Interfaces in Language 3

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Edited by

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CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS

PUBLISHING

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This book first published 2013

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-4255-9, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4255-6

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PREFACE

The papers in this collection represent a selection from those accepted for presentation at the third *Interfaces in Language* conference, hosted from **4 – 6** May 2011 at the University of Kent, and organised by the university's Centre for Language and Linguistics Studies (CLLS). Similar to the previous years, the number of participants was kept low and parallel sessions were avoided in a bid to provide the most fertile environment possible for participant interaction and the forging of new links between language enthusiasts of all stripes. In line with the conference's title, we invited applications which held true to the interface theme but did not place restrictions on the way in which 'interface' was interpreted. The result was a heterogeneous set of talks, interspersed with and complemented by lively discussions, confirming that the interdisciplinary setting we tried to provide was a good way of cultivating discussion between linguists who might otherwise not cross paths. We hope our participants drew as much satisfaction from the event as we did. Subsequent submissions fell loosely into five themes: Language Acquisition; Syntax-Semantics; Syntax-Morphology; Syntax-Pragmatics; Language Policy and Phonology.

Starting with Part I, we open with **Pedro Guijarro-Fuentes'** and **María Pilar Larrañaga's** paper, which discusses acquisition issues raised by the specific and generic interpretation of nominals (bare and definite) in Spanish and English. The licensing conditions on these elements in Spanish and English differ in that bare nouns are only licensed in Spec-IP in the latter language. Gathering data from three children (two monolingual Spanish and one bilingual), the authors predict generic nominals to surface prior to specific nominals. This is not borne out by the data, where it is seen that bare nouns are problematic in all three children. In part II, we move on to **Man-Ki Theodora Lee's** paper on neg-whQ constructions in Cantonese. This is a minimalist analysis of quantifier raising, which assumes existence of a NegQP, comprising the negative morpheme *mou* and the wh-phrase. The unique SOV word order in constructions that have an object neg-whQ is accounted for on this QR account, as are the characteristic dual interpretations (i.e. non-existential and presupposed existential) of neg-whQ constructions. The author extends this analysis to another type of movement, namely neg-raising. If on the right path, this analysis could account for the indefinite interpretation of wh-phrases,

available when preceded by negation. The topic of Part III straddles the divide between syntax and morphology. We begin with **Masaharu Shimada and Akiko Nagano,** who adopt a lexeme-based approach of Japanese reflexives, having shown that the properties of pure and near reflexives cannot be captured by the traditional demarcation between bound and free morphemes. Upon a methodical demonstration of the absence of parallelism between the affixal nature of reflexive elements and their interpretative restrictions, they reduce the inventory of reflexives by classifying affixal reflexives in Japanese as surface variants of one underlying lexeme. This new realignment of reflexives maps quite neatly with their syntactic and morphological distributions. Next is **John Partridge's** work, which compares morphological, semantic and syntactic properties of German and English modal verbs. With respect to German modals, he finds a stronger morphological paradigm, a greater variety of interpretations (which in English is met by periphrasis), and a number of syntactic parallels with lexical verbs. On this basis, he concludes that German modals behave more like lexical verbs than their English counterparts. Part IV leads us to the bridge between syntax and pragmatics. In this section the authors consider constructions which require syntactic regulation but also pragmatic enrichment. **Marina Kolokonte** looks at Information Structure requirements of 'ellipsis in coordination' in Modern Greek. Based on Kolokonte (2008), she argues that the remnant that is present in the second, elliptical conjunct is displaced to the left periphery of the clause, where it is assigned the Information Structure role of contrastive topic. It is also proposed that this contrastive topicalisation forces narrow focus on the polarity marker. **Vikki Janke's** paper on non-obligatory control builds a representation of this relation using the same mechanism that she developed to regulate syntactically mediated control in Janke (2008). Her first aim is to demarcate the point at which pragmatics can take over from syntax, by formulating an LF-rule, which, properly confined, will not over-generate. Her second aim is to derive the +human restriction on these structures. An entirely new theme is explored in the final contribution in Part V from **Gladis Massini-Cagliari.** The author conducts a diachronic and synchronic investigation of the pronunciation of proper names of foreign origin in medieval (archaic) Portuguese and contemporary European and Brazilian Portuguese. Her diachronic investigation leads her to conclude that the majority of names of foreign origin underwent a phonological adaptation which conforms to the phonological system of the language. Examination of European and Brazilian Portuguese reveals a divide in terms of the degree of phonological adaptation; the process is substantially more permissive in

the latter language. This follows from state regulation of name-giving in Portugal but not Brazil. As such we see a range of foreign phonological and stress patterns in Brazil that is absent in Portugal.

We thank all of our participants for their contributions, which made the whole enterprise worthwhile.

University of Kent, Canterbury
August 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have been involved with the Interfaces Series since its inception, all of whom deserve to be acknowledged. But for this volume in particular, we would like to single out Damien Hall, David Hornsby, Michael Hughes, John Partridge and Jeremy Scott from the Centre of Language and Linguistics Studies at the University of Kent, as well as Billy Clarke and Napoleon Katsos, who were our keynote speakers at this year's conference. We are also most grateful to Cambridge Scholars Publishing for having supported the 3rd publication of this *Interfaces in Language* series.

This enterprise would have neither begun nor continued without John Partridge, so on the occasion of his retirement it seems most apt to dedicate this volume to him. This is for you, John, and comes with our warmest regards.

PART I:

INTERFACES IN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINITE AND BARE NOUN CONTRASTS IN LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

PEDRO GUIJARRO-FUENTES
AND MARÍA PILAR LARRAÑAGA

Abstract

Germanic and Romance languages differ in the way they allow for bare nouns (BNs) in the specifier position of INFL. Whilst Germanic languages allow for BNs in this position, BNs in the same position in Romance languages are banned. In the present study we analyzed data of two Spanish monolingual children growing up in Spain and a bilingual Spanish/English child living in the UK. The results show that all three children go through a stage in which target-deviant BNs are used. One monolingual child, Irene, overcomes this stage very early on, whilst the other child still makes errors in the very last recording. We argue that this untypical development is due to the not yet fully fledged implementation of INFL in Magín's grammar. The bilingual child makes the same type of errors as Magín, but as verbal inflections are target like, we argue that the preverbal target-deviant BNs in subject position are due to cross-linguistic influence from English. The target-deviant BNs in preposition phrases are attributed to the high number of chunks children have to learn and which have to be learned separately and whose meaning cannot be inferred from the meaning of the nouns at stake.

1. Introduction

Recent theoretical linguistic approaches to language cognition have made strong theoretical predictions for close associations between language acquisition/learning and the appearance of complex properties that characterize and distinguish human languages across space and time. Examination of sub-modules of grammatical systems in isolation (e.g.,

phonology, syntax, semantics, morphology and pragmatics) cannot provide us with an adequate account of how language acquisition is possible. Modern linguistic descriptions indicate that sub-modules of linguistic systems, by definition, are not independent of each other, rather, they work concurrently to make the interaction between sound, structure and meaning plausible. Only an incorporated approach involving the study of the interaction between different levels of linguistic knowledge - known as linguistic interfaces - has the assurance of enlightening us on fundamental questions. More particularly within the generative framework, which is the framework adopted for our purposes in this paper, grammar consists of the computational system or narrow syntax, the output of which feeds into phonetic form (PF) and logical form (LF) at the interfaces between different levels (Bos, Hollebrandse & Sleeman 2004; Chomsky 2007). Therefore, the enquiry of linguistic interfaces has the potential to make a crucial contribution towards a tenable, integrated model of the acquisition, constitution and organization of human mental linguistic systems in general, and more particularly, for language acquisition.

Largely, but not solely, within contemporary generative acquisition theory on first and bilingual language acquisition, empirical research is motivated by the hypothesis that acquisition delays in children (as well as L1 attrition and variability in adult L2 acquisition) are often related to the inherent complexity of acquiring interface-conditioned properties (e.g. Müller & Hulk 2001; Paradis & Navarro 2003; Platzack 2001; Serratrice et al. 2004; Sorace 2004, 2005, 2011 and references therein; Tsimpli et. al. 2004, amongst others). More specifically, several studies in monolingual and bilingual L1 acquisition have reported that in L1 acquisition, narrow syntactical phenomena and interface knowledge do not go hand in hand (Kramer 2000).

Some of these studies have focused on the acquisition of a relatively narrow set of structures, e.g., overt vs. null pronominal subjects and object expressions in different languages and by different learners acquiring a wider range of languages. Let us take a closer look at the acquisition of overt vs. null pronominal subjects which relates to the pro-drop parameter involving the syntax-information structure interface. In pro-drop languages, such as Greek, Italian and Spanish, overt subjects are strongly favoured when they introduce new information or when a contrast is established or a focus is required. On the contrary, null subjects are preferred when there is no switch in reference in a series of utterances in discourse, and when there is no need for focus and contrast. Serratrice et al. (2004) investigated the acquisition of overt vs. null pronominal subjects in an Italian/English bilingual child compared to two groups of MLU*w*-matched monolinguals.

This study showed that in Italian the bilingual child produced overt pronominal subjects in contexts where monolinguals prefer a null subject (see Schmitz (2007) for comparable results in German-Italian bilingual children, Patuto (2012) German-Italian and German-Spanish children). In addition, the bilingual child used post-verbal strong object pronouns rather than preverbal weak pronominal clitics. Similar results were obtained in adult L2 acquisition. Adult L2 learners of null subject languages whose first language (L1) does not allow null subjects seem to use null subjects correctly in obligatory contexts, but overuse overt subjects in contexts requiring a null pronoun (Serratrice et al. 2004). These results indicate a cross-linguistic influence in specific contexts at the syntax-pragmatics interface.

In light of these findings, it is important to investigate different interface phenomena with a precise analysis of what is entailed by the various interface properties. This article discusses original research from the syntax-semantic angle, addressing interface issues in Spanish first and bilingual language acquisition (defined broadly as language(s) learned in childhood) and aims to contribute to this general debate by studying the syntax and semantics of bare nouns in argument positions. The paper is organized as follows. The next section discusses the syntax and semantics of bare nouns in the adult target grammar, i.e., Spanish. Section three presents our predictions and research questions after reviewing some relevant studies for our study. Next, section four presents our own study in which we describe the participants, methodology and results. The main part of this article finishes with a discussion and general conclusions.

2. Linguistic Phenomena: Spanish

Under current minimalist proposals (Chomsky 1995, 2007), parametric differences among grammars are associated with properties of the lexicon. The lexicon, for example, includes functional categories related to number (Num), agreement (Agr), tense (T). These functional categories can be different from one language to another as to their configuration of associated formal features and feature values. Moreover, not all formal features have the same status whereby some are un-interpretable and others interpretable at the level of L(ogical) F(orm). Un-interpretable features encode only syntactic/formal properties relevant to the syntactic component, whereas interpretable features carry meaning and have semantic import. With this in mind, languages can vary (a) as to the functional categories instantiated in their grammar and (b) the features associated with particular functional categories. In this sense, let us present in what follows the

functional categories involved and the features associated to them that constrain the grammar of Bare Nouns and DPs in subject and object position.

(1) Bare plurals in Romance (Spanish)

a. Subjects: *Leones viven en el Sahara.[1]
Viven leones en el Sahara.
'Lions live in the Sahara.'

b. Objects: Busco juguetes. (Generic in Spanish)
'I'm looking for toys.'

c. Prepositions: 1. Está en casa.
'(He/she) is at home.'
2. Va con amigos.
'(He/she) goes with friends.'

First we will focus on the syntactic constraints to end up with the description of the semantic intricacies of the distribution of BNs and phrases with determiners. Comparing (1a) and (1b) which holds across in two different syntactic positions, one can detect clear asymmetries. Namely, whereas BNs are disallowed in Romance languages (e.g., Spanish) in preverbal subject position, BNs are permitted in object position. Moreover, bare nouns are allowed in prepositional phrases as (1c1) demonstrates. In short, a combination of lexical/syntactic features constrains the appearance of bare nouns, namely, lexically governed positions (O, P) allow for bare nouns, whereas BNs are banned from positions which are not lexically governed such as the specifier of INFL. Let us turn to the semantic import of BNs. Following Diesing (1992) amongst many others on the semantic literature, the bare nouns in subject position hold an existential or kind reference meaning depending on the predicate. As regards bare nouns in object position, there it is a less clear-cut issue since they can hold an existential meaning with some extensional verbs (e.g., 'John eats bananas' with the implication that there are some bananas that were eaten by John), whereas they do not hold such an existential meaning with other intentional verbs (e.g. 'the child needs shoes'). The same holds for BNs in prepositional phrases (1c2). Bare nouns in prepositional phrases denote, however, in a restricted number of cases other meanings which are not directly linked to the meaning of the noun at stake as (1c1) illustrates, where the bare noun denotes 'home'.

In explaining the distribution and interpretation of the generic interpretation of plural NPs, we are dealing with a semantic parameter (Chierchia 1998): whether a phrase like *the lions* can have both a

maximality and a generic interpretation, or the maximality interpretation is the only option available. Based on the syntax/semantic interface set in (2) that conceives that syntactic categories are mapped onto semantic types:

(2) NP ….→ <*e*,t>
DP ….→ *e*

Chierchia (1998) proposes the Nominal Mapping Parameter (NMP), which accounts for typological variation amongst languages regarding the supply and semantic interpretation of bare nouns. Languages differ depending on whether the nominals are mapped directly as semantic arguments (type *e*) or semantic predicates (type <*e*,t>). Within the NMP three types of languages are distinguished. In Type I languages like Chinese and other classifier languages which do not possess determiners and number, NPs are categorized as [-pred,+arg], where every lexical noun is a mass noun and therefore NPs are mapped directly as arguments. In Type II languages (i.e., Germanic languages), NPs are mapped freely as either semantic arguments (names of kinds, regularities that occur in nature) or as predicates yielding a [+arg, +pred] feature specification. Under the [+arg, +pred] setting of the parameter, bare nominals are permitted with the caveat that individual lexical items are associated with one feature value or the other. That is, NPs are restricted by the count/mass and singular/plural properties of the noun. Under Chierchia's NMP, singular mass nouns are allowed in Germanic languages because they can directly map as *e,* if they are marked in the lexicon as [+arg]. Bare plurals are also permitted because count nouns are of type <*e*,t>). A summary of these presented language types so far is summarized under (3).

(3) The Nominal Mapping Parameter

a. [+arg, -pred] feature specification (e.g. Chinese Type)
- generalised bare arguments
- all nouns are mass nouns
- no plural morphology
- generalised classifier system

b. [+arg,+pred] feature specification (e.g. Germanic Type)
- bare mass nouns and plurals in argument position
- no bare singular count nouns
- plural morphology

c. [-arg,-pred] feature specification (non-existent language type)

Lastly, Type III languages (Romance languages including Spanish) are characterized by the generalized use of determiners as NPs and its specification is the following [-arg, +pred] (3d).

d. [-arg,+pred] feature specification (e.g. Romance Type)
- no bare nominals in argument position
- count/mass distinction
- morphological plural

Thus, every noun is mapped as a predicate only in a Romance language and is therefore non-argumental since predicates cannot occur in argument position (see (5a) below). Note, however, that proper nouns which are *per se* BNs are not bound to this restriction (4a-b). This fact can be easily accounted for if we assume that the proper nouns have a D layer with a zero D.

(4) a. Alaitz compró libros.
b. $[_{DP}\ \delta\ [_{NP}$ libros]
c. Libros compró Alaitz
'Alaitz bought books'

In (5a), bare nominal subjects with generic interpretation are banned because Spanish (Romance) Nouns are <*e*,t>) and NPs cannot be arguments unless D^3 is fully projected (5b). This restriction involves that a DP layer renders the nominal into a semantic argument with a zero-D as in lexically governed positions as previously shown in (1b)-(1c) and with an overt D in functionally governed positions (5b). That is, the grammaticality is warranted if a determiner is used to render the sentence felicitous, as shown in (5b):

(5) a. *Gatos son amistosos.
cats are friendly
'Cats are very friendly.'
b. Los gatos son amistosos. [+generic, +specific]
the cats are friendly
'Cats are very friendly.'
c. *Alaitz fue a comprar tornillo
Alaitz went buy screw
'Alaitz went to buy a screw'

Note, however, that D cannot be projected at all if the noun is count and singular as in (5c). Let us now mention one important semantic property of determined nouns. In (5b), the definite plural can have both kind (generic) and subset-denoting (specific) readings. Making the long story short, grammatical properties are determined by interpretable features (such as the use of articles to mark definiteness in Germanic languages, or the use of plural NPs with definite articles to express generic meanings). That is, Germanic languages choose the 'maximality' value on the definiteness scale, but not the 'generic' value (Dayal 2004). More importantly, Germanic (e.g., German and English) and Romance languages (e.g., Spanish) differ regarding the possibility of bare nouns and their semantic interpretation. Spanish is a language with bare plurals in post-verbal object position, but not in the subject position, while Germanic languages allow bare plurals in both positions. This leads to clear asymmetries across language families which are constrained by the semantic interpretable features [genericity, specificity] (Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004). Recall in Chierchia's paradigm, a broad typology of language types could be made based on the choice of values for binary features [±arg] for argument and [± pred] for predicate. In sum, nouns in Spanish have the specification [-arg, +pred] and need a DP layer in order to be able to emerge as arguments. Bare nouns in both subject and object syntactic positions comprise a null D^o which is licensed by a lexical or a functional head. Hence, children acquiring Spanish need to know that the D-layer is always projected wherever a BN occurs and as a consequence:

- •BNs are banned from the preverbal subject position
- •Singular count BNs are banned from any position

Moreover, they need to know that there is no bi-univocal relationship between kind reading and the status of BNs since determined nouns may be interpreted as generic.

3. Learnability Task and Predictions

Current studies on the acquisition of determiners across languages point to the fact that determiners emerge early in languages where determiner insertion is generalized: Chierchia et al. 1999 for Italian; Guasti et al. 2004; Guasti & Gavarró 2003 for Catalan; Marinis 2003 for Greek; Kupisch 2006 in bilingual German-French and German-Italian children, to name but a few. In particular, Chierchia et al. (1999) argue that differences in the acquisition rate are due to syntactic/semantic factors. Based on corpus data analysis it

was shown that definite articles start to be present earlier in French and in Italian than in English and Swedish. Moreover, Guasti and Gavarró (2003) and Guasti et al. (2004) also report the appearance of articles earlier in Catalan than in Dutch; and although the omission rate is very similar at the first stage of development, the omission rate stays high in Dutch and drops quite considerably in Catalan and Italian. The results reported also by Marinis (2003) for Greek seem to go in the same direction: Greek children behave as their Romance counterparts with early and widespread use of articles. Taking together the main findings from the studies reviewed, some of the predictions made by the Nominal Mapping Parameter are held true, that is, earlier surfacing of D in Romance languages than in Germanic languages.

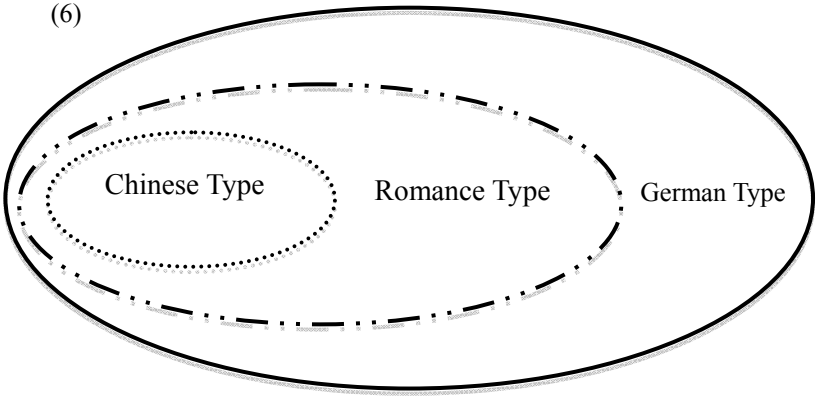
Other studies with direct implications to ours are the ones by Pérez-Leroux and Roeper (1999) who studied 36 school and pre-school children and 33 college students whose mother tongue was English. According to their results, children at a very early age show knowledge of the specific environment in which a noun is licensed, and, more importantly, children seem to possess the semantic distinctions from very early on in their language development. In a more recent study which also considers the interpretation of BN/NPs distinctions, Gavarró et al. (2006) consider the extent of the children's mastery of the semantic meanings by comparing the acquisition of Catalan definite DPs vs. Bare Nouns (BN) in object and subject positions. Thirty-three children (3-5 years old) were examined for comprehension of bare noun and definite contrast in Catalan. Catalan, like Spanish (the language under investigation in the present paper) allows bare nouns in object position, but not in subject position. Interestingly, Catalan objects match English subjects in terms of their semantic interpretation. Results indicate that children at the age of 3 are not able to discriminate between bare nouns and definite use of articles in object position, although by the age of 4 children showed some degree of sensibility. The authors argue that bare nouns possess a default generic reading that can swing into an 'instance-of-a-kind' semantic interpretation. More importantly, the acquisition patterns are motivated by a principle of semantic contrast that seems to confine the initial overuse of bare nouns to specific readings.

Taking into account the findings from previous studies on the acquisition of bare nouns in different syntactical positions and the predictions made by the Interface hypothesis, we predict that the semantic features interact with their respective syntactic positions and thus represent a challenging learning task for monolingual and bilingual children at very early stages, due to the interface character of this domain. That is, does the child figure out that a noun can hold a generic and specific reading depending on the specific syntactic position (subject vs.

object/prepositional phrase)? In Romance languages (Spanish in our case) there is not a morpheme which directly encodes genericity. Previous literature on semantic acquisition (e.g., Hollander et al. 2002; Gelman, Star & Flukes 2003) indicates that children attain generic semantic interpretation rapidly and effortlessly. Hence, we would expect children to acquire the *generic objects* in Spanish with ease. Children should be able to acquire the semantic interpretation of the BN/DPs together with the acquisition of the specific categories of the DP phrase. However, following Chierchia et al's (1999) main conclusions, we would therefore expect children to initially start mapping nominals with generic interpretation, and as a second step in the acquisition process children would induce nominals with specific interpretation when they have a fully integrated semantic and pragmatic linguistic system. Furthermore, following Dayal's (2004) wide spectrum of cross-linguistic variation on how languages represent semantic meanings (i.e., generic vs. specific), we would expect differences between individuals depending on the language they are exposed to, but not with regard to the syntactic position in which bare nouns/DPs can appear.

Bearing in mind the predictions of the Subset/Superset relationship of the L1 (and L2 grammars) for the present semantic domain (e.g., Wexler & Manzini 1987), the Nominal Mapping Parameter system predicts a very specific implementation order of the category determiner. The child would start with the most restrictive, economical grammar, i.e., with BNs with generic interpretation, and later on would obtain the knowledge of characterizing generic from specific interpretations, by implementing the language specific forms that introduce disambiguation when the grammar expands. In the null learning hypothesis, the most economical one retains the default meaning. That is, restrictive in the sense that children should start with the feature specification that excludes the most, so that they alter their hypothesis on the basis of positive evidence. Consider (6) below.

(6)



In (6) above, the most restrictive feature specification within the Nominal Mapping Parameter is [+arg, -pred], which relates to the Chinese setting. This is based on the notion that in languages of this type:

(i) nouns occur without determiners,
(ii) the extension of nouns is mass,
(iii) there is no plural marking and
(iv) a classifier system is operative.

Properties (i) to (iv) are also encompassed in the Romance and Germanic type of languages. Upon noticing definite articles, plural marking and quantifiers joined directly with nouns in the input, children should change the initial setting to [-arg, +pred] (which corresponds to the Romance setting). The value of the Romance type languages is the next most restrictive feature matrix, because in Romance type languages:

(i) the extension of nouns is mass or count,
(ii) nouns occur with determiners,
(iii) there is plural marking on count nouns and
(iv) a classifier system is operative.

No nouns without the D-layer are licit in the second setting. That is, children are expected to always project a DP-layer when the noun phrase is in an argument position. Nevertheless, children have to work out which nouns are mass and which ones are count, together as to when a null D^o is licit or illicit. Lastly, unrestricted appearance of bare mass nouns in argument positions should direct the children to change the value of the NMP to the setting of the Germanic type languages, [+arg, +pred]. The Germanic type value is the least restrictive feature matrix, because:

(i) the extension of nouns is mass or count,
(ii) nouns may occur with or without determiner,
(iii) there is plural marking on count nouns and
(iv) a classifier system is operative with mass nouns.

Since it is estimated that all children start with the Chinese setting regardless of the language they are acquiring, we predict an initial stage of article-drop (i.e., children will only use bare nouns). Children acquiring Spanish, after having discovered definite articles, plural morphology and/or numerical quantifiers conjoining directly with nouns, should switch to the Romance setting. This predicts that at a second stage children will project a

DP-layer. Because input to Spanish children contains bare nouns in argument positions, children have to uncover in which position bare nouns are licit or illicit (e.g., uncovering the distinction between argument and non-argument; identifying the subject and object position and that Spanish displays a subject and object asymmetry). Indecision on the child's part would imply an optional use of the definite articles.

To sum up, the main research questions of the present paper are to test:

a) Whether the bare noun stage which has been attested to in the literature can be found in two monolingual and one English/Spanish bilingual child.

b) Are target-deviant BNs equally possible in all syntactic positions in monolingual and bilingual children?

4. Study

In the present study, we analyze the early performance in three longitudinal corpora. All corpora are available in the Childes database (http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/) (McWhinney & Snow 1985; McWhinney 1995). Magín belongs to the Aguirre corpus, Irene to the Irene corpus and M to the Deuchar corpus.

4.1 Participants

The utterances of two monolingual children living in Spain[4], the male Magín and the female Irene as well as a bilingual Spanish/English child living in the UK have been taken into account.

Table 1-1: Children under investigation

Name	Language	Investigation period by age
Irene	Monolingual Sp.	1;7-2;10,24 (29 files)
Magín	Monolingual Sp.	0;11,01-2;11,27 (57 files)
M	Bilingual En/Sp.	1;03,04-2;06,02 (9 files)

4.2 Methodology

For the present paper, we counted all nominal expressions occurring in subject and object position. The nominals were distributed in 6 categories N[+def], N[-def], target deviant N[det], target-like and target-deviant BNs[5]

(namely, bare nouns). Proper nouns were counted for the subject option separately from the remaining BNs since proper nouns are allowed in all positions in Spanish as opposed to BNs which are banned from the preverbal position. Proper nouns are not very frequent with objects or prepositional phrases and were ignored in these categories. In order to test whether the acquisition of the DP is constrained by the position in which they are located, we divided the whole corpus in pre- and post-verbal subjects, objects, prepositional phrases and predicates. Moreover, the verbs were divided into four classes: transitive/unergative, unaccusative, copulative (*ser* 'to be'), copulative (*estar* 'to be'). The nominals occurring in isolation, imitations and repetitions were ignored.

4.3 Results

Figure 1 illustrates the overall distribution of target-like, target-deviant BNs and target-like DPs as well as proper nouns in early Spanish. The first observation that comes to mind is that, generally speaking, DPs and BNs are far more frequent with objects than with subjects in all three participants. Noteworthy is the fact that a negligible number of subjects appears as proper nouns. Not surprisingly, Irene has more data than Magín and the latter more than M, a trend that can be easily explained by the number of files considered in this study. Target-like BNs are attested to in all children, although they are more frequent with objects than with subjects. Interestingly, all three subjects use target deviant BNs at some point of their development. However, the incidence of target-deviant BNs overall is not very high and some interesting usage patterns can be attested to. As expected, the monolingual child Irene does not use many target-deviant BNs. As opposed to Irene, both the monolingual Magín and the English/Spanish bilingual M make extensive use of target-deviant BNs, an issue which will be analyzed in detail below.

The relationship between nominals with determiners and the target deviant counterparts is depicted in Figure 2. This figure shows that both monolinguals use a large number of nominals with determiners with all verb classes except for the copula *ser*. The bilingual M has only a couple of examples with determiners. As to the target deviant BNs, Irene's use of these nominals stands well below the critical level of 5% and is only found with one subject of a transitive verb. As opposed to Irene, Magín's data show plenty of target-deviant BNs distributed across subject positions of the transitive and unaccusative verbs. As opposed to the data in the monolingual subjects, the bilingual M's target-deviant BNs with subjects outnumber the nominals with determiners. And, interestingly, the only subjects with

target-deviant BNs in M are found with unaccusative verbs. It should be noted, that target-deviant BNs are not used with copula. The target-deviant BNs are not the only errors the subjects make as Figure 3 demonstrates.

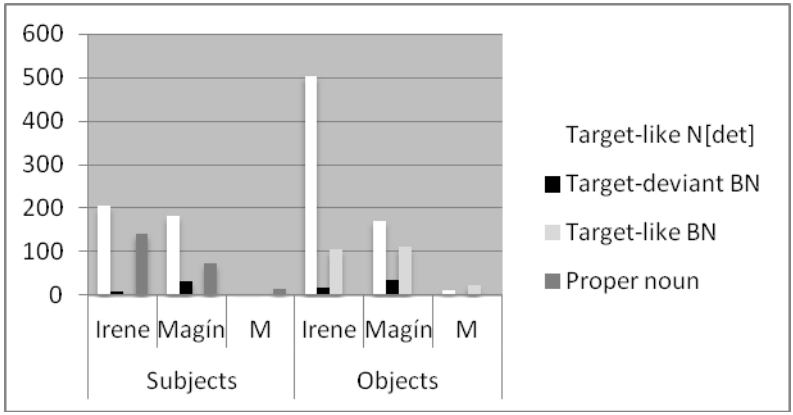


Figure 1-1: overall distribution of subject BNs and DPs (tokens) in child Spanish

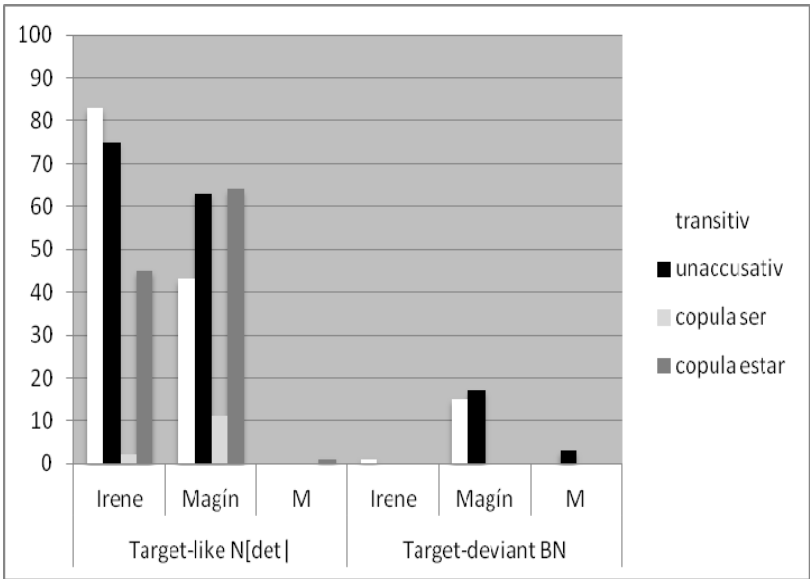


Figure 1-2: N[det] compared to target-deviant BNs (tokens) in subject position according to four verb classes

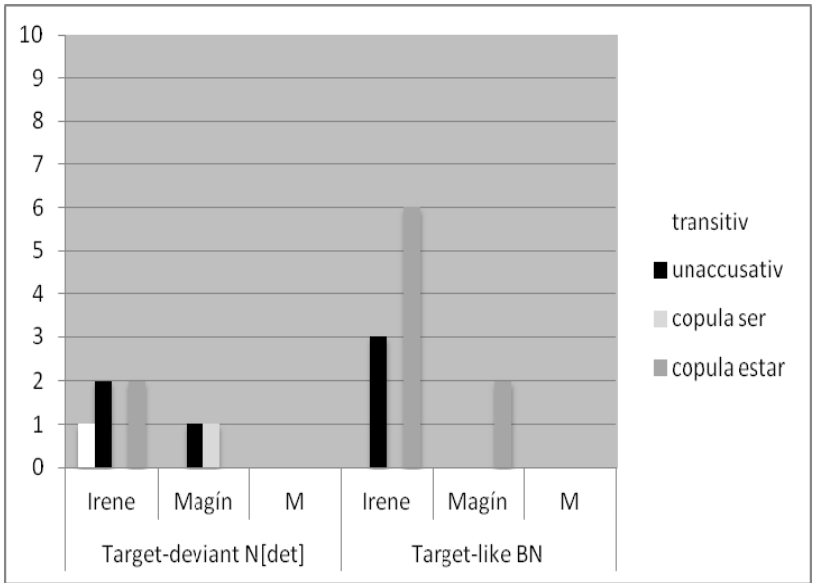


Figure 1-3: Target-like BNs as compared to target-deviant N[det] (tokens) in subject position across verb classes.

Target-like bare nouns are not very numerous in subject position in any of the children. The bilingual child M has neither target like BNs nor target-deviant N[det] in subject position. Interestingly, both monolingual children use N[det] in contexts in which a BN is expected. BNs are allowed in all structural positions (VS, VO, OV and PP) except for SV in adult Spanish. Figure 4 depicts all the target-deviant BNs according to position SV or VS.

Figure 4 shows that both monolinguals and the bilingual child use target-deviant BNs in postverbal position more frequently than in preverbal position. The bilingual child has no target-deviant BNs in postverbal position. The monolingual child Irene has no examples of BNs in preverbal position. Target-deviant BNs are attested to in preverbal position by the monolingual child Magín and the bilingual M. Target-deviant BNs with objects and predicates are shown in Figure 5.

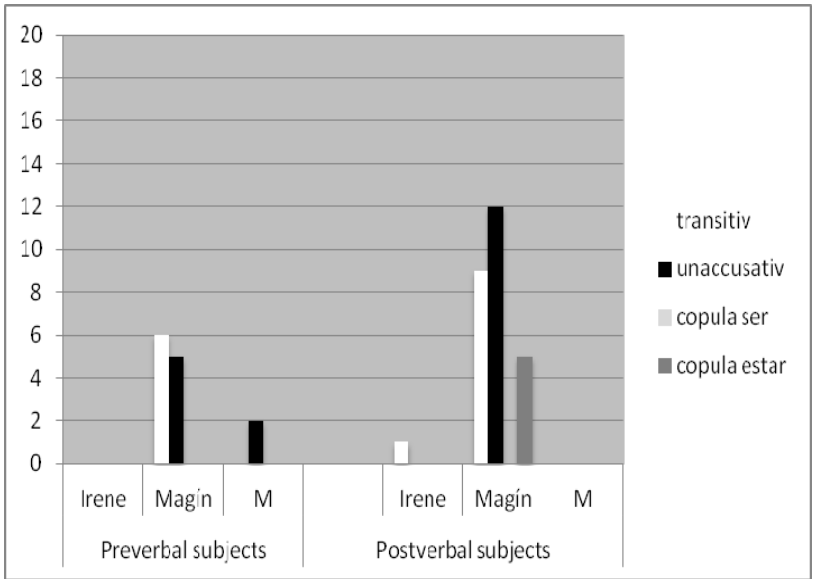


Figure 1- 4: Target deviant BNs (tokens) in preverbal and postverbal position across verb classes.

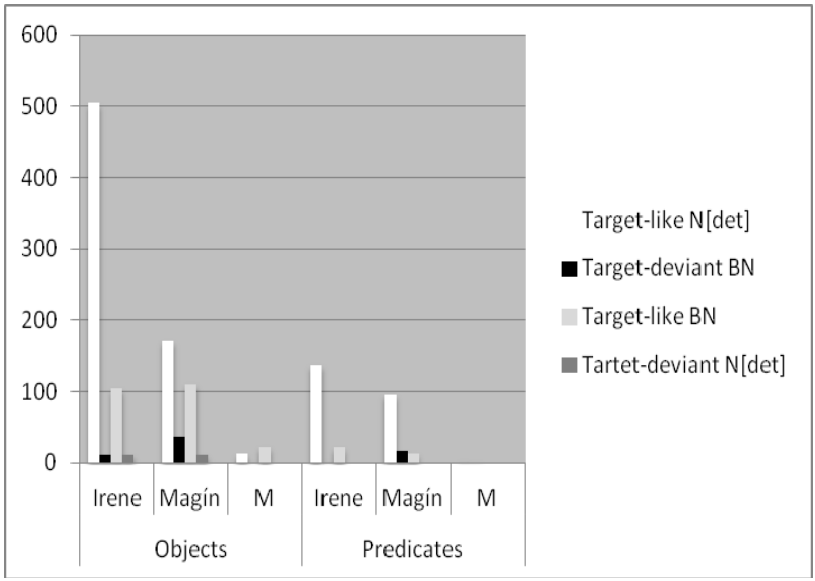


Figure 1-5: Nominals with Objects and predicates (tokens).

The proportions of target-like BNs, target-like N[det], target-deviant BN and target-deviant N[det] are depicted in Figure 5. Target-deviant BNs are not numerous in the case of Irene as it was the case with the subjects. Overall, Magín uses more target-deviant BNs than Irene with objects and predicates. The bilingual child M does not make any errors.

Since all subjects make errors of omission of determiners to a more or lesser extent, it should be investigated whether there is a period in which the errors are more frequent and disappear at a later stage.

Table 1-2: Total number of target-deviant BNs(%) until age 2;0 and from 2;0 onwards.

	Irene	Magín	M
Until 2;0	13(**10,24**%)	45(**17,11**%)	3(**75%**)
From 2;0 onwards	2(**0,24**%)	20(**3,3**%)	1(**1,42%**)

Since the age of two is cross-linguistically a turning point in which many grammatical features are implemented in child grammar and the NMP predicts illicit BNs at early stages, we made an *ad hoc* cut at this age in order to ascertain, whether target-deviant BNs are a phenomenon that should be ascribed to early developmental stages. Table 2 shows the results for the three subjects. The monolingual child Irene makes the bulk of errors until the age of 2;0. The two remaining errors after 2;0 are, because of the magnitude of the data, negligible. Once again, the monolingual Spanish child Magín differs from Irene and M in at least two ways. The monolingual child Magín, moreover, makes far more errors than both Irene and M together and his errors prevail in the entire studied period. M only makes three errors in the whole study and they are located before the age of 2. In sum, target-deviant bare nouns are attested to in all three children, but to a different extent in early and later stages. In order to exclude the possibility that illicit BNs are used in positions in which BNs are lexically licensed, let us examine the use of target-deviant BNs in lexically governed (V) and ungoverned (SpecIP) and preverbal and postverbal positions.