Why do you think why kids produce medial wh-phrases? Grammar or performance?

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Long-distance wh in acquisition

Children sometimes produce medial wh-phrases in elicited production tasks (Thornton 1990, J. d. Villiers et al. 1990,

Thornton 1995, McDaniel et al. 1995)

- (1) Who do you think who's in the box?
- (2) What do you think who's in that can?
- This is also reported for Dutch learners (van Kampen 1997, Jakubowicz & Strik 2008), Spanish learners (Gutiérrez Mangado 2006), and French learners (Oiry 2006, Jakubowicz & Strik 2008, Demirdache & Oiry 2008)

An example

Child: What do you think who popped the balloons?

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The syntax of long-distance wh

Crosslinguistic variation

- There are wh-copying languages and partial wh-movement languages (examples from Felser 2004: 544, Klepp 2002: 112)
- (3) Wen glaubst du [wen sie getroffen hat]?
 who think you who she met has
 'Who do you think she met?' (German)
- (4) Was glaubte Miró [welches Bild Picasso gemalt hatte]? what thought Miró which picture Picasso painted had
 'Which picture did Miró think Picasso had painted?' (German)

The syntax of long-distance wh

Wh-movement is cyclic (e.g., Chomsky 1973, Torrego 1983)



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(5)

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Roadmap

1. Background

2. Developmental accounts

- 2.1 Non-target grammar accounts
- 2.2 A performance account

3. Experiment

- 3.1 Hypotheses and predictions
- 3.2 Different tasks
- 3.3 Participants
- 3.4 Results

4. Discussion

- 4.1 Grammar or performance?
- 4.2 Subject asymmetry

Non-target grammar accounts

Children have temporarily landed on the wrong grammar (Thornton 1990, McDaniel et al. 1995, Roeper & de Villiers 2011, J. G. d. Villiers et al. 2011)

Difficulties for non-target grammar accounts

- Children produce sentences that would be ungrammatical in Frisian-like languages (Thornton 1995)
- (6) Which animal do you think what really says 'woof woof'?
- Children accept sentences that would be ungrammatical in Frisian-like languages (McDaniel et al. 1995)
- (7) Who do you want who to cook dinner?

Children have the target grammar but fail to inhibit the pronunciation of the wh copy

Perseveration

- "Slips of the tongue" are predicted to occur in places where an item is licit (cf. Dell 1986)
- For example, [bl] is a licit English onset, and blue bug is sometimes accidentally pronounced as blue blug

Perseveration

- In (8), who is highly active (cf. Fadlon et al. 2019) and licit at the edge of the embedded clause (cf. Chomsky 1973)
- (8) Who do you think who's in the box?

An upshot

- This could also explain children's production of resumptive NPs (cf. Labelle 1990, Botwinik et al. 2015)
- (9) `iz-zara:fi illi l-walad haẓan `iz-zara:fi the-girrafe that the-boy hugged the-giraffe
 'The giraffe that the boy hugged' (Palestinian Arabic) (Botwinik et al. 2015: 49, ex. (20c))

 Children with less inhibition control should produce more medial wh-phrases

- Producing object wh-dependencies is costly for adults (cf. Gennari et al. 2012, Fadlon et al. 2019)
- Such dependencies are also hard for children to understand (e.g., Friedmann et al. 2009)
- So, with object questions in particular, as well as more generally, trying to produce the question could tax the executive control resources of the child

- Taxed executive control would be indicated by the child producing a question other than the target question
- (10) Intended Q: Who do you think the boy saw?Actual Q: Who do you think was behind the fence?

 On such trials, if the child's executive control resources are already tapped, we might see higher rates of medial wh-phrases

Predictions

	Performance account	rmance account Non-target grammar accounts	
Child with less inhibition con- trol	More medials	No correlation	
Trial with switched argument structure	More medials	No correlation	

Different tasks

- 4 different tasks were administered
 - (i) Elicited production task (cf. Thornton 1990)
 - (ii) Cognitive inhibition task (cf. Kipp & Pope 1997)
 - (iii) Motor ability task (cf. Carlson & Moses 2001)
 - (iv) Motor inhibition task (cf. Davidson et al. 2006)

- Each child watched 6 different short animated videos from a cartoon show
- After each video, the child was encouraged to ask the puppet, Snuggles, between 2 and 4 different questions about the video
- There were 21 questions total across the 6 videos

- If the participant failed to ask a multiclausal question during any of the first 3 trials, the experimenter prompted the participant to ask a multiclausal question
- 2 of the first 3 trials were subject questions, and 1 was an object question
- Of the remaining 18 trials, 6 were subject questions, 6 were object questions, and 6 were adjunct questions

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- Experimenter: We know that it was the girl that was chasing the boys, but let's ask Snuggles who he thinks
 - Child: Who do you think who was chasing the gi ... the boys?

Cognitive inhibition task

- Participant was asked to name items in a picture book (Anno's Journey) that the experimenter points to, as quickly as possible
- During the first two minutes, participant cannot name an item if it is an animal ("distractors")
- During the last two minutes, participant should name everything the experimenter points to, including the distractors

Motor ability task

- Task uses a toy piano with four keys
- Participant was asked to play each key once in sequence as many times as they could in 10 seconds

- A motor inhibition task with three different conditions was administered using PsychoPy (Peirce 2007, 2009)
- Participants pressed either the 'z' or 'm' key, depending on the condition and the side of the screen the object appeared on
- If the participant did not press any key, the stimulus disappeared after 2500 ms
- There was a familiarization period for the first two conditions

Congruent condition



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Incongruent condition



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Mixed condition





Participant counting

- 96 participants have been tested so far
- The data from 76 participants is analyzed here

Participant counting

- Participants that were not included:
 - 1 was tested as a pilot participant
 - 1 was accidentally tested despite not meeting the criterion for the study that they hear at least 80% English at home
 - 12 participants did not complete all 4 tasks
 - 4 participants would not ask any multiclausal questions at all
 - 2 participants only asked multiclausal questions that were direct repetitions of the experimenter

Session information

- Participants either
 - completed the 4 tasks in a single session with a short break between the elicited production task and the other 3 tasks; or
 - they completed the elicited production task in one session, and the other 3 tasks in another session on another day

Session information

- The elicited production task was usually done first
- The mean number of days between the elicited production task and the other 3 tasks was 7.9 days (range: -7 to 68)

Sex and age information

- Again, n = 76 (39 female, 37 male)
- The average age during the session with the elicited production task was 4;9 (range: 3;7 to 6;3)
- The average age during the session with the other 3 tasks was 4;9 (range: 3;7 to 6;5)

Predictions

	Performance account	count Non-target grammar accounts	
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Results

Elicited production

Average number of wh-questions with two clauses that each participant asked (range: 2–21):

	Adjunct	Object	Subject	Total
Produced	4.80	5.32	7.13	17.25
Elicited	6	7	8	21

Results

Elicited production

 36 participants did not ask any questions with a medial wh-phrase
Elicited production

- 40 participants asked at least one question with a medial wh-phrase
- On average, 18% of the questions they asked had a medial (range: 5%-53%)

Elicited production

Let's look at participant 118 (4;0)

- Adjunct questions (1 out of 6 = 16.67%)
- (11) Where that you think who was walking on the rope?
- Object questions (1 out of 6 = 16.67%)
- (12) Who do you think who kissed the boy?
- Subject questions (2 out of 9 = 22.22%)
- (13) Who do you think who kissed the boy?
- (14) What do you think who fell?

Elicited production



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Elicited production



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Elicited production



Cognitive inhibition task



Results Motor ability task



• Did not produce medial (n = 36)

Results Motor inhibition task



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Results **Elicited production**



Participant switched question type

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Results Elicited production



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Analysis

- We fit several logistic mixed-effects model to the data
- The models predict whether or not a given a trial contained a medial wh-phrase on the basis of several predictor variables

Analysis

Models

All models had random intercepts for both participant and trial

	QuestionType	QuestionSwitch	NamedDistractor	IncongruentAcc	NumberOfScales
m1	√				
m2	\checkmark	\checkmark			
m3	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
m4	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	
m5	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark

Analysis Model comparison

	AIC	ChiSq	Pr(>ChiSq)	
m1	671.05			
m2	668.66	4.041	0.0360	*
m3	665.94	4.391	0.0299	*
m4	666.05	1.770	0.1695	
m5	666.96	1.095	0.2946	

Analysis Best fitting model

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Fixed effect	Estimate	z-value	$\Pr(> z)$	
Intercept	-4.504	-9.088	1.80e—19	***
QuestionType - object	0.256	0.597	0.5478	
QuestionType - subject	1.513	3.785	0.0002	***
QuestionSwitch	0.780	2.062	0.0316	*
NamedDistractor	0.944	2.089	0.0310	*

Analysis Best fitting model – odds ratios



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Grammar or performance?

- Both predictions of the performance account were borne out in our study
- These correlations are surprising on any of the non-target grammar accounts

Subject asymmetry



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Subject asymmetry



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Subject asymmetry



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Subject asymmetry



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Subject asymmetry



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Subject asymmetry



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Conclusions

- This study provides evidence for a performance based account
- The subject asymmetry is expected if there is a production planning window that includes spec,CP and spec,TP to the exclusion of the VP

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Questions with argument resumption

Further support for the idea that this is performance, not grammar, is that we saw several cases of "argument resumption" with a wh-phrase

(15)	Which kid do you think that it was really right?	(4;5)
(16)	Who do you think he was really good at it?	(4;7)
(17)	Who do you think the boy hide?	(3;9)
(18)	Who do you think a kid jumped in the water?	(3;9)
(19)	Who do you think the boy saw the girl?	(3;8)
(20)	What do you think that the girl was holding a bunny?	(4;11)
(21)	What do you think the girl kissed the boy?	(4;11)
(22)	What did you think someone was walking on the rope?	(5;5)
(23)	What do you think the boy got hit?	(5;5)
(24)	Who do you think girl was chasing the boys?	(4;8)

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Questions with argument resumption

- (25) Snuggles, where do you think the girl was behind the fence?(4;9)
- (26) Snuggles, how do you think the boy ... the yellow green boy it was flying with balloons? (4;4)
- (27) Where do you think the green boy hided under the water?(4;0)
- (28) Where do you think the girl was behind the fence? (4;0)
- (29) Who you thinks he's the good of soccer? (4;4)
- (30) Snuggles, how do you think the girl popped ... popped [inaudible] watermelon seeds? (4;2)
- (31) Where ... where you think the boys was hiding in the water?(4;2)
- (32) Snuggles, where do you think the boy was hiding over the fence? (4;2)
Questions with argument resumption

Best fitting model predicting medial wh-phrase or resumption

New model with same predictors from best fitting model, predicting either a medial wh-phrase or a resumptive argument

Fixed effect	Estimate	z-value	Pr(> z)	
Intercept	-4.008	-8.850	8.73e—19	***
QuestionType - object	-0.025	-0.068	0.9461	
QuestionType - subject	1.086	3.230	0.0012	**
QuestionSwitch	0.921	2.684	0.0073	**
NamedDistractor	0.968	2.153	0.0313	*

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Questions with argument resumption

Best fitting model predicting medial wh-phrase or resumption



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Costly object wh-dependencies

Wh-element maintained in memory

 A speaker actively holds a wh-element in memory while producing a sentence (Fadlon et al. 2019)

Costly object wh-dependencies

Wh-element maintained in memory

- (33) Contextual domain: a boy wearing tap shoes; a boy wearing disco pants; a boy wearing cowboy boots
 - Q: Who would you choose as your dance partner?
 - A: The boy that is wearing cowboy boots
- (34) Contextual domain: a girl wearing tap shoes; a dog wearing disco pants; a boy wearing cowboy boots
 - Q: Who would you choose as your dance partner?
 - A: The boy, who is wearing cowboy boots

Costly object wh-dependencies Wh-element maintained in memory



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