### Reevaluating the Maratsos Effect

Adam Liter Tess Huelskamp Susima Weerakoon Alan Munn

GLEAMS 2016

February 28, 2016

## Passive delay

- Children are delayed in comprehending passives compared to actives (e.g., Hirsch and Wexler 2006).
- This delay appears cross-linguistically, having been found in German, Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish, Catalan, Brazilian Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Greek, Hebrew, Japanese, and K'iche' (Orfitelli 2012: 10). (One notable purported exception is Sesotho (Demuth et al. 2010), but see Crawford (2012).)

# Accounts of the passive delay

- A-Chain Deficit Hypotheis (Borer and Wexler 1987, 1992)
- Theta Transmission Hypothesis (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998)
- Universal Phase Requirement (Wexler 2004)
- Argument Intervention Hypothesis (Orfitelli 2012)
- Smuggling, Universal Freezing, and semantic coercion (Hyams and Snyder 2006; Snyder and Hyams 2015)

### What is the Maratsos Effect?

- Children are delayed in acquiring passives compared to actives.
- Children furthermore comprehend passives of "actional" verbs (e.g., kick, hit, kiss) earlier than the passives of "nonactional" verbs (e.g., hear, see, love), first observed by Maratsos et al. (1985).
- This has been robustly replicated in the literature and has come to be called the "Maratsos Effect" (e.g., Fox and Grodzinsky 1998; Gordon and Chafetz 1990).

#### When is the Maratsos Effect?

 Hirsch and Wexler (2006) tested 60 children across 6 different age groups.

Group	n	Age range	Mean age
3-	10	3;0-3;5	3;3
3+	10	3;6-3;10	3;8
4-	10	4;1-4;5	4;3
4+	10	4;6-4;11	4;8
5-	10	5;1-5;5	5;3
5+	10	5;7-5;11	5;9
	60	3;0-5;11	4;5

#### When is the Maratsos Effect?

- Children perform poorly on comprehension tasks involving the passive until 4;0.
- At 5;0, children perform above chance on "actional" passives.
- By 6;0, they are still not above chance on "nonactional" passives.

Group	Actional actives	Actional long passives	Actional short passives	Psych actives	Psych long passives	Psych short passives
3-	93.8%	66.2%	72.5%	97.5%	35.0%	30.0%
3+	93.8%	53.7%	76.2%	95.0%	33.8%	35.0%
4-	95.0%	73.8%	80.0%	95.0%	33.8%	40.0%
4+	90.0%	65.0%	76.2%	97.5%	45.0%	50.0%
5-	96.3%	88.7%	87.5%	97.5%	38.8%	47.5%
5+ 96.3% 78.7%	92.5%	98.8%	43.8%	55.0%		
	94.2%	71.0%	80.8%	96.9%	39.2%	42.9%

#### Accounts of the Maratsos Effect

- Syntactic homophone theories (cf. Babyonyshev et al. 2001)
  - ► A-Chain Deficit Hypotheis (Borer and Wexler 1987, 1992)
  - ► Theta Transmission Hypothesis (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998)
  - Universal Phase Requirement (Wexler 2004)
  - Argument Intervention Hypothesis (Orfitelli 2012)
- Smuggling, Universal Freezing, and semantic coercion (Hyams and Snyder 2006; Snyder and Hyams 2015)

#### Accounts of the Maratsos Effect

- Syntactic homophone theories (cf. Babyonyshev et al. 2001)
  - ► A-Chain Deficit Hypotheis (Borer and Wexler 1987, 1992)
  - ► Theta Transmission Hypothesis (Fox and Grodzinsky 1998)
  - ▶ Universal Phase Requirement (Wexler 2004)
  - Argument Intervention Hypothesis (Orfitelli 2012)
- Smuggling, Universal Freezing, and semantic coercion (Hyams and Snyder 2006; Snyder and Hyams 2015)

## S-homophone accounts

- S-homophone accounts of the Maratsos Effect assume:
  - (i) Children do not actually understand the passive until 6;0 (theories vary on the mechanism that matures at 6;0).
  - (ii) Children only perform above chance on actional trials prior to 6;0 because actional passive participles make good adjectives.
  - (iii) In other words: The monkey was chased  $\approx$  The monkey was brown.
- However, some "actional" participles don't make good adjectives:
  - (1) a. \* the bumped child
    - b. \* the carried child
    - c. \* the licked spoon
- And some "nonactional" participles do make good adjectives:
  - (2) a. the known suspect
    - b. the forgotten movie
    - c. the hated man



# Snyder and Hyams (2015)

Glossing over some details (which can be found in an appendix) . . .

- Snyder and Hyams (2015) adopt a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005).
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Importantly, Snyder and Hyams (2015) only predict eventive verbs to be better in the passive than stative verbs for children 4;0 − 6;0.

8 / 32

# Snyder and Hyams (2015)

#### Glossing over some details (which can be found in an appendix) . . .

- Snyder and Hyams (2015) adopt a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005).
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Importantly, Snyder and Hyams (2015) only predict eventive verbs to be better in the passive than stative verbs for children 4;0-6;0.

#### Previous studies

- So does "actional" = eventive and "nonactional" = stative?
- Previous studies haven't used (consistent) diagnostics for classifying verbs as "actional" and "nonactional".
- If anything, "actional" = agentive and "nonactional" = nonagentive.

# Linguistic diagnostics for verbal properties

- We can split verbs into three classes, based on eventivity and agentivity.
- (3) eventive agentive
  - a. Grover deliberately watched Elmo.
  - b. \* Grover watches Elmo.
- (4) eventive nonagentive
  - a. \* Grover deliberately saw Elmo.
  - b. \* Grover sees Elmo.
- (5) noneventive nonagentive (stative)
  - a. \* Grover deliberately liked Elmo.
  - b. Grover likes Elmo.



#### Verbs that have been tested

### • eventive agentive eventive nonagentive nonagentive

Study	"Actional" verbs tested	
de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) Exp. 1	bite, push, touch, bump, hit, kiss	
Maratsos and Abramovitch (1975) Exp. 1	bump, kick, kiss, tickle, hit, push, bite, touch	
Maratsos et al. (1985) Exp. 1	find, hold, wash, shake	
Maratsos et al. (1985) Exp. 2	wash, kiss, push, kick, find, hold	
Gordon and Chafetz (1990) Exp. 2	drop, eat, carry, kiss, hold, wash, shake, hug, kick	
Fox and Grodzinsky (1998)	touch, chase	
Hirsch and Wexler (2006)	push, kiss, kick, hold	
O'Brien et al. (2006) Exp. 1	chase, hug	
O'Brien et al. (2006) Exp. 2	chase, hug	
Crain et al. (2009, 1987)	kick, kiss, push	
Orfitelli (2012) Exp. 3	push, kick, kiss, carry	

Study	"Nonactional" verbs tested	
Maratsos et al. (1985) Exp. 1	watch, know, hear, like, remember, see, forget, miss	
Maratsos et al. (1985) Exp. 2	see, hear, like, love, hate, remember	
Gordon and Chafetz (1990) Exp. 2	watch, forget, hear, know, remember, believe, like, see, hate	
Fox and Grodzinsky (1998)	hear, see	
O'Brien et al. (2006) Exp. 1	see	
Hirsch and Wexler (2006)	remember, love, hate, see	
O'Brien et al. (2006) Exp. 2	see, like	
Orfitelli (2012) Exp. 3	remember, love, hear, see	

## Reinterpreting past results

- Given the heterogenous nature of the "nonactional" verbs both across and within studies, it's not necessarily easy to reinterpret past results.
- If anything, it seems like agentivity—not eventivity, like Snyder and Hyams (2015) predict—is the relevant property for the Maratsos Effect.
- But given that past studies haven't been careful about the verb classes they test, it would be good to have a study that carefully controls which verbs are used, using actual linguistic diagnostics.

# Teasing apart agentivity and eventivity

• Two experiments:

Experiment 1 Experiment 2				
eventive agentive	eventive nonagentive	noneventive nonagentive		
paint	forget	know		
fix	find	hate		
wash	spot	love		

#### Predictions of extant theories

#### S-homophone theories:

predict only a two-way distinction between performance on verbs whose passive participles make good adjectives and those whose passives participles do not.

```
Experiment 1.
Experiment 2.
```

### Predictions of extant theories

- Snyder and Hyams (2015):
  - predict only a two-way distinction between performance on passives of eventive verbs and passives of noneventive verbs.

```
predict that { paint fix wash forget find spot } should be above chance and undifferentiated
    in Experiment 1.
 ► predict that  

forget find spot should be better than  

know hate love in love
    Experiment 2.
```

#### The task

- We used aTruth Value Judgment Task (Crain and Thornton 1998).
- Experimenter A read the child participant a story with an accompanying 3-page comic strip of pictures on a computer screen.
- Experimenter B played the puppet, Rex, who was so smart that he could figure out what happened in the story without listening. Rex's hubris led him to don earmuffs.
- At the end of the story, Rex uttered a sentence describing the story, and Experimenter A prompted the participant to indicate whether Rex was right.
- Adult participants were presented the experimental materials via PsychoPy (Peirce 2007); sadly, there was no puppet.



# Controlling for discourse felicity

- Rex's utterances were prefaced with an introductory sentence in order to ensure that the target sentence actually answered the Question Under Discussion and was felicitous in the discourse.
- Introductory sentences were *I know what happened!* except in cases where this did not make the target sentence felicitous in the discourse.
- (6) is an example where *I know what happened!* was used to ensure discourse felicity, and (7) is an example where an alternative was used in order to ensure discourse felicity.
  - (6) I know what happened! The orange car was fixed by the green car!
  - (7) I know how they found Andy! Andy was spotted by Natalie!



### Target sentences

- Each experiment had 6 target verbs.
- For each verb, voice (active  $\times$  passive) was crossed with truth value (true  $\times$  false), for a total of 24 target sentences.
- Participants were given 4 training trials (intransitives), though only child participants received explicit feedback in training.

#### Materials

- ▶ The eventive agentive verbs were fix, paint, and wash.
- ► The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.

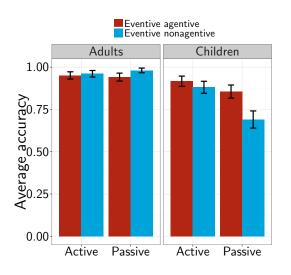
- ▶ 17 native English speaking adults were tested.
- 20 children were tested.
- ▶ 2 were not considered because their first language was not English.
- 4 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
- ► So only the data for 14 children was actually analyzed (age range: 4;05,10 6;02,08; mean age: 5;01,07).

#### Materials

- ► The eventive agentive verbs were fix, paint, and wash.
- ▶ The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.

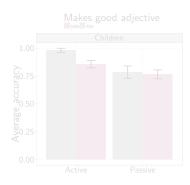
- ▶ 17 native English speaking adults were tested.
- 20 children were tested.
- ▶ 2 were not considered because their first language was not English.
- 4 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
- ► So only the data for 14 children was actually analyzed (age range: 4;05,10 6;02,08; mean age: 5;01,07).

## Experiment 1 results



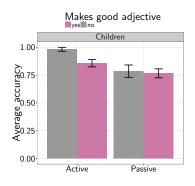
• Children performed significantly better on passives of eventive agentive verbs than on passives of eventive nonagentive verbs (t(13) = 3.606, p = 0.002).

# Experiment 1 discussion



- Snyder and Hyams (2015) predict verbs in Experiment 1 to be undifferentiated because eventivity is held constant in this experiment; this prediction is not borne out.
- S-homophone accounts predict that the verbs whose passive participles make good adjectives should be better than those whose passive participles do not; this prediction is also not borne out.

# Experiment 1 discussion



- Snyder and Hyams (2015) predict verbs in Experiment 1 to be undifferentiated because eventivity is held constant in this experiment; this prediction is not borne out.
- S-homophone accounts predict that the verbs whose passive participles make good adjectives should be better than those whose passive participles do not; this prediction is also not borne out.

#### Materials

- ► The noneventive nonagentive verbs were hate, know, and love.
- ▶ The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.

- 17 native English speaking adults were tested
- 24 children were tested
- 12 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
- So only the data for 12 children was actually analyzed (age range: 3;09,11 5;10,07; mean age: 4;11,21).

#### Materials

- ► The noneventive nonagentive verbs were hate, know, and love.
- ▶ The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.

- ▶ 17 native English speaking adults were tested.
- 24 children were tested
- 12 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
- ▶ So only the data for 12 children was actually analyzed (age range: 3;09,11 5;10,07; mean age: 4;11,21).

#### Materials

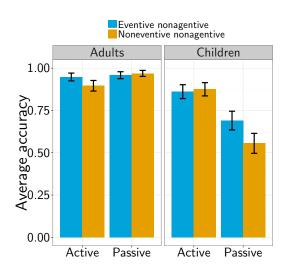
- ▶ The noneventive nonagentive verbs were hate, know, and love.
- ▶ The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.

- ▶ 17 native English speaking adults were tested.
- 6 children were tested in a pilot.
- 24 children were tested.
- 12 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
- ► So only the data for 12 children was actually analyzed (age range: 3;09,11 5;10,07; mean age: 4;11,21).

#### Materials

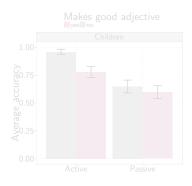
- ▶ The noneventive nonagentive verbs were hate, know, and love.
- ► The eventive nonagentive verbs were find, forget, and spot.
- Participants
  - ▶ 17 native English speaking adults were tested.
  - 24 children were tested.
  - 12 were not above chance on the active control trials and were thus not considered.
  - ► So only the data for 12 children was actually analyzed (age range: 3;09,11 5;10,07; mean age: 4;11,21).

## Experiment 2 results



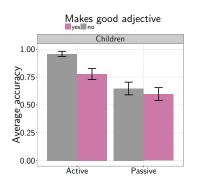
• Children performed significantly better on passives of eventive nonagentive than on passives of noneventive nonagentive verbs (t(11) = 2.117, p = 0.029).

# Experiment 2 discussion



- Snyder and Hyams (2015) predict verbs in Experiment 2 to be differentiated based on eventivity; this prediction is borne out.
- S-homophone accounts predict that the verbs whose passive participles make good adjectives should be better than those whose passive participles do not; this prediction is not borne out.

# Experiment 2 discussion



- Snyder and Hyams (2015) predict verbs in Experiment 2 to be differentiated based on eventivity; this prediction is borne out.
- S-homophone accounts predict that the verbs whose passive participles make good adjectives should be better than those whose passive participles do not; this prediction is not borne out.

#### General discussion

- Since only children who performed above chance on actives were included in the analysis, their performance cannot be attributed to them not knowing the verb.
- Because discourse felicity was controlled for, it is unlikely to be driving children's performance.

#### **Conclusions**

- Experiment 1 suggests agentivity plays a role in the Maratsos Effect.
- Experiment 2 suggests eventivity plays a role in the Maratsos Effect.
- Children seem to learn the passives of different verb types in the order eventive agentive > eventive nonagentive > noneventive nonagentive.
- None of the accounts of the Maratsos Effect account for our data.
- The Maratsos Effect is likely due to incremental learning of the range of passivizable verb types, not the result of children not knowing the passive at all.

# Acknowledgements

- Thanks to:
  - Jen Beckner
  - Karthik Durvasula
  - Hannah Forsythe
  - Cristina Schmitt
  - Rachel Stacey
  - Ai Taniguchi
  - ▶ All the members of the MSU Language Acquisition Lab

### References I

- Babyonyshev, Maria, Jennifer Ganger, David Pesetsky, and Kenneth Wexler (2001). "The Maturation of Grammatical Principles: Evidence from Russian Unaccusatives." *Linguistic Inquiry* 32.1, pp. 1–44. DOI: 10.1162/002438901554577.
- Borer, Hagit and Kenneth Wexler (1987). "The Maturation of Syntax." In: *Parameter Setting and Language Acquisition*. Ed. by Thomas Roeper and Edwin Williams. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Reidel, pp. 123–172.
- Borer, Hagit and Kenneth Wexler (1992). "Bi-unique Relations and the Maturation of Grammatical Principles." Natural Language & Linguistic Theory 10.2, pp. 147–189. DOI: 10.1007/BF00133811.
- Collins, Chris (2005). "A Smuggling Approach to the Passive in English." Syntax 8.2, pp. 81–120. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9612.2005.00076.x.

### References II

- Crain, Stephen and Rosalind Thornton (1998). Investigations in Universal Grammar: A Guide to Experiments on the Acquisition of Syntax and Semantics. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Crain, Stephen, Rosalind Thornton, and Keiko Murasugi (2009). "Capturing the Evasive Passive." Language Acquisition 16.2, pp. 123–133. DOI: 10.1080/10489220902769234.
- Crain, Stephen, Rosalind Thornton, and Kumiko Murasugi (1987). Capturing the evasive passive. Paper presented at the 12th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development, Boston.
- Crawford, Jean (2012). "Developmental Perspectives on the Acquisition of the Passive." PhD thesis. Storrs, CT: University of Connecticut.
- De Villiers, Jill G. and Peter A. de Villiers (1973). "Development of the Use of Word Order in Comprehension." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 2.4, pp. 331–341. DOI: 10.1007/BF01067055.

#### References III

- Demuth, Katherine, F. Moloi, and M. Machobane (2010). "3-year-olds' comprehension, production, and generalization of Sesotho passives." English. *Cognition* 115.2, pp. 238–251.
- Fox, Danny and Yosef Grodzinsky (1998). "Children's Passive: A View from the *By*-Phrase." *Linguistic Inquiry* 29.2, pp. 311–332. DOI: 10.1162/002438998553761.
- Gehrke, Berit and Nino Grillo (2009). "How to become passive." In: Explorations of Phase Theory: Features and Arguments. Ed. by Kleanthes K. Grohmann. Vol. 18. Interface Explorations. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 231–268. DOI: 10.1515/9783110213966.231.
- Gordon, Peter and Jill Chafetz (1990). "Verb-based versus class-based accounts of actionality effects in children's comprehension of passives." *Cognition* 36.3, pp. 227–254. DOI: 10.1016/0010-0277(90)90058-R.

#### References IV

- Grillo, Nino (2008). "Generalized Minimality: Syntactic underspecification in Broca's aphasia." PhD thesis. Utrecht, The Netherlands: Utrecht University.
- Hirsch, Christopher and Kenneth Wexler (2006). "Children's Passives and Their Resulting Interpretation." In: The Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference on Generative Approaches to Language Acquisition—North America (GALANA). Ed. by Kamil Ud Deen, Jun Nomura, Barbara Schulz, and Bonnie D. Schwartz. UCONN Occasional Papers in Linguistics 4, pp. 125–136.
- Hyams, Nina and William Snyder (2006). "Young Children Are Frozen: Reflexive Clitics and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis." Ms. UCLA and University of Connecticut.

#### References V

- Maratsos, Michael P. and Rona Abramovitch (1975). "How Children Understand Full, Truncated, and Anomalous Passives." *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 14.2, pp. 145–157. DOI: 10.1016/S0022-5371(75)80061-2.
- Maratsos, Michael P., Dana E. C. Fox, Judith A. Becker, and Mary Anne Chalkley (1985). "Semantic Restrictions on Children's Passives." *Cognition* 19.2, pp. 167–192. DOI: 10.1016/0010-0277 (85) 90017-4.
- O'Brien, Karen, Elaine Grolla, and Diane Lillo-Martin (2006). "Long passives are understood by young children." In: *Proceedings of the 30th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Ed. by David Bamman, Tatiana Magnitskaia, and Colleen Zaller. Vol. 2. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, pp. 441–451.
- Orfitelli, Robyn Marie (2012). "Argument Intervention in the Acquisition of A-movement." PhD thesis. Los Angeles, CA: University of California.

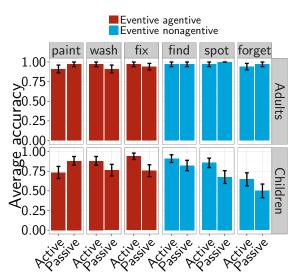
#### References VI

- Peirce, Jonathan W. (2007). "PsychoPy—Psychophysics software in Python." *Journal of Neuroscience Methods* 162.1–2, pp. 8–13. DOI: 10.1016/j.jneumeth.2006.11.017.
- Snyder, William and Nina Hyams (2015). "Minimality effects in children's passives." In: Structures, Strategies and Beyond: Studies in honour of Adriana Belletti. Ed. by Elisa Di Domenico, Cornelia Hamann, and Simona Matteini. Vol. 223. Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Chap. 16, pp. 343–368. DOI: 10.1075/la.223.16sny.
- Wexler, Kenneth (2004). "Theory of Phasal Development: Perfection in Child Grammar." In: *Plato's Problems: Papers on Language Acquisition*. Ed. by Aniko Csirmaz, Andrea Gualmini, and Andrew Nevins. Vol. 48. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics. Cambridge, MA, pp. 159–209.

## Experiment 1 results

	Adults		Children	
	eventive agentive	eventive nonagentive	eventive agentive	eventive nonagentive
Active	0.951	0.961	0.917	0.881
Passive	0.941	0.961	0.855	0.69

### Experiment 1 graphed by verb

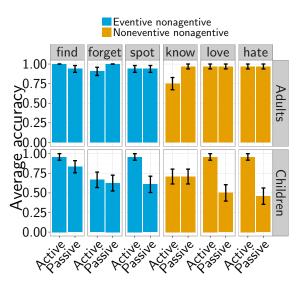


## Experiment 2 results

	Adults		Children	
	eventive nonagentive	noneventive nonagentive	eventive nonagentive	noneventive nonagentive
Active	0.948	0.896	0.861	0.875
Passive	0.948	0.969	0.69	0.556

3 / 5

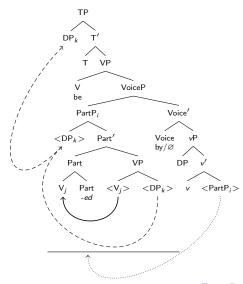
### Experiment 2 graphed by verb





- Snyder and Hyams (2015) account for the passive delay by assuming a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005) and that children adopt a strict Universal Freezing Hypothesis.
- Smuggling is an operation that is not available until 4;0.
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Experiments with above-chance performance by kids under 4;0 (e.g., Crain et al. 2009; O'Brien et al. 2006) have materials where there are +WH/+Topic features on the thematic object, thereby allowing children to overcome Minimality violations (the verbal shell is moved afterwards in their analysis, violating Extension Condition (a).

• Collins (2005)



- Snyder and Hyams (2015) account for the passive delay by assuming a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005) and that children adopt a strict Universal Freezing Hypothesis.
- Smuggling is an operation that is not available until 4;0.
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Experiments with above-chance performance by kids under 4;0 (e.g., Crain et al. 2009; O'Brien et al. 2006) have materials where there are +WH/+Topic features on the thematic object, thereby allowing children to overcome Minimality violations (the verbal shell is moved afterwards in their analysis, violating Extension Condition ⊕).

February 28, 2016

- Snyder and Hyams (2015) account for the passive delay by assuming a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005) and that children adopt a strict Universal Freezing Hypothesis.
- Smuggling is an operation that is not available until 4;0.
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Experiments with above-chance performance by kids under 4;0 (e.g., Crain et al. 2009; O'Brien et al. 2006) have materials where there are +WH/+Topic features on the thematic object, thereby allowing children to overcome Minimality violations (the verbal shell is moved afterwards in their analysis, violating Extension Condition ⊕).

- Snyder and Hyams (2015) account for the passive delay by assuming a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005) and that children adopt a strict Universal Freezing Hypothesis.
- Smuggling is an operation that is not available until 4;0.
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Experiments with above-chance performance by kids under 4;0 (e.g., Crain et al. 2009; O'Brien et al. 2006) have materials where there are +WH/+Topic features on the thematic object, thereby allowing children to overcome Minimality violations (the verbal shell is moved afterwards in their analysis, violating Extension Condition ⊚).

- Snyder and Hyams (2015) account for the passive delay by assuming a smuggling analysis of the passive (Collins 2005) and that children adopt a strict Universal Freezing Hypothesis.
- Smuggling is an operation that is not available until 4;0.
- At 4;0, smuggling becomes available and the Universal Freezing Hypothesis is relaxed to allow extraction out of a smuggled eventive verbal shell.
- At 6;0, children are able to coerce stative verbal shells into eventive verbal shells, thereby allowing extraction out of a smuggled stative verbal shell (cf. Gehrke and Grillo 2009; Grillo 2008).
- Experiments with above-chance performance by kids under 4;0 (e.g., Crain et al. 2009; O'Brien et al. 2006) have materials where there are +WH/+Topic features on the thematic object, thereby allowing children to overcome Minimality violations (the verbal shell is moved afterwards in their analysis, violating Extension Condition ③).