked if she has seen all the toys in catalogue. S says oui.
"Tu n'as pas vu ça" to S. J answers.
>
J has not seen all toys.
"Les joujoux?" J. says oui.
163. non...non...[ə]ça
raconter Jean.
J is asked to come look through catalogue.
"Mets le ici pour Sophie aussi, Sophie veut les voir aussi."
>
J wants questions posed to him.
164. non.
Mailman drops a letter. S tells J not to touch it.
>
S: non, d'accord.
165. la...déjà vu ça...
pas.
J is looking in O's purse.
"Raconte, qu'est-ce qu'il y a là?"
>
J has purse in hand, puts it down. Starts another activity.
166. non.
J sees picture of a car with a girl in it, says it is his.
"Ce n'est pas pour Sophie?"
>
"Regarde; il ya une petite fille là, c'est pour Sophie."
167. pas pu. (1x)
J is playing by himself.
>
Receives no response.
168. [ə] pas.
J is playing with puzzle and answering "what" questions.
"Très bien, et ça, qu'est-ce que c'est?"
>
J is putting boat in slot.
"Tu ne sais pas? c'est le ba..."
J provides teau.

- J is looking through catalogue,
sees an object and says: Ça
Jean.
"Ça ce n'est pas Jean."
>
"C'est pour Jean?" J: oui.
169. non.
>
Toys are being put in sac.
>
J puts toys in sac.
170. non Jean.
>
O asks S if she has seen the
other camel. J says Jean.
"Jean a un chameau, où est
l'autre?"
>
The other camel can't be found.
171. l'autre pas pu.
>
J is looking through catalogue
and says: joujou Jean.
"Qu'est-ce que c'est?"
>
does not name toy.
"Comme ça tu voudrais?"
172. non...joujou Jean.
>
Conversation with S, J not
involved.
173. non...Jean...pas
papa...joujou pas.
>
Looking at pictures of doll
carriages.
"Il fait pas joujou avec quoi
mon cheri?"
>
"Non, c'est de joujou de fille ça."
174. pas joujou.
>
J is playing with M.
"Oh Jean tu me fais mal, tu sais
mon cheri."
>
"Oui, tu fais mal à mamie."
175. non mal mal a dos.
>
J has a piece of the chair.
>
"Oh c'est cassé."
"Cela appartient à la chaise?"
>
"Quelle chaise? Cette chaise?"
176. oh mamie...pas bien.
>
"Oh c'est cassé."
"Cela appartient à la chaise?"
>
"Quelle chaise? Cette chaise?"
177. non...ça chaise
casse chaise.
>
"Quelle chaise? Cette chaise?"

178. non...non...W
bicyclette.
- J sees bicycle in catalogue,
says it is W's. M misunderstands.
"Oh c'est bien mon poussin."
>
"Oh c'est W."
179. non...Jean
bicyclette.
- J sees another bicycle,
says it is for him.
"Oh ce n'est pas de petit pour
des petits bébés?"
>
180. non là...lit là.
- J wants to see his bed in the
catalogue.
"Je crois qu'on l'a découpé."
>
181. pas pu.
- "Cherche bien."
>
J can't find bed.
182. non...vois lit Jean.
- J wants to see his bed again.
"Ce magazine là, il n'a pas de
lit."
>
183. non là...là.
- S is looking through a catalogue.
J getting ready to play with
puzzle, changes his mind, wants
S's magazine.
"Non, celui là peut-être."
>
wants S's, points to it.
- 26,7
184. pas bien (1x)
- J is going to show new puzzle
which is under table in toy box.
can't get puzzle out of box.
>
185. non.
- "Huh? Tu ne peux pas?"
>
waits for help.
186. non.
- J is naming pictures on puzzle.
"Ce n'est pas une auto ça."
J is putting pieces in slot.
>
187. sais pas.
- "Non, c'est quoi?"
It is a picture of motorcycle.
>
name is given.

188. sais pa. "C'est quoi ça?"
J is putting bus into slot.
>
"C'est l'autobus."
189. non! M comes in and says that puzzle
is S's. She takes it and gives
J his.
>
wants S's.
190. non. J has a book.
"Tu ne veux pas mettre ce livre
dans la bibliothèque?"
>
puts book on couch.
191. non. J is looking through Catalogue.
"Jean est une fille?"
>
"Qu'est-ce que c'est Jean alors?"
192. pas ça. J has puzzle piece, picture of
boat.
"Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?"
>
"C'est un ba..." J: teau.
193. non. J gets his skates out of closet,
tries putting them in plane.
"Non ne mets pas dans L'avion."
>
tries to skate in house.
"Non, il n'ya pas de la glasse
dans la maison de mamie."
194. non si glasse maman. >
continues to skate.
"Glasse maman, oui."
195. l'autre pas pu. J has finished his puzzle.
"Et maintenant l'autre, de Sophie."
S's is nôt in order.
>
Receives no response.
196. non pas bien regard là. J wants M's help with puzzle.
"Mets, tu le mets."
>

- J points to puzzle, needs another piece first.
 "Tu mets un autre d'abord, tu mettras celui là après."
197. non pas bien...pas bien Jean.
 >
 "Si, Jean très bien fait."
198. non pas bien met ça.
 >
 He can't or doesn't place piece in right slot.
 "Mais tu fais n'importe quoi."
- M describes what baby is doing in carriage in picture.
 "Il fait coucou dans le landeau."
199. non.
 >
 he's putting pieces in puzzle.
- J is putting piece in wrong slot of puzzle.
 "Non, ça va là."
 M is helping, J does not want piece there.
200. non...[ə]va mamie va.
 >
 "Ça va comme ça, regarde."
201. non (3x)
 >
 M puts piece in place anyway.
- J is lying under the couch.
 "Tu dors là dessous?"
202. non.
 >
 smiling.
- J is cleaning toy bear.
 "C'est fini? il est propre maintenant."
203. out...non! encore.
 >
 continues cleaning.
- J starts cleaning himself.
 "Tu te laves aussi Jean? tu n'as pas pris ton bain hier?"
204. non ça.
 >
 continues cleaning himself different places.

205. non encore.
 206. non...bouche aussi...
 et l'oeille aussi.
207. non...maman.
- 26,10
208. non...pas bien regarder.
- 26,14
209. oh...non.
210. Jean pas ruban ça.
211. non.
212. non...encore.
213. non...encore.
- J is cleaning elephant.
 "Oh l'éléphant très propre maintenant."
 >
 "Pas encore?"
 >
 still cleaning.
 "Bouche et l'oeil, et les mains?"
 Schedule is being arranged.
 "Tu veux rester avec A?"
 >
 "Maman."
 M is occupied with visiting children, J is playing on his own, wants M to see.
 "Jean regarder?"
 >
 receives no response.
 J has book in hand.
 "Il y a des photo dedans?"
 Finds no pictures in book.
 >
 Tape recorder ribbon is 0's.
 >
 Points to t.r.
 "Non Jean n'a pas un ruban comme ça."
 J has paper for drawing.
 "Tu viens t'asseoir là?"
 >
 goes to kitchen, comes back with scotch tape.
 "Il n'y a pas de scotch."
 >
 "Il n'y a plus de scotch."
 J opens t.r. lid.
 "C'est fermé, c'est fini."
 >
 wants to open lid again.
 "Non."

214. non. J says pipi.
"Tu vas fair pipi?"
>
laughs.
215. huh non. J scatters puzzle pieces about.
"Sophie va demander où sont
les petites voitures."
>
watches O as O gathers pieces.
"Ah oui."
216. pas pu. "Et ça, où on met ça?" piece of
puzzle, puts piencé in right
slot.
puts piece in right slot.
217. pas pu. >
stops working with puzzle.
"Tu peux faire très bien."
218. non fait Sophie >
doesn't work with puzzle.
"Sophie n'est pas là." J starts
other activity.
219. [ə]pas...[ə]
non (lx) "Où on met ça?" puzzle piece.
>
refuses to play with puzzle.
220. [ə]l'autre pas pu...
l'autre. New cassette is put in t.r.
>
watching t.r.
221. [ə] non. O tries putting a puzzle in slot.
>
shows right slot.
222. non. J keeps me from putting piece
in puzzle.
"Oh c'est toi qui veut le fair." doesn't want puzzle completed.
>
223. [ə] non. J wants to see M who's upstairs.
"Elle fait le nettoyage."
>
starts stairs.

224. pas pu.
J is trying to get cleaning
utensils from cabinet in kitchen,
he can't open door.
>
gets help.
225. [ə] pas.
J has only one slipper on.
"Où est ton pantoufle?"
>
starts playing with toy.
226. non...encore.
J is cleaning railing.
"C'est tout propre maintenant?"
>
"Pas encore?"
227. boule pas bien (3x)
Ball in toy caught not traveling.
>
receives no response.
- 26,20
S has seen Santa Claus.
"Tu n'as pas vu S.C.?"
>
J is cleaning stairs.
228. non non.
J can't put his M's skates on.
>
229. pas bien.
F: "Tu te rapelle bien, dis
donc."
H has named the person who lent
skates to M.
>
J is cleaning ckates.
F: "Pas pu?"
>
230. pas pu.
F: "Oh elle n'aura plus de patin
puisque'elle les a prêté à maman."
231. non est M...[ə]
ca maman.
Trying to get J to say "stick."
>
cleaning skates.
232. sais pas.
"Est-ce que tu as nettoyé les
patins de maman?"
>
cleaning.
233. non...encore.

234. pas pu patin...
maman.
- J has put skates in closet.
"Bravo Jean, très bien."
>
comes back from closet.
"Pas pu patins, ils sont arrangés."
235. non pas bien.
- J has cleaned cookie crumbs from floor. S has paper for clay, J doesn't.
>
wants paper
236. oui...non pas to.
- J wants to (couteau), I don't understand.
"to Jean?" J is in kitchen.
J is getting into drawer.
>
"Pas moi?" J: couteau.
237. non pas.
- knife is taken from J. J cries, saliva is running from his mouth. A tissue is put under his mouth.
>
Pushes tissue away, continues crying.
238. non.
- J crying. S is getting clay off fingernail.
"C'est mieux eh, Jean?" He is shown finger.
>
Stops crying, starts smiling.
239. non...[ə]l'autre crayon.
- S is writing, J wants to do so too,
"Fais une line."
>
wants S's pen.
240. [ə]ça...[ə]passe ça...
[ə]passe ça.
- J is by bookcase.
"Qu'est-ce que tu fais là Jean?"
ah, c'est ton livre?
>
"Ah, c'est neuf, ça."

241. non...a Jean ça.
 242. non...encore.
 243. non...un'autre.
 244. pas bien...maman
 pas bien.
 245. non pas bien ça.
 246. oh pas.
 247. ah:: pas bien.
 248. non...maman.
 249. regarde pas bien.
 250. non...pas bien là.
 251. non.
 252. pas pu.
 253. non Jean fait ça.
 254. non...met met ça...
 oh pas, bien.
 255. non: non:
- S is coloring in coloring book.
 J gets a crayon.
 >
 points to coloring book.
 >
 wants more crayons. S won't
 give any, J looks in crayon box.
 "Il n'y a rien."
 >
 finds another crayon.
 J can't put crayon through camel's
 legs.
 >
 "Pas bien mon cheri?"
 >
 shows M what he wants, M helps.
 >
 crayon has fallen from camel's
 feet.
 J is playing with blocks.
 >
 "Qu'est-ce qui est arrivé?"
 >
 wants M to help.
 "Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?"
 >
 points to blocks.
 "Tu ne peux pas faire tout
 seul?"
 >
 "Pas bien là?"
 >
 M helps.
 >
 can't put geometric figures
 into right hole. M starts
 helping.
 >
 he puts figure in hole.
 M is looking for figures.
 >
 can't put figure through hole.
 S is taking J's blocks.
 >

256. ça a Jean pas ça.

257. non...l'autre cube.

J is unhappy with new blocks M
has given after (255).

>

M helps build new house.

"Tu veux d'autre encore?"

>

wants S's.

APPENDIX C

SOPHIE: QUESTIONS AND NEGATION

C.1 Question UtteranceC.1.1 Yes/no questions

<u>Utterance</u>	<u>Context</u>
38,6	
1. c'est pas bon les bonbons, huh?	S has had a mint. > "Non, ce n'est pas bon."
2. tu vas diner avec nous?	S is playing with toys. > "Non."
3. eh pourquoi?	> "J'ai besoin d'aller autre part."
4. à ta maison?	> "Oui."
5. pourquoi?	> "J'ai beaucoup de choses à faire."
6. tu peux le faire?	S has been drawing. See a boat in book and actually would like O to draw it. > "Ça?" O draw the boat.

7. peut rien faire, huh?
 S is looking.
 "C'est brûlé, huh?"
 She is holding the pot.
 >
 "Oui, on ne peut rien faire."
8. t'as fini?
 S has finished cooking.
 >
 Asks Jean who is also cooking.
 "Il n'a pas fini?" No response
 from Jean.
- 38,13
 9. c'est ça un petit disque
 S is looking through catalogue.
 Sees record player.
 >
 "Hum."
- 38,20
 10. Jean, faut pas aller
 la de money, hein?
 Mailman has come. S wants to
 open letter, is persuaded not
 to open. S puts letter away.
 >
 Jean answers: non.
 >
 S is content, resumes play.
11. non, d'accord.
 M comes into house; S gives her
 letter.
 >
12. c'est Tante Dominique
 ça?
 S
 M is reading letter.
 "Non, ce n'est pas T.D. ça."
13. dans la cabine?
 S and M are talking about
 swimming pool.
 "Qu'est-ce qu'on avait donné
 à la dame pour la cabine?
 c'était très amusant tu te
 souviens?"
 >
 "Oui." S supplies answer.

14. maman, c'est une
table ça?
S is looking through book.
"C'est une table ça?" pointing
to picture of dog.
>
"Non, regarde bien avec tes yeux,
qu'est-ce que c'est?"
S supplies answer.
15. elle a fait pipi
culotte?
M is arranging S's doll's diaper.
>
"Tu crois?"
16. maman, une petite poussette
comme ça, c'est peut-être
pas mal?
S and M are looking through
catalogue.
>
Sees picture of doll's carriage.
"Une petite poussette comme ça,
c'est peut-être pas mal, oui
pour la poupée, il faut voir."
- 38,23
17. oh maman voilà,
c'est le cheval tu
souviens de W?
S is looking through catalogue.
>
sees a toy horse.
"Ah oui, c'est un cheval. Ou
est-ce qu'on voit un cheval
comme ça?"
>
"Oui."
18. non, comme la celle
de W comme ça.
- 39,22
19. faut pas toucher,
d'accord?
A baby is present during session.
Baby is touching tape recorder.
>
No response from infant.

The baby needs to be changed.
S is changing diaper with M's help.

20. alors ça se met comme ça?

>

Receives no response.

S is changing baby's diaper.
S could not change diaper, M had to do it.

21. c'est quoi difficile, huh?

>

M agrees.

40,1

J is playing and F and O are talking. S is making a clay man.

22. il faut faire comme ça t-à-la pâte à modeler?

>

Receives no response.

S is playing with clay, adults talking.

23. ça y est?

>

Receives no response, answers herself.

40,4

S wants to write, she has clay in hand.

"Tu veux écrire sur la pâte à modeler?"

24. oui?

>

She writes on clay.

"Ça n'écrit pas."

S is playing with blocks.
There are block next to O.

25. tu prends (en) a besoin?

>

"Non, je n'en ai pas besoin."
She gets blocks.

S is building a garage.

26. comme ça?

>
Looks at M.
"Oui, très bien."

C.1.2 "Where" questions

38,6

27. maman, se garent où les voitures?

S is playing with airport.

>

"Tu sais où, mon cheri, non? tu ne sais pas?"

28. là?

>

Points to right place.

"Oui, là."

29. où est le [puber]?

S is cooking.

>

"Où est? Où est le [puber]?"

30 où est maman?

>

still cooking.

"Elle est sortie, elle va revenir."

31. pourquoi?

>

"Elle a quelque chose à faire. Elle est occupée."

32. pourquoi elle est occupée?

>

still cooking.

"Parce qu'elle a besoin à faire des choses."

33. où ça où est le [bàbre]?

S is holding pot.

>

"Ouh, c'est brûlé huh?"

34. il est où?

S has cooking pot in hand and is looking around.

>

Receives no response.

35. où est maman?

>
S is still cooking.

"Dans la cuisine." S calls out to M but asks for nothing.

36. où est les jaunes?
 >
 S is still cooking.
 Receives no response.
- 38,9
37. où est les joujoux?
 >
 S is looking for special toys in catalogus.
 "Les joujoux que tu aimes bien?"
38. non, les petites, les petites "teaching toys" moi la vu.
 >
 "Mais tu tournes toutes les pages, tu vas trouver."
39. elle est où?
 >
 S's peanut has fallen into the shells.
 Receives no response, finds it herself.
40. où est mon dessin?
 >
 S gets her drawing.
 "Explique à A ce que c'est."
- 38,20
41. où elle est la pâte à modeler?
 >
 Looking for clay.
 "Je ne sais pas."
42. où est les jeux specials mamie?"
 >
 S is looking through catalogue.
 "Quel jeux specials?" S does not provide answer.
- 38,23
43. où l'est le grand chameau?
 >
 looking for camel.
 "Tu veux que j'enlève maintenant?"
 Question is referring to previous utterance.

44. où l'est le grand chameau? >
still looking.
"Regarde bien, voilà." S finds it.

39,22

45. où est la pâte à modeler >
maman?
M gets clay for S and S gives me some to play with.

40,1

46. où est le biberon? >
S is playing with doll.
receives no response.

47. où est le sac il a des >
petites cubes?
S is looking for construction blocks.

48. le sac de le petit cube? >
"Huh?"
"Le sac des petites cubes?"

40,1

49. où ça, maman, où ça? >
J and S are building structure.
J asks M where to put next block.
"Maman où ça?"
S is holding a block and waits for directions.

C.1.3 "Why" questions

38,6

50. eh pourquoi? >
"J'ai les mains froides, eh?"
"J'ai froid, c'est tout."

51. comment maman l'oublie >
ça?
M has forgotten to take a garment to the laundromat with her.

"Maman a oublié ça."

>
"Comment?" (1x)

52. comment maman l'oublie
ça?

>

S is playing.
"Oui, elle a oublié ça."

53. eh pourquoi?

S wants O to put on lipstick.
"Non, je n'ai pas besoin."

>

"Je n'aime pas."

54. pourquoi? pourquoi c'est
pas ben les bonbons?

S has had a mint and she
doesn't like it.

>

"C'est un genre de bonbon
qui n'est pas très bon."
S starts other activity.

55. pourquoi t'es dessine
comme ça?

O is drawing.

"Eh voilà, c'est moi."

>

"Oh je ne sais pa."

56. pourquoi?

>

Receives no response, J echos
S's why.

57. eh pourquoi?

The neighbour's cat comes in.
"J'ai deux chats chez moi."

>

"J'aime les chats."

58. eh pourquoi?

S takes O's glasses.
"Non, je ne vois plus, non
c'est interdit!"

O takes glasses back.

>

"Parceque je ne peux pas voir
sans mes lunettes."

59. pourquoi tu vois rien?

>

"Huh?"

60. eh pourquoi?

>

"Comme ça."

61. eh pourquoi faut fair
attention?

S is cooking. She pretends
it's wet.
"Oui, il faut faire attention."
>

"C'est fini, c'est fini."
Reference to soup.

62. pourquoi ça roule
comme ça?
S

S is looking at t.r.
>

"Oui, ça roule. Tout les
deux roulent."

38,9

63. pourquoi?

S and J are playing with yoyo.
S is using it.
"Eh bien, c'est à Jean
maintenant."
>

"Une fois Sophie et une fois J."

64. pourquoi? pourquoi
c'est pour...

S sees a hair dryer in catalogue
and doesn't know what it is.
"C'est pour secher les cheveux."
>

"Pourquoi c'est pour secher
les cheveux?"

38,20

65. eh pourquoi ça fait de
la musique? S

"Tu sais ça fait de la musique."
Referring to toy in catalogue.
>

66. eh pourquoi?

"Eh?"
>
"Eh comme ça, pour faire
plaisir aux petits enfants."

38,22

67. pourquoi?

Toys are being put in sac. S
tells J: A. il va partir
maintenant.
>
S is putting toys in sac.
Receives no response.

40,4

S wants O to write a piece of clay.

"Comment je peux écrire un petit bout de pâte à modeler? c'est difficile ça."

68. pourquoi c'est difficile?

>

69. pâte à modeler?

O writes "pâte à modeler."

>

"Non, j'écris ce que tu veux que j'écrive."

O writes "pâte à modeler" upon S's request.

70. pâte à modeler?

>

"Oui."

71. pourquoi c'est dedans?

Goes to get blocks from sac.

>

Receives no response.

C.1.4 "What" questions

38,6

72. c'est quoi ça?

S has O's compact.

>

"Qu'est ce que tu crois que c'est?" S says she wants to look inside.

73. c'est quoi ça?

S is looking at O's drawing.

>

"C'est Babar ça." (An Elephant in book).

74. il y a quoi dedans?

S zips down collar.

"C'est une fermeture éclair."

>

S tries to look in blouse.

"Rien, seulement moi."

75. huh?

S is cooking. She turns pot over.

"Tu as renversé la soupe."

>

Adult repeats.

38,9

"Qu'est ce que Jean veut?"

Je ne comprends pas."

S is eating peanuts.

>

J answers question.

76. Jean tu veux quoi?

38.13

S is talking about her trip
to the park.

"Quel genre de jardin?"

>

She is playing with clay.

"Qu'est ce qu'il y avait
dans le jardin?"

77. quel genre de jardin?

38,20

S points to points to a picture
of a car.

>

"C'est une voiture."

78. c'est quoi ça?

S is feeding doll a camel.

"Elle ne veut pas manger des
chameaux."

>

"C'est difficile de manger
les chameaux, tu crois ta poupée
veut manger les chameaux?"S answers Oui.

79. huh?

S is looking through catalogue.

>

"Mais je ne sais pas, maman
n'as pas acheté des affaires."80. Jean il a quoi pour
Noël?

S

S points to something in catalogue.

>

"Attends, maman regarde."

81 c'est quoi ça?

39,22

"Qu'est-ce que la maman fait?"

J looks at a picture of a
woman kneeling by a stroller.

>

J supplies answer.

82. huh, elle fait quoi?

83. on a fait quoi?

"Qu'est ce qu'on a fait hier
matin avec maman?"

>

S is playing.

"Où est-ce qu'on est allé les
deux ensemble? tu te rappelles?"

84. des poissons.

M is trying to get S to talk
about skating.

"Tu te souviens un grand batiment
qu'est ce qu'il y'avait?"

>

"Non"

85. il y a quoi?

>

S doesn't remember.

86. il fait quoi là?

"Jean tu laisses Sophie nous
raconter ce qui arrive?"
points to a character in book.

>

receives no response.

87. et puis là?

S is looking through book, points
to a figure in picture.

>

Does not wait for response and
asks the same question pointing
to other figures at least four
times.

88. maman, c'est quoi ça?

S and M are looking through
catalogue.

>

points to pots.

89. c'est quoi ça?

"Oh c'est quoi ça ma chérie?"

>

"Huh?"

90. ça:::?

>

"Qu'est-ce que c'est ça?"

S persuades M to "raconter."

"Ce sont des petits pots pour
les enfants."

>

91. petits pour les
enfants, et ça?

- points to a mould.
M refuses to answer and asks instead. S provides answer.
92. et celle-là maman?
40,1
S doesn't want O to "raconter."
points to a figure in book.
>
M refuses to answer. S asks O,
and eventually provides answer
herself.
93. et puis ça c'est quoi?
40,4
O draws a man and names the
head.
>
points to neck.
"Qu'est-ce que tu penses que ça
doit être?" After two additional
questions S provides right answer.
94. c'est quoi ça?
40,4
S points to a piece of stick.
>
"Oh, tu connais ça, qu'est-ce
que c'est? c'est un morceau
de...?"
S starts another activity.
95. tu peux écrire quoi?
40,4
S and J have been writing.
S is writing.
>
"Je peux écrire quoi? Je peux
écrire n'importe quoi."
96. j'ai fait quoi? (1x)
S has been priting with some
assistance.
"On a fait un P avec S."
>
receives no response.

C.1.5 "How" questions

38,6

97. ça s'enleve comment ça? > S has Vicks enhaler.
 "Ça ouvre comme ça."
 98. et ça? > S has lipstick in hand.
 > "De rouge, rouge à lèvres."

40,1

99. ça se fait comment? > "Tu fais un poisson, toi" with clay. S has clay.
 > "Comme ça peut-être?"

40,4

100. mami, pour faire comment il faut faire une maison? > S is playing with blocks.
 "Eh bien, réfléchis."

101. il faut faire comment?

> S is building a house.
 receives no response.

102. ah il faut faire comment les garages?

> S is playing with blocks.

103. il fait faire comment?

> "Réfléchis dans ta tête."
 > "Tu as des murs." M helps.

104. puis il faut faire comment?

> S is building a garage.
 receives no response.

105. il faut faire comment?

> S is building a garage.
 receives no response.

106. il faut faire comment
maman? parcequ'il y
en a deux là.

>

S has two blocks left for garage.
receives no response. J wants
one of the blocks, disagreement
arises.

107. faut faire comment?

J is building a house. S says
she wants to do like J. S has
only a few blocks.

>

"Peut-être tu en mes deux
comme ça." S doesn't agree
with M, wants J's blocks.

C.1.6 "Who" questions

38,13

108. chez qui ça?

S and J are looking through cat-
alogue while eating peanuts.

"Ça c'est comme chez qui?"

>

drops peanuts on floor.

"Attention Sophie, tu ramasses."

109. maman, c'est de qui
ça? (2x)

S still looking through catalogue.

>

"Huh? c'est quoi Sophie ça?"

S is referring to unanswered
question of (108).

C.2 Negative Utterances

38,6

110. non, la poupée elle
aime.

S is feeding doll cornflakes.

"Tu n'aimes pas ça?"

>

continues feeding.

"Elle dit merci après?"

111. non.

>

112. il faut pas manger
ça, allez. > J is trying to eat doll's flakes.
S pushes J away.
113. non. > She agrees that he might be
hungry.
"Donne. a monger doc."
114. non, peux pas l'ouvrir. > S has compact.
"Tu ne peux pas l'ouvrir?"
115. non, comme ça. > O closes tape recorder lid.
> lifts lid.
116. non, je veux pas te
montrer. > O asks S to tell Babar's story.
117. non, tu pleurs. > "Pourquoi?"
118. non. > S upsets bowl of cornflakes.
"On n'a pas ramassé."
119. puisque comme ça, on
n'a pas ramassé. > S is drawing.
"Pourquoi?"
> continues drawing.
120. non, c'est moi. > S and J want same bowl of cereal.
121. non, c'est le bateau
de là. > O draws a boat that doesn't
resemble one in book.
"Ça c'est un autre bateau."
> points to one in book.

122. non pas celui là,
veux la grande de maman. >
S asks M for a pot. M says it is upstairs, S played with it.
M gives her pot.
123. non, te pas manger. >
S is feeding doll, O pretends she is eating too.
pushes O's hand away.
124. non! >
J is walking on S's table.
125. Jean n'a pas fini. >
O commented that J had finished cooking. J is still cooking.
126. pas encore. >
S is looking at tape recorder.
- 38,9
127. non. >
"Tu chantes?"
big smile.
later S starts singing.
128. non, c'est Sophie. >
It is J's turn to use yoyo.
Sawants yoyo.
It is decided that it's J's turn.
129. non! non! >
upset.
"Ce n'est pas très gentille S."
130. non, écrire. >
"Tu me dis si tu connais tout ça." (minature animals).
wants to write instead.

131. non, les petites, les
petites teaching tyos
moi la vu.
- S is looking through catalogue,
wants to see special toys, asks
M where they are.
"Les joujoux que tu aimes bien?"
>
- S pages through catalogue.
"Mais tu tournes toutes les
pages, tu vas trouver."
132. non, ça c'est pour
Jean aussi, c'est pour
moi.
- S is looking at toys in catalogue,
and deciding what toys are for J.
"Et ça?"
>
133. non, ça fait pas
comme ça!
- M is talking to S about a character
who crossed his eyes. O draws
a face with crossed eyes.
>
- "Comment donc?"
134. non, des petites
cacahouettes.
- "Vous ne voulez pas des petits
peanuts?"
>
- "Oui, c'est pareil."
135. ça vient pas.
- S can't shell peanut.
>
136. non.
- "Ça ne vient pas?"
>
- Peanut is shelled for S.
"Eh, voilà."
137. non, huh moi pas
petit estomac.
- S has been eating peanuts.
"Comment peux-tu manger tout ça?"
"Tu as un tout petit estomac."
>
- S continues eating.

38,13

S is asked if she knows the camel's name.

looking at camel

138. non, je ne sais pas.

>

"Oh si tu sais."

S has put a roll of clay between her lips.

"Tu fumes toi?"

139. non.

>

laughs, takes clay out.

J asked for blocks, gets some.

O is holding one in hand.

S wants the block.

140. non, ça Sophie.

>

"On me demande comment?"

S sees a bicycle in catalogue.

S says: oui, ça.

"Ca? c'est une bicyclette?"

141. non, une bicyclette, ça
c'est pour, ça N ça N.

>

bicycle is like her friend's N.

S sees a speed bicycle and says it is for a grand enfant.

"Ce n'est pas pour Sophie?"

142. non.

>

she turns page.

M and O are talking. J and S are looking through catalogue.

143. mamie, non, non, comme
ça parce que moi; tiens,
va moi dire t'a maman;
mamie, un petit music
comme ça, on n'a pas un
petit music.

>

S is looking at records

"On a plein comme ça, tu ne te souviens pas?"

144. non, tu l'achètes.

>

"Oh je l'achète."

145. moi manger plus à
la bouche. M scolds S for putting clay
in mouth.
>
"Mais j'espère."
146. oh zut, mais n'ai
pas arrivé à faire ça. S is drawing.
>
"Toi n'as pas arrivé?"
147. un, deux, trois et
puis après on va plus. "Quand est-ce que tu vas à
l'école?"
>
receives no response.
148. oh, c'est des petits
carrés. "Tu mets toutes les petites
cubes dans la boîte."
>
S starts picking blocks.
"Des petites cubes des petits
carrés, c'est pareil."
149. c'est pareil, c'est
pas pareil. >
S puts blocks in box.
- 38,16
150. oh, ça roule pas Clay won't roll on sack.
>
"Cela ne roule pas?"
151. c'est pas assez long. thin roll of clay won't go around
her neck.
>
152. elle n'est c'est pas
encore. S is looking at tape recorder.
>
"Huh?"
153. c'est pas encore. still looking at tape recorder.
>

154. non.
38,20
- "Non, ça marche encore, ce n'est pas fini."
>
- S gives O a block with clay in it, she wasn't able to get clay out.
"Qu'est-ce que tu veux que je fasse avec la pâte à modeler? je la met dedans?"
>
155. non, tu le sors... sortir.
"Voilà."
- S sees a picture of a girl opening a door.
"Qu'est-ce qu'elle fait?"
>
looking at picture.
"Elle fait rien?"
>
156. rien.
157. oui, mais elle n'est pas prête.
"Elle n'est pas prête?"
>
158. non.
still looking at picture.
- O tries dressing doll.
>
S demonstrates.
"C'est mieux comme ça, elle aime ça."
>
159. non, pas comme ça.
160. non, elle aime pas ça.
continues with doll.
- J needs his cloth, M tells him it is in toy box.
>
161. non, c'est moi qui la pris pour la poupée.
place of cloth is found.
- S is feeding camel to doll.
"Tu crois ta poupée veut manger des chameaux?"
>
162. non:::
still feeding camel.

163. non:::
 "Que'est-ce qu'elle mange ta
 petite poupée?" S says chameau.
 "Non."
 >
 still feeding camel to doll.
164. non, moi la pas vu.
 "Est-ce que tu as vu l'autre
 singe?"
 S is playing.
 >
 "Est-ce qu'il est dans l'autre
 sac?"
 looks in sack.
165. non.
 >
166. non, c'est pas là les
 jeux specials.
 S is looking for toys in catalogue
 but doesn't find them.
 >
167. ah non! (5x)}
 J hit S on the head with hammer.
 pushing J away and crying
 >
168. non, c'est pas mignon.
 S is looking through catalogue
 and pointing doll carriages that
 she wants.
 "Ça c'est mignon, regardes."
 looking at carriages.
 >
- 38,23
169. oh ça vient pas (3x)
 S can't get clay out of block.
 >
170. non.
 S sees bicycle in catalogue,
 says it is like J's. M says no
 J borrowed it from W.
 "C'est plutôt ça, tu ne crois
 pas?"
 >
171. non.
 S turns page.
 "Non?"
 >
 "Qu'est-ce que tu crois que c'est
 alors."
 S doesn't respond.

172. non, comme la celle
de W comme ça.
S
- S sees a toy horse in catalogue,
says it is like W's.
"Où est-ce qu'on voit un cheval
comme ça?"
>
"Oh, oui."
173. mami, c'est peut-être
pas mal un petit jeu pour
moi comme ça.
S
- S's looking at toy in catalogue.
>
M agrees.
- 39,22
174. non, non c'est pour C.
S
- "Ça c'est à J, on le met là."
(puzzle)
>
gives puzzle to baby.
"Elle va être trop jeune pour
ça, non?"
>
175. non, n'est pas trop
jeune.
- S puts pieces in puzzle herself.
176. non celui là n'est
pas celui de moi.
- S is playing with puzzle, one
piece does not belong in puzzle.
>
177. oh non, baby C.
- S tells baby to stop taking
pieces.
>
178. non.
- J. says he fell while skating.
"Et toi S tu faisais baboum aussi?"
S is playing.
>
179. non, c'est à moi.
- S has stuffed lion, J wants it.
"Oh, c'est à J ça."
>
S won't give it to J.

180. non, racontes pas. "Oh regarde il y a un tas de choges là." looking through catalogue.
>
181. non. "Je ne raconte pas?"
>
182. il veut pas jouer avec moi. S can't get baby (girl) to sleep.
>
"Elle ne veut pas jouer avec toi?"
182. non, elle est mouillée. S is changing baby's diaper.
>
"Elle est sec ou mouillée?"
- 40,1
184. non, pas comme ça. J is putting ribbon on Xmas tree.
>
S takes ribbon and puts it on herself.
185. il y en a plus. S is feeding milk to doll.
>
bottle is empty.
186. ça, c'est pas des pommes ça. looking through book, picture of onion, J says it's apple.
>
"Tu connais ça Sophie?"
187. et elle a pas les yeux, veux poir. O is making a clay man for S.
>
"Il faut mettre les yeux, eh?"
188. bien, tu fais pas toutesseule, d'accord? "Non, attends."
>
S says she wants to make one.
>
"Je ne fais pas toute seule? d'accord."

40,4

"Tu veux jouer avec la pâte à modeler?"

189. non, je veux écrire.

>
starts getting paper.

190. veux pas...dessiner là.

S and J are disagreeing about pen.
"Qu'est-ce qui arrive?"

>
wants J's pen.

191. non, comme bébé Jean.

"Huh? tu ne veux pas cela?" (pen)

>
"C'est pareil ça, ça écrit comme b.J."

192. non, c'est pas pareil.

>
"Si."

193. non.

>
tries to jet J's.

S and J have a new toy.
"C'est à bébé J, ce n'est pas à Sophie."

194. non, pour Sophie.

S is playing with clay.
>
"C'est à Sophie."

195. eh, ça peux pas sortir.

S can't get clay out of block.

>
"Tu ne peux pas sortir?"

196. non.

>
gets help with clay.

197. peux plus rouler
(1x)

S can't roll clay, gets help.
>

198. non, ça c'est pas pour ta chambre.

S gives O a drawing, then takes it back.
>
gives another.

S's house doesn't look like J's.
M is helping S build her house,
but S is not content.

199. non, faut pas faire
comme ça, comme bébé
Jean.

>