



**ROMANCE TURN 6**  
**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE**  
**ACQUISITION OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES**

Conference Handbook



**Universitat**  
de les Illes Balears



**cti**

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Fundació General de la  
Universitat de les Illes Balears

**RT6** INTERNATIONAL  
CONFERENCE ON THE  
ACQUISITION OF  
ROMANCE LANGUAGES

September 18-20, 2014, Palma, Balearic Islands (Spain)

University of the Balearic Islands  
<http://www.uibcongres.org/romanceturn>

## RT6 - International Conference on the Acquisition of Romance Languages

Hosted by the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities, University of the Balearic Islands.  
The conference is financially supported by the University of the Balearic Islands.

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# Welcome

Welcome to Mallorca, an island which speaks for itself....

Language in general and language acquisition in particular is a fascinating research field. This conference is intended to discuss on classic topics and new findings related to this field and subfields. As organizers we have endeavoured to bring together all Romance languages and international specialists and researchers reflecting the work going on in language acquisition research in first, second and bilingualism acquisition. Hence, the conference will include three plenary sessions on different topics. We are honoured to have Harald Clahsen of *Potsdam University* (Germany), Itziar Laka of University of Basque Country (Spain) and Heather Goad of McGill University (Canada). The conference also includes a considerable number of diverse oral presentations and one poster session.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank everybody involved in the organisation of this workshop, in particular Margalida Homar and Catalina Serra from the UIBCongrés Services Office. Our special thanks go to the UIB Centre for Research for their financial support. Last, but not least, our greatest thanks and appreciation to the submitting authors, attendees and the members of the scientific committee for their generous contribution.

We hope all attendees have a great conference. Thank you for your contributions.



## Location of lunches and social events

### ■ *Lunch:*

There are plenty of good restaurants in Palma de Mallorca (see information enclosed for some nearby options, although there are many other cafes and restaurants serving good food and drinks).

### ■ *Social dinner:*

Conference dinner on Friday, 19 September, at 20:30 is organized at *Sadrassana Restaurant Cocteleria:*

*Placa Drassanes, 15, 07012 Palma de Mallorca*

Inscription for dinner will remain open on the 18<sup>th</sup> September.

## Plenaries, Oral presentations and Posters

Plenary sessions and oral presentations will take place in rooms “Salón de Actos” (main room) and 0 respectively. Posters will be displayed in the “Salón de Actos”. Posters will be presented by one of the authors in the poster session on Friday.

## Conference volume - Publication

Submission deadline: 15 December 2014

As in previous editions, selected papers will be published in an edited volume. This year, the outcome of The Romance Turn will be a book published by de Gruyter (<http://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/16823>). Papers will be selected on the basis of their contribution to specific themes of particular interest arising from the conference through a double-blind peer review process.

The volume will be edited by Pedro Guijarro Fuentes and Maria Juan Garau. Authors are asked to notify us of their intention to submit an article by sending an email to [p.guijarro@uib.es](mailto:p.guijarro@uib.es) or [maria.juan@uib.es](mailto:maria.juan@uib.es) before the 15 October 2014 in which they will state the name of the author(s) and a provisional title.

Such publication is expected to appear in 2015. All speakers -oral and poster presentations- are invited to submit their papers. For your paper to be considered, you will need to send it in both word and pdf format by 15 December 2014 to [p.guijarro@uib.es](mailto:p.guijarro@uib.es) or [maria.juan@uib.es](mailto:maria.juan@uib.es). Papers should be accompanied by an abstract of no more than 350 words in English. As already indicated, all papers will go through a strict review process carried out by at least two external referees.

## Emergency and medical assistance

In case of emergency, call 112.

### Hospitals and emergency rooms:

Son Espases  
Carretera de Valldemossa 07010 Palma de Mallorca  
Telf: +34 871 20 50 00.

USP Clínica Palma Planas  
Camí dels Reis 07010 Palma de Mallorca  
Telf: +34 971 918 000

Clinic Balear (includes pharmacy)  
C/Salud 38. 07006 S'Arenal.  
Telf: +34 971 44 11 66

## Transportation

Sa Riera Building is very easy to reach from any point in the city either by public bus or on foot. See map above.

**TAXI** by taxi

These are the telephone numbers for taxi service:

+ 34 971 74 40 50  
+ 34 971 74 37 37  
+ 34 971 76 45 45  
+ 34 971 40 14 14

## Other practical resources

### Internet access

Conference delegates can have WI-FI. With your own laptop you can use the wireless network. The signal is stronger inside Sa Riera building. In the information panels located in the building, you can find the steps to connect to WI-FI.

Username: **romance**

password: **sariera2014**

### Presentation equipment

The room will be equipped with a computer and a data projector for slide-show presentations. If you have any questions about the technical equipment, please refer to the Technical Secretariat.

# Programme

Thursday, September 18

08:30 - 09:00	Reception and delivery of material
09:00 - 9:15	Opening ceremony by Pro-Vice Chancellor for Research Dr Jaume Carot
9:15 - 10:30	Plenary Session Room: Salón de Actos Chair: M. Carmen Parafita Couto Morphology in the Mental Lexicon: Experimental evidence from the acquisition and processing of different languages <i>Harald Clahsen</i>
10:30 - 11:00	Coffee Break
11:00 - 13:30	<p>Session A1 Room: 0 Chair: Cristina Flores</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Oral and written morphosyntax: A longitudinal study of L1 &amp; L2 French</li> </ul> <p>Alexandra Marquis, Dominique Bédard, Brigitte Stanké, Phaedra Royle, Susan Rvachew</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Code switching: the origin of syntactic dependencies</li> </ul> <p>Luis López, M. Carmen Parafita Couto</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ The role of input in the acquisition of mood by heritage speakers of European Portuguese</li> </ul> <p>Cristina Flores, Ana Lúcia Santos, Rui Marques, Alice Jesus</p> <hr/> <p>Session A2 Room: Salón de Actos 0 Chair: Sergio Baauw</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ The ambiguous status of Spanish se: Evidence from child language</li> </ul> <p>Sergio Baauw &amp; Ilse Meerker</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Characterizing residual optionality: Focus-related competencies in L2 Spanish</li> </ul> <p>Timothy Gupton</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Testing relativized minimality in intervention effects: The comprehension of relative clauses with complex DPs in European Portuguese</li> </ul> <p>João Costa, Maria Lobo</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ The acquisition of first and second person clitics and some implications</li> </ul> <p>Anna Gavarró and Noemí Fortón</p>
13:30 - 14:30	Lunch



14:30 - 16:30	<p>Session B Room: Salón de Actos  Chair: Laia Arnaus Gil</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Production of subject and object who-questions by school-aged Italian-speaking children</li> </ul> <p>Anna Cardinaletti, Giorgia Del Puppo, Margherita Pivi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ On the comprehension and production of passive sentences by a set of Italian-speaking hearing impaired male twins</li> </ul> <p>Michela Franceschini, Francesca Volpato</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Cross-linguistic influence in early language acquisition: Advantages of 3L1 trilingualism. Results from a pilot study</li> </ul> <p>Laia Arnaus Gil, Jasmin Geveler, Anika Schmeißer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Acquisition of attachment preferences in European Portuguese</li> </ul> <p>Bruno Fernandes, Stephanie Vaz</p>
16:30 - 17:00	Coffee Break
17:00 - 18:30	<p>Session C Room: Salón de Actos  Chair: Ana Lúcia Santos</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ On the L2 acquisition of Spanish subject-verb inversion by Dutch speakers</li> </ul> <p>Alexia Guerra Rivera, Peter Coopmans and Sergio Baauw</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Illusory specificity with Spanish 'algunos'</li> </ul> <p>Urtzi Etxeberria &amp; Anastasia Giannakidou</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Acquisition of control in European Portuguese: Some facts about comprehension</li> </ul> <p>Celina Agostinho, Ana Lúcia Santos, Inês Duarte</p>
19:00 - 20:00	Welcome Reception

## Friday, September 19

09:30 - 11:30	<p>Session D1 Room: Salón de Actos  Chair: Manuela Pinto</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ The overgeneration of Spanish articles: A view from Japanese</li> </ul> <p>Yurie Okami and Aya Furukawa</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Copulas in Spanish L2 and the accessibility of inherent semantic properties</li> </ul> <p>Manuela Pinto and Alexia Guerra Rivera</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Production strategies of monolingual and bilingual children with and without SLI: Insights from place of articulation permutations</li> </ul> <p>Laetitia de Almeida, Christophe dos Santos and Sandrine Ferré</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Low applicatives in the interlanguage of L2 learners of Spanish</li> </ul> <p>M. Ángeles Escobar &amp; Ivan Teomiro</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Microparametric variation and the acquisition of quantitative de in French</li> </ul> <p>Bernadette Plunkett</p>
	<p>Session D2 Room: 0  Chair: Katrin Schmitz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Acquiring the unaccusative/unergative distinction: Evidence for syntax-driven approaches to lexicon-syntax interface</li> </ul> <p>Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali, Megan Devlin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Subject-verb code-switched structures: Are all subjects created equal?</li> </ul> <p>Juana M. Licerias, Raquel Fernández Fuertes, and Anahí Alba de la Fuente</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Neurocognitive changes in gender processing in French children</li> </ul> <p>Phaedra Royle, Alexandra Marquis, Karsten Steinhauer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Differential object marking in Spanish speaking heritage speakers in Germany</li> </ul> <p>Katrin Schmitz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ German-Spanish bilingual children "resist" Spanish resyllabification</li> </ul> <p>Conxita Lleó and Marta Saceda</p>
11:30 - 12:00	Coffee Break
12:00 - 13:00	<p>Plenary Session Room: Salón de Actos  Chair: Conxita Lleó</p> <p>Superset and subset grammars in second language acquisition: The role in sonority in the representation of sC clusters  <i>Heather Goad</i></p>
13:00 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30	Poster Session - Salón de Actos
15:30 - 16:00	Coffee Break

16:00 - 18:00	<p>Session E Room: Salón de Actos  Chair: Aoife Ahern</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Towards an encompassing view on L1 and L2 interface variability: A cognitive pragmatic perspective</li> </ul> <p>José Amenós, Aoife Ahern</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Anaphoricity and the acquisition of imperfective aspect</li> </ul> <p>Isabel García del Real Marco &amp; Maria José Ezeizabarrena</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Elicited production of Italian restrictive relative clauses and cleft sentences in typically and atypically developing children</li> </ul> <p>Cardinaletti Anna, Del Puppo Giorgia, Pivi Margherita</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⤴ Differential object marking in adult L2: The view from Romanian and Persian</li> </ul> <p>Cristina Ciovârname, Larisa Avram, Anca Sevcenco</p>
20:30 - 23:30	Conference Dinner

## Saturday, September 20

09:30 - 11:00	Session F Room: Salón de Actos Chair: José Amenós <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>⤴ Pronominal variation in Uwa Spanish. A possible case of cross-linguistic influence</li></ul> Leonardo Moreno <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>⤴ A syntactic account of differences in the processing and production of code-switched concord and agreement structures</li></ul> Rachel Klassen, Juana M. Liceras & María Landa-Buil <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>⤴ Which 'which'-questions are easy? A study from French acquisition</li></ul> Anamaria Bentea and Stephanie Durrleman <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>⤴ Acquiring Italian accusative clitic placement in simultaneous bilingualism</li></ul> Tihana Kras, Maja Milicevic
11:00 - 11:30	Coffee break
11:30 - 12:30	Plenary Session Room: Salón de Actos Chair: Raquel Fernández Fuertes <b>Bilingual Spanish: Some Aspects of Syntactic Processing</b> <i>Itziar Laka</i>
12:30 - 13:00	Closing Ceremony

# Abstracts - Summary

## I. PLENARY SESSIONS

### **Morphology in the Mental Lexicon: Experimental evidence from the acquisition and processing of different languages**

*Harald Clahsen, Potsdam University*

The mental lexicon is a repository to permit efficient representation and processing of words and their component parts. Entries in the mental lexicon consist of arbitrary mappings between form-level (phonological and orthographic) and meaning-level (semantic) information. The question, however, of whether the mental lexicon also encodes morphological and morphosyntactic information is controversial, and the mechanisms involved in learning and processing morphologically complex words are not fully understood. One popular approach claims that all morphologically complex words are learned, stored and processed within a single associative system that directly maps forms onto meanings, without encoding morphological or syntactic information. An alternative approach is represented by a family of dual-mechanism models which hold that morphologically complex word forms can be processed and learned both associatively, i.e. through stored full-form representations and by rules that decompose or parse inflected word forms into morphological constituents. While much previous work on this theoretical controversy has examined a narrow set of phenomena, e.g. regular vs. irregular inflection, in a comparatively small number of languages (with a strong focus on English), my research and that of my collaborators contribute cross-linguistic psycholinguistic studies from a range of typologically different languages to this debate.

In this talk, I will present results from three sets of experimental studies covering different morphological phenomena in different languages: (i) the development of verb inflection (specifically perfective vs. imperfective past tense) in Greek child language, (ii) conjugational classes and verb stem formation processes in Portuguese (and other Romance languages), (iii) derivational processes in Japanese (specifically -sa vs. -mi nominalizations). It will be shown that single-mechanism associative models are insufficient to account for the experimental results from these three studies and that dual-mechanism models provide a much better fit. My general conclusion from these three studies will be that morphological notions and concepts are not only useful descriptive tools for linguists, but also contribute to a better understanding of the acquisition and processing of complex words.

### **Superset and subset grammars in second language acquisition: The role in sonority in the representation of sC clusters**

*Heather Goad, McGill University*

sC clusters (span) defy many of the constraints that hold of other obstruent-initial clusters (plan), which has been used to motivate different representations for these two types of clusters: obstruent-initial clusters form branching onsets (1a), while /s/ is located outside of this constituent in sC clusters (1b) (e.g. Goldsmith 1990, Kaye 1992):

(1a) [pl]Ons

## (1b) s[p]Ons

Sonority is one dimension on which obstruent-initial and sC clusters differ. The optimal branching onset rises in sonority; sonority plateaus are marked (e.g. Clements 1990). By contrast, the well-formedness of word-initial sC decreases as the sonority of C increases: no language with sC clusters forbids s+stop (Goad 2011):

(2) [[[[s+stop (French)] s+nasal (Greek)] s+lateral (Dutch)] s+rhotic (English)]. The representations in (1) are also supported by the observation that some languages contain clusters of one type only: Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) have branching onsets but no word-initial sC clusters; Acoma has sC clusters but no branching onsets. As expected, other languages contain neither cluster type (East Asian) while others contain both (Germanic). This paper explores the predictions of the representations in (1) for second language (L2) acquisition, focusing principally on sC. I consider the challenges for learning both superset languages (East Asian and Ibero-Romance learners of Germanic (data from Enochson 2012, Cardoso 2008)) and subset languages (English learners of BP (Schwartz & Goad 2014)). When learning a superset language, positive evidence will be available indicating the well-formedness of sC (and obstruent-initial) clusters.

Predictions to be examined, along with the results, are in (3):

(3a) L1 East Asian-L2 Germanic: Learners whose L1 has no word-initial clusters should not use the same representation for branching onsets and sC clusters in the L2 (supported);

(3b) L1 Ibero-Romance-L2 Germanic: Learners whose L1 has obstruent-initial clusters only should not use this representation for sC clusters in the L2 (not supported);

(3c) L1 East Asian/Ibero-Romance-L2 Germanic: Learners whose L1 lacks sC clusters should acquire s+stop before s+sonorant, because of the nested typology in (2) (partly supported).

When learning a subset language, positive evidence is often not available, suggesting that learners must rely on negative evidence to acquire the grammar. Because L2 learners have been shown to successfully learn subset syllable structure constraints without positive evidence (Trapman & Kager 2009), we suggest that another sort of evidence may be available in some L1-L2 situations: indirect positive evidence (IPE). IPE is evidence from errors in the learner's L1 made by native speakers of the learner's L2 (Schwartz & Goad 2014). The predictions are as follows:

(4a) Learners exposed to the ill-formedness of sC through IPE will realize that sC is ill-formed in the language being learned (supported);

(4b) Learners who recognize that sC is ill-formed in the language being learned will not overgeneralize this to obstruent-initial clusters, given (1) (supported);

(4c) Learners exposed only to the ill-formedness of s+stop through IPE will conclude that s+sonorant is also ill-formed, given (2) (supported).

Explanations for all results, both supported and not, will be provided in the context of (1) and (2).

## **Bilingual Spanish: Some Aspects of Syntactic Processing**

*Itziar Laka, University of the Basque Country*

Are all aspects of the grammar of a second language equally easy to learn? What does it depend on? There are thousands of people in the world trying to learn Spanish as a

second language, and language learning throughout life is increasingly important in our global society. However, it is well known that second language learners often have a difficulties achieving high proficiency and retaining what they learn. Understanding the neural and cognitive bases of second language learning is thus a pressing task, because the more we know about it the better prepared we will be to meet this research and societal challenge. In this talk I will present and discuss experimental work on a variety of topics related to syntactic processing in Spanish bilinguals that bear on this general question. I will focus on Spanish/Basque bilingualism, a case that involves maximally diverging properties in the languages of the bilingual (VO/OV, nominative/ergative, subject agreement/pluripersonal agreement). I will discuss how L1 and L2 Spanish bilinguals process certain aspects of Basque and Spanish syntax. The topics to include segmentation in artificial languages, sentence word order preferences, subject/object asymmetries in relative clauses, and inflectional morphology (case, agreement, clitics). The picture that emerges from this research is that certain aspects of grammar, particularly those involving inflectional morphology do reveal differences between native and non-native speakers even at high proficiency levels and early ages of acquisition, while other aspects of language related to sentence word order preferences do not. In some cases, L1 and L2 Spanish bilinguals display similar syntactic processing preferences, but elicit different electrophysiological components while deploying them, indicating distinct neural underpinnings are at play to achieve the same processing goal.

## II. ORAL PRESENTATIONS

### Thursday morning

#### Oral and written morphosyntax: A longitudinal study of L1 & L2 French

*Alexandra Marquis, Dominique Bédard, Brigitte Stanké, Phaedra Royle, Susan Rvachew*

The French writing system presents difficulties for young learners due to orthographic/phonological opacity. Many children living in Montréal (Québec, Canada) are first exposed to oral French only when entering the educational system. The goal of this study is to compare oral and written morphosyntax in L1 and L2 children. We present data from 3 tasks: 1) oral morphosyntax (past tense production Marquis et al., 2012) in year one, and in year two 2) written morphosyntax (multiple choice task: Paul a/\*as/\*à une amie ‘Paul has/have/at a friend’ adapted from Fayol et al. (2006), and 3) written dictation (BELO, Pech-Georgel & George, 2006). We compared 38 monolingual French-speaking children (L1) and 33 children learning French as a second or third language (L2), and studied the possible correlations between tasks. Based on previous research, we expected a significant difference between L1 and L2 children for the oral task, and no difference for the written tasks. We also expected to observe positive correlations between tasks. L1 children produced verbs more accurately (84%) than L2 children (66%),  $p = .01$ . There was no significant difference between groups for the written tasks. Moreover, significant positive correlations were observed between the oral and written morphosyntax tasks ( $r = 0.24$ ,  $p = .05$ ) and between the dictation and written morphosyntax task ( $r = 0.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The oral task’s results suggest that L1 children take advantage of their exposure to French since birth. For written French, both groups show similar benefits from explicit teaching exposure. These results challenge received

wisdom that bilingualism delays acquisition of complex aspects of language like morphosyntax. The present study provides better understanding of children's acquisition of French as a second language and stresses the importance of evaluating both oral and written skills with standardized tests with multilingual and monolingual children.

### **Code switching: the origin of syntactic dependencies**

*Luis López, M. Carmen Parafita Couto*

Dependencies between a head and a phrase are a fact of language: dependency between T and the DP "subject", dependency between v and THE DP "object", between wh-phrase and C. Since Chomsky (1981) it has also been assumed that these dependencies are involved in movement: either the need to establish a dependency triggers movement (Chomsky 1988) or movement is a consequence of the dependency (Chomsky 2000). Over the years, generative grammar has vacillated regarding the trigger of these dependencies: is it a property of the head (C,T,v) or a property of the XP (Case on the DP) that generates the need of a dependency? Let's call these hypotheses the H-hypothesis and the XP-hypothesis. This paper tries to contribute to this debate by using Spanish-English code switching (CS) data. As is well known, the verb and the object need to be adjacent in English but not in Spanish. The work of Johnson 1991, Koizumi 1993 and many other pieces of work leads to a particular type of answer: English object raises to a position (to the right of v), while the Spanish object can stay in situ (or maybe moved to the right, that's unimportant). The order VAdvObj is ungrammatical in English because a dependency between v and Obj has not been satisfied. This extra condition is absent in Spanish. Taking these assumptions for granted, we can use Spanish/English CS as a way to test the competing H and XP. 40 Spanish-English bilinguals born and raised in Puerto Rico participated in the study, which included two online grammaticality judgment tasks. First experiment. Let's assume that H triggers dependencies (and therefore hosts the feature whose lack of satisfaction may lead to ungrammaticality). If so (1) would be grammatical and (2) ungrammatical: (1) Juan cocinó cuidadosamente/carefully the omelette. (2) Juan cooked cuidadosamente/carefully la tortilla Let's assume XP triggers dependencies. Then (1) is ungrammatical and (2) is acceptable. Second experiment. Participants were presented with sentences like (3) and (4). In these examples, the determiner and the verb are in the same language, while the actual noun phrase is in the other language: (3) Juan cocinó cuidadosamente/carefully la omelette. (4) Juan cooked cuidadosamente/carefully the tortilla. This sort of example allows us to separate the contribution of D and N to the make-up of the dependency. The results will be discussed beyond the realms of code-switching to develop new insights into what code-switching can tell us about syntactic dependencies and the language faculty more generally. References Johnson, Kyle. 1991. Object Positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9, 577-637. Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1995. *Phrase Structure in the Minimalist Program*. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

### **The role of input in the acquisition of mood by heritage speakers of European Portuguese**

*Cristina Flores, Ana Lúcia Santos, Rui Marques, Alice Jesus*

The amount of input to which a bilingual child is exposed to seems to be crucial in bilingual language acquisition (Unsworth, 2013). It has been argued that heritage speakers (HSs) differ from native speakers because they have reduced contact with their



heritage language (HL), especially from the moment they enter (pre)school (Montrul, 2008). Conversely, many studies on bilingual acquisition have shown that early bilinguals acquire their languages in a native-like way (Meisel, 2001), even with less input than monolinguals. However most studies on simultaneous bilingualism have focused on properties that are acquired in early stages of development. Less is known about structures that are fixed in later ages, when heritage children have significantly less input than their monolingual counterparts. This study contributes to this discussion by analyzing the acquisition of a «late property»: mood choice in complement clauses. The participants are 40 child HSs of EP (age 6-15) that differ in age and amount of exposure to EP and 10 adult HSs, all living in Germany. 80 monolingual children (age 4-9) constitute the baseline group (Jesus, in prep.). An elicited production task tested mood choice in six conditions according to the verbs in the matrix clause. Preliminary results show that both factors (age and amount of input) influence the acquisition of mood in EP HL. Younger HSs (6-8 years) overgeneralize the indicative, whereas older heritage children (older than 10) and the adults produce subjunctives in a (nearly) native-like way. Furthermore, the HSs whose dominant home language is Portuguese reveal a faster acquisition process than the children who speak also German at home. The results suggest that HSs follow a similar acquisition pattern as monolinguals, but the process appears to be delayed (Flores & Barbosa, 2012). HSs seem to need more exposure accumulated over time in order to acquire this property. References Flores, C., & Barbosa, P. (2012). When reduced input leads to delayed acquisition: a study on the acquisition of clitic placement by Portuguese heritage speakers. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, OnlineFirst. Jesus, A. (in prep.). Aquisição do modo em orações completivas do PE. MA Dissertation. University of Lisbon. Meisel, J. M. (2001). The Simultaneous Acquisition of Two First Languages: Early Differentiation and Subsequent Development of Grammars. In J. Cenoz & F. Genesee (eds), *Trends in Bilingual Acquisition*, 11-41. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Montrul, S. (2008). *Incomplete Acquisition in Bilingualism: Re-examining the Age Factor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Unsworth, S. (2013). Assessing the role of current and cumulative exposure in simultaneous bilingual acquisition: The case of Dutch gender. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 16 (1), 86-110.

## The ambiguous status of Spanish se: Evidence from child language

*Sergio Baauw & Ilse Meerker*

The Spanish reflexive *se* has been claimed to be a reflexive-marking morpheme, unlike Dutch *zich*, which is often taken to be a pronominal element (Reinhart & Reuland 1993; Reuland 2001; Reinhart & Siloni 2005). In this talk we provide some evidence from child language in support of an alternative view, which claims that Spanish *se* is a pronominal element in some syntactic contexts, in particular ECM contexts, and a reflexive-marker in others (Baauw 2000). We tested 23 5-year-old Spanish speaking children with a picture verification task on sentences such as (1) and (2), in which the subject DP contains two potential antecedents (following earlier experiments on Dutch *zich* by Avrutin & Coopmans 1999). (1) *La mamá de la chica se lava* [simple transitive] the mother of the girl SE washes (2) *La abuela de la chica se ve bailar* [ECM] the grandmother of the girl SE sees dance Children showed 69% targetlike performance on sentences like (1), rejecting the interpretation in which the mother is washing the girl. The non-targetlike reading, in which the grandmother sees the girl dance, is rejected only 39% of the time in (2). This difference was statistically significant ( $p = 0,004$ ). These results provide evidence for the claim that *se* in ECM sentences such as (2) is a pronominal element similar to Dutch

zich, which establishes an A-Chain with a local DP (Reuland 2001). Like Dutch children (Avrutin & Coopmans 1999), Spanish children often fail to establish this chain (Avrutin 2004). In simple transitive sentences, such as (1), on the other hand, *se* should be analyzed as a reflexive-marking morpheme. Since no chain is formed, children perform more targetlike. Finally, we will provide an explanation for children's less perfect performance on (1) than on simple transitive sentences with a non-complex subject, such as *La mamá se lava* 'The mother SE washes'.

### Characterizing residual optionality: Focus-related competencies in L2 Spanish

*Timothy Gup-ton*

This study tests the predictions of the Interface Hypothesis (IH, e.g. Sorace & Filiaci 2006, Sorace 2011) by replicating methodologies in Hertel (2003), Lozano (2006), and Domínguez & Arche (2008), which returned conflicting results regarding focus-related learner competencies with unergative and unaccusative predicates. I examine intuitions and preferences for SV and VS with unaccusative and transitive predicates utilizing a contextualized Appropriateness Judgment Task (AJT) and Word Order Preference Task (WPT) with SV/VS response options accompanied by audio. The AJT elicited all-focus replies and subject narrow-focus replies for both predicate types, while the WPT elicited narrow-focus and contrastive focus replies for subjects and direct objects of transitive predicates. The WPT utilized innovative preference options (1) designed to uncover optionality. For unaccusative all-focus replies VS was predicted to be preferred (Perlmutter 1978), and SV was the predicted word order preference for transitive predicates. Following Zubizarreta (1998), for subject narrow-focus contexts (1), V(O)S (1a) is the predicted word order reply preference for both predicate types, while SV(O) (1b), with prosodic stress (in bold) on the subject, forces a subject contrastive reading. Participant groups examined include an advanced group of non-native Spanish professors and graduate students (AG, N=13), and native speaker controls (NS, N=20) primarily from Spain and Peru. AG results on the AJT suggest native-like judgments - except for SV all-focus replies to unaccusative predicates ( $p = 0.006$ ), which the AG group unexpectedly rated lower. On the WPT, AG preferences were native-like for object narrow-focus, object contrastive focus, and subject narrow-focus contexts. For subject contrastive focus contexts AG performed native-like, with the exception of the preference indicating that both SV and VS were equally acceptable - the preferred reply of the NS control group (Figure 1). WPT results suggest that L2 instability may be more accurately described as not recognizing optionality in a native-like manner.

### Testing relativized minimality in intervention effects: The comprehension of relative clauses with complex DPs in European Portuguese

*João Costa, Maria Lobo*

Many studies report that object relatives and *wh*-question are acquired later than subject relatives and *wh*-questions. These asymmetries are often referred to as intervention effects, capturing the fact that difficulties emerge when an XP intervenes between a displaced constituent of the same type and an empty position it forms a chain with. Friedmann, Belletti and Rizzi (2009) argue that this asymmetry can be explained in terms of Relativized Minimality, since intervention effects emerge when there is featural identity between two XPs of the same type, which is reminiscent of other relativized minimality environments. This hypothesis predicts that intervention emerges when the type of dependency that is independently involved in Relativized Minimality contexts is

found. In this talk we test the Relativized Minimality hypothesis by assessing whether there is c-command between the intervener and the gap. We present the results of a picture-selection task being run with 4 and 5 year old Portuguese speaking children, comprising the following conditions: 1. Subject relative clauses (no c-command and no linear intervention) 2. Object relative clauses (c-command and linear intervention) 3. Subject relative clause with complex DP (1) (no c-command and no linear intervention) 4. Object relative clause with complex DP (2) (no c-command and linear intervention) (1) *Mostra-me a enfermeira que abraça a filha da rainha.* (2) *Mostra-me a enfermeira que a filha da rainha está a abraçar.* The results of this test are revealing because: (i) it will be possible to see if there is a correlation between intervention with complex DPs and object relative clauses; (ii) if children have difficulties in the comprehension of subject relative clauses with complex DPs, linear intervention plays a role, and Relativized Minimality cannot be the only explanatory factor. If children perform well in this condition, this constitutes a good argument for the Relativized Minimality approach.

### **The acquisition of first and second person clitics and some implications**

*Anna Gavarró and Noemí Fortón*

Although there is extensive work on the acquisition of third person clitics and numerous theories have been put forward to account for their development, there is very little experimental work on other Romance pronominal clitics. Here we focus on the acquisition of first and second person clitics, and use them to evaluate two theories on the acquisition of clitics, namely the Unique Checking Constraint (Wexler 1998, Gavarró et al. 2010) and the complexity theory as outlined in Tuller et al. (2011). We designed an elicitation task inspired in Silva's (2008) experiment for European Portuguese, replicated later for Catalan by Rafel (2013). We slightly modified that design to avoid previous shortcomings and tested a wider age range, starting with 2-year-olds, a total of 45 children and 10 adult controls. Each subject was tested on 8 items, counterbalanced for person (first vs. second). Details of the subjects appear in (1) and the results of the experiment appear in (2). What is striking about the results is the very low rates of clitic omission (corroborated by the spontaneous production results in (3)), which contrast with what is known about third person clitic omission in languages like French and Catalan. The two theories considered predict better performance on first/second person clitics, the first because they do not trigger double-checking for lack of participle agreement (4), the second because third person is discourse-dependent and thus judged more complex. Yet, when we turn to other clitics, third person clitics in languages other than Catalan and French, for example Spanish, Greek and Albanian, the complexity theory incorrectly predicts homogeneous behaviour across languages. Thus we argue that the UCC account is empirically more accurate. Further, it allows us to dispense with a theory of clitic acquisition, since under the UCC nothing hinges on the clitic property of pronominals.

### **Thursday afternoon**

#### **Production of subject and object who-questions by school-aged Italian-speaking children**

*Anna Cardinaletti, Giorgia Del Puppo, Margherita Pivi*

Young Italian-speaking children show a subject-object asymmetry for wh V DP who-

questions in elicited production (Guasti et al. 2012), whereby object who-questions containing a plural verb agreeing with a postverbal plural subject DP (1) are preferably realized with a left-dislocated subject or with a null subject, while subject questions containing a singular verb (2) are produced without difficulty. We carried out a similar elicited production experiment with older Italian-speaking children (6-10 year olds), forcing them to produce potentially ambiguous who V DP questions (3), i.e. questions where a singular verb agrees either with the wh-element (subject-extracted question) or with a singular postverbal DP (object question). Results show that the quantity of target-like subject questions significantly exceeds that of object questions (on average, across age-groups: 52% vs. 36.5%; cleft wh-questions with postverbal subject: 37% vs. 17%). School-aged children still produce NP-topicalizations of the subject (21.5%) and, although less frequently than younger children, drop the lexical subject (7.5%). Moreover, children often start their object questions with the wh-element who, but then rephrase the sentences by left-dislocating the subject constituent. Interestingly, children also produce object cleft questions with preverbal subjects (4), a type of structure hardly ever used in tasks eliciting contrastive cleft sentences in Italian (Del Puppo, Pivi, Cardinaletti 2013). With respect to adults, children produce less target-like object questions (36.5% vs. 86%). The asymmetry between who-subject and who-object questions cannot be explained in terms of intervention caused by lexical NP restriction (Friedmann et al. 2009). An explanation based on Franck et al. (2006) attraction framework, as proposed by Guasti et al. (2012), is more suited: children would preferably look for SV agreement rather than VS agreement, in order to avoid attraction errors during computation in production. Such effect may be enhanced when potentially ambiguous sentences are elicited, as in our experiment. 1) Chi inseguono gli elefanti? (Object question) From Guasti et al. (2012) Who chase-3Pl the elephants “Who are the elephants chasing?” 2) Chi insegue gli elefanti? (Subject question) Who chase-3Sg the elephants “Who is chasing the elephants?” 3) Chi lava il bambino? (Potentially ambiguous question; our task) Who wash-3Sg the child? “Who is washing the child?” / “Who is the child washing?” 4) Chi è che il bambino lava? (Cleft subject question) Who is that the child wash-3Sg “Who is it that the child is washing?” References Del Puppo G., Pivi M., Cardinaletti A. (2013), “Elicited production of cleft sentences in 6-10 year-old Italian-speaking children with a comparison of related syntactic structures”, presented at GALA, Oldenburg. Franck J., Lassi G., Frauenfelder U. H., Rizzi L. (2006), “Agreement and movement: A syntactic analysis of attraction”, *Cognition* 101, pp.173-216. Friedmann N., Belletti A., Rizzi L. (2009), “Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies”, *Lingua* 119, pp. 67-88. Guasti M. T., Branchini C., Arosio F. (2012), “Interference in the production of Italian subject and object wh-questions”, *Applied Psycholinguistics* 33, pp. 185-223. Spyridoula V., Pantoula A. (2013), “Subject/object asymmetries in the production of wh-questions in Greek SLI: A Relativized Minimality approach”, poster presented at GALA, Oldenburg.

### **On the comprehension and production of passive sentences by a set of Italian-speaking hearing impaired male twins**

*Michela Franceschini, Francesca Volpato*

This study investigates the comprehension and production of passive sentences in a set of orally-trained male twins (SA and SB) with mild-to-moderate sensorineural hearing loss tested in two different moments (2011-age: 7;6; 2013-age: 9;0). Hearing impairment strongly limits the quantity and the quality of the linguistic input available to deaf people. Consequently, the acquisition of some linguistic properties can be delayed in

people with any degree of hearing loss (Friedmann & Szterman, 2006; Delage & Tuller, 2007; Chesi, 2006). Passive sentences are complex structures characterized by a marked word order and long-distance dependencies between sentence constituents. They are frequent in school texts and fairy tales and are often problematic for different populations. Since research on deaf people is scarce for Italian, the analysis aims at determining whether the children show the same level of linguistic competence, and whether and to what extent their performance differs from that of normal hearing (NH) children. The comprehension was assessed by using a picture matching task and the production was tested by using an elicitation task (Verin, 2010). Results show that despite the same degree of hearing loss (PTA) and the same (family) background, some differences between the twins' performances are observed. The comparison with normal hearing children (Volpato et al., 2013) showed that overall, the subjects have a good level in comprehension, especially with actional verbs (see table 1). The longitudinal investigation highlights an improvement in passive sentences comprehension for both children. Despite a good level of comprehension, neither of them produced passive sentences in 2011, nor in 2013. They adopted instead other grammatical and ungrammatical strategies in order to avoid the passive constructions. Even though the two children did not show a full proficiency in passive sentences, the fact that they obtained positive results in the comprehension test demonstrates that at the age of 9, they have access to these syntactic structures.

	Actional verbs	Non-actional verbs
SA 7;6	88%	25%
SA 9;0	96%	63%
SB 7;6	79%	19%
SB 9;0	100%	69%
NH1 3;4-3;11	82%	61%
NH2 4;0-4;8	76%	56%
NH3 4;9-5;5	94%	59%
NH4 5;6-6;2	97%	78%

Table 1: Percentage of correct answers in the comprehension task of each deaf participant and the control group(s)

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### **Cross-linguistic influence in early language acquisition: Advantages of 3L1 trilingualism. Results from a pilot study**

*Laia Arnaus Gil, Jasmin Geveler, Anika Schmeißer*

Studies on bilingual first language acquisition have revealed that some grammatical phenomena are vulnerable to cross-linguistic influence depending on the language combination (Müller&Hulk2001). This may result in an accelerated/delayed acquisition process if compared to monolinguals (Authors2010, Authors to appear). For instance, the Romance language of a German-French/Italian child has a boot-strapping effect when acquiring German verb placement (Author2009). By contrast, Romance adjective placement and Spanish copulas are prone to delay when acquired simultaneously with German (Authors2013, Author2013). The occurrence of cross-linguistic influence has been explained in terms of derivational complexity in the sense of Jakobowicz (2002). To give an example: Assuming Kayne's (1994) Universal Base Hypothesis, Spanish adjectives exhibit two positions, one being syntactically less complex (A+N) than the other (N+A).

German, however, allows the less complex analysis only. Therefore, bilingual children mostly use the latter resulting in a delayed acquisition of Spanish adjective placement. A bilingual delayed acquisition process might also be present in early trilingualism due to language processing (Grosjean2001, Serratrice&Sorace2003). Yet, we hypothesize that a specific language constellation in trilinguals can turn a delayed bilingual acquisition into an accelerated development. This may be the case if the third L1 also exhibits the more complex derivation. Evidence for this prediction has been found in a study on Spanish copula acquisition by early German-Spanish(-Catalan) children (Author2013). For the acquisition of Romance adjective placement, our assumption implies that trilinguals can take advantage of their third L1 if this language has also access to the more complex derivation. Our present cross-sectional study investigates the elicited data of these two grammatical phenomena in approx. 40 children being raised multilingually in Spain with the language combinations Spanish-German(-Catalan/X) and Spanish-French(-Catalan/X). This research is part of a larger study and still in a fledgling stage. We will present the first main results.

### **Acquisition of attachment preferences in European Portuguese**

*Bruno Fernandes, Stéphanie Vaz*

This study investigates attachment preferences with children as young as 3-years-old. Psycholinguistics has mostly focused on adults, which makes this study assume a double importance. Using a picture verification task we intended to test children's preference in attaching relative clauses and their acquisition of pseudo-relatives (PR). Cuetos&Mitchell (1988) reported that sentences like "someone shot the maid of the actress that was on the balcony" were not interpreted the same way in English and Spanish; questioning the parser's universality. Portuguese has been classified as a HA (Maia&Maia, 2001) and a LA language (Miyamoto, 1999). This poses a challenge to language acquisition; children must set the grammatical properties and adjust the parser. Predicting a learning to parse stage. Previous studies correlate children's working memory and attachment preferences (Swets et al., 2007; Felser et al, 2009) Grillo&Costa (2012) propose that the asymmetry can be accounted for by the availability of PRs (see Cinque, 1992), a syntactic structure string identical to RCs. This view assumes an innate parser. We test Grillo&Costa's prediction. In the first task, the matrix verb excludes PRs. In the second, matrix verbs introduce PRs and we manipulate PR restrictions such as tense and aspect. After presenting two sets of characters the researcher says: Eu molhei (RC-only)/ vi (PR) o tio do menino que está a cantar I soaked/ saw the uncle of the child that is singing Children see images with the characters performing the action of the embedded verb and choose one. Hypothesis: (1)If the parser is innate and universal, children will resemble adults": LA for RCs and HA for PRs. (2)If the parser is under parametric variation or working memory is relevant: no clear preference. Preliminary results reveal a clear preference for LA by children, arguing in favor of a continuous behavior and providing evidence for the stability and universality of the parsing principles.

### **On the L2 acquisition of Spanish subject-verb inversion by Dutch speakers**

*Alexia Guerra Rivera, Peter Coopmans and Sergio Baauw*

This study examines the L2 acquisition of Spanish subject-verb inversion in wh-questions by Dutch speakers. In Spanish, subject-verb inversion occurs in matrix and embedded wh-questions. However, the argument vs. adjunct status of the wh-element determines

whether this is obligatory or not. Interestingly, Dutch also has subject-verb inversion, yet this is only obligatory in matrix clauses and is not subject to argumental restrictions. With respect to inversion, the main differences between the two languages are: in Dutch, there is always subject-verb inversion in matrix interrogatives, independent of the argument/adjunct status of the wh-element. Secondly, Dutch is a V2 language and Spanish is not; thus, Dutch subject-verb inversion only occurs in matrix clauses, never in embedded ones, while in Spanish, with argument wh-questions, the main verb must always appear before the subject in both types of clauses. Given the fact that this contrast between the two languages is never explicitly addressed in the classroom context, it is particularly interesting to determine how Dutch speakers learning Spanish acquire these rules and where they may encounter difficulties in their application. The empirical basis of this study comes from an experiment conducted with 46 participants: 13 advanced and 20 beginner L2 learners and 13 Spanish native speakers, tested on a Grammaticality Judgment Task and a Dehydrated Sentence Test. Results from the GJT show that with argumental wh-words, L2 learners do not seem to detect the ungrammaticality of non-inversion in either embedded or matrix interrogatives. As expected, this effect is more evident in embedded questions; it is precisely in this type of interrogatives that Spanish and Dutch differ. However, the fact that the L2s do not reject matrix non-inverted sentences correctly shows that they cannot be fully relying on their L1 grammar. Results also indicate a significant variability in the preference for inversion with the different wh- words, with 'Por qué' being the odd one out among the adjuncts. Findings will be discussed in light of the Full Access Full Transfer Model.

### **Illusory specificity with Spanish 'algunos'**

*Urtzi Etxeberria & Anastasia Giannakidou*

The Spanish determiner *algun(os)* has been argued to have conflicting behavior. In the singular, it is claimed to be an anti-specific indefinite (Giannakidou and Quer (GQ) 2013, Alonso Ovalle and Menendez-Benito (AM) 2010) which requires an extension of more than one. The use of *algún* conveys that the speaker cannot identify who the student is, and considers possibilities: (1) *Ha llamado algún estudiante. #Era Pedro. have called some student was Pedro 'Some student called. #It was Pedro.'* But in the plural, *algunos*, has been claimed to behave 'specifically': it is necessarily linked to a previously introduced antecedent. (2) {Teachers A and B are on an excursion with [a group of children, of whom they are in charge]K. Teacher A comes to teacher B running:} (a) Teacher A: *¿Te has enterado? [Algunos niños] K, #J cl have found.out some children se han perdido en el bosque. cl were- lost in the forest* (b) Teacher A: *¿Te has enterado? [Unos niños] K, J 'Have you heard? some children se han perdido en el bosque. cl were lost in the forest.'* Martí claims that in choosing *algunos*, the speaker intends to refer to the set of children that were salient previously and argues that *alg* gives rise to a partitivity implicature (Martí 2008, 2009) This forces an ambiguity analysis, which is undesirable and does not capture the role of the plural. We propose a unifying analysis. We argue that in both usages referential vagueness is satisfied. In the plural use we have more than one value. Without an antecedent), *algunos* is indistinguishable from *unos*. The context dependency, therefore, arises only in anaphoric contexts where a discourse referent has previously been explicitly introduced. This discourse referent sets up an antecedent. Then the plural in this case functions as an anaphoric pronoun (Kester 1995). We will propose that a plural anaphor is triggered and is reflected in the plural number. Thus, what appears to be a plural is really an anaphoric pronoun: (3) *[[algunos niños]] = algun + proPL [+anaphoric]* So, the plural introduces the pronoun *proPL* which is also an

anaphor, but this happens only in the context of an overt antecedent. So, this is close in spirit to Martí's C variable (cf. example (2)) which can also be thought of as a pronoun, but unlike her we do not assume that *alg-* introduces it, rather, we assume that if an antecedent is available the pronoun will be triggered, as expected generally in such contexts. References: Alonso-Ovalle & Menendez-Benito (2010), 'Modal indefinites', NLS; Martí (2009), 'Contextual restriction on indefinites', in Giannakidou & Rathert (eds.), OUP; Giannakidou & Quer (2013), 'Exhaustive and non-exhaustive variation with free choice and referential vagueness'. *Lingua*. Kester (1996) The nature of adjectival inflection. PhD, Utrecht. Zamparelli 2007. On singular existential quantifiers in Italian. In: Comorovski, et al. Springer.

### Acquisition of control in European Portuguese: Some facts about comprehension *Celina Agostinho, Ana Lúcia Santos, Inês Duarte*

It is generally assumed that children have early knowledge of control in complement clauses (complements of promise are the exception), although very young children may have non-obligatory control readings of obligatorily controlled subjects (MacDaniel & Cairns, 1990b; McDaniel et al., 1991; Landau & Thornton, 2011). As an explanation, it has been suggested that the syntactic representation of complement clauses is non target-like in child grammar (McDaniel et al., 1991), or alternatively that knowledge of the syntax of control is continuous, and developmental effects follow from lexical acquisition (Sherman & Lust 1993). A comprehension task based on McDaniel and Cairns (1990a, b) was applied to 57 children (3 to 5 years) and 20 adults. It comprises four test conditions: (i) subject control, transitive (1a) and ditransitive verbs (1b), (ii) object Control, direct (2a) and indirect objects (2b), (iii) subject complement clauses (3), and (iv) cases of pragmatically determined interpretation (*pedir para* 'ask') (4). Children identify obligatory control and non-obligatory control contexts, choosing an unmentioned character as the antecedent only in subject complement clauses. Subject control is also not problematic except for the case of prometer 'promise', a fact that could result from intervention effects (Friedmann, Belletti & Rizzi 2009; Orfitelli 2012 for similar effects on A-movement) if control is movement (Hornstein, 1999). However, these effects may also result from a misanalysis of the argument structure of verbs with two arguments (a DP and a clausal argument). Recently, Santos, Gonçalves & Hyams (2013) showed that children between 3 and 5 years misanalyse object control verbs as verbs taking a single internal argument: they take the object DP to be the subject of the infinitive. This analysis predicts better comprehension results with object control verbs presenting more cases of misanalysis (*proibir* 'forbid'). Our data shows that this prediction is confirmed. (1) a. O esquilo consegue trazer uma maçã. the squirrel manage-3PS bring-INF an apple. "The squirrel manages to bring an apple." b. O galo promete ao coelho cozinhar o jantar. the rooster promise-3PS to+the rabbit cook-INF the dinner "The rooster promises the rabbit to cook dinner." (2) a. O ouriço proíbe o esquilo de tomar banho no lago. the hedgehog forbid-3PS the squirrel of take-INF bath in+the lake "The hedgehog forbids the squirrel to bathe in the lake." b. O cisne diz ao pato para arranjar comida. the swan tell-3PS to+the duck to get-INF food "The swan tells the duck to get food." (3) Sair da lagoa chateia o elefante. leave-INF from+the lagoon bother-3PS the elephant "To leave the lagoon bothers the elephant." (4) O touro pede ao burro para tocar à campainha. the bull ask-3PS to+the donkey to ring-INF to+the bell "The bull asks the donkey to ring the bell." References: Friedmann, N., A. Belletti & L. Rizzi. (2009) Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. *Lingua* 119. 67-88. Hornstein, N. (1999) Movement and control. *Linguistic*



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## Friday morning

### The overgeneration of Spanish articles: A view from Japanese

*Yurie OKAMI and Aya FURUKAWA*

How do students acquire the article system of their target language when it doesn't exist in their mother tongue? In this presentation, we will examine the errors made by Japanese students who have studied Spanish for two years as their university major. It is well known that Japanese is one of the languages that have no articles. Hence Japanese students have struggled with trying to acquire them (Shirahata (1988), Ito (2012), Nishikawa (2006), among others). Moreover, the acquisition of the article system does not proceed uniformly. As noted by Nishikawa (2006), for Japanese students, the most difficult usage of articles is the generic interpretation with zero articles. To express genericity of the NP, Spanish has several options. In the subject position, the article must be present in (1a-c) (except in some idiomatic expressions (1d)). In the object position bare singular and plural objects can appear (2a-c). The most frequent errors of Japanese students are putting the indefinite article in (2a), and the definite article in (2b-c). Following Ishikawa (2007), we assume the structure of Spanish nominals as in (3). Here, Spanish D selects a functional projection (AgrP), and checks [ $\pm$ R(erefential)]. AgrP hosts the feature [ $\pm$ P(artitive)], and Affix Phrase hosts [Number] and [Gender] features, respectively. On the other hand, we assume Japanese nominal structure as in (4). If the Romance nouns are subject to head-movement (N-movement) within DP (Longobardi 1994, Cinque 1994, among others), bare singular/plural nouns are subject to head-movement within DP to check their features without realizing an overt D. The data in (2) shows that although Japanese students acquire the DP structure and feature-checking with overt D at early stage, the acquisition of N-movement takes time. Therefore Japanese students demonstrate an overgeneration of the articles with generic interpretation.

### Copulas in Spanish L2 and the accessibility of inherent semantic properties

*Manuela Pinto and Alexia Guerra Rivera*

This study examines L2 acquisition of Spanish copula (ser/estar) in adjectival constructions. Most adjectives allow alternation between ser/estar. However, this alternation relates to a different interpretation: ser conveys a permanent interpretation to the predicate, estar a change of state emphasizing the result. Previous studies on

English L1 Spanish L2 show persistent optionality in copula choice (Bruhn de Garavito & Valenzuela 2008; Holtheuer, 2012). Guerra Rivera (2012) found similar data for Dutch L1 Spanish L2. What is the reason for optionality? Focusing on the basic ingredients of Spanish adjectival constructions, we try to understand why these constructions are difficult for L2ers (Slabakova 2009, Rothman & Slabakova 2011). More specifically, we address the issue of whether inherent semantic properties of lexical items are accessible to L2ers (Slabakova 2006). According to Schmitt (2005), *ser* is aspectually neutral and it results in an interpretation of the property expressed by the adjective as a permanent one. Conversely, the inherent aspectual properties of *estar* convey a change-of-state reading, emphasizing the end result of the predicate. Dutch has two copulas, *zijn* and *worden*. *Zijn* is a neutral copula, whereas *worden* is used as a change-of-state copula. Although *zijn/worden* may be seen as equivalent to *ser/estar*, *estar* emphasizes the result of a change of state (a transition), whereas *worden* its process (Hanegreefs, 2004). The learning task for Dutch L1 Spanish L2 is thus to discover that the inherent semantic properties of *estar* do not completely match those of *worden*. We hypothesize that L2ers may not have access to these properties and that they will have problems with adjectival constructions implying a gradual change. A GJT ( $F(1,46)=54,773, p<0.01$ ) and a Fill-in-the-gap task ( $F(1,33)=5,842, p<0.01$ ) offered to 14 Dutch L1 Spanish L2 (CEFR=C1) and 23 Spanish natives showed that gradient adjectives seem harder to acquire than non-gradient ones. 300 words Selected references: Hanegreefs, H. (2004). The Dutch change-of-state copula "worden" and its Spanish counterparts: a matter of aspect and voice. *Review of cognitive linguistics*, (2), 1-30. Rothman, J., & Slabakova, R. (2011). The Mind-Context Divide: On acquisition at the linguistic interfaces. *Lingua*, 121(4), 568-576. Schmitt, C. (2005). Semi-copulas. In Kempchinsky, P. M., & Slabakova, R. (Eds.). *Aspectual inquiries* (Vol. 62). Springer Netherlands. pp. 121-145. Slabakova, R. (2006). Is there a critical period for semantics?. *Second Language Research*, 22(3), 302-338. Slabakova, R. (2009). Features or parameters: which one makes second language acquisition easier, and more interesting to study?. *Second Language Research*, 25(2), 313-324. VanPatten, B. (1985). The Acquisition of *Ser* and *Estar* in Adult Second Language Learners: A preliminary investigation of transitional stages of competence. *Hispania* 68, 399-406.

### **Production strategies of monolingual and bilingual children with and without SLI: Insights from place of articulation permutations**

*Laetitia de Almeida, Christophe dos Santos, and Sandrine Ferré*

In first language acquisition, consonants in children's productions tend to be identical for place features in babbling and in the first words (Kern et al, 2009). L1 learners acquire non-harmonic patterns for place features gradually; this acquisition is influenced by positional constraints: generally, children first produce words beginning with a labial consonant and, later, word initial dorsal consonants are allowed (Fikkert and Levelt 2008; Costa 2010). As these non-harmonic patterns appear later, our first question is about the mastering of such patterns by children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI) and children acquiring a second language (L2 learners). Our second question is about the repair strategies of these populations: are they qualitatively the same as the one reported in first language acquisition? Our empirical data consist of the productions of 31 typically-developing (TD) bilingual children learning French (12 English-French and 19 Arabic-French bilinguals); 12 bilingual SLI children (3 English-French and 9 Arabic-French bilinguals); 12 monolingual French SLI children and 13 TD monolingual French children. Data from Portuguese-French bilingual children are being collected. All the

children are between 5;06 and 9;00. Their elicited productions were collected using a non-word repetition task (LITMUS NWR-French) containing labial and dorsal voiceless plosives and a labial voiceless fricative as onset heads. For the purpose of the study, we only focused at the production of plosive consonants. The results show that, generally, children tend to perform better at [Lab...Dor] sequences than at [Dor...Lab] sequences. The repair strategies involving segmental properties consist mainly on consonantal harmony and metathesis. Consonantal harmony can either consist on a Labial or a Dorsal harmony but Labial harmony is only regressive whereas Dorsal harmony can either be regressive and progressive. Metathesis between Labial and Dorsal are also attested but seem to be related to a preference for #sk sequence over #sp sequence. (299) Costa, T. (2010). *The Acquisition of the Consonantal System in European Portuguese: Focus on Place and Manner Features*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Lisbon.

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### **Low applicatives in the interlanguage of L2 learners of Spanish**

*M. Angeles Escobar & Ivan Teomiro*

This paper deals with the L2 acquisition of different types of Spanish clitic "se" by English learners of Spanish on the assumption that they have to learn a new functional category corresponding to a low applicative head not present in their L1 language. In this respect, we would like to provide evidence as to the question of whether new functional categories or rather new configurations involving functional projections can be acquired in the process of L2 Acquisition. We present a new experiment based on an online multiple-choice-questionnaire. In order to look for evidence of age factors, we tested different groups of adult learners at different stages of their L2 acquisition. The subjects of our study are English learners studying Spanish as Second Language.

### **Microparametric variation and the acquisition of quantitative de in French**

*Bernadette Plunkett*

Syntacticians have recently become more interested in explaining micro-parametric variation. In relation to the acquisition of such variation Westergaard (2009) proposes a cue-based system but the variation she describes is largely one in which a single grammatical feature varies in different clause types. This paper examines a type of variation which can not easily be characterised in this way. A micro-cue system is examined and shown to be inadequate to explain the variation found. Alternatives will be discussed before a proposal for a revision appealing to a greater depth of structural information than micro-cues.

The realisation of quantitative de in spoken French is subject to variation across clause-types as shown in (1-3).

1) Il y a des/\*de bananes he there have some/de bananas 'There are bananas'

2) Il n'y a pas \*des/de bananes he neg there have not some/debananas 'There are no bananas' 3) Ce ne sont pas des/\*de bananes it neg are not some/de bananas 'These aren't bananas'

An examination of several French corpora on Childes (MacWhinney,2000) shows that the majority of adult French speakers realise the contrast in (1/2) in negative contexts, and quantified contexts, such as (4) but rarely realise it following prenominal adjectives, as prescriptive grammars would require (5).

4) mais il y a plein de sable dans le seau . but he there has full de sand in the bucket 'But there's loads of sand in the bucket' MONA005:48

5) a. i(l) mange des petites fleurs ? he eats of the/some little flowers 'Is he eating some (of the) little flowers?' PARA016:307

b. ah il a de belles petites mains , , hein , bébé . ah he has de beautiful little hands huh baby 'Baby's got beautiful little hands, huh?' LIEA032:429

Prior to about age 3 yrs children make a small number of errors but thereafter typically adopt one form categorically for each structure. However, in one corpus, collected in the northern part of Belgium, (Plunkett, 2002) quantitative de is in variation with partitive de and the indefinite de/des, in all of these contexts. Leah, the target child, also uses de variably, though not at the same rates as those found in the adult input.

Use of standard de in (non-copular) negatives Use of non-standard des/ du etc (in non-copular) negatives Use of standard de in amount contexts Use of non-standard des/ du etc in amount contexts Leah 2;8.22-4;3.21 57% 43% 27% 73% Adults 58% 42% 65% 35%

Table One De variation in negative and amount contexts

Even for negatives, this classification is too simple however.

Use of standard de in (non-copular) pas negatives Use of non-standard des/ du etc (in non-copular) pas negatives Use of standard de in (non-copular) plus negatives Use of non-standard des/ du etc (in non-copular) plus negatives Leah 2;8.22-2;11.18 38% 62% n/a n/a Leah 3;0.05-4;3.21 37% 63% 70% 30% Adults 55% 45% 69% 31% Table Two De variation in negative pas and plus contexts

Use of standard de following peu Use of non-standard des/ du etc following peu Use of standard de following beaucoup Use of non-standard des/ du etc following beaucoup Leah 2;8.22-2;11.18 0% 100% 100% 0% Leah 3;0.05-4;3.21 0% 100% 0% 100% Adults 37% 63% 71% 29% Table three: De variation following peu and beaucoup Although the number of 'amount' contexts in the child data is relatively small, this may be indicative of language change in progress. More fine-grained analysis of the data will investigate whether any cues reflect the type of NP following the amount word. The adults use peu 47% in contexts like (6) with mass nouns but use beaucoup des only 9% in cases like (7).

6) \*Lea: il y a encore un peu du soleil là+derrière . 4;0.8 he there has again a little of sun there behind 'There's still a bit of sun behind there ' LIEA030:169 7) \*Lea: j(e) ai beaucoup [ŞC: de] caméras . I have a lot some cameras 'I have a lot of cameras'

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## Acquiring the unaccusative/unergative distinction: Evidence for syntax-driven approaches to lexicon-syntax interface

*Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali, Megan Devlin*

We investigate the acquisition of the unaccusative/unergative distinction by a 3L1 child (S) with English, Italian and Scottish Gaelic. The literature claims that there are differences in the acquisition of unaccusativity cross-linguistically (e.g. Babyonyshev et al 2001, vs Snyder, Hyams and Chrisma (1995)). No previous study has tried to see whether the acquisition of the distinction in a speaker of English and Italian shows evidence of cross-linguistic influence. Additionally the unaccusative/unergative distinction poses an interesting puzzle: if unaccusativity is semantically determined, unaccusatives are expected to be both stable and consistent across languages and within a language. This hypothesis is ideally tested in multilingual acquisition.

## Subject-verb code-switched structures: Are all subjects created equal?

*Juana M. Licerias, Raquel Fernández Fuertes and Anahí Alba de la Fuente*

Van Gelderen & MacSwan (2008) argue that the different grammatical status of the switches in (1) and (2) is due to the violation of the P(honological) F(orm) Disjunction Theorem which rules out code-switching below  $X^0$ . Because pronouns undergo D-to-T movement, the mixed-language complex head in (2) crashes at PF. With the strong pronouns in (3)-(4), the PF Disjunction Theorem would not be violated because they behave like DPs. Koronkiewicz (2012) argues that, when it comes to code-switching, standard position pronouns in (5) and non-standard position pronouns in (6) behave differently. In this paper, we discuss code-switching acceptability judgment data elicited from a group of adult L2 (subsequent Spanish L1-English L2) bilinguals, a group of child 2L1 (simultaneous English-Spanish) bilinguals and a group of child L2 (subsequent Spanish L1-English L2) bilinguals. We show that Spanish third person standard position pronouns significantly differ from their English counterparts. To account for this difference, we propose an agreement version of the so-called “analogical criterion” that has been shown to underlie code-switching preferences (Licerias et al. 2008) in concord structures such as those in (7) and (8). We argue, following Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) double feature valuation hypothesis, that both English and Spanish third person standard position pronouns require the valuation of their agreement feature on the verb and the verb requires to value the nominative feature on the pronoun. However, while the Spanish pronoun can value its agreement feature on the English verb (it is morphologically marked with an -s), the English pronoun cannot value its nominative feature because the Spanish third person verb lacks any morphological marking, as shown in (9) and (10). Thus, we argue that the need to value the agreement feature borne by the Spanish pronoun (to abide by this version of the “analogical criterion”) supersedes the PF Disjunction Theorem.

## Neurocognitive changes in gender processing in French children

*Phaedra Royle, Alexandra Marquis, Karsten Steinhauer*

Due its morphological idiosyncrasy, gender agreement is an aspect of French that can be difficult to master. Although research shows that adjectives can be well mastered by age 5 (Roulet-Amiot & Jakubovicz, 2006), it is not clear that children process gender agreement in the same way as adults (Royle & Valois, 2010). The objective was to better understand the cognitive underpinnings of gender agreement processing in the French

noun-phrase (DP). To this end, we used an alien learning paradigm and recorded participants' event related potentials (ERPs) with an auditory-visual sentence-picture matching paradigm. ERPs can measure ongoing language processing with millisecond-by-millisecond precision and can tap into the emergence of online sensitivity to agreement errors in child neurolinguistic profiles. 50 children aged 4;6 to 8;9 participated in the experiment. They listened to a story about Zilda the alien coming to Quebec and learning French. Zilda produced agreement errors, as well as correct sentences. French children showed two patterns of brain response to errors, whereby ERP profiles reflected lexical access, showing a typical lexico-semantic centro-parietal negativity (N400) to errors at younger ages (< 7 years), and grammatical feature checking at older ages (> 7 years), indexed by a biphasic adult-like left anterior negativity (LAN) followed by a positive shift (P600) (Molinaro et al, 2011). These data, in conjunction with previous elicitation data (Royle & Valois, 2010), support the notion that adjective agreement processes in French are initially based on lexical selection and only later on feature checking. This study establishes the usefulness of this type of paradigm in child language research (and populations with similar issues), where common issues are lack of cooperation, inability to make grammaticality judgments, output errors, and illiteracy.

### **Differential object marking in Spanish speaking heritage speakers in Germany**

*Katrin Schmitz*

Heritage speakers are generally defined as bilinguals living in a social and familial setting speaking the minority language of their parents. There is vivid discussion of whether the heritage language spoken by heritage speakers and their children is affected by language loss/attrition or even incomplete acquisition or whether a gradual process of language change is at play. The phenomenon of Differential Object Marking (DOM) referring to the use of a preposition with direct accusative objects under particular circumstances is an ideal testing ground due to its complexity and potential vulnerability: According to Von Stechow (2008) and Von Stechow & Kaiser (2011), DOM can be defined first with regard to semantic and (discourse) pragmatic properties of the direct object such as animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality, and second with regard to the lexical semantics of the verb (e.g., telicity), affectedness and selectional restrictions with respect to the position of the direct object. To date, there are few studies on the acquisition of DOM in Spanish: see Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2008) for monolingual Spanish L1 acquisition, Guijarro-Fuentes (2011, 2012) for the acquisition of DOM in Spanish L2 acquisition (L1 English), Guijarro-Fuentes & Marinis (2011) for the acquisition of DOM in school-aged bilingual English-Spanish children, Montrul & Bowles (2009) for DOM in Mexican heritage speakers in the United States. The maintenance of DOM in heritage Spanish combined with German is expected to differ from the results for the language combination Spanish/English since German has overt case-marking. The talk will present data from a preliminary study with semi-structured interviews from 23 interviews with first (n=8) and second generation (n=8) migrants and a control group (n=7). It will be argued that heritage speakers acquire a complete, but changed variety of the heritage language due to language contact.

### **German-Spanish bilingual children "resist" Spanish resyllabification**

*Conxita Lleó and Marta Saceda*

Spanish has a resyllabification process that converts a consonantal coda into an onset, if the following word begins with a vowel (Harris 1983, Hualde 1989, Colina 1997, 2006).

German does not resyllabify: If a word initial syllable lacks an onset, a glottal stop is generally epenthesized. Both processes, resyllabification and glottal stop insertion, preserve the unmarkedness of syllable structure by providing an onset, albeit by means of different mechanisms: the left edge of words is manipulated in Spanish (compromising word identity) and badged in German. The present study discusses child data on the acquisition of Spanish resyllabification: from a group of monolingual Spanish children (Madrid, 2;0 to 3;0), and from two groups of German-Spanish simultaneous bilinguals (Hamburg, 2;0 to 5;0; Hamburg and Manheim, 7;0 to 8;0). For the bilingual groups, Spanish is the weak or heritage language (HL). The main hypothesis of the study predicts that, if frequency is a crucial variable for acquisition, resyllabification will be soon acquired. Whereas monolinguals begin to resyllabify to very high percentages, as soon as they produce consonantal codas, bilinguals have low percentages of resyllabification, often inserting a glottal stop instead. This lack of resyllabification is attributed to negative transfer from German, as it has been shown that HL speakers exhibit much interaction between their two phonological components, substituting fragments of the hierarchy of constraints of the stronger language for the HL hierarchy. Resyllabification implies variation in word production, because a word that begins with a vowel can be alternatively produced with an initial consonant. This tendency against variation of lexical form has also been found in bilingual Spanish regarding processes like spirantization and PA assimilation of nasals. It is concluded that these various phenomena be ultimately unified under an outranking UNIFORMITY constraint, which appears to be a more powerful factor than frequency.

## Friday afternoon

### Towards an encompassing view on L1 and L2 interface variability: A cognitive pragmatic perspective

*José Amenós, Aoife Ahern*

In this talk we will contribute data that indirectly suggests support for different approaches to the description of the particular characteristics of L2 processing: the shallow structure hypothesis Clahsen & Felser (2006), and for similar reasons, acquisition-by-processing perspectives such as those adopted by Van Patten (1996), which both emphasise the L2er's tendency to rely more heavily on lexico-semantic and pragmatic cues than on syntax; and on the other hand, the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace & Filiaci 2006; Sorace 2011), which argues that the locus of difficulty and vulnerability in an L2 lies at the interfaces of different linguistic domains. Our data is related to the ability to interpret effects on sentence meaning of indicative/subjunctive mood contrasts in Spanish conditional and concessive constructions, measured through a 30-item multiple-choice interpretation task completed by L1 French (n=49) and L1 English (n=40) adult learners at B2 and C1 CEFR proficiency levels in formal learning contexts, as well as a native European Spanish control group (n=35). Mood interpretation in these environments requires identifying and relating contextual assumptions that licence one among several possible interpretations. As predicted by the IH, results show that integrating linguistic and discourse-pragmatic information is problematic for L2ers. No significant differences were found between the learner groups, nor among the proficiency levels. Our data also suggest the pre-eminence of lexico-semantic and pragmatic cues, in consonance with Van Patten and Clahsen & Felsers' postulates. Nonetheless, integrating information from different domains is also problematic for

native speakers; in the items tested, L1 speakers occasionally showed greater variation than the L2ers. To offer a coherent description of the variation attested in the different groups, we will discuss the advantages of adopting a perspective on the interaction of syntax, semantics, contextual assumptions and processing capacities based on cognitive pragmatics and, more specifically, on Sperber & Wilson's (1986/1995) Relevance Theory.

### Anaphoricity and the acquisition of imperfective aspect

*Isabel García del Real Marco & María José Ezeizabarrena*

Although some studies on the acquisition of grammatical aspect have reported adult-like comprehension of perfective and imperfective (IPF) morphemes at the age of 3 (Vinnitskaya & Wexler, 2001), some more recent studies concluded that the comprehension of IPF is not yet adult-like at age 5. Children's non adult-like interpretation of the IPF has been attributed to the anaphoric nature of the IPF and to children's difficulties linking the IPF to the relevant time in the discourse when testing IPF in narrative contexts (van Hout 2008) and to the lack of an explicit time interval of reference (RefT) in the experiment (Kazanina & Philips 2007). The present study investigates whether children's comprehension of Spanish IPF forms is affected by the discourse setting of the experiment in order to know to what extent the anaphoric properties of IPF forms are problematic for children. A picture selection task was carried out with the same materials but in three different experimental settings: 1) in a narrative without RefT; b) in a narrative with a durative RefT -a while clause with a durative event- and c) in a narrative with a punctual RefT -a when clause with a punctual event-. In the experiment, subjects had to relate PF and IPF telic predicates to pictures of complete, incomplete or ongoing events. 26 five year-old children were tested. Result shows that the comprehension of Spanish IPF pretérito imperfecto in a narrative (58% of target responses) improves when a durative RefT is provided (78% target responses) but not when a punctual RefT is provided (56% target responses). These results confirm that children's difficulties with the anaphoricity of the IPF can be overcome when a RefT is made explicit in a narrative task. However, not all kinds of RefT ease the task in the same way.

### Elicited production of Italian restrictive relative clauses and cleft sentences in typically and atypically developing children

*Anna Cardinaletti, Giorgia Del Puppo, Margherita Pivi*

We administered an elicited production and a repetition task to 13 Italian-speaking children affected by dyslexia (diagnosed/suspected) aged 6-10, in order to compare the acquisition of restrictive relative clauses and cleft sentences in typical and atypical development. Importantly, this is the first study on Italian investigating the production of such structures in children affected by dyslexia. Dyslexics uttered a much lower amount of gap ORs (4% diagnosed, 5% suspected) compared to controls (24%), and higher percentages of ORs with DP resumption (21% diagnosed, 17% suspected, vs. 5% TD), as attested in previous studies on SLI (Novogrodsky and Friedmann, 2006) and hearing-impaired children (Friedmann et al., 2008; Volpato, 2010). Importantly, dyslexics produced some SRs with DP resumption in the highest subject position, a strategy which was avoided by our control group. Also in the repetition task, they imitated a lower amount of target RCs, as it has been found for Italian SLI (Contemori and Garraffa, 2010). Dyslexics uttered a similar percentage of subject clefts compared to controls, and avoided the production of object clefts using (S)VO sentences, like TD children (Del



Puppo, Pivi, Cardinaletti, 2013). However, in the repetition task, they correctly imitated lower percentages of object clefts (81% diagnosed, 65% suspected, vs. 94% TD). The difficulty experienced by dyslexics in the production and imitation of gap ORs let us speculate that some of our participants with diagnosed/suspected dyslexia may also suffer from SLI (Guasti, 2013). While in the task on relative clauses, different patterns were observed for typically and atypically developing children, this difference was not found in the task on clefts, which were little produced by all children. However, in the repetition task, dyslexics performed worse than controls both in relative clauses and cleft sentences, which shows the importance of the repetition task to detect language impairments in children.

### Differential object marking in adult L2: The view from Romanian and Persian *Cristina Ciovârname, Larisa Avram, Anca Sevcenco*

Differential object marking (DOM) has received considerable attention in adult L2 learning research (Montrul, Bowles 2008, Guijarro-Fuentes, Marinis 2007, 2009); few studies, however, investigated contexts in which both L1 and L2 mark objects but under different semantic conditions. We investigate the learning of DOM in two such contexts: L1 Romanian - L2 Persian; L1 Persian - L2 Romanian. The Persian *râ* marks [+specific] objects. The Romanian *pe* marks [+specific] [+animate] objects. The relationship between the two systems is a subset-superset one, with Persian being the superset (Table 1). We address two questions: (i) are semantic universals accessible to adult learners?; (ii) is the learning process affected by the subset-superset relationship between the L1/L2 DOM systems? Our data come from two acceptability judgment tasks. Task 1 tested the use of *pe* in L2 Romanian. 14 Iranian intermediate learners and 14 native controls participated in the study. Task 2 targeted the use of *râ* in L2 Persian. 14 Romanian intermediate learners and 6 native controls participated in this task. In task 1 the participants did not accept *pe* with inanimate DPs (Fig. 2); their acceptance rate for partitives and specific indefinites was similar to the control group. In task 2 there was no difference between the responses to [-animate] and [+animate] DPs (Fig. 1). The acceptance rate for marked definite DPs, proper names and pronouns is higher than for partitives and specific indefinites in both tasks (Fig. 3-4). The acceptance rates in the L2 learner groups are lower than in the control groups. Our data indicate that L2 learners have access to semantic universals. The subset-superset relationship does not affect the learning route, irrespective of the subset/superset status of L2. There is no L1 transfer effect of semantic features with intermediate learners. The learners' lower acceptance rates can be attributed to proficiency level.

### Saturday morning

#### Pronominal variation in Uwa Spanish. A possible case of cross-linguistic influence *Leonardo Moreno*

My current research studied a language contact situation in which I first investigated whether there was cross-linguistic influence between the two languages of the bilingual or the two languages systems co-exist independently. Sánchez (2003) claims that the input in two languages generates syntactic changes in the bilingual grammar. Conversely, Costa and Santesteban (2004) argue that highly proficient bilinguals perform in either language without the transfer of syntactic properties. The first research question I

answer is whether the Spanish of the Uwa, highly proficient bilinguals, has idiosyncratic morph syntactic traces resulting from the contact between Uwa, an indigenous language, and Spanish. In the second research question I consider whether those traces evidence patterns of variation, and, how they can be accounted for. The fact that Spanish and Uwa have dissimilar article systems provides a rich testing ground for cross-linguistic influence. The Spanish article system displays gender, number, definiteness and indefiniteness while the Uwa article system does not display either (El/Un ratón come maíz [The/A mouse eats corn]) vs. ( $\emptyset$  Bonita teb yácaro [corn mouse eat]). The lack of an article system that conveys these semantic meanings in Uwa can bring about syntactic divergence in the Spanish of the Uwa people. To provide an account, I carried out two onsite visits to collect data in Cubara and Tunja, Colombia. I have obtained spontaneous speech samples from a group of 9 bilingual Spanish-Uwa speakers (the experimental group) and a group of 9 monolingual Spanish speakers (the control group). I have transcribed the interviews using the Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT) system and the Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) to extract and code the data. I analyzed the results of article production and omission which show evidence for an idiosyncratic Spanish article system.

### A syntactic account of differences in the processing and production of code-switched concord and agreement structures

*Rachel Klassen, Juana M. Licerias & María Landa-Buil*

Previous research on gender agreement in code-switching shows that Spanish-dominant but not English-dominant Spanish-English bilinguals assign English nouns the gender of the translation equivalent (analogical criterion) (Licerias et al, 2008). English-dominant bilinguals also use gender differently in concord and agreement, performing like Spanish-dominant bilinguals with switched agreement structures (Valenzuela et al, 2012) but demonstrating more native-like gender agreement in non-switched concord structures (Montrul et al, 2008). Opacity of gender marking on the Spanish noun is reported to affect gender agreement as well (Montrul et al, 2008). We propose a double-feature valuation analysis to account for differences between switched concord and agreement structures, showing that valuation mechanisms differ between these structures with regards to directionality and complexity. Directionality is more problematic in concord as features are valued in two directions (1), while more complexity exists in agreement as the DP must first subsume the features of the Spanish equivalent in order to value the features of the Adj (2). 43 English-dominant Spanish-English adult bilinguals performed an acceptability judgment task (3a & 4a) and 81 performed a sentence completion task (3b & 4b). In the acceptability task, participants showed a significant preference for agreement over concord structures ( $p=.004$ ). In the production task accuracy (defined as the analogical criterion) was significantly higher for concord over agreement structures ( $p<.001$ ), and there was also a significant effect ( $p=.05$ ) of opacity of gender marking for agreement but not concord. These results suggest that different characteristics are prominent in the processing and production of these switched structures. In processing the directionality of the double-feature valuation is more important than the complexity, as shown in the preference for agreement over concord, whereas in production complexity has a stronger influence than directionality and thus the analogical criterion is applied significantly more consistently in concord than in agreement structures. Opacity of gender marking affects agreement but not concord given that gender inflection on the adjective also displays gender-transparent and gender-opaque options.

## Which 'which'-questions are easy? A study from French acquisition *Anamaria Bentea and Stephanie Durrleman*

Object which-questions, contrary to object who-questions, pose challenges to children, but the cause of the difficulties is debated. The grammatical intervention account attributes children's difficulties to the presence of a [+NP] subject in the interpretive chain formed by the moved object with the gap. This account has been challenged by an approach in terms of processing limitations. The latter claims that which-questions are more problematic because they are associated with an increased processing load determined by properties that are not structural, such as set-restriction. Our study taps into this debate by investigating (a) the effect of set-restriction on the comprehension wh-questions and (b) how this links to working memory (WM) capacities. We tested 119 French-speaking children aged 5 to 11 on object wh-questions varied across three conditions: +NP+Set-restricted (which dog), +NP-Set-restricted (which animal) and -NP-Set-restricted (who). Participants had to choose the correct character identified by a wh-question (1-3). Each question was associated with two pictures illustrating the same action with reversed Agent-Patient roles. WM was assessed through digit-span tasks. The crucial finding (Graph 1) reveals that children's performance across all ages significantly improves when the wh-object is [-Set-restricted] regardless of whether it is marked +/- NP (all  $p < .001$ ). Inclusion of the NP feature per se does not entail difficulties for children, contrary to what an explanation purely in terms of syntactic features predicts. Moreover digit-span scores significantly impact accuracy for +Set-restricted ( $p < .001$ ) but not for -Set-restricted structures ( $p > .05$ ). We argue in favour of a processing account drawing on the cost associated with set-restriction to explain increased soliciting of WM resources for this operation and improved performance in its absence: -Set-restricted objects are easier to retrieve from memory as they are semantically distinct from the +Set-restricted intervening subject.

## Acquiring Italian accusative clitic placement in simultaneous bilingualism *Tihana Kras, Maja Milicevic*

This study investigates Italian accusative clitic placement in simultaneous bilingualism, testing one of the predictions of the original version of the Interface Hypothesis; specifically, it examines the claim that narrow syntactic properties are acquired early in bilingual L1 acquisition (Sorace & Filiaci, 2006). We consider accusative clitic placement to be a purely syntactic phenomenon due to the fact that object clitics in Italian occupy different verb-adjacent positions depending on the type of the clause: in finite clauses they appear to the left of the highest finite verb, while in non-finite clauses they occur to the right of the infinitive; in restructuring constructions they can either precede the finite verb, giving rise to clitic climbing, or follow the infinitive; in causative constructions they must climb to the finite verb. The study included two groups of children aged 13-14, Italian monolinguals and Croatian-Italian simultaneous bilinguals, and a group of adult monolinguals. The participants judged the acceptability of object clitics placed before, within and after the predicate in finite, restructuring and causative constructions using Magnitude Estimation. The bilinguals showed non-target-like behaviour in causative constructions in the present, where they did not distinguish between the licit preverbal (Il padre LO fa lavorare giorno e notte 'His father makes him work day and night') and the illicit postverbal (\*L'insegnante fa lavorarLO troppo 'The teacher makes him work too hard') and intermediate (\*Il capo fa LO lavorare senza

pausa ‘The boss makes him work without a break’) positions of the clitic. Straightforward cross-linguistic influence is excluded given that Croatian object clitics occupy the second position in all types of clauses. The results suggest that some aspects of Italian accusative clitic placement may not be acquired even at late stages of bilingual L1 acquisition, which is not in line with the version of the Interface Hypothesis tested.

### III. POSTERS

#### Grammatical and interpretive constraints on the development of wh-questions in L1 French

*Katerina Palasis and Richard Faure*

The Acquisition of French wh-questions: Crossing diglossia and topicality We investigate variation in wh-questions in Metropolitan French (see (1), overview in Myers, 2007) by examining new child data in the light of recent diglossic studies (Massot and Rowlett, 2013). We attempt to show that variation is syntactically and interpretively restrained. The diglossic approach predicts that a speaker activates only one grammar per utterance. Applied to language acquisition, diglossia implies that children acquire two grammars (henceforth G1 and G2). Grammatical consistency has also been observed in child data between the morpho-syntactic status of subject clitics and the form of negation (Palasis, 2013), as in (2). Note that at this stage G2 barely appears in child speech. We hypothesize that grammatical consistency extends to wh-questions, and make the prediction that the G1 and G2 sets of features will each emerge within a subset of wh-structures. This prediction is borne out (see Table 1). First, the agreement markers (G1) appear in wh-fronted (b) and wh-in situ (c) questions, while clitic-verb inversion (G2) surfaces only in fronted wh-questions (a). Crucially, wh-in situ is precluded with clitic-verb inversion (d), thus making wh-in situ a feature of G1 only. The absence of clitic-verb inversion in G1 also explains the rarity of wh+est-ce que forms in child speech (Strik 2008; our data), since est-ce is a verb-clitic sequence that belongs to G2. Est-ce que only cooccurs with que in our data, but we do not take these occurrences as counterexamples, since we consider the entire form as an unanalyzed chunk (in line with Hulk 1996). This first part of our account based on diglossia places (1e) and (1f) in G2. We are left with four possible patterns in G1, whose distribution we propose to explain on the basis of topic switching (3a) vs. continuity (3b). (1) a. *il va où ?* ‘he goes where’ b. *c’est où qu’il va ?* ‘it is where that he goes’ c. *où il va ?* ‘where he goes’ d. *où c’est qu’il va ?* ‘where is it that he goes’ e. *où est-ce qu’il va ?* ‘where is it that he goes’ f. *où va-t-il ?* ‘where goes he’ (2) a. G1 (agreement marker + simple negation): *mais il voulait pas.* (Lou, 4;9) b. G2 (argument + discontinuous negation): *mais lui il ne voulait pas.* (Lou, 4;9) ‘but he did not want to’ (3) a. *Ah oui et le gros i s’appelle comment?* (Elena 4;10) ptc yes and the fat.guy he=is called how b. *Comment i s’appelle le gros?* (Elena 4;10) ‘What’s the fat guy’s name?’ Table 1: Distribution of the wh-questions in our corpus G1 G2 a. *où es-tu Maman Ours ?* (Carla, 3;5) ‘where are you Mummy Bear’ \* } b. *les cochons d’Inde où i[z] habitent ?* (Liza, 4;2) ‘Guinea pigs where they live’ } \* c. *i va où l’éléphant ?* (Massimo, 2;9) ‘he goes where the elephant’ } \* d. *\*est-elle où la tortue ?* ‘is she where the tortoise’ \* \* e. *\*Où est-ce qu’il est ?* ‘where is it that he is’ \* } Selected references Hulk, A. 1996. The Syntax of Wh-Questions in Child French. in Amsterdam Series in Child Language Development, vol. 5, p. 129-172. Massot, B., Rowlett, P. (Eds.),

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### **Comparative analysis of the acquisition of syllabic structure and errors in preschool children with SLI**

*Eva Aguilar-Mediavilla; Lucia Buil-Legaz; Daniel Adrover-Roig*

According to the “Implicit grammatical rule deficit hypothesis” (Crago & Gopnik, 1994) adapted by Fee (1995) to phonology, CV syllable structure is universal and complex syllable structures are reduced to CV. Syllabic structures and their simplification processes were analysed in a group of children with SLI (N=5) and compared with those found in two control groups, one matched by age (N=5), and the other by MLU-w (N=5). The children with SLI were slower to acquire syllabic structures than the Age Controls, and maintained simplification processes that were not seen in their age-matched counterparts. Language Level Controls and the children with SLI presented differences in the first acquired structure, the CV. However, syllabic simplifications do not appear to be unique to the SLI; even though simplifications persist for longer in these subjects than in Age Controls, their prevalence is similar to that found in the MLU-w controls. Our results do not support Fee’s hypothesis.

### **Language development in cochlear implant users: A dual-stream neurolinguistic analysis**

*Ignacio Moreno-Torres, Sonia Madrid-Cánovas, Esther Moruno-López, Gemma Blanco*

This study adopts a dual-stream neurolinguistic model to explore the long term outcomes of a group of Spanish learning pediatric cochlear implant (CI) users. According to this model, the brain has at least two parallel and functionally segregated linguistic processing streams (Hickok, 2012), one involved in auditory-motor segmental level associations (i.e. the dorsal stream) and another requiring less acoustic details and providing access to conceptual representations (i.e. the ventral stream). We advance the hypothesis that, due to the limited information provided by their devices, CI users show selective deficits in the dorsal stream. Three predictions of this hypothesis are presented and evaluated: 1) CI users struggle to develop those tasks which are supported by the dorsal stream (articulation and phonological working memory). 2) Early in development CI users do not show poor receptive language; however, due to the role of WM for lexical development, their receptive language will develop slowly; 3) Their long-term outcomes will be very much determined by the environmental conditions. The data was obtained from a group of 10 CI users who participated in a longitudinal study. All the children lived in monolingual Spanish families. The mean age at CI activation was 18 months. The children were followed for four years. Early receptive language data was obtained from the receptive lexicon subtest of the MacArthur inventory. A measure of receptive language was obtained after 3 and 4 years of implant use. Measures of articulation and phonological WM were obtained by means of repetition tasks. The children’s families were rated according to a scale measuring the degree of implication in rehabilitation. The results confirmed the main predictions. 1) CI children show important articulation and WM deficits; 2) after 12 months of CI use their receptive

language was significantly higher than that of typical 12 month olds, but three years later the advantage had disappeared; 3) Family implication was correlated with the scores in receptive language. We conclude that the dual stream models offers a plausible framework to explain the outcomes of CI users.

### **DPs as conflict sites in Papiamentu-Dutch-Spanish multilingualism**

*Myrthe Wildeboer, M. Carmen Parafita Couto*

Societal multilingualism is the norm in the Dutch Antilles, with Papiamentu (the indigenous language) in contact with Dutch, Spanish and English (among other languages). Papiamentu is generally SVO with postnominal modifiers and no gender Dutch, in contrast, is considered to be a language with no dominant word order with regard to S, V and O (Dryer, 2008; Shetter, 1958) but it has pre-nominal modifiers and a gender system distinguishing common and neuter gender. Spanish is SVO and has a binary masculine/feminine gender system, and adjectives may appear pre- and postnominally. Following Hartsuiker (2004) we investigate how much syntax is shared amongst these three languages within the mind of a multilingual speaker. More concretely, this cross-sectional study aims to explore whether bilingual competence can indeed be identified as showing different effects leading to instability in the bilingual speakers' competence in one or all languages at play, specifically when they are compared to monolinguals. We designed two experimental tasks (i.e., sentence verification task and event-related brain potentials (ERPs)) measuring gender concord and adjective placement. 24 early Papiamentu-Dutch-Spanish trilinguals originating from Curacao and Aruba but living in the Netherlands participated together with two monolingual speaker groups (24 Spanish and Dutch monolinguals respectively). Group results show that our bilingual speakers' competence is subject to different effects in the morpho-syntactic domain, some of which we argue result from processes of interference (i.e. syntactic activation is non-selective). We discuss the implication of these findings in reference to current heritage language acquisition debates (incomplete acquisition and/or attrition).

### **Early interpretation of negated quantifiers**

*Tania Barberán Recalde*

Early Interpretation of Negated Quantifiers Children tend to accept weak quantifiers in contexts where strong ones hold (Noveck 2004), failing to generate Scalar Implicatures (SI). When a sentence has a negated quantifier, double-knowledge is required: (i) syntactic knowledge to determine the scope of negation and (ii) pragmatic knowledge to derive the SI. This study aims to test whether 5-year-old Spanish/Basque children exhibit both pieces of knowledge. Sentences (1a, 1a') can be interpreted as (1b), where NOT has wide-scope ('NONE-reading'), or as (1c), where NOT has narrow-scope ('SOME-reading'). (1) a. NOT ALL the apples are in the boxes a'. ALL the apples are NOT in the boxes b. ¬ (ALL the apples are in the boxes) c. ¬ALL the apples are in the boxes A sentence-evaluation task (Experiment1) tested children's comprehension of 'not all' for Spanish *no todos* and Basque *ez guztiak* in Pragmatically Incorrect (PI) sentences. A puppet uttered (1a) in a context like (2). Children could accept or reject (1a), generating a (1b) or a (1c) interpretation, respectively. (2) NONE of the apples are in the boxes Results showed that Spanish and Basque children accepted (1a) in a 48% and 55% of cases, respectively. A modified version of the materials (Experiment2), based on the substitution in the order of the items, tested children's comprehension of 'all not' for Spanish *todos no* and Basque *guztiak ez* in PI sentences. The puppet uttered (1a') in a context like (2). In this

case, results showed that both Spanish and Basque children accepted (1a') in a 76% of cases. Data reveal (i) that Spanish and Basque children are sensitive to the position of NOT, based on the higher percentage of acceptance-rates in (Q-N)-expressions (see Musolino&Lidz, 2006), and (ii) that both pragmatic and syntactic knowledge are required to comprehend sentences consisting of a negated quantifier. REFERENCES: Musolino, J. and Lidz, J. (2006). Why Children aren't universally successful with Quantification. *Linguistics*. 44(4), 817-852. Noveck, I.A. (2004). Pragmatic inferences related to logical terms. In I.A. Noveck & D. Sperber (Eds.) *Experimental Pragmatics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

### **On the L1 acquisition of differential object marking: The role of semantic universals** *Larisa Avram, Sigal Uziel-Karl, F. Nihan Ketrez*

In a significant number of languages, direct objects prominent on the animacy and/or the specificity scale are differentially (case-) marked (Bossong 1998). Another feature involved in differential object marking (DOM) is topicality (e.g. Spanish, Leonetti 2004). In many languages, marking is optional in some contexts. DOM systems, therefore, seem to have the ingredients of delayed acquisition. However, Rodríguez Mondoñedo (2008) offers data from child Spanish which show that the DOM preposition *a* is used target-like early. Extending the investigation to other languages might contribute to our understanding of the acquisition of this interface phenomenon. This is precisely the goal of the present study. We focus on DOM in Romanian, whose system is similar to the Spanish one, compared to Hebrew and Turkish. DOM is constrained by animacy and specificity in Romanian, by definiteness in Hebrew and by specificity in Turkish. In Romanian the marker is the preposition *pe* (1), in Hebrew the particle *et-* (2), and in Turkish the suffix *-(y)I* (3). Our data come from four longitudinal corpora (Table 1). The marked objects have been uniformly coded for: (i) semantic features: [+/-animate], [+/-definite], [+/-specific]; (ii) lexical category: proper name, pronoun, noun phrase, partitive, quantifier; (iii) omissions, overgeneralizations, and substitutions. Despite the differences between Romanian, Hebrew and Turkish, the acquisition pattern is similar and corroborates the results previously reported for Spanish. Children begin to mark objects early (Hebrew - 1;3; Turkish - 1;6; Romanian - 2;1). DOM applies earlier and more robustly to proper names, pronouns and definite DPs (over 90%) and is then extended to DPs lower on the specificity scale. The number of omissions and overgeneralizations is low (below 8%) and substitutions are not attested. Our data reveal the possible facilitating role of semantic universals whose interpretability boosts the acquisition of case, irrespective of language specific properties.

### **Mood selection in early complement clauses of European Portuguese** *Alice Margarida de Jesus*

This paper addresses the acquisition of the subjunctive and indicative moods in complement clauses by monolingual children acquiring European Portuguese. This study is built on the basis of three hypotheses that have been made in literature to explain the distribution of mood: (i) the selection of indicative/subjunctive is conditioned by the realis/irrealis opposition (e.g., Grevisse 1969), i.e., the indicative is selected when the proposition is taken to be true in the real world; (ii) the selection of one or another mood is dependent on whether the context is veridical or non-veridical (Giannakidou 1999); (iii) the indicative is selected if a positive epistemic attitude is expressed towards the relevant proposition, otherwise subjunctive being selected (cf. Marques 2009). These

hypotheses lead to different predictions as to the mood selected by some predicates, cf. Table 1 in annex document. The first proposal seems to explain the data of Russian, the second accounts for Greek and other Balkan languages, while the third accounts for the data of Portuguese and other Romance languages. If these different accounts hold for different languages, we can assume that these are options of UG and that the child's task is to determine which one is relevant for the language he is acquiring. An elicited production task was applied to four groups of children (ages ranging from 4 to 9) and the tested verbs consisted of two different matrix predicates that were selected for each one of the verb classes indicated on Table 1. Preliminary results (data of 50 subjects), show that younger children tend to avoid the subjunctive mood with epistemic verbs, even when they already use it in other contexts. Notwithstanding, at these earlier stages, a small percentage of children produce some subjunctive forms with the matrix fictional verb *sonhar* ('to dream'), which is not a possibility in the target grammar.

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## How do German speakers acquire the Spanish tense system as a foreign language?

*Tim Diaubalick*

Both the Interpretability Hypothesis and the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis attribute major effects to the learner's L1 regarding the success in their L2. However, concerning the acquisition of the Spanish past tenses, some specific hypotheses (like the Primacy of Aspect or the Default Tense Hypothesis) claim definite stages that the learner will go through without mentioning a dependence of the mother tongue. Nevertheless, until now there have been only very few studies investigating the acquisition amongst speakers whose native language is not English. The comparison between various tense systems reveals great differences: while the Spanish Imperfect can be seen as either merely temporal or mainly aspectual, the important fact is that it partly resembles the English Past Progressive and the "used to"- construction. On the contrary, in German, on the other hand, there is no strong evidence that there are any aspectual differences at all. Thus, an empirical study with German students was conducted, to test the existing theories. As in German the Present Perfect is the most usual past tense, a transfer should result in an overuse of the corresponding Spanish forms as the start point for the Reassembly Task. The results here were surprising: although the specific past tense theories, as expected, could not be confirmed, there seemed to be no direct transfer from the participants' native language. Instead, the Imperfect was being over-generalized. Furthermore, the participants seemed to rely heavily on temporal adverbials in a way that exceeded any similar effects observed in earlier studies. The German language often attributes higher values to lexical elements, such as particles and adverbs, than to verbal morphology, which represents a possible cause for the observed behaviour. If it is true that Germans consider only temporal adjuncts, this



should also be manifested in other tenses. For instance, the differences between the Spanish future tenses, which are often explained via temporal distance, could be a further contrast that underlies lexical trigger effects.

### Evidence from resolving pronominal reference in Basque

*Maialen Iraola Azpiroz & Maria-José Ezeizabarrena*

Linguistic phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface are principal loci of childhood delays. The uniform finding is that overt pronouns, typically used for expressing topic shift [+TS] as opposed to null pronouns [-TS], are overgeneralized to [-TS] contexts by children and attrited and L2 adults (Sorace 2011). The extended scope of the overt pronoun results in such a pronoun being the learner-default, which contrasts paradoxically with the notion of linguistic default, i.e. the null pronoun (Tsimplici 2011). Previous studies in one-referent predicates with 6-7-year-old L1 and L2 Basque children have shown a) a preference for null over overt subject pronouns regardless of [+/-TS] contexts in an acceptability judgment task and b) a non-adultlike general preference for coreference with the preceding subject, regardless of pronoun type in a PST. The current study is a follow-up of the latter in two-referent predicates, where again the two groups of children prefer to find an intrasentential antecedent for both null and overt pronouns. All child data obtained so far converge in revealing that both child groups show an immature knowledge of the discursive specificities of overt pronouns, consistent with child Italian and Spanish (Sorace et al. 2009; Shin and Cairns 2012). However, Basque child data do not face the paradox between the linguistic- and learner default, which may be related to the fact that Basque is a threefold pro-drop language, allowing the omission of up to three arguments in contrast to Romance languages where only subjects can be dropped. In addition, the importance of the input in the acquisition of the discursive features of pronouns is compatible with a) the less adultlike interpretation of overt pronouns by L2ers compared to L1ers and b) with the convergence of the null pronoun as the linguistic-default in target Basque and as the learner-default in the developing grammar of Basque. Shin, N. L. & Cairns, H. S. 2012. The development of NP selection in school-age children: Reference and Spanish subject pronouns. *Language Acquisition* 19, 3-38. Sorace, A. 2011. Pinning down the concept of "interface" in bilingualism. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 1, 1-33. Tsimplici, I. M. 2011. External interfaces and the notion of 'default'. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 1, 101-103.

### Processing obviation in Spanish

*Rocío Romero Mérida*

Introduction: In some Romance languages and other languages like Icelandic or Russian, certain embedded contexts require that the matrix and the embedded subject be disjoint in reference, as shown in (1): (1) Ronaldo se enteró de que Messi no quería que jugase. (Spanish) Ronaldoj heard that Messii didn't want that pro*\*i/j* played.3sg.pst.subj. ('Ronaldo heard that Messi didn't want him to play') In Generative Grammar this restriction was labeled 'Obviation' (Chomsky, 1981). Obviation occurs in very specific linguistic contexts like that in (1). In contexts like (2) there is no obviation and the matrix and the embedded subjects can freely corefer: (2) Ronaldo se enteró de que Messi no sabía que jugase. Ronaldoj heard that Messii didn't know that pro*i/j* played.3sg.pst.subj. ('Ronaldo heard that Messi didn't know that he played.') The main question addressed in this paper is: does processing of (1) differ from (2)? Background:

According to the Primitives of Binding framework (Reuland, 2001, 2011) encoding a dependency in the syntax module by an A-chain where one of the antecedents has been blocked is “less costly” than establishing coreference when there are two possible antecedents in discourse. Supporting experimental data was shown in Koornneef (2008). Proposal: Processing an anaphoric dependency as in (1) where one antecedent is banned is less costly, i.e. faster, than solving an anaphoric dependency in (2) where there are two competing antecedents in discourse. We also propose that obviation occurs when the main predicate is volitional but not epistemic (Kempchinsky, 2009), when there are sequence-of-tense restrictions between clauses and subjunctive mood is obligatorily used in the embedded clause. Therefore, we expect to find a difference in processing between complements to epistemic and volitional main predicates. Methods: Two self-paced reading experiments were carried out on Zep-software (Veenker, 2012). Fifty-one native speakers of Spanish between 18-50 years old were studied. Results: Results show that complements of volitional verbs like in (1) are often read faster than complements of epistemic verbs (2). However, the discourse bias towards one of the readings might affect processing time and thus, significant results may not show up. Moreover, results also show that the grammatical number of the antecedents affects reading times for sentences like (2), but it does not affect reading times for sentences like (1). It was shown that when the human language processor subliminally considers an antecedent that is mismatched in number with pro longer reading times are obtained, as compared to a sentence with two matching antecedents for pro that share the same number. Conclusion: An antecedent that is allowed by grammar interferes with the reader’s processing resources, but an antecedent that is grammatically illegal does not modulate reading times. Further research in SLA: Recent studies have shown that obviation cannot be explained throughout semantics or syntax exclusively but it is a product of the interface between these components and the discourse (Sánchez-Naranjo, 2013). In order to shed some light on the discussion about variability of L2 acquisition at the interface level (cf. Sorace 2011, White 2011), we would like to answer the following question: do L2ers of Spanish show a difference in processing between (1) and (2)? For this matter, we would like to carry out a corpus study together with a visual world paradigm online exercise. Research in L2-acquisition of structures similar to (1) and (2) have shown that purely syntactic structures like (1), i.e. obligatory use of subjunctive embedded clauses with volitional verbs, are more easily acquired/discriminated by L2 learners (Iverson, Kempchinsky and Rothman, 2008) and heritage bilingual speakers (Montrul, 2005) compared to structures like (2) where the choice of indicative or subjunctive depends on interpretive difference. Selected references: Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris. • Iverson, M., Kempchinsky, P. & Rothman, J. (2008). Interface Vulnerability and Knowledge of the Subjunctive/Indicative Distinction with Negated Epistemic Predicates in L2 Spanish. *EUROSLA Yearbook*, 8, 135-163. • Kempchinsky, P. (2009). What can the subjunctive disjoint reference effect tell us about the subjunctive? *Lingua* 119, 1788-1810. • Koornneef, A. (2008). *Eye-Catching Anaphora*. Utrecht: LOT Intemation Dissenation Series. • Montrul, S. (2005). Second language acquisition and first language loss in adult early bilinguals: Exploring some differences and similarities. *Second Language Research* 21 (3), 199-249. • Reuland, E. (2001). Primitives of Binding. *Linguistic Inquiry*, pp. 439-492. • Reuland, E. (2011). *Anaphora and Language Design*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press. • Sánchez-Naramjo, J. (2013). El efecto de referencia disjunta en español: diversas perspectivas sobre un fenómeno complejo. *Lingüística y Literatura*, 64, pp 13-32. • Veenker, T.J.G. (2012). *The Zep Experiment Control Application (0.16.0)* [Computer software]. Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS, Utrecht University.

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