PART II
The developmental path across languages

Camilla Bettoni* and Bruno Di Biase**
*University of Verona, **University of Western Sydney

After focusing on the universality of the theory and on the integration of its 1998 and 2005 strands into a more coherent whole in part I, this volume, part II draws the consequences of these two foci, and reconceptualises the staging of L2 development with reference to three typologically distant languages covering a good chunk of typological space between them: English, a configurational language; Italian, a null-SUBJ head-marking language; and Japanese, a zero-anaphora, dependent-marking language. The latter two languages are all placed towards the less configurational end of the continuum, as shown in (1) below.

The universality of PT "universal schedules" is based on speech processing procedures, which are cognitive, and hence universal. By that, however, we do not mean that every language will have the same developmental schedules. Rather, we mean that the universal schedules can only be interpreted in a language specific way. Thus, every language has its own schedules reflecting its own typology. This is why part II of the volume describes the development of three typologically different languages.

There are two principal sources of language specificity that the learner must acquire (aside from phonological considerations): the lexicon and c-structure. These are linked via f-structure, which is largely universal, but expressed in a language-specific lexicon and aligned according to language-specific constraints interfacing with discourse-pragmatic preferences. In this regard, there are two important typological distinctions – or rather continuums, because natural languages may freely mix their modes of organisation (Bresnan 2001: 132). The first continuum – as we have already seen with the two extreme examples of English and Warlpiri (cf. ch. 1, § 2.2) – is configurationality, which distinguishes between languages expressing GFs (principally the relationship between the verb and its arguments) by position, and those expressing them by morphology. The second important typological continuum relevant to our volume distinguishes between languages marking the relation between the constituents and the head morphologically on the head (such as Italian, and to a lesser extent English), or on the dependent (such as Japanese). This characterization as head-marking or dependent-marking, first introduced by Nichols (1986) for any kind of phrase structure, indicates for

us mainly whether GFs are marked inflectionally on the head element (typically the V, or the predicate) or on the dependent element (typically the nominal arguments). For example, a language is head-marking if it overtly marks the SUBJ function in a clause by means of the agreement of V with its SUBJ; on the other hand, a language is dependent-marking if it marks the NP argument by case-feature. Some languages may use both agreement and case marking (e.g., Serbian and Latin), others hardly any (e.g., Chinese). In (1) below we have added the three languages treated in this part of our volume to the schema introduced by Nordlinger (1998).

(1) Basic typology of expressing grammatical relations (after Nordlinger 1998: 49)
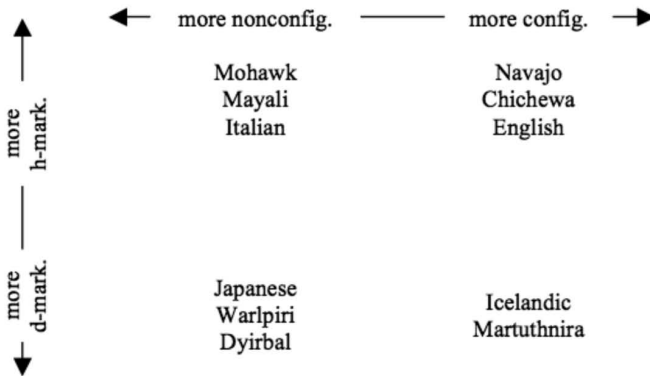
With regard to configurationality, represented on the horizontal continuum in (1), we have already shown in chapter 1, (23), how a highly configurational language like English uses hierarchical phrase structure to encode GFs such as SUBJ and OBJ. English in fact is one of those languages where OBJ belongs under VP and is strongly related to V, and ADJ may not be freely interposed between V and OBJ (unlike Italian or Spanish). On the other hand, SUBJ is outside VP and precedes V. English SVO word order is fixed, to the extent that, if the NPs before and after V are swapped, the meaning of the clause changes, as in (2).

(2) a. Jane hits Tarzan
     b. Tarzan hits Jane

At the other end of the configurationality continuum, as we have shown in chapter 1, (24), Warlpiri uses morphological case marking on NPs, rather than syntactic phrases, to encode GFs. This type of marking allows for a highly flexible word order, though a positional point of reference remains even in radically configura-

tional languages, like Warlpiri where, for instance, AUX must be in second position (cf. Asudeh & Toivonen 2010), thus retaining a certain positional organisational principle.

Like Warlpiri, Italian and Japanese are also nonconfigurational languages, although less radically so, in so far as they do exhibit a canonical word order (SVO in Italian and SOV in Japanese), and neither allows elements belonging in the same NP to be easily separated. Both these languages allow for some flexibility in word order. However, they differ from each other because they represent a case of head-marking and dependent-marking languages respectively. We illustrate this difference by looking at morphological encoding of the two core GFs SUBJ and OBJ by means of agreement marking on V in Italian, the more head-marking language, and of case marking on NPs in Japanese, the more dependent-marking. For example, in the two Italian sentences in (3), word orders are SVO and OVS; yet their referential meaning is the same. This is so because, when OBJ topicalisation disrupts canonical word order, the functions of both NP$_{SUBJ}$ and NP$_{OBJ}$ are identified morphologically by two inflections of V: one, which marks SUBJ, is identified by the V morpheme –*a*, agreeing with postverbal SUBJ; the other, which marks OBJ, is identified by *lo*, the ACC clitic marker coreferential with preverbal TOP (for further details on OBJ topicalisation in Italian L2, cf. chh. 3 and 8, this volume).

(3) a. Desdemona   picchia   Otello
         Desdemona-3.SG   hit-3.SG   Otello
         [Desdemona hits Otello]

     b. Otello   lo   picchia   Desdemona
         Otello-3.MASC.SG   he-3.ACC.MASC.SG   hit-3.SG   Desdemona-3.SG
         [Desdemona Otello hits]

Likewise, in the two Japanese sentences in (4) from Kawaguchi (2008: 96), word orders are SOV and OSV respectively; yet their propositional meaning does not change. However, unlike in Italian, this is so because, irrespective of their positions, the function of NP$_{SUBJ}$ is identified morphologically by the case-marking –*ga* for NOM, and the function of NP$_{OBJ}$ by the case-marking –*o* for ACC.

(4) a. Mari-ga   Takashi-o   nagutta
         Mari-NOM   Takashi-ACC   hit-PAST
         [Mari hit Takashi]

     b. Takashi-o   Mari-ga   nagutta
         Takashi-ACC   Mari-NOM   hit-PAST
         [Mari hit Takashi]

In sum, different languages encode GFs by different means. English, a configurational language, does it mainly through configurationality, even though it uses some vestiges of head-marking morphology (e.g., 3rd person singular is marked on V in the present tense). Italian and Japanese, both nonconfigurational languages, overtly mark GFs mainly through morphology, and reserve positional options for DFs. PT claims that the learner's morphological and syntactic development can be predicted by

- interpreting the different means by which a target language specifies its grammatical information, representable by an LFG description; and
- identifying the procedural skills required for a particular linguistic operation, as indicated by Levelt's Model.

The developmental hypotheses for English, Italian and Japanese discussed in the following three chapters are not entirely new in themselves, but to a large extent their illustration here is. The changes introduced are consistent with our presentation of PT in part I: they are not mere terminological formalities, but – as we have already mentioned – substantial innovations derived partly from coherently adopting relevant advances in PT's two source disciplines, and partly from our own and the authors' contribution to theory construction and new interpretations of the results in L2 description work. The language-specific developmental schedules presented have been tested to a large extent, albeit some with more robust empirical evidence than others. Where evidence is still scant, it will be indicated in order to identify gaps and promote further work.

Theoretical progress specific to each of the three languages, within a broad roadmap of how they develop in learners, concerns mainly the following areas: a revisitation of the morphological schedules focusing on some neglected areas (e.g., the role and position of the VP procedure), the treatment of questions, both polar and constituent, in English L2 (cf. ch. 2); the identification of soft barriers, or steps, within the stage boundaries, and their explanations for English L2 and Italian L2 (cf. chh. 2 and 3 respectively); and a focus on the Lexical Mapping Hypothesis for Japanese L2 (cf. ch. 4).