

The 22nd Annual
Boston University

Conference on
Language
Development



November 7, 8 & 9, 1997

The Twenty-Second Annual

Boston University

Conference on Language Development

November 7, 8, and 9, 1997

**Organized by the Graduate Students in
the Program in Applied Linguistics**

The MIT Press

CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IMPAIRMENT

Laurence B. Leonard

"In the preface of the book the author states '...I hope that I have created a volume that moves the study of specific language impairment forward.' Leonard has certainly done so first, by focussing on those issues that lead to a better understanding of the nature of the disorder than was available to us previously, second, by clearly indicating where and how further research needs to be carried out, and third, by placing the characteristics of SLI within the contexts of language acquisition in general." — Paula Menyuk, Professor of Applied Linguistics and Developmental Studies, Boston University
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Welcome

We would like to welcome all of you to the Twenty-Second Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development. It is our pleasure to be able to receive you here again at Boston University.

We are honored to have Annette Karmiloff-Smith, of the MRC Cognitive Development Unit and University College London, and Luigi Rizzi, of the University of Siena, as featured speakers. Professor Karmiloff-Smith will present Friday's Keynote Address, "Is abnormal development necessarily a window on normal language acquisition?" Saturday's program will close with Professor Rizzi's Plenary Address, which is entitled "Remarks on early null subjects and root infinitives." Receptions will follow both addresses.

The rest of the program is devoted to a wide range of papers chosen from submitted abstracts. This year we received over 250 submissions, which were then sent out for anonymous review. Of these, 90 were selected for presentation, and we are sorry not to have had space to include more of the many excellent submissions we received.

It is our commitment to continue to provide a forum here at Boston University for work in the diverse field of language development. Once again this year we will be publishing the Proceedings of the Conference. Information about ordering copies is available in your registration folders and at the Cascadilla Press table during the book exhibit. We hope you will enjoy the conference.

The 1997 Conference Committee

Kristine Gilchrist
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Our web address is <http://web.bu.edu/LINGUISTICS/APPLIED/conference.html>

Acknowledgements

The Boston University Conference on Language Development is organized each year by students from the Program in Applied Linguistics. We depend entirely upon the proceeds generated by registration and exhibition fees to cover the costs of hosting the conference. We are very grateful to all our participants for providing the support which allows us to host this conference each year.

We would like to thank the many unsung graduate and undergraduate Applied Linguistics students who aided our committee both throughout this past year and during this weekend. We are especially grateful for the help of our Program Director, Bruce Fraser, in rallying the troops and for helping us secure a new suite for our office and library. We would also like to thank the faculty in Applied Linguistics and those 'retired' graduate students from past conferences who provided us with much-needed advice and moral support. We are also indebted to the Program in Applied Linguistics (GRS) and the School of Education for resources made available to us throughout the year.

Our greatest thanks and appreciation goes to the two faculty advisors with whom we were blessed this year: Cathy O'Connor and Marco Haverkort. Their many sacrifices, sage advice and, above all, patience have been beyond compare. We are indebted to them both for aiding us in every aspect of our preparations for this year's conference and for keeping things on an even keel when we were most in need of their guidance and support.

We would also like to acknowledge the help of Donna Andrews of the Office of Conference Services. As in years past, Donna's invaluable skills and expertise have ensured that we have the proper facilities, equipment and refreshments. We are also very grateful to Robert Lee for his help in coordinating with the Office of Disabilities Services to provide us with sign language interpreters.

Finally, we would like to thank our reviewers for rating the many abstracts we received. The high quality of the submissions we receive each year makes it especially difficult to put together a program of just 90 papers. We are grateful for the thought and care which our reviewers gave each submission.

Arto Anttila	Jean Berko Gleason	Carol Neidle
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General Information

REGISTRATION AND SESSION LOCATIONS

All sessions will be held in the **George Sherman Union**, 775 Commonwealth Avenue. Registration will take place in the location. You may register on **Friday** starting at 8:00 AM. On **Saturday and Sunday**, registration will begin at 8:30 AM.

Please register before going to sessions. (We rely entirely on registration fees to cover the costs of the conference. We appreciate your willingness to wear your name badge; you may be asked to present it before entering sessions.)

KEYNOTE AND PLENARY ADDRESSES

Annette Karmiloff-Smith will deliver the Keynote Address on Friday at 8:00 PM in the Grand Ballroom. A dessert reception will immediately follow in the Small Ballroom.

Luigi Rizzi will give the Plenary Address on Saturday afternoon at 5:00 PM, again in the Grand Ballroom. There will be a wine and cheese reception following the address in the Small Ballroom.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Parking is available in the lot at 766 Commonwealth Ave. for \$10 per day. A less expensive lot is located behind the Armory, one block west of 881 Commonwealth Ave. (\$6 per day). Parking is free in the lot behind the Armory on Saturday afternoon and in both lots all day Sunday.

Temporary Luggage Storage Space will be made available next to the registration desk. The area will be staffed during the conference sessions only. Although a student volunteer will be watching the area, participants leave their luggage at their own risk.

Publishers' Exhibits will be held in the Ziskind Lounge on Saturday and Sunday. For a list of exhibitors, see page 60.

Refreshments will be served in the Ziskind Lounge during breaks. A list of local restaurants is provided in your registration packet, and the Food Court on the ground floor of the George Sherman Union offers a wide variety of eating establishments.

The Registration desk provides the following services:

ASL Interpreters (Please inquire when you arrive.)

Message Board

Lost and Found

Campus Maps

The 23rd Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development is tentatively scheduled to be held on November 6, 7, and 8, 1998, at Boston University.

*Friday 9:00 AM**Grand Ballroom***On the status of root participles**Teun Hoekstra, HIL-Leiden University
Nina Hyams, UCLA

This paper deals with root sentences with participles and without auxiliaries in child language (sun shining, *toren omgevallen* 'tower down fallen'). It is argued that these result from non-specification of I for finiteness (contra e.g., Guasti & Rizzi 1996). Several pieces of empirical support are adduced, specifically concerning the nature of subjects and the absence of V2-related phenomena in such sentences in Dutch and German.

*Friday 9:30 AM**Grand Ballroom***Complex verb constructions in child Korean:
Overt markers of covert functional structure**

Meesook Kim and Colin Phillips, University of Delaware

In this paper we argue that there are structural regularities in Korean children's earliest sentence productions: only VP material is produced. Nevertheless, we provide morphological evidence from complex verb constructions which demonstrate that these children represent at least an IP level of structure. In a longitudinal study of one Korean child, we find that when the child uses only the default mood marker *-e/a*, she also does not use Past tense suffixes, *wh*-questions, or Case particles, although there are many obligatory contexts. This result seems to support the view that children have only VP structure (Guilfoyle & Noonan 1988; Radford 1990, 1996). Despite this apparently strong evidence, examination of how child Korean truncates complex verb constructions indicates that children's syntactic representations contain at least an IP level of structure.

The implication of this study is that children's productions do not directly match their representation. Even though Korean children produce only VP material in their earliest sentences, the morphological evidence from complex verb constructions demonstrates that children represent IP structure. Thus, the evidence supports the view that children represent at least some level of functional structure at a very early stage (Pierce 1989, Wexler 1994). The nature of the truncations also provides direct evidence for the existence of null auxiliaries in child language (cf. Boser et al. 1992); however, since child Korean provides a direct morphological marker of the presence of a null auxiliary, we are also able to ascertain that null auxiliaries cannot be a complete explanation of missing finite inflection in child language.

**Truncation in early SLA: Differences
between child and adult learners**

Philippe Prévost, McGill University

In this paper, I further investigate the Truncation Hypothesis for second language acquisition proposed by Prévost (1997). According to this model, Rizzi's (1994) Root Principle that root declaratives are CPs is initially underspecified in L2 systems. This means that different types of roots should be projected, such as CP, IP or VP, with VP underlying root infinitives. I compare child and adult longitudinal spontaneous production data of L2 German. The learners are two eight year old children and two adults whose L1s are Italian and Portuguese. Preliminary analyses indicate an age effect in the usage of non-finite verbs. In contrast to the child data, the adult data include tenseless verbs in subordinate clauses and questions, non-finite auxiliaries, and tenseless verbs preceding negators. The findings suggest that the children project truncated structures whereas the adults seem to use the infinitival marker as a substitute for finite inflections. Potential explanations for such a difference in behaviour are explored.

B R E A K : 1 0 : 3 0 — 1 1 : 0 0**Getting rid of root infinitives**

Ingeborg Lasser, CUNY

The basis for my argument is that root infinitives (RIs) exist in adult languages. Non-finite root clauses in adult languages rely on discourse information for their temporal, aspectual and illocutionary interpretation. This suggests that, while there is no universal prohibition against non-finite root clauses, discourse constraints determine their distribution.

Using quantitative data from two German children, I show that their RIs obey constraints on clausal word-order, and that the grammaticality status of these utterances depends on the presence of certain discourse conditions. A non-negligible proportion of child RIs are flawless, once the discourse context is taken into account.

I conclude that (a) child RIs are continuous with adult grammars, (b) the grammaticality status of a child RI hinges on various interpretive properties, and (c) a child's gradual retreat from RIs cannot be accounted for by a single change in her syntax. I will suggest two mutually compatible paths toward the target, which accommodate these insights.

**Early finiteness in a null subject language:
Evidence from Inuktitut**

Martha Crago, McGill University
Shanley Allen, Max Planck Institute

The optional infinitive theory holds that in certain languages (e.g., English and German) there is a stage of acquisition in which nonfinite forms are used optionally in utterances in which finite forms would be used in the adult language (Poeppel & Wexler, 1993; Wexler, 1994, 1996). In other languages, namely those with null subjects, there is increasing evidence that there is no optional infinitive stage (Guasti, 1993; Wexler & Rhee, 1995). This paper will present evidence from Inuktitut-speaking children for the lack of an optional infinitive stage in a null subject language, thereby adding to the cross-linguistic explanations of early morpheme acquisition in children. Moreover, the lack of inflectional tense in this language means that a theory which has the marking of tense as a central feature cannot characterize the acquisition of Inuktitut.

**The development of tense:
A preliminary report on a twin study**

Jennifer Ganger and Kenneth Wexler, MIT

It has become clear that the obligatory property of tense (or related aspects of verbal inflection) is significantly delayed in English, and develops continuously over a period of years (Wexler, 1994). An important question for any theory of this phenomenon is the extent to which the development is caused by environmental versus genetic factors. Preliminary results from one pair of identical twins and one pair of fraternal twins studied for about one year are highly suggestive of a genetic component. The identical twins followed a remarkably similar time course. They spent many months with low tensing rates then both rapidly increased in just a few weeks, showing nearly identical growth curves. The fraternal twins, on the other hand, start out looking similar, but then show a large difference: one fraternal twin increases by 35% in just 2 months, while his co-twin remains steady at a lower rate for at least three more months (sample sizes are comparable for all recordings).

Friday 9:00 AM

Conference Auditorium

**Speech segmentation and word discovery:
The crucial role of the utterance**

Delphine Dahan and Michael Brent, Johns Hopkins University

Brent and Cartwright (1996; Brent, 1997) addressed the problem of segmenting words in speech with a model in which familiar words help to isolate novel words. The current research evaluates the model's predictions by testing adults using an artificial-language learning task. Subjects first heard a series of bi- or trisyllabic utterances consisting of CV syllables (for example, *koshe*) and the same utterances embedded in longer utterances (for example, *koshedifenu*). Then, subjects heard test items and had to decide, for each one, whether it consisted of a sequence of syllables that they had heard in the familiarization phase. The model predicts that listeners will treat the short utterance *koshe* as one word because it contains no familiar unit, and will segment *koshe* out of the utterance *koshedifenu* and infer a new word (*difenu*). Three experiments were conducted and showed that subjects recognized sequences that formed *exact* remaining chunks of the sentences after extraction of the familiar units better and faster, but only if the familiar unit appeared at the edge of the long utterance. This demonstrates the crucial role that utterances play in segmentation and word inference.

Friday 9:30 AM

Conference Auditorium

**Continuous monitoring of the speech stream
by 24-month-olds**

Daniel Swingley, John P. Pinto, and Anne Fernald, Stanford University

In two experiments, 24-month-olds responded to spoken utterances in a preferential looking procedure. Infants' latency to shift their fixation from the distractor picture to the target picture, measured from the onset of the spoken target word, was assessed by off-line coders. In Experiment 1, names of the two pictures displayed on each trial had phonetically overlapping onsets (e.g., *doggie*, *doll*) or did not (e.g., *doggie*, *tree*). In Experiment 2, pictures had overlapping offsets (i.e., rhymes: e.g., *ball*, *doll*) or did not. Responses to the spoken target words were delayed in the onset-overlap cases but not the rhyme cases. Delays were equivalent to the amount of initial phonetic overlap, as measured in a gating task with adults. Results indicate that 24-month-olds can recognize familiar words about 600 msec from the words' onsets, and that very young children can update their interpretations of incoming speech continuously and rapidly. In a third experiment, adults revealed responses similar to the infants'.

18-Month-olds' sensitivity to relationships between morphemes: Interactions among relationships, frequency and processing

Lynn Santelmann, University of Wisconsin
Peter Jusczyk, Johns Hopkins University

Santelmann & Jusczyk (1997) found that 18-month-olds are sensitive to the relationship between *is* and *ing* across a single syllable, but not over 5 syllables. This paper addresses further questions about 18-month-olds' sensitivity to morpho-syntactic relationships: can they detect this relationship over several syllables, and are they sensitive to other relationships, e.g., between modals and verb roots? Experiment 1 presented 18-month-olds with matched natural and unnatural passages with the target morphemes separated by 3 syllables, e.g., *grandma is/can always singing*. The toddlers listened significantly longer to the natural passages, indicating sensitivity to the relationship over 3 syllables. Experiment 2 presented 18-month-olds with passages with bare verb relationships, e.g., *grandma is/can sing*. Here they listened significantly longer to the unnatural passages, *grandma is sing* over *grandma can sing*, suggesting they have not acquired relationships involving modals. These results are discussed in terms of co-occurrence relationships, frequency, and limitations in processing space.

B R E A K : 1 0 : 3 0 — 1 1 : 0 0

Evidence for Full Access in L2 acquisition from the interpretive interface: Quantification at a distance in English-French interlanguage

Laurent Dekydtspotter, Rex A. Sprouse, Rachel Thyre, Indiana University

QUAD is grammatical with processes, but ungrammatical with single events (1), in contradistinction to its in-situ counterpart (2). Without the relevant UG properties (Hawkins 1993), English-French interlanguage should exhibit no asymmetry.

- (1) Jean a beaucoup trouvé de pièces, (en cherchant partout/d'un seul coup).
Jean has many found of coins while looking everywhere/all of a sudden
- (2) Jean a trouvé beaucoup de pièces, (en cherchant partout/d'un seul coup).
Jean has found many of coins while looking everywhere/all of a sudden

However, learners who master midfield *beaucoup* ($n = 46$, mean = 87.39% correct) accept QUAD with processes at 70.21%, versus 60.63% with single events ($t = 3.68$, $df = 45$, $p = .001$). Learners failing to master midfield *beaucoup* ($n = 23$, mean = 35.65% correct) nevertheless exhibit the asymmetry: 26.44% for processes versus 18.84% for single events ($t = 2.22$, $df = 22$, $p = .037$). No split was found with in-situ *beaucoup*.

Friday 11:30 AM

Conference Auditorium

In defense of Full Transfer in German-English interlanguage

Bonnie D. Schwartz, University of Durham
Rex A. Sprouse, Indiana University

This paper reassesses Eubank's (1996) claim that his reanalysis of Wode's (1981) early German-English interlanguage data provides evidence against the Full Transfer/Full Access model (FT/FA, Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996, 1997) and in support of his Valueless Features hypothesis (Eubank 1993/94, 1994). We reanalyze these data under FT/FA and explain why the Valueless Features analysis is untenable.

We argue that VO order and absence of scrambling represent the very early abandonment of overt object raising (due to robust English VO-input), while optional verb raising in matrix clauses is an indication that subsidiary V-movement to AgrS in main clauses is undergoing loss. Most striking is the asymmetry -- fronting of pronominal but not nonpronominal DOs -- which reflects German and so follows naturally on FT/FA; however, this asymmetry is completely unexpected under Valueless Features, since the relevant feature specification is assumed not to transfer.

Finally, we enumerate and discuss the technical and empirical inadequacies of Valueless Features.

Friday 12:00 NOON

Conference Auditorium

Is there canonical word order transfer in L2 acquisition?

José Camacho, Carnegie Mellon University

This paper discusses sentential word order transfer in the interlanguage spoken by speakers of Quechua L1 (an SOV language) who learn Spanish L2 (an SVO language). Three types of structures are presented according to their compatibility with the target language although much less frequent; the second type is possible in the target language, but pragmatically deviant in the actual context of utterance; the third type is clearly ungrammatical in any possible context. All three orders are possible in Quechua, suggesting transfer. A syntactic proposal based on Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry is advanced to explain how word order transfer takes place in these cases.

Friday Morning

Page 7

9:00 AM - 12:30 PM

Friday 9:00 AM

Terrace Lounge

**Preschoolers' acquisition of novel adjectives
and the role of basic-level kind**

Raquel Stote Klibanoff and Sandra R. Waxman, Northwestern University

English-speaking children expect adjectives to mark distinctions within basic-level kinds (Gelman & Markman, 1985; Waxman, 1990). Infants as young as 21 months succeed in mapping a novel adjective to an object property only when stimulus objects are all from the same basic-level kind (Waxman & Markow, 1997). The current experiment examines the role of basic-level kind in preschoolers' ability to map novel adjectives to object properties. Children were shown a series of target objects labeled with a novel adjective and then chose between a matching object which shared the target's property and a contrasting object which did not. While four-year-olds could map novel adjectives to object properties whether the target was from the same or a different basic-level kind as the test objects, three-year-olds succeeded only when it was from the same basic-level kind. Children's expectations about the meanings of novel adjectives may emerge initially within the context of basic-level categories.

Friday 9:30 AM

Terrace Lounge

**Learning verb meaning via adverbial modification:
Change-of-state verbs in German and
the adverb "wieder" ('again')**

Angelika Wittek, Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

Children learning English (age 3-9) neglect that change-of-state verbs like *fill* necessarily entail a resultant state ('FULL') - they have a "manner bias" (Gentner 1978, Gropen et al. 1991). German children (age 4-6) have a similar tendency (Wittek 1997). This talk will show that an adverb like *wieder* ('again') in the linguistic input is an important cue to learn the full meaning of these verbs: The sentence 'sie hat das Glas wieder gefüllt' ('she filled the glass again') can mean that she caused the glass to again be full, though she did not fill it on any earlier occasion (Dowty 1979). Here *wieder* has scope over the resultant state ("restitutive reading"). The results of a comprehension study (age 4;0 - 6;9) with novel verbs indicate that children do make use of this cue. Implications for existing approaches on the acquisition of verb meaning (Pinker 1989, Gleitman 1990) will be discussed.

**Big mice, big animals, big problems:
the acquisition of adjective interpretation rules**

Dean Sharpe, Isabel Fonte and Elizabeth Christie, McGill University

Children as young as two and a half years understand that adjective interpretation is 'context sensitive' in various ways (e.g., Ebeling & Gelman, 1994; Gelman & Ebeling, 1988). Experiment 1 tested the hypothesis that children as young as two and a half years understand that an adjective may pick out different properties across kinds (as in, 'big animals are big in a different sense than big problems') but not within kinds (as in, 'big white animals and big brown animals are big in the same sense'). Results suggest that children are able to learn an adjective that picks out different properties across kinds, at least in some cases. Experiment 2 tested the hypothesis that three year olds have trouble grasping that a particular object may be, e.g., big qua basic-level kind but little qua superordinate-level kind (as in, 'a big mouse is a little animal'). Results suggest that three year olds have difficulty interpreting 'big' and 'little' with respect to a superordinate-level kind, whether or not conflicting basic-level judgements precede the superordinate-level judgement. We discuss the results in relation to children's logical resources.

B R E A K : 1 0 : 3 0 — 1 1 : 0 0

**Toddling into language: precocious language development in
motor-impaired children with Spinal Muscular Atrophy**

Harry Sieratzki and Bencie Woll,
Clinical Communication Studies, City University London

Fundamentally conflicting theories exist in relation to the neural basis of language acquisition, in particular concerning whether grammar is created by a separate innate modular system or learned as an integral part of a vocabulary based associative network. To verify anecdotal reports of precocious language development, we have used the MacArthur CDI to collect data on 10 severely motor-impaired children with Spinal Muscular Atrophy (SMA) aged 18-35 months, which in eight cases show a clear advance in over-regularisations relative to vocabulary and to normal scores. This temporal dissociation supports the idea of a separate learning mechanism for grammar which is independent of the size of the stored vocabulary. We hypothesise that a child learns word forms in procedural steps, like objects of spatial learning. Children with SMA explore language for an environment which they cannot reach, performing mental manipulations where typical sensory-motor actions of able-bodied toddlers are not possible.

Friday 11:30 AM

Terrace Lounge

Syntax and morphology in children with Williams Syndrome

Harald Clahsen and Mayella Alamazon Arreola, University of Essex

Williams Syndrome (WS) is a neuro-developmental disorder which is characterized by an unusual fractionation of language abilities and other cognitive functions. We have investigated 4 English-speaking WS subjects (chronological age: 11;2 - 15;4, mental age: 5;4 - 7;6), through extensive neuro-psychological testing, and elicited language production and comprehension experiments covering a wide range of morphosyntactic phenomena. We present results of two syntactic experiments, one on reversible passive, the other on anaphor binding, and of one experiment on the past tense. We will show that despite the WS children's marked non-linguistic deficits, their performance on the two syntactic tasks as well as on regular past tense inflection is not impaired. However, irregular past tense inflection yielded many errors.

We will argue that the computational (rule-based) system for language is selectively spared in WS, yielding excellent performance on syntactic tasks and on regular inflection, whereas the associative memory system and/or its access mechanisms required for irregular inflection are impaired. Implications for potential dissociations of language and cognition will be discussed.

Friday 12:00 NOON

Terrace Lounge

**Stagnation in prosodic development of
language-disordered children**

Paula Fikkert and Zvi Penner, University of Konstanz

Acquisition of prosodic structure by normal children is very rapid and systematic: children go through several intermediate stages before reaching the adult prosodic system (cf. Fikkert 1994). In this paper we provide data from two language-disordered German-speaking children demonstrating that these children in principle exhibit the same stages in their prosodic development, but at a much slower rate than the normal developing children, providing clear evidence for the intermediate stages found in normal acquisition. We argue that due to their reduced learning capacity these language-disordered children encounter difficulties in detecting cues in the data necessary for further grammatical development. The two children in our study show stagnation at different stages. The findings strikingly show the importance of an accurate linguistic model of acquisition for both the diagnosis of language-disordered children and for therapy. We also discuss whether specific therapy focusing on data containing cues needed to set the relevant parameters can help these children in further development.

LUNCH BREAK : 12:30 — 2:00

*Friday 2:00 PM**Grand Ballroom***Nominative and object clitics in SLI: The case of French**

Celia Jakubowicz, Lea Nash, Catherine Rigaut, Universite Paris
 Christophe-Loic Gérard, Hospital Robert Debre

In this paper we discuss three striking asymmetries in the production and comprehension of determiners (LE), nominative (IL) and object clitics (LE and SE) by 14 French-speaking SLI children aged 5.8 to 13 years : (i) A strong asymmetry between the use of LE determiners and LE clitics: While the former are frequently produced by 13 out of the 14 children, the latter are either completely avoided or produced about 30% of the time on average; (ii) A strong asymmetry between LE vs. SE and IL clitics. Each child uses significantly less often LE than IL and SE. IL is in general more often used than SE; and (iii) An asymmetry between production and interpretation of LE and SE. While as reported, LE clitics are almost absent from the children's production, their comprehension (tested using a sentence picture matching task) is relatively accurate. Comprehension is slightly better than production for SE also.

The asymmetry between the production of IL and SE vs. LE, plus the relatively well-preserved comprehension of SE and LE indicate that a major impairment of SLI children concerns the production of LE clitics which arises, under our proposal, from their difficulty to merge a pronominal argument devoid of the [+N] feature, in a non-canonical argument position. Nominative clitics escape this production impairment, because they serve to express finiteness in spoken French. SE clitics escape this production impairment because, thanks to their feature content ([Person]), they are less underspecified than LE. Interestingly, normal children aged 2.0 to 2.7 years display comparable patterns of asymmetries which persist until about age 5. These findings confirm our linguistic analysis which attributes a different status to determiners and Romance clitic pronouns, and which further views clitic pronouns as a non-homogeneous class. Finally, the present study shows that grammatical integrity may coexist with selective computational vulnerability, and contradicts both the surface hypothesis (Leonard, 1991) and the hypothesis that the grammars of SLI subjects lack functional categories (Guilfoyle, Allen & Moss, 1991).

*Friday 2:30 PM**Grand Ballroom*

**Noun compound formation in
 specifically language impaired children**

Heather K. J. van der Lely and Valerie Christian,
 Birkbeck College, University of London

This paper investigates regular and irregular plural noun inflection and compound formation in Grammatical SLI children, based on Kiparsky's (1982) Level-ordering hypothesis. This leads to interesting predictions with respect to

Grammatical SLI children. We predict that for SLI children, if regular and irregular inflections are handled similarly, as suggested by previous research, then regular plurals as well as irregular plurals may occur inside compounds. Sixteen SLI children (aged 10:4 to 17:0) and 24 Language matched control children (aged 5:2 to 7:10) participated in the experiment. The results revealed that the groups did not differ in their ability to produce plural regular and irregular nouns. However, the two groups produced a qualitatively different pattern of responses when compounding regular and irregular nouns. In contrast to the control children, the SLI children showed a significant tendency to use regular plurals (rats-eater) inside compounds. For the irregular nouns, both the control group and the SLI children used irregular plurals (mice-eater) inside compounds, thus revealing a dissociation between regular/irregular plural noun formation. The wider implications of these findings with respect to the innate specialization of cognitive mechanisms and/or representations will be discussed.

Friday 3:00 PM

Grand Ballroom

Language impairment and the realization of finiteness

Gisela Håkansson, Lund University

It has often been claimed that children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI-children) have a morphological deficit (Leonard et al 1987). English SLI-children seem to have most difficulties with tense markings (e.g., Rice & Wexler 1996), and German SLI-children are reported to have problems with subject-verb agreement (e.g., Clahsen 1991). Swedish SLI-children have other problems. In a recent study comparing 10 Swedish SLI-children and 10 non-impaired children, there were no differences in morphological markings of simple tense. However, there was a significant difference in compound tense, placement of negation and subject-verb inversion (the V2 effect). On the basis of these data I will suggest that what is impaired is not the morphology per se, but the finiteness property. This is realized in different structures in different languages.

B R E A K : 3 : 3 0 — 4 : 0 0

Friday 4:00 PM

Grand Ballroom

**Linguistic and conceptual development in
Polish, English, and Finnish**

Richard Weist, SUNY Fredonia

Marja Atanassova, University of Jyväskylä

Hanna Wysocka and Aleksandra Pawlak, Adam Mickiewicz University

The purpose of this research was to evaluate the interaction of conceptual and linguistic factors during the acquisition of the spatial and temporal systems of Polish, English, and Finnish from 3 to 6 years. In the conceptual-spatial task, children reconstructed a layout from a 180 degree change in perspective, and in

the conceptual-temporal task, they arranged three picture cards in a sequence while telling a story. In the linguistic domain, there were two sentence-picture matching tests and one production test. These tests contained spatial and temporal contrasts requiring either a single or multiple referent object(s) / event(s). The main effects (i.e., age, dimension, and complexity) were always significant ($p < 0.001$). The capacity to understand double-referent contrasts was correlated with conceptual development. In summary, the sequence of development progressed from single to multiple referent "geometries" with cross-linguistic differences influencing system acquisition.

Friday 4:30 PM

Grand Ballroom

Space for thought

Peggy Li, Lila R. Gleitman, University of Pennsylvania
Barbara Landau, University of Delaware
Henry Gleitman, University of Pennsylvania

Recently, several investigators have suggested that spatial semantics are restructured in response to lexical requirements of specific languages (termed "thinking for speaking" by proponents of this view). For example, an English speaker must differentiate "on" from "above" in speech whereas these terms are conflated in Korean. We asked: Does this language distinction influence the conceptualization or categorization of events in nonlinguistic tasks? Using certain of Bowerman's (1989, 1994, 1996a, 1996b) examples, we designed a categorization task for speakers of Korean and English. When the Ss were asked to match a set of stimuli to certain standard stimuli, using language-specific labels, of course the two groups differed. But when (other) Ss from the two language groups were asked to categorize the same stimuli with more neutral instructions ("which ones are like these...") their categorizations were highly similar. In related work, we ask whether speakers of a language can easily attain a conceptual distinction available in some other language, but not their own.

Friday 5:00 PM

Grand Ballroom

The independence of language and number

John Grinstead, Jeffrey MacSwan, Susan Curtiss and Rochel Gelman
UCLA

A prevailing notion in accounts of the development of numerical cognition in humans is dependent on the language faculty. Bloom (1994), for example, has argued that discrete infinity is bootstrapped out of grammar and into the numerical domain during early child development. Our view, in contrast, is that number and language constitute autonomous mental modules both in development and in the adult state. This view originates in the work of Gallistel and Gelman (1978, 1992) which shows that pre-verbal infants and animals use numerical cognition in the absence of grammar. We present evidence from several subjects of double developmental dissociations to show that language develops in the absence of number and that number develops in the absence of language. We further argue that the notion of cross-domain bootstrapping of

any kind is implausible within a modular conception of mind. A cluster of grammatical characteristics particular to the count routine are examined.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION B CONFERENCE AUDITORIUM

Friday 2:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

**The role of a communication partner in
the creation of a gestural language system**

Lisa Gershkoff-Stowe, Susan Goldin-Meadow, University of Chicago

Individuals who have no prior experience with conventional sign language are able to spontaneously use gesture to express meaning when the opportunity for speaking is absent. However, the gestures created by novice signers, unlike the gestures by native signers, are neither stable in form nor integrated into a coherent language system. The present research explores the role an active partner plays in developing an internally consistent and grammatically complex system of language. Two experiments were conducted. In Experiment 1, 16 hearing adults were randomly paired to form eight dyads. Participants in each dyad took turns as the Gesturer or Listener. The Gesturer observed a block of 10 short vignettes in which animated objects moved in varying paths and manner across space. Immediately after each vignette, the Gesturer manually expressed the event to the Listener who offered feedback nonverbally. A total of 40 vignettes were presented so that participants alternated the role of Gesturer and Listener twice. In Experiment 2, eight adults were presented with the same 40 vignettes. Participants gestured the scenes to an experimenter who provided no gestural feedback. Results show that participants who engaged in a mutual dialogue were more likely to (1) evolve an arbitrary and thus less iconic system of signs, (2) have a more stable and productive lexicon, and (3) show the beginnings of an internally consistent and contrastive language system. The findings emphasize the importance of a shared communication system for the development of a language, one in which individual gestures are used not only in production but are received as input by another person.

Friday 2:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

**Evidence for verb agreement in the gesture systems
of older Nicaraguan home signers**

Marie Coppola, Ann Senghas, Elissa L. Newport, and Ted Supalla,
University of Rochester

This study examines the gestural systems created by Nicaraguan deaf children who have not been exposed to any conventional language. Goldin-Meadow (1990) found that the 'home sign' systems of deaf children aged 2-4 contained simple syntactic rules. However, unlike all known sign languages (Supalla,

1995), these systems did not show systematic verb agreement, in which a verb's movement indicates its subject and object. This omission is surprising insofar as one expects congruence between acquisition findings and linguistic universals.

One account of this discrepancy may be that home sign systems have been studied only in young children. We therefore studied four Nicaraguan deaf adolescents (aged 10-18) still using home sign as their only language. Each exhibited systematic, internally-consistent devices for marking case relations through verb agreement. Although these devices varied, each looked like those used in the world's sign languages. This study is one of the first to examine how complex the grammars of isolated home sign systems may become as their users mature. Our results suggest that children can innovate even more grammatical structure than previously observed.

Friday 3:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

Learnability of Chinese dative alternation

Ting-Ting Rachel Chung and Peter Gordon, University of Pittsburg

One of the fundamental learnability problems concerns how the child restricts the application of rules such as dative. Pinker (1989) proposes that there are broad range and narrow range rules that define subclasses of verbs. Chinese provides an interesting contrast to English in that there are both differences in the construction of the dative alternation, and also in the subclasses of verbs that may, may not or must appear in the double-object construction. We discuss to what extent Pinker's proposals can apply to the acquisition of Chinese. 26 Mandarin-speaking children (aged 3 to 8) were tested on their knowledge of the grammaticality of various subclasses of verbs in dative and double-object constructions. Acquisition was extremely variable with some verbs causing relatively few problems and others continuing to provide problems up to the oldest age group. We discuss the possible reasons for this inconsistency, and compare performance with English-speaking children in the same age range.

B R E A K : 3 : 3 0 — 4 : 0 0

Friday 4:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

Resumptive pronoun strategies in English-speaking children

Judy Bernstein and Dana McDaniel, University of Southern Maine
Cecile McKee, University of Arizona

We report data on resumptive pronouns in relative clauses from 82 children, 3;5 to 8;11, and 34 adults; the data come from an elicited production task and a grammaticality judgment task. All subjects avoided resumptive pronouns in

production when traces were possible but produced them when traces were problematic. For the adults and many children, the results on the judgment task paralleled the production data. However, the younger children often accepted resumptive pronouns in cases where they also accepted traces.

We propose that in English the resumptive option and the trace option are derived from a single numeration, the resumptive pronoun being a spell-out of the trace. According to Minimalist assumptions, only one option would be possible, accounting for why resumptive pronouns occurred only in cases where the trace was ruled out. We explore the question of whether the young children's grammars represent one numeration or two.

Friday 4:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

Resumptives and wh-movement in the acquisition of relative clauses in Modern Greek and Hebrew

Spyridoula Varlokosta and Sharon Armon-Lotem, University of Maryland

The present study argues for a movement account of relative clause formation (contra Labelle 1990, 1996 but with Law 1992 and Perez-Leroux 1995) based on new evidence from the acquisition of relative clauses in Modern Greek and Hebrew. We claim that the adult-like pattern of the distribution of resumptives and gaps in child Hebrew, the high proportion of clitics and the lack of missing prepositions in early relatives in child Greek indicate the presence of wh-movement in child relative clause formation. We argue that since parameters are set based on positive evidence, it is no surprise that in a language like Hebrew children use resumptives. In languages that do not have resumptive pronouns, we would not expect to find them unless children misinterpret non-resumptive pronouns as resumptives. We show that the conflicting evidence for the existence of resumptive pronouns is linked to the late acquisition of pronoun coreference (Chien & Wexler 1990).

Friday 5:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

Resumptive NP in relatives of child Chinese

Bonnie Chiu, National Taiwan Normal University

I report the results of a cross-sectional study on relative clauses in Chinese-speaking children between the ages of 3 and 6. In an elicited production task, the subjects produced relative clauses with resumptive NPs that are ungrammatical in adult Chinese. Among the three groups (mean ages: old - 5;6, middle - 4;8, young - 3;6), the middle group produced the highest percentage of resumptive NP relatives. The resumptive element did not occur as a demonstrative unless the head noun was also of the form demonstrative only. The majority of the resumptive NP relative clauses produced by the middle group contained an NP without a demonstrative as the resumptive element. A sharp

decline of relatives with no demonstratives and an increase of relatives with demonstratives in head nouns is observed between the young and the middle groups. To account for these patterns in child Chinese, I adopt Kayne's (1994) proposal on relative clauses, and appeal to Chomsky's (1994) Copy theory.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION C

TERRACE LOUNGE

Friday 2:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Phonological constraints and word truncation
in early language acquisition**

Mitsuhiko Ota, Georgetown University

In recent Optimality Theoretic approaches to phonological acquisition, it has been proposed that early word truncation reflects a stage of phonological development in which the output of all prosodic words is conditioned by structural constraints which are ranked above input-output faithfulness constraints. In this study, this claim is re-examined by investigating the early words produced by Japanese-speaking children (1;0-2;4). Analyses show that the output forms of truncated words follow the pattern of morphological truncation in adult Japanese, indicating that the same structural constraints that regulate truncation in mature grammar are, in fact, active in the grammar of children as young as 2;0. However, there are a number of words which are not truncated, even though they violate output conditions that truncated words must satisfy. The data, therefore, argue against uniform treatment of truncated and non-truncated outputs in early child phonology.

Friday 2:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

On the status of final consonants in early child language

Heather Goad, McGill University

Early child language is marked by a preference for CV syllables. Final consonant deletion, a common process at this stage, yields outputs which maintain this syllable shape, 'duck' > [dʌ]. When final consonants emerge, [dʌk], it is standardly assumed that they are syllabified as *codas*. The standard analysis fails to capture the fact that children's early final consonants display several effects which strongly suggest that they are *not* codas. These include: (1) Final aspiration, an unmarked property of onsets, not codas. (2) The addition of a release, (a) either homorganic with the target consonant, or (b) as an epenthetic vowel; both enable the final consonant to be syllabified as an onset. (3) The presence of a pause between the target consonant and preceding vowel, suggesting that a syllable boundary exists between the two segments. I argue that all of these patterns reveal that children's early final consonants cannot be

syllabified as codas. They are instead *onsets of empty-headed syllables*. Vowel epenthesis is one means by which the empty nuclear position can be realized; the addition of a nasal release is another.

Friday 3:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

Phonological cohesion in syllable structure

Becky Kennedy, Harvard University

Liberman (1973) revealed the crucial role of phonemic awareness in the acquisition of decoding skills by demonstrating that good and poor readers are distinguished by their ability to segment words into phonemes. The ability to count syllables, however, was shown to appear earlier, suggesting a developmental progression invoking successively smaller units. Treiman (1985) argued for onset-rime as an intermediate level of structure less accessible than the syllable but more accessible than the phoneme. Results presented here, however, argue against both the universal nature of an onset-rime structuring of the syllable and the notion of a unitary developmental progression of syllable, onset-rime and phoneme in segmentation of the speech stream. Data from sound tapping by children who have acquired syllabic but not full phonemic awareness suggest that internal segmentation of the syllable preceding phonemic segmentation may be guided by bonds between phonetic segments rather than by onset-rime structure.

B R E A K : 3 : 3 0 — 4 : 0 0

Friday 4:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

Lexical properties in implementation of sound change

Judith A. Gierut and Michele L. Morrisette, Indiana University, Bloomington

Productive sound change is infused through the developing lexicon following a prominent pattern of lexical diffusion. We report the results of descriptive and experimental studies to characterize the precise lexical properties that are vulnerable to sound change, with a focus on word frequency and neighborhood density. Subjects were children evidencing functional phonological delays in their acquisition of English as a first language. Three patterns of results emerged:

- Lexical change occurred differentially depending on the type of phonological category being learned.
- For a given child, lexical change was dominated by a single property, either word frequency or neighborhood density.
- Overall, word frequency was a more salient and facilitative property in sound change.

Results will be discussed relative to the organization of the developing lexicon, the source of phonological delays, and strategies of sound change in lexical diffusion. [Supported by NIH DC00076, DC01694]

Friday 4:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

Abstraction in infant artificial grammar learning

Rebecca L. Gomez and LouAnn Gerken, University of Arizona

Recent research shows that infants are rapid learners of sequential structure (Gomez & Gerken, 1997; Saffran, Aslin, & Newport, 1996). Sensitivity to sequential structure may be important for acquiring invariant structure in language, such as syllables composing a particular word, but the generative nature of language requires learners to abstract beyond the surface form of specific utterances. Two experiments examined whether 11-month-olds can abstract higher-order structure in the input. Using the head-turn preference procedure, infants were trained on auditory sequences generated by an artificial grammar. Training and test sequences were instantiated in different vocabularies. Thus, the underlying grammatical form was preserved whereas surface structure was changed. In both experiments, infants listened longer to grammatical versus ungrammatical sequences despite the change in vocabulary. These results show that in addition to learning sequential structure, infants are also sensitive to higher-order regularities in input.

Friday 5:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Constraints on the syntactic bootstrapping paradigm
for verb learning**

Jeffrey Lidz, IRCS, University of Pennsylvania

This paper explores the limits of syntactic bootstrapping and demonstrates that the use of syntactic structure to build verb meanings is constrained to operate only within 'frame neighborhoods,' i.e., complement types that antecedently share formal and interpretive features. The results suggest that inferences over change in number of arguments are easier than inferences over change in type of arguments. This kind of finding establishes the limits within which the 'syntactic bootstrapping' paradigm for verb learning can operate, and also has implications for whether we should think about the architecture of the lexicon in projectionist or constructionist terms.

D I N N E R B R E A K : 5 : 3 0 — 8 : 0 0

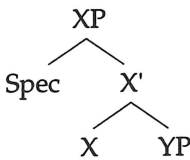
ANNETTE KARMILOFF-SMITH

**Medical Research Council,
Cognitive Development Unit
and
University College London**

**IS ABNORMAL DEVELOPMENT NECESSARILY A
WINDOW ON NORMAL LANGUAGE ACQUISITION?**

Dessert Reception to follow in the Small Ballroom

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*Saturday 9:30 AM**Grand Ballroom***Newborns' sensitivity to pitch contours****Thierry Nazzi, Johns Hopkins University
Josiane Bertoncini, LSCP-EHESS**

Past research suggests that young infants are sensitive to several prosodic dimensions, but usually fails to establish that infants actually represent these dimensions. The present study was designed to investigate whether newborns can represent one type of prosodic information, that of pitch contour at the word-level.

The high-amplitude sucking procedure was used to determine whether French-born newborns can discriminate two phonetically varied lists of Japanese bimoraic words. Words in one of the lists had a rising contour (Low-High), while words in the other list had a falling contour (High-Low).

Discrimination of the lists was found. This suggests that newborns have an innate ability to extract an abstract representation of the pitch contour of words. Given that rising pitch contours appear to be word initial in Japanese, we will propose that the above ability could be used by Japanese-learning infants to segment the continuous speech stream into words.

*Saturday 10:00 AM**Grand Ballroom***Object or action?****Sentence prosody helps 15-month-olds decide****Phyllis L. Koenig, Rutgers University**

Correlations between prosodic and syntactic structure suggest a role for prosody in very young children's sentence processing. However, there has been no evidence that year-old infants' demonstrated ability to perceive prosodic cues to sentence structure contributes to comprehension. An investigation of the effects of utterance prosody on 15-month-olds' interpretations of novel words suggests the following: One-word speakers will choose an object referent when the word is embedded in a single prosodic unit (regardless of internal phrasing). In contrast, they will choose an action referent when (a) the utterance names familiar objects which could perform the action, and (b) the familiar object labels and novel word are contained within separate prosodic units. It is hypothesized that one-word speakers map semantic entities (i.e., objects and actions) onto speech units marked by clear prosodic boundaries, and that two such units can be combined into a propositional whole.

**Talker-specificity and the persistence of
infants' word representations**

Derek Houston, Peter Jusczyk and Jennifer Tager, Johns Hopkins University

This study explores the nature of infants' word representations by examining the effects of talker variability and delayed testing on their ability to recognize words in fluent speech. 7-1/2-month-olds were familiarized with isolated words (e.g., *cup* and *dog*) from one talker and then heard four passages produced by another talker, two of which included the familiarized words. Infants attended longer to passages with the familiar words for materials produced by two female talkers but not for materials by a male and a female talker, suggesting a role for voice similarity in infants' ability to generalize word tokens. To examine memory persistence, infants were tested in a single-talker condition with a one-day delay between familiarization and test phases. Infants attended longer to passages with the familiar words, suggesting their word representations persist in memory. We are currently exploring the interaction between the effects of talker variability and delayed testing.

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0**Distinct labels provide pointers to distinct sortals
for 9-month-old infants**

Fei Xu, Northeastern University

Recent studies suggest that labeling facilitates 9-month-old infants' object characterization (Balaban & Waxman, 1997) and only 10-month-old infants who understand count nouns such as "a ball" or "a duck" are able to use the difference between a ball and a toy duck to infer two distinct objects behind an occluder (Xu & Carey, 1996). The present study examines whether 9-month-old infants can use distinct labels as pointers to distinct kinds or sortals. Using the Xu & Carey (1996) paradigm while giving each object a label when it emerges from behind the screen, we found that when given distinct labels (e.g., "a ball" vs. "a duck"), infants succeeded in inferring two objects behind the screen, whereas when given the same label (e.g., "a toy"), infants failed to infer two objects. Thus we provide the first evidence that labeling may play an active role in constructing kind or sortal concepts in infancy.

Words and gestures: The role of carrier phrases in infants' mapping of novel symbols to object categories

Laura L. Namy and Sandra R. Waxman
Northwestern University

Infants appreciate that names refer to object categories. Recent research examines what types of symbols can function as names for infants. Namy & Waxman (in press) find that 18-month-olds successfully map both words (e.g., "See the dax?") and symbolic gestures (e.g., "See this [gesture]?") to object categories. The current study investigates whether embedding these symbols in familiar naming phrases facilitated 18-month-olds' success. We compare infants' interpretations of novel symbols (either words or gestures) when they were a) embedded within naming phrases (Phrasal condition) or b) presented alone (Alone condition). Infants successfully mapped gestures to object categories in both the Phrasal and Alone conditions; those learning novel words were successful in the Phrasal but not the Alone condition. Infants readily map both words and gestures to object categories, but by 18 months, they also reveal specific expectations about words that do not apply to other symbolic forms.

SATURDAY MORNING: SESSION B

CONFERENCE AUDITORIUM

Saturday 9:30 AM

Conference Auditorium

Transfer Between interlanguages

Ingrid Yan-kit Leung, University of Hong Kong

This paper forms part of an on-going research project on the acquisition of French by Hong Kong bilinguals. It aims to investigate the hypothesis of L2 interlanguage transfer in third language acquisition. Production data have shown that although direct Chinese (L1) transfer seems not to be operating much in our subjects' French (L3) interlingual systems, there is evidence of transfer from the L2 English to the L3 French. Moreover, the subjects' L2 is itself an interlanguage and shows influence from the L1 Chinese: hence the L1 may be indirectly influencing the L3 production in many cases. This phenomenon of EIL (English interlanguage) transfer is hypothesized in cases such as existential constructions, pseudo-tough movement and resumptive pronouns. These were verified by judgement data, and results suggest that EIL transfer is operating in the first two structures, while universal sources appear to be responsible for the resumptive pronoun case.

**OI effects in adult L2 acquisition:
Moroccan-Arabic/French interlanguage**

Lynn Eubank, Maria-Luise Beck and Heidi Aboutaj, University of North Texas

This paper examines data from the adult L2 acquisition of French by a native speaker of Moroccan Arabic for effects associated with the Optional Infinitive (OI) phenomenon: interactions between verb placement and verb finiteness, between null subjects and verb finiteness, and between pronominal subjects (weak vs. strong) and verb finiteness. Results indicate straightforward relationships in all three areas. More difficult is to understand what these findings might mean. At present, we must reject the possibility that such findings falsify maturation-based explanations of the phenomenon (e.g., Wexler 1994; Hoekstra & Hyams): Due to the nature of the original L2 transcription, data that could turn out to be crucial for the present analysis may be missing; in addition, independent findings suggesting a dissociation between verb placement and inflectional features (e.g., Eubank et al. 1997) could result in OI-like effects in adult L2 acquisition, hence for reasons that are independent of the ultimate cause(s) of the phenomenon in L1 acquisition.

**Psycholinguistic investigations of clitic placement:
A cross-linguistic perspective**

Nigel Duffield, Silvina Montrul, Joyce Bruhn de Garavito and Lydia White,
McGill University

We report on a series of psycholinguistic experiments using an on-line sentence matching task, as well as an off-line grammaticality judgment task, involving clitics in ten different constructions. Subjects were intermediate and advanced English and French learners of Spanish, together with a Spanish control group. The results address both theoretical and acquisitional concerns, distinguishing universal vs. language-specific properties of object clitic placement (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono, 1996; Schwartz 1995; White 1995), and addressing the issue of L1 influence - specifically, directionality effects in L1 transfer (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996).

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0

Minimally raising the verb issue

Julia Herschensohn, University of Washington

I examine the (re)setting of the Verb Raising Parameter through production data of negation and adverb placement (AP) in L2 French, arguing that morphology and the lexicon are more crucial to the emerging L2 grammar than syntax, as the Minimalist Program (MP) predicts. My experiment - a 30 item production task administered to two levels of intermediate anglophone French L2ers - examines three errors, inflection, negation, AP. Both groups show lexical variation among adverbs, but high-intermediates have fewer errors than mid-intermediates. The MP's claim that cross-linguistic variation is more lexical than syntactic implies that L2ers' competence should be unevenly reflected in their performance due to incomplete mastery of the L2 lexicon. Indeed, the data show that lexically limited negations permit VR to become automatic earlier than lexically diverse adverbs do. This treatment accounts for longitudinal and clustering variability while providing a linguistically motivated and consistent account of the data.

Rigidity effects and strong/weak WH-features in SLA

Yoichi Miyamoto, Osaka University
Yasuko Takata, Ohio University

This study examines whether the Scope Principle (SP) (e.g., May 1985; Aoun and Li 1989, 1993) is operative for Japanese EFL learners. Observe the contrast between (1) and (2):

- (1) Who did everyone meet?
- (2) Who met everyone?

In adult grammar, only (1) is ambiguous.

We found that the elementary learners strongly preferred the collective interpretation in both (1) and (2) while the intermediate and the advanced learners correctly observed the contrast between these examples. This finding indicates that SP is not operative for elementary EFL learners. Since SP requires WH-movement, this further means that only intermediate and advanced learners use WH-movement in WH-questions.

We argue that (Japanese) elementary EFL learners use pro in WH-questions, which supports Martohardjono (1993) among others. We further propose that the reason why these learners use pro is that they transfer the strength of (WH-) features (Chomsky 1995) from Japanese, which supports Schwartz and Sprouse 1996.

*Saturday 9:30 AM**Terrace Lounge***How are the features of definite determiners
activated in the L2?**

Liliana Sanchez, Carnegie Mellon University

We present an observational study of definite determiners in the L2 Spanish narratives of L1 Quechua speakers. The narratives of 12 L1 Quechua-L2 Spanish speakers were analyzed and divided into two proficiency groups. For group 1, with lower proficiency, we found that definite determiners were absent from NPs in object position and from NPs that are prepositional complements due to the lack of identification of the relevant features that govern the distribution of definite determiners versus bare plurals. For group 2, we found that definite determiners were absent only from NPs in prepositional complements. We take this as evidence that in L2 acquisition feature activation of the definite determiner proceeds one syntactic environment at a time.

*Saturday 10:00 AM**Terrace Lounge***Not any child can deal with *some***

Julien Musolino, University of Maryland

In this paper, we use data from child language to argue that *some* and *any* are related by a morphologically suppletive rule, as originally proposed by Klima (1964) and that *some*, contra Progovac (1994) should not be classified as a polarity sensitive item (Krifka 1994). Our claim is based on results from a recent experiment where we tested young children's comprehension of sentences of the type 'John didn't see some students'. Half the children, aged between 3;10 and 6;6 (mean 5;1), understood the type of sentence above as though they meant 'John didn't see any students' thus incorrectly interpreting *some* in the scope of negation.

We argue that in order to explain what drives children to make this incorrect initial hypothesis as well as how they will eventually expunge it from their grammar, the assumptions we make about *some* and *any* must be on the right track.

**The acquisition of definite determiners in child Swedish:
Prosodic and discourse influences on functional morphology**

Lynn Santelmann, University of Wisconsin

Unlike data reported for English and German, Swedish child language shows little omission of definite determiners. Definite nouns make up the majority of NPs, subject and object, from the earliest ages and for finite and non-finite verbs. The early and consistent use of definite determiners can be accounted for by their syntactic status as a suffix. Because Swedish definite determiners are suffixal, they follow the predominant trochaic pattern in Swedish, and thus children are less likely to omit them (Demuth, 1992, Gerken, 1994). In instances where a non-suffixal, unstressed determiner is used, we find the same kinds of omission of these determiners as we do in English and German. Finally, when children do omit the suffixal determiner, these omissions can be analyzed as an overextension of the contexts in which NPs can be licensed by the discourse (e.g., Hyams 1996, Boser, 1996).

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0**Optional determiners in early child German**

Sonja Eisenbeiss, University of Duesseldorf

Optional determiners in early child language play a central role in the continuity debate. In Full-Competence approaches, early determiners are analyzed as realizations of D (Penner/Weissenborn 1996, Bohnacker 1997). According to Structure-Building+Lexical-Learning approaches, early determiners are "impostors"; D is gradually established - based on UG-principles and lexical/morphological properties (Clahsen/Eisenbeiss/Vainikka 1994). Thus, there should be U-shaped learning curves and developmental dissociations between lexical items. I analyzed the distribution of determiners in 62 recordings from 5 monolingual German children (1;11-3;3), with the following results: Early determiners are restricted to formulae like "da ist ('there is') + indef. article + X" or to specific determiner-noun combinations. Overt determiners show U-shaped learning curves. There is a developmental correlation between the acquisition of obligatory determiners, determiner-adjective combinations, the possessive suffix -s and nominal agreement inflection. There is a developmental dissociation between different determiners. These findings support the Structure-Building+Lexical-Learning approach.

Acquisition of functional heads in the Adjective Phrase

Deanna L. Moore and Thomas Roeper
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Children produce utterances like "too much little" and "and is too much full" (Kuczaj 76, CHILDES). While ungrammatical in the adult grammar of English, the children's utterances provide interesting evidence supporting an analysis positing a split system of the degree/quantifier phrase in the adjectival projection. Norbert Corver (LI 28, 1997) analyzes the quantifier much and the extended projection of the adjectival phrase as two functional heads above the adjective. The quantifier phrase is headed by words like more, less, enough, much, and the degree phrase by how, so, too, as, that, this. (He is that tall. They are this big.) He argues that the adjective raises to the quantifier position in order to satisfy thematic roles which results in the presence of a quantifier or a degree head, but when both are present, the argument conditions are violated - as in the ungrammatical *too much tall. Adults would only allow too little, where raising occurs. Children, as seen above, do produce just these kinds of examples which are ungrammatical in the adult grammar. The child's utterance can be viewed simply as a lack of raising of the adjective to the quantifier position.

LUNCH BREAK : 12:30 — 2:00

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FRIDAY, November 7th

All sessions in the George Sherman Union

Session A

Grand Ballroom

9:00 HOEKSTRA, T.; HYAMS, N.: On the status of root participles

9:30 KIM, M.; PHILLIPS, C.: Complex verb constructions in child Korean: Overt markers of covert functional structure

10:00 PREVOST, P.: Truncation in early SLA: Differences between child and adult learners

Session B

Conference Auditorium

DAHAN, D.; BRENT, M.: Speech segmentation and word discovery: The crucial role of the utterance

SWINGLEY, D.; PINTO, J.; FERNALD, A.: Continuous monitoring of the speech stream by 24-month-olds

SANTELMANN, L.; JUSCZYK, P.: 18-month-olds' sensitivity to relationships between morphemes: Interactions among relationships, frequency and processing

Session C

Terrace Lounge

KLIBANOFF, R.; WAXMAN, S.: Preschoolers' acquisition of novel adjectives and the role of basic-level kind

WITTEK, A.: Learning verb meaning via adverbial modification: Change-of-state verbs in German and the adverb 'wieder' ('again')

SHARPE, D.; FONTE, I.; CHRISTE, E.: Big mice, big animals, big problems: The acquisition of adjective interpretation rules

Break

11:00 LASSER, I.: Getting rid of root infinitives

DEKYDTSPOTTER, L.; SPROUSE, R.; THYRE, R.: Evidence for full access in L2 acquisition from the interpretive interface: Quantification at a distance in English-French interlanguage

11:30 CRAGO, M.; ALLEN, S.: Early finiteness in a null subject language: Evidence from Inuktitut

SIERATZKI, H.; WOLL, B.: Toddling into language: Precocious language development in motor-impaired children with Spinal Muscular Atrophy

12:00 GANGER, J.; WEXLER, K.: The development of tense: A preliminary report on a twin study

SCHWARTZ, B.; SPROUSE, R.: In defense of Full Transfer in German-English interlanguage

CLAHSEN, H.; ARREOLA, M.: Syntax and morphology in children with Williams Syndrome

Lunch Break: 12:30 — 2:00

2:00	JAKUBOWICZ, C.; NASH, L.; GERARD, C.: Nominative and object clitics in SLI: The case of French	GERSHKOFF-STOWE, L.; GOLDIN- MEADOW, S.: The role of a communication partner in the creation of a gestural language system	OTA, M.: Phonological constraints and word truncation in early language acquisition
2:30	VAN DER LELY, H.; CHRISTIAN, V.: Noun compound formation in specifically language impaired children	COPPOLA, M.; SENGHAS, A.; NEWPORT, E.; SUPALLA, T.: Evidence for verb agreement in the gesture systems of older Nicaraguan home signers	GOAD, H.: On the status of final consonants in early child language
3:00	HAKANSSON, G.: Language impairment and the realization of finiteness	CHUNG, T.; GORDON, P.: Learnability of Chinese dative alternation	KENNEDY, B.: Phonological cohesion in syllable structure
3:30	B r e a k		
4:00	WEIST, R.; ATANASSOVA, M.; WYSOCKA, H.; PAWLAK, A.: Linguistic and conceptual development in Polish, English and Finnish	BERNSTEIN, J.; MCDANIEL, D.; MCKEE, C.: Resumptive pronoun strategies in English-speaking children	GIERUT, J.; MORRISSETTE, M.: Lexical properties in implementation of sound change
4:30	LI, P.; GLEITMAN, L.; LANDAU, B.; GLEITMAN, H.: Space for thought	VARLOKOSTA, S.; ARMON-LOTEM, S.: Resumptives and Wh-movement in the acquisition of relative clauses in Modern Greek and Hebrew	GOMEZ, R.; GERKEN, L.: Abstraction in infant artificial grammar learning
5:00	GRINSTEAD, J.; MACSWAN, J.; CURTISS, S.; GELMAN, R.: The independence of language and number	CHIU, B.: Resumptive NP in relatives of child Chinese	LIDZ, J.: Constraints on the syntactic bootstrapping paradigm for verb learning
8:00 P.M. GRAND BALLROOM			
ANNETTE KARMILOFF-SMITH KEYNOTE ADDRESS			
Medical Research Council, Cognitive Development Unit and Psychology Dept., University College London <i>Is abnormal development necessarily a window on normal language acquisition?</i> Dessert Reception to follow in the Small Ballroom			

SATURDAY, November 8th

All sessions in the George Sherman Union

Session A

Grand Ballroom

Session B

Conference Auditorium

Session C

Terrace Lounge

9:30	NAZZI, T.; BERTONCINI, J.: Newborns' sensitivity to pitch contours	LEUNG, I.: Transfer between interlanguages	SANCHEZ, L.: How are the features of definite determiners activated in the L2?
10:00	KOENIG, P.: Object or action? Sentence prosody helps 15-month-olds decide	EUBANK, L.; BECK, M.; ABOUTAJ, H.: OI effects in adult L2 acquisition: Moroccan-Arabic/French interlanguage	MUSOLINO, J.: Not any child can deal with <i>some</i>
10:30	HOUSTON, D.; JUSCZYK, P.; TAGER, J.: Talker-specificity and the persistence of infants' word representations	DUFFIELD, N.; MONTRUL, S.; DE GARAVITO, J.; WHITE, L.: Psycholinguistic investigations of clitic placement: A cross-linguistic perspective	SANTELMANN, L.: The acquisition of definite determiners in child Swedish: Prosodic and discourse influences on functional morphology
11:00	B r e a k		
11:30	XU, F.: Distinct labels provide pointers to distinct sortals for 9-month-old infants	HERSCHENSOHN, J.: Minimally raising the verb issue	EISENBEISS, S.: Optional determiners in early child German
12:00	NAMY, L.; WAXMAN, S.: Words and gestures: The role of carrier phrases in infants' mapping of novel symbols to object categories	MIYAMOTO, Y.; TAKATA, Y.: Rigidity effects and the strong/weak Wh-features in SLA	MOORE, D.; ROEPER, T.: Acquisition of functional heads in the adjective phrase

Lunch Break: 12:30 — 2:00

2:00	BENEDICTO, E.; ABDULKARIM, L.; GARRETT, D.; JOHNSON, V.; SEYMOUR, H.: Overt copulas in African American English speaking children	VAN HOUT, A.: On the role of direct objects and particles in learning telicity in Dutch and English	DE BODE, S.: Interhemispheric language transfer and functional plasticity
2:30	ABDULKARIM, L.; ROEPER, T.: Semantics or syntax for negative islands in language acquisition	SLABAKOVA, R.: How can you eat a cake and have it too?: L2 acquisition of English telicity	CURTISS, S.; DE BODE, S.: Linguistic outcomes for hemispherectomized patients
B r e a k			
3:30	WEISSENBORN, J.; HOEHLE, B.; KIEFER, D.; CAVAR, D.: Children's sensitivity to word-order violations in German: Evidence for very early parameter-setting	MATSUO, A.: What <u>each</u> other means in early child grammar	BIRDSONG, D.: Intransitivity and SE in French: Aspects of late L2 learnability
4:00	HENRY, A.; FINLAY, C.; HARRINGTON, S.; WILSON, J.: Parameter setting, lexical acquisition and optionality	DE VILLIERS, J.; CURRAN, L.; PHILIP, W.; DEMUNN, H.: Acquisition of the quantificational properties of mental predicates	BIRDSONG, D.; MOLIS, M.; JOHNSON, J.: Dissociating age and maturation in L2A: A replication of Johnson & Newport (1989)

4:30

B r e a k

5:00 P.M. GRAND BALLROOM	LUIGI RIZZI, University of Siena <i>Remarks on early null subjects and root infinitives</i> Wine and Cheese Reception to follow in the Small Ballroom	PLENARY ADDRESS
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SUNDAY, November 9th

All sessions in the George Sherman Union

Session A

Grand Ballroom

Session B

Conference Auditorium

Session C

Terrace Lounge

9:30	CHEN, D.; YAMANE, M.; SNYDER, W.: Children's left branch violations: Evidence for a non-parametric account	DE VILLIERS, J.; PYERS, J.; BRODERICK, K.: A longitudinal study of the emergence of referential opacity	SUNG, H.; PADILLA, A.: Factors influencing students' proficiency development in foreign languages
10:00	GAVRUSEVA, L.: Left-branch violations in child L2 English	PAPAFRAGOU, A.: Modality and metarepresentation	NICOLADIS, E.; SECCO, G.: The role of translation equivalents in a bilingual family's code-switching
10:30	HIRAMATSU, K.; LILLO-MARTIN, D.: Children who judge ungrammatical what they produce	HOLLEBRANDSE, B.: On the relation between the acquisition of Theory of Mind and Sequence of Tense	NAVARRO, A.; PEARSON, B.; OLLER, D.: Identifying the language spoken by 26-month-old monolingual and bilingual-learning babies in a no-context situation
11:00	B r e a k		
11:30	SMYTH, R.; JOYCE, H.: Children's interpretations of gaps with three-argument predicates	LIU, J.; GOLINKOFF, R.; SAK, K.; BRAND, R.: One cow does not an 'animal' make!: Children can extend novel words at the superordinate level	KAUFMAN, D.: Telling tales: Children's L1 attrition
12:00	GOODLUCK, H.: Children's interpretation of adjunct PRO: New evidence	SMITH, L.; JONES, S.; LANDAU, B.: Learning how to learn words	PELC, L.: On the periphery: Supralexical and lexical attrition of Greek in Greek-English bilinguals
12:30	BAAUW, S.; COOPMANS, P.; PHILIP, W.: The acquisition of pronominal co-reference and the clitic-pronoun distinction	HOEHLE, B.; WEISENBORN, J.: Sensitivity to closed-class elements in preverbal children	CHANG, H.: Patterns in Chinese children's choice of first person reference forms

Lunch Break: 1:00 — 2:30

2:30	<p>WECKERLY, J.; CONTRERAS, R.; WULFECK, B.; BELLUGI, U.; REILLY, J.: Tags are tricky, aren't they? Acquisition of tag questions in children with language impairment</p>	<p>DIESENDRUCK, G.; MARKSON, L.: Children's interpretations of word meanings: Lexical constraints or pragmatics?</p>	<p>O'NEILL, M.: Support for the Independent Development Hypothesis: Evidence from a case study of a bilingual Russian- and English-speaking child</p>
3:00	<p>PENNER, Z.; HAMANN, C.: The emergence of Discourse/Syntax-Interface problems in impaired grammar: Clause structure and disorders in the acquisition of reference time in German</p>	<p>GOLDFIELD, B.: Why nouns before verbs?: The view from pragmatics</p>	<p>PARADIS, J.; FONTE, I.; PETITCLERC, S.; GENESEE, F.: Phonological differentiation in bilingual two year olds: Evidence from word truncation</p>
3:30	<p>RICE, M.; WEXLER, K.: Comprehension of an EOI grammar</p>	<p>WESTBURY, C.; NICOLADIS, E.: Meaning in children's first words: Implications for a theory of lexical ontology</p>	<p>BROWN, C.; MATTHEWS, J.: Qualitative and quantitative differences in the discrimination of second language speech sounds across three language groups</p>

*Saturday 2:00 PM**Grand Ballroom***Overt copulas in African American
English-speaking children**

Elena Benedicto, Lanya Abdulkarim, Debra Garrett, Valerie Johnson, and
Harry Seymour, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

In this paper we offer a linguistically principled explanation underlying the distribution of "present tense" overt vs. \emptyset -copulas in AAE-speaking children:

- (1) that's a cow
- (2) she big

We arrive at the following generalization:

- (3) overt copulas occur in presentational contexts; \emptyset -copulas occur in predicational contexts.

We will argue that the generalization in (3) can be successfully explained via a theory of interpretable features (Chomsky 1995): the inflection in presentational sentences carries a situation argument (Kratzer 1988) which must be supported by an overt copula; the inflection in predicational contexts carries no such feature (present tense being just absence of tense).

This claim will be supported with naturalistic data collected from 24 5-year-old AAE speakers from the Hartford area, and from experimental data piloted on that same population. The results presented here, namely that the features that characterize AAE are rule governed, will contribute to set the difference between language disorder and language difference more accurately.

*Saturday 2:30 PM**Grand Ballroom***Semantics or syntax for negative islands
in language acquisition**

Lanya Abdulkarim and Thomas Roeper
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Within Government and Binding, theories of locality suggested some approaches to the generalization that an antecedent cannot locally bind its trace inside selective islands. Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality proposed syntactic accounts for negative and wh-islands. Rullman (1995) separates syntactic and semantic islands and argued that negative islands block long distance wh-movement for semantic reasons. Rullman's account would predict that barrier effects of negative and wh-islands would appear differently. Our experiment showed that negative islands appear clearly around 3 years old. Negative islands also appeared crosslinguistically. The behavior of wh-islands in a range of experiments (Maxfield and Plunkett, 1991) showed similar island

effects to the negative island. Children block long distance wh-movement with a medial wh-word in the question. Children's performance on the negative island taken with the wh-island data supports the unified syntactic account.

B R E A K : 3 : 0 0 — 3 : 3 0

Saturday 3:30 PM

Grand Ballroom

**Children's sensitivity to word-order violations in German:
Evidence for very early parameter-setting**

Jürgen Weissenborn, Barbara Hoehle, Dorothea Kiefer, and Damir Cavar,
University of Potsdam

There is growing evidence that in specific syntactic domains children display adult linguistic knowledge from the onset of language production. From a parameter-setting perspective that means that the child must have set certain parameters before the first spontaneous overt manifestation of the corresponding linguistic knowledge. An example of this is children's productions of German finite embedded clauses which show correct word order from the outset. In two sentence repetition tasks with 2-4 year olds and a study with the head-turn preference method with 16-20 months olds it was shown that children were able to detect word-order violations in embedded clauses long before they spontaneously produce these structures. These findings provide empirical evidence for parameter-setting before any overt manifestation of the corresponding linguistic knowledge in production, and for early sensitivity to the necessary trigger information, i.e., the complementizer 'dass' (that).

Saturday 4:00 PM

Grand Ballroom

Parameter setting, lexical acquisition and optionality

Alison Henry, Cathy Finlay, Sile Harrington and John Wilson,
University of Ulster at Jordanstown

This paper presents findings from a study of language acquisition in Belfast which has the goal of determining how the acquisition process deals with optionality in the input. It documents the variability present in caregiver speech (e.g., optional V movement in imperatives, optional I-to-C movement in embedded questions, variation in agreement patterns, optional negative concord, alternate forms of irregular past tense).

Our findings indicate that there are two distinct acquisition patterns in the face of variable input; where the optionality relates to the strength of features as envisaged in the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995), the child acquires both forms from the outset, and uses each form with similar frequency to that found in the adult input. Where a more purely lexical alternation is involved, for example, alternate forms of irregular past tenses, the child acquires only one form in the early stages.

We argue that these findings favour a model of evidence-based parameter setting, similar to proposals by Valian, Leblanc and Kroch who suggest that acquisition involves competition between grammars or parameter settings and that in relation to lexical acquisition, the findings provide evidence for a strong one-form-one-meaning strategy in early acquisition.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION B **CONFERENCE AUDITORIUM**

Saturday 2:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

**On the role of direct objects and particles in
learning telicity in Dutch and English**

Angeliek van Hout, IRCS-University of Pennsylvania

The telic/atelic distinction is a linguistically encoded distinction that reflects whether or not an event in the world is conceived of as having an inherent endpoint. In Dutch and English, linguistic encoding includes overt markers that explicitly specify the endpoint of an event such as resultative particles as well as more subtle grammatical encodings of the distinction in the functional projection of the direct object. In a comprehension study, I have tested Dutch and English subjects' aspectual interpretations of four different forms of referring to eating and drinking events, varying the verb frame, the semantic nature of the direct object and the presence/absence of a particle. The results from Dutch and English subjects show that while initially children (at three years old) are only sensitive to overt markers of telicity, they only start to appreciate the subtle aspectual effects of the role of the direct object after the age of four. Still, they do not really let the direct object exert its aspectual force until the age of six, at which age, however, they still differ markedly from the adults in their aspectual interpretation of quantized objects.

Saturday 2:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

**How can you eat a cake and have it too?:
L2 acquisition of English telicity**

Roumyana Slabakova, McGill University

Comparative theoretical studies of aspect have proposed that there is a structural parametric distinction between English and Slavic. In English the verbal form itself does not indicate whether the event is telic or atelic. It is the cardinality of the nominal arguments that determines the interpretation. In Slavic, on the other hand, the verb morphology signals telicity through perfective preverbs. The cardinality of the DP arguments is consequently not crucial.

The distinction is never explicitly taught in language classrooms. This paper investigates the acquisition of English telicity marking by 125 Slavic learners. Our results indicate that learners start out with the L1 value, i.e., all VPs in English are "atelic" for beginners, since they have no preverb. Eventually learners notice the significance of the object and reset to the L2 value of the aspectual parameter. Thus our study brings a new topic into SLA parameter investigations and supports the Full Transfer/Full Access model of Schwartz & Sprouse (1994, 1996).

B R E A K : 3 : 0 0 — 3 : 3 0

Saturday 3:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

What *each other* means in early child grammar

Ayumi Matsuo, University of Connecticut

Previous research suggests that children have problems with using *each other*. My prediction is that children might not know that *each other* forms a constituent and children (4;4) treat *each* as a floating quantifier and *other* as *other* plus some NP.

16 children were tested in three experiments using the Truth Value Judgment Task. Exp1 was on *each other* in simple sentences. Children successfully judged appropriate versus inappropriate uses of *each other*. Exp2 tested whether children rule out sentences in which the trace of *each* is not bound in its GC. Children had difficulty in barring the locality condition violation (60% correct). Exp3 tested whether children rule out sentences in which the trace of *each* is not A-bound. On average, children successfully ruled out these sentences in 50% of the trials.

I will also report a case study of one child (4;8) on the results of a grammaticality judgment task and show that the results support this prediction.

Saturday 4:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

**Acquisition of the quantificational properties
of mental predicates**

Jill de Villiers, Laramie Curran, Smith College
William Philip, University of Maine at Farmington
Heather DeMunn, Smith College

Verbs in English which describe mental states, specifically *think*, *worry*, *remember* and *forget*, differ along at least three dimensions: whether they permit long distance movement, whether they allow certain inferences from a subset, and whether their complement is presupposed. We argue that the verbs *forget*

and *worry* contain an implicit negative and adverb respectively, and that the scope of these implicit features interacts with the scope of a *wh*-question to create the barrierhood. We describe the properties using an event semantics framework with a tripartite logical form (Heim, 1982). The central question of the current research was to investigate when children acquire the properties of the verbs. Sixteen 2nd-graders and twenty 4th-graders answered key questions about three stories involving *wh*-questions, inference and presupposition. The results suggest that the properties are being fixed in this age range. In the paper we discuss how these properties emerge and influence one another.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION C

TERRACE LOUNGE

Saturday 2:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

Interhemispheric language transfer and functional plasticity

Stella de Bode, UCLA

Plasticity is said to underlie any functional reorganization under conditions of early brain damage. This presentation deals with interhemispheric language transfer. It is not clear what conditions lead to transfer of language to the right hemisphere, i.e., the age by which such shift is still possible and the extent of damage that may lead to it. I will discuss those conditions through the results of an exhaustive analysis of the existing literature. Based on this analysis I will predict the degree of functional plasticity following left hemispherectomy. I will then present data on language development of 30 left hemispherectomized children and examine them for the age of initial brain damage, location and extent of this damage as well as for etiology. I will provide a detailed description of the linguistic assessment conducted. General implications for neurolinguistics will be discussed.

Saturday 2:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Linguistic outcomes for hemispherectomized patients:
Linguistic potential of the two hemispheres**

Susan Curtiss and Stella de Bode
UCLA

The proposed presentation deals with linguistic development following removal of an entire hemisphere (hemispherectomy) for catastrophic epilepsy patients. The relationship between specific factors related to hemispherectomy and general linguistic outcomes was examined to test different accounts of hemispheric potential for language. Linguistic status of 50 children operated on

at UCLA was obtained by use of the MacArthur Communicative Development Inventories or via language sampling. We then examined the relationship between linguistic outcome and side of surgery, age at surgery, age at seizure onset, seizure control, duration of seizures, sex, and the type of damage (acquired vs. developmental). We predict that the LH (left hemispherectomies) group would show overall lower global linguistic outcomes and that age at disease onset and surgery would prove significant factors in the linguistic outcome of the left but not right hemispherectomies. The obtained results will be discussed together with the relevant literature review of the issue.

B R E A K : 3 : 0 0 — 3 : 3 0

Saturday 3:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Intransitivity and SE in French:
Aspects of late L2 learnability**

David Birdsong, University of Texas at Austin

The distribution of SE in French intransitives (e.g., *Les nuages se dissipent / *dissipent après l'orage*) presents well-documented learnability problems: there are multiple classes of SE predicates, and the presence of SE is not predictable from syntactic factors nor from semantic factors, as every generalization has numerous exceptions. The present study investigates the acquisition of intransitive SE among late learners of French. The idiosyncratic distribution of SE leads to two hypotheses: (1) acquisition will be predictable from a verb's frequency; (2) learners at asymptote will not have attained native-like mastery of SE's occurrence. Results of a grammaticality judgment test suggest support for the first hypothesis and rejection of the second. These results are consonant with those of a separate study, where the linguistic variable is structurally-determined constraints on *liaison*. Implications for the larger picture of the end state in late bilingualism are discussed.

Saturday 4:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Dissociating age and maturation in L2A:
A replication of Johnson & Newport (1989)**

David Birdsong and Michelle Molis, University of Texas at Austin
Jacqueline Johnson, University of Florida

Johnson & Newport 1989 (J&N89) found age effects on L2 attainment to be absent after the presumed end of maturation. However, several studies since then have shown age effects among subjects who began learning their L2 as adults. To determine whether the results of J&N89 are generalizable, an exact

replication was undertaken, with native speakers of Spanish learning English. Among late-arriving subjects, there is a strong correlation of age of arrival with performance on the J&N89 judgment task. This finding supports a dissociation of age-related effects and maturational effects among late arrivals, and suggests that other factors covarying with age must be investigated as predictors of L2A success. Since for early arrivals one cannot dissociate maturation and age of arrival, the possibility remains that a single straight-line age function is attributable to different causal mechanisms.

B R E A K : 4 : 3 0 — 5 : 0 0

PLENARY ADDRESS SATURDAY 5:00 PM GRAND BALLROOM

LUIGI RIZZI

University of Siena

**REMARKS ON EARLY NULL SUBJECTS
AND ROOT INFINITIVES**

Wine and Cheese Reception to follow in the Small Ballroom

Sunday 9:30 AM

Grand Ballroom

**Children's left branch violations:
Evidence for a non-parametric account**

Deborah Chen, Maki Yamane, and William Snyder, University of Connecticut

Van Kampen (1997) and Snyder (1995) have proposed that Left Branch Constraint violations (LBVs), such as "Which do you want to sing __ song," result from a mis-set parameter. Our study evaluates this account with an Elicited Production experiment based on Gavrusseva & Thornton (1996). Short-distance (SD) versus long-distance (LD) prompts, and whose versus how many prompts, are contrasted. The parametric account predicts that LBVs will occur in both SD and LD questions. Subjects were 11 English-speaking children, aged 3 to 5 years. Six of the children produced at least one LBV in an LD question, but no child produced an LBV in an SD question; our findings are thus problematic for a parametric account. Moreover, non-adult, non-LBV responses were common, especially with LD whose prompts. Yet, the LBVs exhibited considerable sensitivity to syntactic structure (e.g., in the tendency for stranded material to occur where adult questions would have wh-traces).

Sunday 10:00 AM

Grand Ballroom

Left-branch violations in child L2 English

Lena Gavrusseva, Georgetown University

A well-known property of English wh-expressions is that extraction of a prenominal wh-modifier gives rise to the 'left-branch violations' (Ross 1967). In this study, we investigate whether children who acquire English as L2 know that wh-phrases need to be obligatorily pied-piped. We report the findings of an elicited production experiment in which two Russian-speaking children (average age 5;8) posed questions with varying wh-phrases (e.g., *which dog*, *how many coins* etc.) to a puppet. Some of the children's productions revealed a number of split phrases, shown in (1).

- (1) a. *How many* do you think the father found *some stones*?
 b. *How* do you think *how* I am *big*?

In analyzing these patterns, we argue that the children's split questions are compatible with UG options. The findings bear on the L2 theories (e.g., Schwartz & Sprouse 1995, Epstein et al. 1996) that argue for the availability of UG in L2 acquisition.

Children who judge ungrammatical what they produce

Kazuko Hiramatsu and Diane Lillo-Martin, University of Connecticut

We have found that a group of children who produce negative questions with two auxiliary verbs (2Aux), as in (1), judge them to be ungrammatical.

- (1) What do you don't like to eat? (David 4;7)

We argue that these children have the adult computational system, and that their production of these questions results from using the clitic 'n't' rather than 'not' for constituent negation.

- (2) [CP what₁ [C' I₂ [IP you₃ [I' t₂ [VP n't [VP t₃ like t₁ to eat]]]]]]]

In (2), the clitic 'n't' lacks a lexical host so the child uses do-support as a "last resort" and spells out both copies of Infl, generating a 2Aux question. The production/judgment asymmetry suggests that these children recognize that the trace of Infl should not be spelled out at PF. However, given the child's choice of the clitic 'n't', there is no other way to make the derivation converge.

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0

Children's interpretation of gaps with three-argument verbs

Ron Smyth, University of Toronto
Heather Joyce, OISE/UT

We examine children's comprehension of filler-gap sentences such as:

1. Which can is easy PRO to put_in this jar?
2. Which can is easy PRO to put this jar in_?
3. Which can is this jar easy PRO to put_in_?

In both an act-out and an anomaly-detection experiment, children aged 3;6 to 6;6 had little trouble with sentences like (1), but scored below chance on type (2), and at chance on type (3). In both studies performance was correlated positively with age for types (1) and (3), but negatively for type (2). We interpret this within a modified version of the Most Recent Filler Strategy, including the special case of (3) where the evidence for two gaps arrives simultaneously at the preposition. We then discuss the relationship between these findings and other cases in which children's parsing difficulties lead to semantic errors, including agreement, control, and medial-wh phenomena.

Children's interpretation of adjunct PRO: New evidence

Helen Goodluck, University of Ottawa

This paper reports two experiments examining children's interpretation of the PRO subject of the temporal clause in sentences such as "The boy kisses the girl before PRO jumping the fence". The first experiment confirms the finding of Goodluck and Behne (1992) that some preschool children construe the subject of the temporal clause as referring to the agent NP in the main clause. This pattern of responses casts doubt on attempts to explain children's control errors in terms of structural misattachment (Goodluck 1981; McDaniels, Cairns and Hsu 1990/91). The second experiment shows that preschool children will interpret the object of a *by*-phrase inside a temporal clause as subject of the temporal clause, an interpretation eschewed by adults. This finding favors an explanation of children's control errors in terms of nominalisation of the subordinate clause (Carlson 1990; Wexler 1992).

**The acquisition of pronominal coreference
and the clitic-pronoun distinction**Sergio Baauw, Peter Coopmans, Utrecht University
William Philip, University of Maine at Farmington

McKee (1992) has proposed a grammar based account of the absence of the so-called "Delay of Principle B Effect" (DPBE) in Italian and its presence in English: while English children often allow the pronoun to be coreferential with the subject in sentences like (1a), Italian children perform virtually adult-like on sentences such as (1b). Also, Spanish-speaking children are reported to lack a DPBE in these constructions (Padilla 1990).

- (1) a. The girl is pointing at her.
 b. Il cavallo lo spoglia.
 the horse him undresses

We will present both empirical and conceptual arguments against McKee's proposal that child English and Italian have different binding domains, as a result of the presence of clitic movement in Italian and its absence in English. We will show how the cross-linguistic differences in (1) derive from the different mechanisms involved in the checking of clitics and non-clitic pronouns. We will also discuss recent experimental evidence which shows that languages with clitic pronouns, like Spanish, do have a DPBE in constructions such as (2).

- (2) La niña la ve bailar.
 'The girl sees her dance.'

Sunday 9:30 AM

Conference Auditorium

A longitudinal study of the emergence of referential opacity

Jill de Villiers, Jennie Pyers and Kimberley Broderick, Smith College

Referential opacity concerns a restriction on changing the words used for a referent in specific conditions. Recent work has shown that at around age 4-5 years, children show appropriate understanding of the three way interaction between reference term, verb, and knowledge of the subject needed for successful reference. In this study we explore how this knowledge emerges in a longitudinal study over the course of one year with 21 children aged 3-4 years. We demonstrate how the sub-hypotheses about reference emerge in this age range, tracing the origins of this complex semantic/pragmatic understanding. Results reveal that the first dimension to emerge as a significant effect on the children's likelihood of agreeing to a statement was a change in reference, then the children begin to differentiate among statements with ordinary, communication and mental verbs, then finally the children had coordinated this knowledge with an understanding about the characters' knowledge in the story. By this point almost all the children also passed theory of mind tests administered in the same testing sessions.

Sunday 10:00 AM

Conference Auditorium

Modality and metarepresentation

Anna Papafragou, University College London

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the evidence for the order of acquisition of the various meanings conveyed by modal expressions, and to assess the implications for theories of semantic representation. I focus on the set of English modal verbs, which is widely recognized to communicate two broad clusters of meanings: epistemic and root modal meanings. A number of researchers have claimed that root meanings are acquired earlier than epistemic ones; this claim has subsequently been employed in the linguistics literature as an argument for the position that English modal verbs are polysemous, i.e., that the adult lexicon contains two related but distinct entries for epistemic and root meanings (Sweetser 1990). In this paper I offer an alternative explanation for the developmental ordering of modal interpretations. I suggest that the later emergence of epistemic interpretations is due to the fact that these presuppose the development of the child's theory of mind (Wellman 1990). The elaboration of a link between epistemic modality and theory of mind, apart from creating a theoretically exciting connection between early linguistic and conceptual development, could also provide arguments for a unitary meaning approach to modal expressions and against polysemy-based accounts.

**On the relation between the acquisition of
Theory of Mind and Sequence of Tense**

Bart Hollebrandse, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Gale, de Villiers, de Villiers and Pyers (1996) state that acquiring the adult Theory of Mind (ToM) requires acquiring syntactic complementation. In order to express a false belief, once she can hold false beliefs, the child needs to be able to properly embed a proposition under an attitude verb. Sequence of Tense (SoT) interpretations require an adult complementation structure. This paper claims that there is a correlation between passing Theory of Mind and thereby demonstrating adult-like complementation and giving adult interpretations to Sequence of Tense.

An experiment was run, showing there is a correlation between passing ToM, i.e., having appropriate complementation, and interpreting SoT in an adult way. Complementation involves selection of the CompP by an attitude verb. The selected CompP contains features temporal and "point of view" properties.

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0

**One cow does not an 'animal' make!:
Children can extend novel words at the superordinate level**

Jing Liu, Roberta M. Golinkoff, Kimberly Sak, and Rebecca J. Brand,
University of Delaware

A match-to-sample picture selection task was used to examine 4- and 5-year-old children's lexical extension at the superordinate level. Two target pictures from different basic-level categories but of the same superordinate category (e.g., a banana and an orange), one superordinate choice that was perceptually dissimilar to the targets (e.g., a bunch of grapes), one thematic choice (e.g., a fruitbowl), and two highly similar perceptual choices (e.g., a crescent moon and a basketball) were presented. In the Word condition, the same novel word was given to both targets, e.g., "dax." When asked to find another kind of dax among the 4 choices, children selected the bunch of grapes 68% of the time. In the No-word condition, children selected either the moon or the basketball as being "the same kind of thing" as the targets 65% of the time. These results indicate that children can extend novel words to taxonomic categories at the superordinate level if they are shown two objects.

Learning how to learn words

Linda B. Smith, Susan S. Jones, Indiana University
Barbara Landau, University of Delaware

This research explores general processes as an entry into language learning and suggests the "shape bias" in young children's generalizations of count nouns to new instances is a product of general processes of attentional learning. The present hypothesis is that syntactic frames signal count nouns, regularly co-occur with the relevance of the shape of thing being named, and thus as children learn count nouns, syntactic frames signalling count nouns come to automatically direct attention to shape.

Three predictions from this account were tested, 1) the count nouns children learn early refer to objects similar in shape, 2) children with more shape-based lexical categories in their lexicon should demonstrate a stronger shape bias, and 3) explicit teaching of shape based categories should accelerate the emergence of the shape bias. The results fit the idea that general mechanisms of learning may create specialized mechanisms such as the shape bias that specifically promote learning words.

Sensitivity to closed-class elements in preverbal children

Barbara Hoehle and Jürgen Weissenborn, University of Potsdam

In this paper, we present the results of a study of German children's sensitivity to closed-class elements in the input. A parameter-setting approach to acquisition assumes that the crucial information for the language-specific value of a given parameter is encoded in a subset of the closed-class vocabulary, i.e., functional lexical items. This hypothesis predicts a very early sensitivity to closed-class elements even though these elements are generally missing from children's first multiword word productions. Previous research has shown that children at the one-word-stage are sensitive to the presence of closed-class elements in the input. We investigated the question whether even preverbal children demonstrate perception of closed-class items in continuous speech using the headturn preference paradigm. Our results indicate that children from 7 months on recognize previously presented closed-class elements in continuous speech. This finding is consistent with the assumption that closed-class elements serve as triggers for parameter-setting as early as the preverbal phase.

*Sunday 9:30 AM**Terrace Lounge***Factors influencing students' proficiency development
in foreign languages**

Hyekyung Sung and Amado M. Padilla, Stanford University

This paper explores how a learner's motivation, attitudes, learning strategies, and parental involvement influence foreign language oral proficiency development. Over a thousand students from kindergarten through 12th grade who were enrolled in foreign language programs and their parents participated in the study by completing a questionnaire. Students' oral proficiency was also collected by means of the Stanford FLOSEM (Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix), which is a teacher rating scale. The method of stepwise regression analysis was used to examine which factors predicted students' oral proficiency level. For elementary students, parental involvement in language study was found to be the most important predictor of students' proficiency. For high school students, a learning strategy of outside classroom language use was noted as a significant predictor of proficiency attainment. Interestingly, parental involvement and parents' attitudes toward foreign language study were also significant predictors of language proficiency for high school students.

*Sunday 10:00 AM**Terrace Lounge***The role of translation equivalents in a
bilingual family's code-switching**

Elena Nicoladis and Giovanni Secco, Harvard Graduate School of Education

One common suggestion as to why young bilingual children code-switch is that they do not possess a translation equivalent in the language they want to speak. This study involved one bilingual boy in a one parent-one language home; his father spoke Portuguese and his mother English. The family was observed weekly in parent-child dyads from the time the child was 1;0.14 until he was 1;6.6. Over 90% of the child's code-switched utterances to both parents could be attributed to a lack of a translation equivalent in the parent's language. Similarly, for about 80% of the code-switched words used by the parents, the child did not produce a translation equivalent in the parent's language. These results suggest that the code-switching in a bilingual family can be attributed to similar processes as seen in monolingual families, such as parents' sensitivity to the child's developmental level.

**Identifying the language spoken by 26-month-old
monolingual and bilingual-learning babies
in a no-context situation**

Ana M. Navarro, Barbara Zurer Pearson and D. Kimbrough Oller,
University of Miami Bilingualism Study Group

This experiment tests whether the language of children's utterances at 26-months can be reliably identified in the absence of lexical and contextual cues. 400 digitized sound files from spontaneous speech samples, (10 each from 10 English and 10 Spanish monolinguals and 10 in each language from 10 bilingual-learning infants) were played individually in random order for 10 bilingual listeners, who were asked to identify the lexical target or the language being spoken for each exemplar. Listeners identified targets correctly for an average of 23% of the children's utterances (compared to 93% for control utterances from adults). For the remaining words with "no-right-targets," ratios of "right-language-given-no-right-target" (RL/NRT), were compared for the 2 languages and the 2 language groups and were also tested against chance performance using binomial distribution. Average values for the monolinguals in English and Spanish were .64; for bilinguals in English and Spanish, .59 and .58, respectively ($p < .05$). The phonetic characteristics of the better identified exemplars were analyzed with regression to evaluate the basis for the listeners' language judgments.

B R E A K : 1 1 : 0 0 — 1 1 : 3 0

Telling tales: Children's L1 attrition

Dorit Kaufman, State University of New York at Stony Brook

In immigrant communities, a highly supportive sociolinguistic environment and opportunities for exposure to L1 are often inadequate in inhibiting widespread L1 attrition among children who differ from adults in their integrative orientation, socialization, and communication patterns. This paper discusses determinants of language shift in the Israeli immigrant community and explores linguistic processes in L1 attrition. The children's L1 attests to autonomous and integrative processes which simultaneously impact on their L1 production. The former involves interplay among internal L1 linguistic elements and the latter, crosslinguistic interplay between L1 and L2. These processes are illustrated with examples from oral narrative production and innovative verb and compound formation. For example, to compensate for lexical attrition, children opt for autonomous processes and draw upon their L1 resources rather creatively and idiosyncratically. At the same time, typological differences between L1 and L2 often trigger integrative processes in the children's L1 production.

**On the periphery: Supralexicalexical and lexical attrition
of Greek in Greek-English Bilinguals**

Linda A. Pelc, CUNY

This presentation will report the results of research on the attrition of supralexicalexicals (idioms) and the semantic features of certain verbs in Greek by Greek-English bilinguals. The informants are native speakers of Greek who immigrated to the US (ten or more years ago) as adolescents and range from Greek-dominant to English-dominant.

Grammaticality judgment tests were the instrument of elicitation. Results indicated attrition of some of the semantic features of the verbs 'take' and 'break' in Greek. In addition, attrition of supralexicalexicals in Greek was found.

Thus, as a result of the findings of this study the semantic features of verbs with a wide range of semantic features and the semantic features of supralexicalexicals appear to be vulnerable to attrition in the Greek of Greek-English bilinguals.

**Patterns in Chinese children's choice of
first person reference forms**

Hsiao Chang, Boston University

There are three forms of first person reference employed by Chinese-speaking children (around age 2;0 to 3;0) in the subject position: NULL, NAME, (the deviant nominal form), and WO (the first person pronoun). This study found that Chinese children between 2;0 and 3;0 years of age use at least two of these three forms of self-reference in distinctive patterns, that accord in part with Budwig's (1987; 1995) semantic and pragmatic rules -- use of NAME correlates with high agentivity, and use of WO correlates with control acts. Use of NULL did not correlate with semantic and pragmatic dimensions. In addition, use of NAME is statistically associated with utterances containing what are called alternately past tense or perfective aspect particles.

LUNCH BREAK : 1 : 0 0 — 2 : 3 0

*Sunday 2:30 PM**Grand Ballroom***Tags are tricky, aren't they? Acquisition of tag questions in children with language impairment**

Jill Weckerly, Rudy Contreras, Beverly Wulfeck, San Diego State University
Ursula Bellugi, Salk Institute for Biological Studies
Judy Reilly, San Diego State University

The Tag Questions Task (Dennis et al., 1982) was used to explore hypotheses about the nature of language impairment (LI). The production of a tag question, (A needle never hurts Mary, does it?) requires the synthesis of main clause tense and polarity along with the identification of appropriate auxiliary verb matching in agreement with a pronoun reflecting the subject. Responses to 48 sentences by 31 Language Impaired children and 58 age-matched controls were analyzed according to the five morphosyntactic features along with total correct answers. Results indicate that although both groups improve with age, children with LI across all ages made significantly more errors on every dimension and number correct compared to controls. However, both groups demonstrated the same ranked difficulty on the various dimensions (agreement > tense > subject > auxiliary > polarity). LI children's poor performance is best characterized by quantitative (processing-based) differences as opposed to qualitative deficits in grammatical knowledge.

*Sunday 3:00 PM**Grand Ballroom***The emergence of discourse/syntax-interface problems in impaired grammar: Clause structure and disorders in the acquisition of reference time in German**

Zvi Penner, University of Konstanz
Cornelia Hamann, University of Geneva

The acquisition of REFERENCE TIME poses a serious problem for language impaired children. Using an articulated (Reichenbachian) LF model of the German tense system, our paper accounts for this deficiency in terms of an underspecified CP. On a par with the interpretation of pronouns and definiteness, discourse anchoring of REFERENCE TIME is implemented (in the absence of overt adverbials) by means of an abstract anaphoric operator in CP which binds an empty tense argument in SPEC,TP. The Underspecified-CP-Approach predicts that, similarly to the typical difficulties in interpreting wh-questions, event ordering in narrative texts will be difficult for SLI children, unless there are cues given by cause-effect sequencing or overt adverbials.

A careful examination of spontaneous SLI data reveals an asymmetry

between random ordering of events when the Narrative Progression Rule cannot refer to overt cues and an intact Tense Phrase whenever overt time adverbials occur. We will also report the results of comprehension experiments designed to test the representation of REFERENCE TIME in SLI children. Using the picture selection elicitation technique, this study probes the children's interpretation of narrative sequences with a purely formal representation of abstract operators (the pluperfect in German) as opposed to event sequencing by means of overt adverbials and causal relationship.

Sunday 3:30 PM

Grand Ballroom

Comprehension of an EOI grammar

Mabel L. Rice, University of Kansas
Kenneth Wexler, M.I.T.

This the first report of a comprehension measure of the EOI grammar of children with SLI. This task is designed to determine if children will judge as grammatical the kinds of utterances they produce, in which surface forms of 3rd person singular, past tense *ed*, BE *a-*forms are dropped. An experimental measure was given on two occasions, 6 months apart, to 21 children with SLI (ages 6-7 years); 21 age-matched controls; and 20 younger language-equivalent controls (ages 4-5 years). The findings show that, as predicted, the children with SLI accept clauses with dropped INFL but reject clauses with surface forms representing bad subject-verb agreement, and reject clauses with dropped *-ing* from progressive contexts. The findings are relevant for the alternative models of (a) Production Constraints, or (b) Bad Subject-Verb Agreement as the locus of the grammatical deficits.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION B CONFERENCE AUDITORIUM

Sunday 2:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

Children's interpretation of word meanings: Lexical constraints or pragmatics?

Gil Diesendruck, University of Michigan
Lori Markson, University of Arizona

Many accounts of lexical acquisition posit that children are guided by lexical constraints which aid them in forming word-object mappings. Alternatively, children's behavior could be governed by more pragmatic considerations. To explore this possibility, 48 three-year-olds were presented with two unfamiliar objects and were taught either a novel label or novel fact for one of them. Children were then asked to choose the object corresponding to a different novel

label or fact. Children inferred that the new label or fact referred to the object for which they had not previously been taught a novel label or fact significantly above chance, and their responses for labels versus facts were indistinguishable. The findings suggest that children's inferences about word meaning might result from more general assumptions about a speaker's referential intent which guide children's inferences about both words and other communicative acts. This conclusion was supported by an additional study.

Sunday 3:00 PM

Conference Auditorium

Why nouns before verbs: The view from pragmatics

Beverly A. Goldfield, Rhode Island College

The present study examines pragmatic factors that bias children to produce more of the nouns and fewer of the verbs that they know. The scarcity of verb production relative to comprehension remains unexplained by perceptual and linguistic factors that favor noun learning over verb learning. However, if nouns are favored for production, adults should explicitly elicit more nouns than verbs in child speech; if verb comprehension is favored over verb production, verbs in adult speech should occur most often in utterances that elicit a behavioral rather than a verbal response. Transcripts of 46 parent-child conversations at 20 months, coded for speech acts, were obtained from the CHILDES archives; nouns and verbs within each speech act category were tallied. Results indicate: (1) mothers produced more verb than noun tokens, but there were no differences in noun / verb types; children produced more noun than verb types and tokens; (2) adults more often elicited nouns; prompts to produce verbs were rare; (3) verbs occurred in behavioral prompts four times as often as they did in speech used to discuss objects or to describe child or adult behavior.

Sunday 3:30 PM

Conference Auditorium

**Meaning in children's first words:
Implications for a theory of lexical ontology**

Chris Westbury, Tufts University
Elena Nicoladis, Harvard Graduate School of Education

Many previous attempts to describe the meaning of children's early words have focused on reference to objects, or what children's words mean. Two problems with this focus is the assumption that children's semantic development proceeds through their nouns and that lexical reference is a primitive. In this paper we consider how children's words mean (i.e., their function in organizing their own cognition). We hypothesized that very early word use reflects the role of words as cognitive organizers rather than as symbols referring to the external world. A direct prediction of this hypothesis is that the first words a child produces will be highly abstract terms allowing the infant to organize experience in ways which

would be impossible without the use of such terms. We tested this prediction by examining published reports on the first ten words of thirty children and by observing two children ourselves. The very early productions showed a very high proportion of ontologically constructive words of the types we predicted; in contrast, there were relatively few concrete nouns. Moreover, the children we observed manifested word-production behaviors compatible with our hypothesis.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON: SESSION C

TERRACE LOUNGE

Sunday 2:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Support for the Independent Development Hypothesis:
Evidence from a case study of a bilingual
Russian- and English-speaking child**

Michael O'Neill, Northeastern Illinois University

Evidence from a bilingual child's mixed utterances - specifically with respect to article use consistent with the syntax of each language separately - indicates independent syntactic development of the child's two languages, as predicted by the Independent Development Hypothesis, advanced by Genesee (1989), Lanza (1992), De Houwer (1990), Meisel (1994), and others. The findings in this study contradict the claims that a bilingual child's two languages become gradually separate after an initial period in which they form a single system - the Unitary Language System Hypothesis, developed by Leopold (1949), Swain (1972), Volterra and Taeschner (1989), and others. Data were collected in a case study of a bilingual Russian- and English-speaking child whose language development was a clear case of bilingual first-language acquisition: the child had been exposed to both Russian and English daily from the first week of life.

Sunday 3:00 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Phonological differentiation in bilingual two year olds:
Evidence from word truncation**

Johanne Paradis, Isabel Fonte, Sophie Petitclerc and Fred Genesee,
McGill University

In contrast to lexical and syntactic acquisition, most researchers have argued in favour of a unitary phonological system for two year old bilingual children. In the present studies, we examine differentiation at the level of prosodic phonology in French-English bilingual children. In Study 1, 18 monolingual

French-speaking and 18 monolingual English-speaking two year olds were asked to repeat nonsense words four syllables in length. The stimuli were designed to test whether syllable stress, position and weight influenced syllable omissions/truncation patterns. Our analyses of the children's truncations showed between-language differences in how these factors affected output, suggesting that truncation patterns are based on target language prosody. In Study 2, 18 French-English bilingual two year olds were tested on the same English and French nonsense words. The bilinguals' truncation patterns were compared between their two languages, and with the monolingual patterns. These analyses were used to ascertain the degree of autonomy between the bilinguals' phonological systems.

Sunday 3:30 PM

Terrace Lounge

**Qualitative and quantitative differences in the
discrimination of second language speech sounds
across three language groups**

Cynthia Brown and John Matthews, McGill University & Hokkaido University

AX discrimination studies have produced qualitative data that reveal a persistent inability to perceive some non-native contrasts among learners, despite their ability to perceive others. This study incorporates quantitative measures for assessing the perceptual capacities of L2 learners in order to more precisely determine the boundaries and structure of those phonological categories.

Thirty Chinese and Japanese speakers performed single-talker and two-talker AX discrimination tasks measuring their abilities to perceive several English contrasts. Reaction times reveal processing differences between the perception of a single contrast by learners with different L1s, as well as between the perception of different contrasts by learners with the same L1. Results indicate that the L1 inventory of phonological features, rather than segments, constrains the range of non-native segmental contrasts that will be perceptible to second language learners, and also governs the level of processing at which they are discriminated.

ALTERNATES

In alphabetical order of first author

Preconjunctivals in child SLA

Sharon Armon-Lotem, University of Maryland, College Park

Preconjunctival subordinate clause (PSC) is a term used for subordinated clauses which lack the target language complementizer, showing no evidence that CP was used. This paper argues that PSCs which are typical of first LA are found in early CSLA of English, in a pattern which supports the "full transfer/full access" (FT/FA) hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996). Specifically, in CSLA, children start using multi-clausal utterances with missing auxiliaries and missing inflections, suggesting that I is underspecified for finiteness. The use of PSCs in which the complementizer *that* is missing suggests that this underspecification extends to C. Later, when auxiliaries and inflections are used more often, the PSCs disappear. This suggests that children have a full fledged CP due to L1-transfer, but in light of the differences between the use of I and C in their L1 and L2, they have to access UG and reset the features for I and C, as in the FT/FA hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996).

Word order interacts with finiteness in early child Russian

Eva Bar-Shalom and William Snyder, University of Connecticut

This paper presents a detailed case study of word order and verbal morphology in the spontaneous speech of a Russian child, Varya (Protassova 1988, MacWhinney & Snow 1990). Our principal finding is a striking interaction of word order with finiteness: Utterances containing a finite verb exhibit predominately post-verbal objects, while utterances containing an Optional Infinitive (OI) exhibit predominately pre-verbal objects ($\chi^2(1)=8.09$, $p=.004$):

	<u>V-O Order</u>	<u>O-V Order</u>
<u>Finite Verb</u>	113	77
<u>Optional Infinitive</u>	12	25

The pattern is replicated when only direct objects are considered, and also when only oblique arguments are considered. Adult Russian has highly flexible word order, but with SVO as the unmarked order in both finite and non-finite clauses. The contingency above resembles Poeppel & Wexler's (1993) findings for children's German, but in Russian is unlikely to reflect adult SOV+V2 order, as argued for German. Additionally, the Russian data appear to conflict with predictions of Gibson & Wexler's (1994) model of word-order acquisition. Possible solutions will be discussed.

The emergence of Logical Form

Gennaro Chierchia, University of Milan
Stephen Crain, University of Maryland at College Park
Teresa Guasti, DIPSCO
Rosalind Thornton, University of Maryland at College Park

Because Logical Form is part of Universal Grammar, which is taken to drive acquisition, even young children might be expected to 'know' the truth conditions of logical words like quantifiers and connectives (e.g., "some", "every", "and", and "or") as soon as these words enter their speech. In making judgments about the truth or falsity of sentences containing such words, however, language users are influenced by the semantic properties of these expressions and also by the pragmatic norms they follow; for instance, the use of "some" implies (but does not entail) not all, and the use of "or" implies exclusivity (but does not entail it). By factoring out pragmatic influences, we can establish the degree to which the semantics of logical words conforms to that of classical logic, as claimed by current semantic research. We are investigating these issues in experiments with 3-5-year-old Italian-speaking children and English-speaking children. The results of this research program invite the following conclusions: (a) that the emergence and processing of meaning makes use of two relatively autonomous modules, an interpreted logical form and a pragmatic component; (b) the interpreted logical forms conform to the tenets of current semantics theory; and (c) that semantic principles and certain (but not all) pragmatic principles are operative simultaneously in different modules in young children.

Root and manner feature faithfulness in acquisition

Daniel A. Dinnsen, Indiana University
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An optimality theoretic account is offered for a typology of children's error patterns involving manner assimilations. Separate faithfulness constraints defined over root features [consonantal, sonorant] and manner features [nasal, continuant, approximant] are shown to vary in their rankings relative to the well-formedness constraints. A correlation between certain long-distance manner assimilations and the common nonassimilatory error pattern which replaces a liquid consonant with a glide supports the lower ranking of root feature faithfulness. A partial explanation is thus offered for the non-occurrence of such assimilations in fully developed systems where root feature faithfulness is promoted. Also, while manner feature faithfulness is undominated in many children's systems, these assimilation effects reveal emergence of the unmarked through the interaction of well-formedness and alignment constraints. The broader implications of such accounts are considered for theory and acquisition. [Supported by NIH DC00260 and DC01694]

The epistemic content of evidentiality: How children use grammar to evaluate the reliability of information

Stanka Fitneva and Frank Keil, Cornell University

Preschoolers do not share adult intuitions about uncertainty and presupposition (e.g., Johnson and Maratsos, 1977). Are children generally bad at handling epistemic content or do they hold different theories about what is of epistemic value? Jakobson (1957) used the term "evidentiality" as a label for a verbal category that marks the "alleged source of information about the narrated event." It is proposed that a two-parameter model of how and where information is acquired accounts better for the epistemic value of evidentiality than a model based on expression of the speaker's attitude. The paper reports the result of an experiment with Bulgarian children which shows that the mode of acquisition of information becomes more important during development than whether it is first hand or second hand. These results support the two-parameter model and thus suggest a different perspective on children's understanding of mental states and raise interesting questions about possible crosslinguistic differences.

Distributed morphology and negation in child Catalan

John Grinstead, UCLA

Negative declarative utterances are shown to occur from the beginning of two-word speech, whereas negative imperatives only arise later, when other morphemes necessary for negative imperative formation (the subjunctive theme vowel and second person -s) also arise. Negative imperatives are possible in spite of the fact that Tense appears to be syntactically inactive. This runs counter to what we would expect under the assumptions of current adult syntactic work (Laka, 1990, 1993; Zanuttini, 1996), which argues that Tense is necessary for negative declaratives, but not for negative imperatives. Again, negative imperatives become possible only later when Tense becomes active. This, together with the simultaneous emergence of -s, the subjunctive theme vowel and negative imperatives, leads to the conclusion that these facts are actually best explained in the framework of independent morphological development (along the lines of Halle and Marantz, 1993), and not as the result of syntactic development.

Deaf students' storytelling in American Sign Language and written English: Assessment considerations

Alice Rose, San Francisco State University and UC Berkeley
Philip M. Prinz and Michael Strong, San Francisco State University
Marlon Kuntze, Stanford University

This study reviews the narrative discourse structures used for storytelling in American Sign Language (ASL) and written English by a subset from a sample of one-hundred-sixty deaf students, ages eight- to fifteen-years (at onset of the study), at a residential school for the deaf. Videotaped and written samples were gathered annually over the course of three years. Samples were scored and analyzed across many categories related to basic storytelling narrative structure and more advanced storytelling narrative features. Additional comparative analyses were performed using results from overall measures of both ASL proficiency and written English literacy achievement. The findings indicate the use of both parallel and divergent discourse structures in American Sign Language and written English. This paper presents these findings and discusses implications for assessment of narratives in both American Sign Language and written English.

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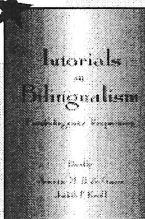
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