

³ Or at least it is implausible to suppose that he could utilize them if he did not have some overall unique events and present tense (nonpast, in our treatment) was associated with generic conceptual framework in which past tense (past, in our treatment) was associated with best, it is implausible to suppose that he could utilize such clues. ³ Again, there

are cases when desiderative scope alone is insufficient to mark the distinction: Since the child's control of tense is, at the appropriate age, highly questionable at best, it is implausible to suppose that he could utilize such clues. ³ Again, there

(12) When you saw a dog (S), were you frightened?

(11) When you see a dog (NS), are you frightened?

many cases in which a mere tense marks the SNSD: But in fact the problem is even tougher than we have suggested; there are abstract relations, unlikely to be captureable by two-year-olds.

that things like desiderative scope and negative scope are themselves extremely put their trust in extralinguistic context will, however, point out, quite correctly, verbs: the difference between *I want a dog* (NS) and *I have a dog* (S). Those who a dog (S) and *I didn't see a dog* (NS) for instance. So is the scope of desiderative given occurrence of a NP is specific or non-specific: the difference between *I saw For instance, the scope of negation is often crucial in determining whether a might think he could do this by distinguishing between linguistic environments. potential distraction). He then has to distinguish specific from non-specific. One Smith (1979) show that it will be several years before he is able to overcome this the (although in fact he cannot even rely on this aid; Warden (1976) and Karmiloff- Let us suppose that the child can first factor out the distinction between a and with two meanings (a can be both specific and non-specific).*

one meaning (both a and the can have specific reference) and one morpheme regard to the second distinction only (the SNSD), there are two morphemes with relates semantics to surface representation in the case of plurals. Instead, with and specific-referent / no-specific-referent – but without the binarity that two distinctions – supposed-knownto-listener / supposed-unknownto-listener point, much more complex than that. Three articles, the, a, and zero, represent is absent, the other meaning is entailed. Articles are, from a purely formal view- relationship: when the morpheme is present, one meaning is entailed; when it one – and it does so binarily, that is to say, in a one-morpheme, one-meaning plural morpheme marks a single, straightforward distinction – one/more than at roughly the same age (a very few weeks later, according to Brown 1973). The the acquisition of articles with the acquisition of plural marking, which occurs two ways – through linguistic context or through extralinguistic context.

Indeed, we can only conclude that the SNSD would be quite impossible to learn, an issue-dodging way of saying that he is programmed to make the SNSD. ably forms a correct hypothesis about the SNSD as his first hypotheses is simply would hardly be time to frame and discard any other. To say that the child invariably, it would have to be just about the first hypotheses the child makes – there year-olds use few or no articles, and the SNSD is acquired by about the age of three, start by hypothesizing that there are really two kinds of a? Moreover, since two-affect only a and the; with regard to a alone, why on earth should the child even fact, so far as we know, such hypotheses are never made. In any case, they would size that the and a mark poles of some kind of proximal-distal distinction. In physically present and a with NPs that are physically absent one might hypothesis marks agents and a marks patients. Since the often co-occurs with NPs that are be subjects while indefinite tend to be objects, one might hypothesize that the there are many possible hypotheses that might be made. Since definites tend to testing LAD – is highly implausible. Even about possible functions of a and the, sumably, be claimed by those who believe in a hypotheses-forming, hypothesis-Indeed, that he should even hypothesize such a distinction – as would, pre-able to make it at all, by any means.

whom the boundaries between real and unreal are notoriously vague, should be between purely mental representations, one can only marvel that a child, for experience. The SNSD involves comparisons, not between physical entities, but be determined by the organs of perception, or inferred from any kind of direct and an imaginary representation of that same class is in no way one that can dual member of a class (which more often than not is not physically present) obvious differences in his perceptual field. But the distinction between an one; the grammatical marking of nouns correlates directly with manifest and he has one toy or several, whether he is allowed only one cookie or more than child is physically able to observe. He can see and feel at any given time whether much to the point. Plural marking is directly associated with relations that the direct experience? A comparison with plural-marking acquisition is again very But how could the child derive knowledge of purely abstract relationships from world.

of linguistic experience, so to speak, in order to derive ways of talking about the language input. If the child only processes linguistic tokens of dog, for example, he would presumably apply the term only to members of the appropriate species; whereas, as is well known, the initial meaning of dog, for the child, is likely to be, any four-legged mammal. Thus, we know that the child reaches out ahead where, as is well known, the initial meaning of dog, for the child, is likely to be, any four-legged mammal". Thus, we know that the child reaches out ahead he would, rather than by merely processing linguistic tokens of dog, for example, language arrived at by interaction with experience rather than by merely processing

in (15):
 In fact, Kuczaj undercuts his own argument by observing that children do in-deed over-generalize -ing, but not to stative verbs rather, to nonverbal items, as in-movement.

Not take -s, constitute a natural semantic class; we shall return to this point in a do not take -ing, as opposed to verbs which do not take -ed or nouns which do yield *I am liking you*. A more pertinent observation would be that verbs which sheep or -ed to put to make *putted*, and, on the other hand, adding -s to *sheep* to like to the difference would be between, on the one hand, adding -s to *sheep* to make distinguishing since zero can be a term in a subsystem, and it is hard to see what no alternative way of marking past tense is somewhat there are other ways of marking than -s), whereas in the case of -ing, English has with the past tense there are other ways of marking than -ed (just as with plurals Kuczaj (1978) has argued that the two cases are not really commensurate since verbs.

The -ing form is acquired earlier than the -ed form (before any of the incoercibly attach -ed. Yet, apparently, children never ever attach -ing to stative speech, probably as common as many of the irregular verbs to which children such as *like*, *want*, *know*, *see*, etc. These verbs are quite common in children's there are verbs that do not take -ing (with certain qualifications, see Sag 1973), year in at least some cases). Also, just as there are verbs that do not take -ed, other thirteen morphemes studied in Brown (1973), and as early as the second

The -ing form is acquired even earlier than the -ed form (before any of the *buysed, etc., occur in the speech of most, if not all, children of English. Thus, the consistency in the final segments of possessive pronouns leads to production of the aberrant form *mines, while plurals such as *sheeps, *goats (or cases of over-generalization, a number of which are discussed in Cazden (1968). In general, the acquisition of novel morphology by the child is attended by marker -ing.

We will now examine another distinction which is made even earlier and with-out, apparently, even a single reported case of error. This is the distinction between states and processes, including under the latter verbal verbs of experience or SPD). The SPD is directly involved in the acquisition of the English progressive ing as well as action verbs (hereafter referred to as the state-process distinction), the consistency in the final segments of possessive pronouns leads to production of the aberrant form *mines, while plurals such as *sheeps, *goats (or cases of over-generalization, a number of which are discussed in Cazden (1968). We will now examine another distinction which is made even earlier and with-

ness of the NSID in this chapter.
 straightforward means of empirically testing the claims made about the imitative-

27/11/19 10:28

A stronger argument against the "imperative transfer" hypothesis, not made by Brown, involves first recognizing that Brown's argument is in error; children could learn imperatives through trial and error and, having learned at last the list of verbs which could not be imperatives, simply apply that knowledge to the list of verbs which could do so. But trial-and-error learning of imperatives is more implausible than errorless learning of -ing. Errorless learning of imperatives, simply through observing that other children learn -ing, the child must correct himself simply through observing that other

children's imperatives are often formally indistinguishable from their declarative (want cookie looks like an imperative, but is probably no more than the simple impossible to tell whether this was the case since, especially in Stage I, argued that it would depend also on imperative usage being errorless; and it was just those that cannot be used in the imperative. Against this possibility, Brown argues that it transferred to progressives, since the verbs that will not take -ing are tenses and transferred to progressives, since the verbs that will not take -ing are and -, where over-generalizations abound.

Brown next considered the possibility that the SPD was learned from imperatives (want cookie looks like an imperative, but is probably no more than the why a similar caution and restraint was not applied to other morphemes, like -ed learned from experience that it was "inappropriate", would then be forced to explain for anyone who claimed that children delayed applying -ing to a verb until they himself pointed out, even if it had held, it would not have provided a solution. relationship did not hold for the other children in Brown's study; and as Brown precisely those which appeared with -ing in Eve's speech. However, a similar other hand, the nonstatives which the mother did use frequently with -ing were closely those which Eve's mother seldom used with progressive aspects; on the statives, were unmarked by -ing, and that the unmarked nonstatives were pre-statives, were unmarked by -ing, and that the unmarked nonstatives, as well as case of one child, Eve, he was able to show that many nonstatives, as well as and explores several hypotheses which might account for such learning. In the "able to learn a concept like involuntary state before they [are] three years old", Brown (1973: 326ff) rightly regards it as remarkable that children should be even more significant.

What is the significance of the weather? For Eve, it is the weather that makes them abstemiousness with respect to stative verbs

NONSTATIVE READING makes their abstemiousness with respect to stative verbs will generalize -ing even to nouns if and only if such nouns HAVE A PLAUSSIBLE weather would be also if it were a verb in the sense of (15). The fact that children etc. But all these verbs have in common the fact that they are nonstatives, as "climatic" verbs that yield expressions such as it is raining / snowing / thundering. Note that, in fact, weather is a plausible candidate for admission to the list of (presumably, Why is the weather so bad?)

(15) Why is it weathering?

- direction.
- text, on the contrary, both experience and context would point in a contrary Nobody could claim that the distinction emerged from experience, or from con-
text, every bit as grammatical as *I playing peekaboo (now)* or *I sitting pretty (now)*. < child, whereas the use of imperative statives might seem bizarre, the use of pro-
gressivе -ing with statives would surely appear, to a child not programmed with
grammatical knowledge or by trial and error, because they themselves would
only need nonstative imperatives for pragmatic reasons. They would not
need either errorlessly or by trial and error, because they acquire the SVD from im-
peratives and emotions of others by commanding them to want, need, know, etc.
In fact, the likelihood of possibility is that children do not take nasty
processes and emotions away. It would be bizarre if he sought instead to influence the thought-
things away. People to pick him up or put him down, bring nice things to him and take nasty
is unlikely. A child's early imperatives are all action-oriented, aimed at getting
moreover, on a purely pragmatic basis, trial-and-error learning of imperatives
without requiring experience to prove it.
- 1** > programmed with SVD, and thus "know" that such uses were impossible,
such use would simply not have occurred – unless of course they were already
know whether statives could be used as imperatives because the opportunity for
only ever need nonstative imperatives for pragmatic reasons. They would not
need either errorlessly or by trial and error, because they themselves would
in fact, the likelihood of possibility is that children do not acquire the SVD from im-
peratives and emotions of others by commanding them to want, need, know, etc.
processes and emotions away. It would be bizarre if he sought instead to influence the thought-
things away. In fact, the likelihood of possibility is that children do not take nasty
people to pick him up or put him down, bring nice things to him and take nasty
is unlikely. A child's early imperatives are all action-oriented, aimed at getting
moreover, on a purely pragmatic basis, trial-and-error learning of imperatives
without requiring experience to prove it.
- 2** < to pay attention; we can hardly expect him to pay attention to something that is
from that grammar by the existence of contrastive forms to which he is obliged
to pay attention; we can hardly expect him to pay attention to something that is
indicate that a child needs positive reinforcement, as well as an absence of coun-
terexamples, in order to maintain his current grammar. The child may be diverted
naughty bunny? It is hardly likely. I know of no facts which would
would the fact that he did NOT hear others saying *want some chocolate or *hate
child who said want cookie really was urging someone else to desire a cookie.
But negative evidence cannot function in this way. Let us suppose that the
on saying drinke^d indefinitely.
- ers produce forms different from his (we know that overt correction of grammar,
as opposed to content, is rare among parents). Thus, the child who says drinke^d
eventually becomes aware that others say drunk, and revises his grammar ac-
cordingly. If such things did not come to his attention, he would presumably go

Again, in the present theory, whether or not a given feature is common to all evidence for this contention.

that English is "unique or almost unique" in possessing the SPD are adduced as items foreign learners have with English progressives and a claim by Joso (1964) because it is "very far from being universal in the world's languages." The problem is second difficulty is that the SPD is "a poor candidate for innateness"

Brown's even if the theory supposes that children test hypotheses-which it does not.

Brown suggests would not make any kind of sense in light of the present theory, ter 2, and as we shall see again later in this chapter. Thus, the child hypotheses quite the reverse, indeed, as we saw in the section on Passive Equivalents in Chapter 2, and transitive verbs are not formally distinguished from intransitive verbs - in creoles, animate actions are not formally marked in creole languages. In creoles, animate actions were formally marked in creole languages. It is necessary to show that those distinctions were formalized in the bioprogram. To do that, it would be necessary against the innateness of the SPD, unless it could be shown that those distinctions also formed part of the bioprogram. To do that, it would be necessary to argue that the SPD could never constitute an argument against the innateness of the SPD, unless it could be shown that those distinctions were treated differently from the SPD.

The present theory assumes neither of these things. Thus, the fact that other

like junior linguists, acquire grammars by formulating and testing hypotheses. (a view Brown specifically attributes to McNeill 1996), and second, that children born with all the subcategorization features of an *Aspect* grammar in their heads came equipped with a full set of syntactic and/or semantic subcategories. If they nativist theory predicts with respect to categories other than state-process. If they

The first difficulty is that, according to Brown, children do not behave as innate.

they are really as "fatal" as he believes.

arose out of a theory of innateness quite different from this one - and see whether

> suggestion, we should examine Brown's "difficulties" - bearing in mind that they Kuczaj 1978; Fletcher 1979) have advanced any serious alternative to the innatist ties." Since neither he nor other scholars who have discussed the issue (e.g., However, he rejects this possibility because of what he claims are "fatal difficulties". Finally, Brown considered the possibility that the distinction is innately known.

the world's languages is quite irrelevant. All previous universal theories have been static theories, which assume that language is always and everywhere the same; if one accepts this, it follows that only features that occur in all languages can really qualify as candidates for innateness. But the present theory is a dynamic, evolutionary theory which assumes that language had a starting point and a sequence of developments, which are recycled, in rather different ways, in both creole formation and child acquisition, as well as perhaps in certain types of linguistic change (consideration of which would take us beyond the scope of the present volume). What is innate is therefore what was there at the beginning of the sequence, and thus there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by role in creole grammars. There, statives are distinguished from nonstatives by it, which may well be as low as Brown suggests, but because it plays a cruciality, which may well be as low as Brown suggests, but because of its universality, the SPD is presumed to be innate, not because of its univer-

In other words, the SPD is presumed to be innate, not because of its univer-

Given in *Table 3.1 below* [in other words], the SPD is typical in this respect, is nonstatives. The pattern for GC, which we may take as past-reference statives and marked in the same way, and the same applies to past-reference statives and however, present-reference statives and present-reference nonstatives cannot be given in *Table 3.1 below* [in other words]. In this respect, is nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by cause it plays a crucial role in creole grammars. There, statives are distinguished from nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by form nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the mean of the two categories. The SPD causes a characteristic skewing of the creole system, not explicitly treated in the present volume, but discussed at some length in Bickerton (1975: Chapter 2). Briefly, there is a significant difference between Indo-European systems which takes the following form. In the latter, the same morphological marking applies to both statives and nonstatives in any tense; this seems so obvious that it is never even remarked on. In creoles, however, present-reference statives and present-reference nonstatives cannot be given in *Table 3.1 below* [in other words] the SPD is typical in this respect, is nonstatives. The pattern for GC, which we may take as past-reference statives and marked in the same way, and the same applies to past-reference statives and however, present-reference statives and present-reference nonstatives cannot be given in *Table 3.1 below* [in other words]. In this respect, is nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by cause it plays a crucial role in creole grammars. There, statives are distinguished from nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by form nonstatives by the fact that the nonpunctual marker never attaches to the former; but that is by

be an extremely unlikely result

chromic languages – indeed, given the nature of dynamic processes, this would indicate features will automatically persist and be found in the structure of all systems – innate features are those that language has had a starting point and a sequence of developments that occur in rather different ways, in both creole formation and child acquisition, as well as perhaps in certain types of linguistic change (consideration of which would take us beyond the scope of the present volume). What is innate is not the slightest reason to suppose that the present theory is a dynamic, evolutionary theory which assumes that language had a starting point and a sequence of developments, which are recycled, in rather different ways, in both creole formation and child acquisition, as well as perhaps in certain types of linguistic change (consideration of which would take us beyond the scope of the present volume). What is innate is not the slightest reason to suppose that the present theory is a dynamic, evolutionary theory which assumes that language had a starting point and a sequence of developments that occur in all languages can really qualify as candidates for innateness. But the present theory is a dy-

⁴ Students of the acquisition of Turkish please note: it would be most revealing to analyze 43 hours of a single child's speech (one hour at three-week intervals from 2:0 to 4:6) in order to determine exactly how he moves from a state-process to a direct-indirect analysis, along the lines indicated in Note 1 above.

The delay in acquisition is even more significant since most features of Turkish verb morphology are fully acquired at age 3:0. Although "evidential" tenaces are dynamic and static events ... (Clear differentiation of the two forms [according to their adult meanings, D.B.] is not stabilized until about 4:6,⁴⁹) These are used in adult speech to mark direct experience (events personally observed by the speaker) and indirect experience (events reported to or inferred by the speaker), respectively. According to Sloboin & Aksu-Kög, -d^l is usually acquired by age 1:9, and -m^{ls} about three months later (i.e., about the same age as -ing is acquired). But "at first the -d^l and -m^{ls} inflections differentiate between -m^{ls}s These are used in adult speech to mark direct experience (events personally acquired by age 3:0. Although "evidential" tenaces are used for marking past-reference verbs: -d^l and -m^{ls} acquisition of Turkish in Sloboin & Aksu-Kög (1980).

What like an inappropriate generalization of the SPD is found in data on the other theories). An example which looks, from the data available so far, some the bioprogram (as opposed to distinctions supposedly innate by the standards of objectivation), is a reasonable one if it is made with respect to distinctions found in generalized to inappropriate environments (cited above in discussion of his first However, Brown's claim that, if a distinction were genuinely innate, it might be

and objection to the innateness of the SPD is also deprived of its force. Since Brown believed that universality was the criterion for innateness, while the criterion for the bioprogram theory is emergence in creole grammar, this section be quite unworkable.

Thus, without a clear understanding of the SPD, the creole TMA system would

Present reference	Ø	a	bim	Past reference	Ø
Stative	Nonstative				

Table 3.1: Stative-nonstative distinctions in GC

creoles, however, present-reference statives and present-reference nonstatives cannot be marked in the same way, and the same applies to past-reference statives and nonstatives. The pattern for GC, which we may take as typical in this respect, is given in Table 3.1

|
|
|
|
|
|
|
|
|

"natural" acquisition situation, as distinct from a pidgin-creole one, the pattern of from an early age – certainly from age two upwards – we would expect that in a typically more general and cultural characteristics more highly specified. Thus, model the impulses of the first – the more so since biophysical characteristics are community. The pressures from the second side of being human must inevitably is a sociocultural organisation growing up into membership of a particular human point, the child is a biological organisation evolving along the genetic lines laid down for its species, but from another and equally valid perspective, the child In fact, no innate program could or should behave in this way. From one view- empiricist thinks he has dispensed of innatism.

all other influences aside. After the all too easy demolition of this truism, the roll like some irrefutable juggernaut through the years of acquisition, sweeping all too easily to a familiar straw man: the innate component which is supposed to with other components of the acquisition process. But such emphasis can lead it is premature to talk too much about how such a bioprogram might interact until students of acquisition are convinced that a bioprogram is really operative, same, emphasis is placed on the first member of the pair, for obvious reasons: target interaction, briefly mentioned two paragraphs above. In the present vol- This question will serve to focus more sharply on the nature of bioprogram-

indeed a universal genetic program generates such a system? We may therefore place the SPD alongside the NSD as a second semantic dis- But consideration of creoles is their distinctive TMA system, should it not be the case that this or a similar system emerges at some stage of acquisition, if most distinctive features of creoles is the distinctive TMA system, since among the question (with important syntactic consequences) which is innately programmed. We may therefore place the SPD alongside the NSD as a second semantic dis-

bioprogram and target language are adequately understood.

of early and errorless acquisition, once the mechanisms of interaction between the Turkish case. Certainly, any case of unusually delayed acquisition may turn tablighed in the bioprogram – which is exactly what seems to be happening in markers of a non-bioprogram distinction were really marking a distinction es- Such reinterpretation would naturally involve the assumption that the surface ticularly vulnerable to reinterpretation in the course of the acquisition process. that non-bioprogram distinctions that have emerged in natural languages are par- From these two facts, we may conclude that the direct/immediate experience dis- tinction does not form part of the bioprogram, and we may further hypothesize can Indian languages such as Hopi, they are completely unknown in all creoles. From elsewhere (for example, in some Present reference Past reference Ameri-

WAS THAT?
WAS THAT?

confounded by variable data of this kind. The first thing that an investigator should do, as a matter of simple routine, whenever he is whether, semantically or pragmatically, there are any differences between them. This is with "double pasts", and the sentences with "single pasts", in their appropriate contexts and unfortunately, it seems not to have occurred to any of these writers to look at the sentences (1975), Kuczaj (1976), Fay (1978), Maratsos & Kuczaj (1978), and Erreich & Wizsmer (1980); but are semantically identical and much more common. These forms are discussed in Hurford child speech - fails to take into account forms like *went*, *he didn't went*, etc., which however, that one of his presuppositions - that forms like *went* are quite uncommon in enables him to climb back into the steepfold of the conventional wisdom. It should be noted, with *-ed* would not seem redundant". However, a stiff dose of Reichenbach and formal logic "if they did not understand *went* as indicating a concept of pastness, then adding Pastness "perhapsings as opposed to *presenting states*", and, in discussing forms like *went*, adds that "perhaps the difference between *go* and *went* is used to mark something else, like momentary

⁵ One of these exceptions is Miller (1978). In a brilliant flash of insight, Miller suggests that

fully understands, and deliberately intends to mark, pastness of reference.⁵ True, One point must be made first, however. With few exceptions, students of acquisition assume that when a child uses a past-tense form, he uses it because he fully understands the progress of their acquisition.

Learning French and Italian, respectively, the bioprogram decisively influences clear once we assume that while the subjects of these studies appear to be merely I shall show that some puzzling features of those studies become immediately acquisition of tense: Bronckart & Sinclair (1973) and Antimucci & Miller (1976); and accordingly, I shall re-examine two of the most influential papers on the acquisition from the present one, even such oblique evidence would be significant. logically should prove mysterious to other theories of acquisition, yet follow influence should be highly unrealizable ways. However, if the results of such terms would be influenced in rather oblique ways. The most that we could expect would be that earlier features of the TMA system that would therefore be highly unrealizable would be highly unrealizable ways. However, if the results of such of the target grammar on the evolving bioprogram is steady and continuous. It TMA must spread over at least two years, during which the acquisition of that it may come considerably later than that. This means that the acquisition of TMA to exhibit anything like a fully-developed creole TMA system. The most would therefore be highly unrealizable to expect any child at any stage of acquisition to exhibit anything like a fully-developed creole TMA system. The most bioprogram like a fully-developed creole TMA system. Since that age the child fully controls the TMA system of his mother tongue; but it what systems, rather than with such systems as wholes, it is difficult to say at such shifting must inevitably affect the formation of a TMA system. Since virtually all the relevant literature deals with acquisition of particular pieces of patterning.

The bioprogram would be gradually shifted in the direction of the target-language

The punctual-nounpunctual distinction (henceforth PNP) is related to, yet distinct from, the SPD, and is of equal importance in creole grammar. Since both decreolization and acquisition involve the introduction of "past" marking where

In other words, what was being marked in both sets of data was not really past-

In other words, as shown in Table 3.27,

habitual events – insertion rates were shown to vary widely between the two that referred to SINGLE, PUNCTUAL EVENTS, and those that referred to iterative or however, when all past-reference verbs were divided into two categories – those cent of the time while decreolizing HCE speakers did so 30 percent of the time, include that decreolizing GC speakers randomly inserted past morphemes 27 percent.

On the assumption that speakers had a past category, one would have to con-

verbs in both cases, suggest quite a different picture.

(Bickerton 1975: 142–161; 1977: 36–51), with a data base of a thousand and Hawaii ways mark it. However, analyses of decreolization in both Guyana and Hawaii been interpreted the speakers have an established past category but do not al-

At first, one might interpret such data just as similar child language data have

to be introduced, occurring sporadically just as they do in child acquisition.

where variable past-morpheme insertion takes place. In creoles, past tense is than it is in acquisition, it should be instructive to look at another situation since the study of variable further advanced in decreolization

in each individual case.

explanations is the correct one can only be determined by empirical investigation coincidentally, to mark a certain percentage of past-tense verbs. Which of these has nothing at all to do with pastness or non-pastness, but which just happens, only to a subset of past-reference verbs. The child may have acquired a rule that past difficulties, etc. The child may have acquired a partial past rule which applies is so, none of which can be ruled out a priori. The child may have acquired a full marked while some are not. There are several possible explanations of why this period in which past tense is being acquired, some past-reference verbs are tense- This by no means necessarily follows. All we can say is that during the past must be there too.

without question, that where past marking appears, some sort of concept of past past events that leave presently-observable consequences; but it is still assumed, of past may be restricted as compared with the adults, and may extend only to it is often admitted (e.g., by Antinucci & Miller (1976) that the child's concept

the investigators performed with the aid of a series of toys. Ages of the children asking 74 children to describe (after the event) different types of actions which always mark nonpunctual pasts differently from punctual pasts.

Bronckart & Simcha confirmed and quantified their original observation by kinds of past events, they are doing exactly the same as creole speakers, who

In other words, when French children use different verb forms for different

by the so-called „imperfect“ form, e.g., *il laveit* rather than *il a lave*.

limited to past punctuals, while past iteratives and past duratives are rendered iterative (but not always to past-durative) reference; French *avoir* + participle is English simple past. English simple past is applicable to past-punctual and past-and durative events. Similarly, the „past“ is not a simple past in the sense of that of creoles); but, like a creole nonpunctual aspect, it embraces both iterative past-present opposition, but of course this is not the case. The „present“, tense in

French is in fact a nonpunctual aspect which does not extend into the past (unlike kicking the ball:

, He kicked the ball, and seldom if ever substitute *il pousse la balle*. He kicks/is event was a punctual one, like kicking a ball, they would use *il a pousse la balle* like washing a car, they would tend to use *il lave la voiture*, He washes/is washing the car, rather than *il a lave la voiture*, He washed the car; whereas if the be influenced by the nature of the event: if the latter was one of some duration, children were asked to describe past events, their choice of tense often seemed to clair (1973). The authors' starting point was their informal observation that when

We may now turn to the first of the two papers cited above, Bronckart & Sim-

>

{

previous findings on past-tense acquisition.
We should certainly do well to bear this possibility in mind while we reconsider to see whether punctuality plays the same role in the second as it does in the first, none was before, it should at least be worthwhile examining acquisition data

Punctual	Nonpunctual	Past-marking rate	GC	HCE	53 %	7 %
			38 %	12 %		

Table 3.2: Past versus punctual in decreolization

authors themselves either skim over or ignore altogether. In order to understand second, there are a number of facts about the Bronckart & Sinclair data that the and events (punctual-nounpunctual)?

which would be apparent to them from their own direct observation of actions grasped (past-nonpast), or that they would interpret it in terms of a distinction they would interpret *passé compose* in terms of a distinction that they barely yet perceive now, they would be nonpunctual by definition. Which is likelier – that punctual overlaps. While all pasts need not be punctuals, all punctuals must be pasts – if they were not, they would still be happening, and if they were still happens – it is the idea of past time, they encounter a form (the *passé compose*) which has excluded the idea of past time, they encounter a form (the *passé compose*) which has excluded at an age when developmental studies suggest that they have only the vaguest of reference, past or nonpast, punctual or nonpunctual, realis or irrealis. Then, like all other children, start out using the bare stem of the verb for every kind of marking + past, they are in fact marking + punctual. French-speaking children seem to be marking + past, they fail to mention the possibility that even when their subjects seem to authors suggest.

In terms of the present study, Bronckart & Sinclair have clearly shown that the PNPD overriders the past-nonpast distinction until at least the age of six. However, the situation in French acquisition may be even more creole-like than the features we have not investigated.”

perfective actions the use of *présents* is the more frequent the greater the probability of taking into account the unaccomplished part of the action. This probability is partly determined by duration, frequency, [sic], and maybe other objective features we have not investigated.”

imperfective actions are almost never expressed by past tenses, and for citation. Imperfective actions are almost never expressed by past tenses, and for “the distinction between perfective and imperfective events seems to be of more importance than the temporal relation between action and the moment of enunciating marked with a nonpast (= nonpunctual) verb. The authors concluded that two goalless actions, there was a significant difference ($p < .01$) between durable and nondurable actions, the former having a much higher probability of being marked with a nonpast (= nonpunctual) verb. The authors concluded that the French *passé compose* was used more frequently for these six than for the other six goal-directed actions, some were durable and others were not. While

Of the six goal-directed actions, some were durable and others were not. While supposedly uttered by various toys, can be disregarded for our purposes. marking “actions,” which consisted merely of crises of differing types or duration very rapidly into a pocket”), while two actions which had no perceptible goal or result (e.g., “a fish swims in the basin [circular movement]”). The three relevant actions which had a clear goal or result (e.g., “a car hits a marble which rolls

that which is most frequently assigned past marking, while the event at the foot of each column the event at the head of the column is tense assignment; thus, in each group. Rank order is based on percentage of past-for each of the first four age groups. Rank order is based on percentage of past-to the form given in Table 3. In this table, the six actions, (16)-(21), are ranked in order to display these phenomena. I shall recall Bronckart & Simclair's data

in the authors' conclusions, may very easily be overruled.

thus, certain very interesting crossover phenomena, which are not accounted for is reduced by showing two different graphs for durable and nondurable events; & Simclair's presentation, I think quite unfortunately, the amount of zigzagging fairly uniform percentages of past marking across all action types. In Bronckart it shows the familiar feverish zigzags before coming to rest, at age 7;8, with consistency and steady rise from low to high percentages of correct forms; rather age groups, average ages of each group being as follows: 1, 3;7; 2, 4;7; 3, 5;6; 4, 6;6; pass composite used to describe each of the different actions by members of five The authors present (their Figure 1) a graph which shows the percentages of P-10 and P-1.

ments which take ten seconds and one second, respectively, so we will call them twelve, so we will call them Jx-10 and Jx-5; (16) and (17) are single pushing movements repeated jumping movements which take ten seconds and five seconds, respectively and one second, respectively, so we will call them J-2 and J-1; (18) and (20) are sentences (19) and (21) are single jumping movements which take two seconds

(21) The horse jumps over one fence and does not reach the stable.

(20) The cow jumps over five fences and does not reach the stable.

the farm.

(19) The farmer's wife jumps in one big jump over ten fences and reaches

(18) The farmer jumps over ten fences and reaches the farm.

(17) A car hits a marble which very rapidly rolls into a pocket.

(16) A truck slowly pushes car toward a garage.

Let us begin by describing the six goal-oriented actions used in the study and then coding them in terms of type of action, duration, and iteration (where applicable). The actions (Bronckart and Simclair's 1-6) are as follows:

the significance of these facts, we shall have to re-examine their study rather minutely.

length of events, and do not distinguish either the inherent characteristics of different actions or any difference between iterative and durative events. Note how, in column 1 of Table 3.3 the two *jk* events, which are sequences of punctual events, are grouped with P-10, the only truly durative event. Thus, their judgment of what is nonpunctual at age 3;7 accords with the commonest *Celle* (‘judgment of what is nonpunctual; that is, a merger of the iterative (habitual) with judgment of what is nonpunctual’). *Celle* < *Judgement of what is nonpunctual at age 3;7* < *Table 3.3 the two *jk* events, which are sequences of punctual events, are grouped with P-10, the only truly durative event. Thus, their length of events, and do not distinguish either the inherent characteristics of different actions or any difference between iterative and durative events. Note how, in column 1 of Table 3.3 the two *jk* events, which are sequences of punctual events, are grouped with P-10, the only truly durative event. Thus, their*

However, as time goes by, the two *jk* events are reinterpreted as sequences of events, each one of which, considered individually, is brief and inherently punctual. Thus, iteratives are removed from the nonpunctual category (which now contains only duratives) and reassigned to the punctual category. This judgment – merging of iteratives with punctuals – corresponds to the minority creole pattern found in Jamaican Creole and perhaps a few others referred to under the heading of Deviation B in Chapter 2 (Page 72). It is certainly intriguing to speculate that at least some of the relatively few real differences in creoles could result from their having been ‘finalized’, so to speak, at slightly different ages by late adolescence. Increases in the child’s cognitive abilities (which would grow, develop, and change just as the physical organization that houses it would grow, develop, and change) help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

What is of more immediate interest is the insight that we can derive, from the process described above, into the way in which a bioprogram would evolve. Some scenarios for Chomskyan innatism seem to suggest that every neonate with the linguistic component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

With the language-specific component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

What is of more immediate interest is the insight that we can derive, from the process described above, into the way in which a bioprogram would evolve. Some scenarios for Chomskyan innatism seem to suggest that every neonate with the linguistic component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

With the language-specific component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

What is of more immediate interest is the insight that we can derive, from the process described above, into the way in which a bioprogram would evolve. Some scenarios for Chomskyan innatism seem to suggest that every neonate with the linguistic component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

With the language-specific component and progressively modify it.

For the French-speaking child, the shift in the nature of the nonpunctual category would have the effect of moving more events into the punctual category, thus making more events available for past marking. It would, in other words, help the child in his transfer from past marking to freedom-making to move more events into the punctual category, thereby shifting the nature of the nonpunctual category.

interpret punctuality at age X?"; they do, however, seem to be in agreement that *ies* are therefore not comparable at the fine-grained level of, "just how do children & Simčić do not include any change-of-state verbs in their study. The two studies Bronckart & Miller draw from naturalistic observation; moreover, Bronckart means until an age long past that of the Antinucci and Miller subjects. However, was raw duration, and that inherent characteristics of verbs did not become dominant until an age raw duration, rather than the first criterion for the PNPD.

It is true that in the Bronckart & Simčić study the verbs they are punctual, rather than for the reason the authors suggest. In Antinucci and Miller's change-of-state list may be given past marking because in Antinucci and Miller's study it is to be given past-tense marking, then the verbs as punctual, the more likely it is to be given past-tense marking, and so on. If, as the Bronckart & Simčić study suggests, the more an action is regarded as punctual, the more likely it is to be given past-tense marking, then the verbs have played, if you stop halfway through writing, you have written, and so on. If, as the Bronckart & Simčić study suggests, if you stop halfway through playing, then the verbs have lost altitude. But with activity verbs, which are in fact, although he might have lost altitude, he would not have if the abandoned astronaut stopped halfway falling, he would not have closed, and if you stop halfway through giving, you have given; similarly, wing, have you Ved?", Thus, if you stop halfway through closing, you have not another test for inherent punctuality: the question, "If you stop halfway through But even sentences like that can be seen to be underlining punctuation if we apply punctuation, as in the abandoned astronaut fell toward the planet for several hours. Verbs, punctual, the rare, apparent exceptions are often due to purely technological developments, as in the *abandoned astronaut fell toward the planet for several hours*.

Now, it happens to be the case that children used in this way appeared to be somewhat spilted — remained behind as a concrete result of that action. This physical environment — a toy that had been broken, some milk that had been the child could only assign past tense to an action when something presented in past forms were found with verbs of the last class only, and they concluded that object changes its state." They found that with very few exceptions, children's (such as close, fall, give, etc.) which describe actions as a result of which "an where the action has no end result), stative verbs, and change-of-state verbs restricted in number. The authors divided verbs into three classes: activity verbs auxiliaries).

However, the verbs which children used in this way appeared to be somewhat plus participle, *ho venuto*, *I came*, but the children almost always omitted the them as true past-tense verbs (the usual past tense in Italian consists of auxiliaries rule and began to use the participles in ways suggesting that they now perceived jectives rather than verbs. Then, around age two, they dropped the agreement the sentential object, suggesting that the children regarded the participles as ad-

speech, then there is nothing but the PNPD to prevent children from generalizing they themselves choose to cite, and if both tenses are past-tense in adult irreals contexts. And if their hypothesis is falsified even by the few sentences to quantify the distribution of participial and imperfective forms in reals and one. It is hard to tell, since they present no statistical data that would serve between "pretend" events and the imperfect is merely a partial and coincidental between rendered by the participial form.

are no more (or less) "pretend" events than the events of going and putting, which (22) and (23) above, the events of staying and crying, rendered by the imperfect, verbs. Moreover, in the examples that Antinucci & Miller themselves cite, such as can be used to describe imaginary events as easily as activity (or nonpunctual) including change-of-state verbs; for surely change-of-state (or punctual) verbs the case, we would expect use of the imperfect to be extended to all types of verbs, the child uses it to distinguish "pretend" from real events. But if this were really Antinucci & Miller's explanation for this state of affairs is far from satisfactory.

and imperfective past tenses.

Antinucci & Miller's punctuation, activity or change-of-state verbs, have both perfective punctual or nonpunctual, activity or change-of-state verbs, whether that this does not reflect anything in Talian grammar; all Talian verbs, whether the first being used for punctual verbs, the second for nonpunctual ones. Note In other words, imperfects and participials are in complementary distribution,

"He put them in a sack and then the other children cried"

(imperfect)

(23) Talian (Antinucci & Miller's 90)

Li ha messi (participial) nel sacco e dopo gli altri bambini piangevano < />

Mommy went to the park and I stayed home

(22) Talian (Antinucci & Miller's 82)

Mamma e andato (participial) al parco e io stavo (imperfect) a casa < />

auxiliary):

verbs, which continue to be past-marked with participial forms (with or without imperfect). This is used with activity verbs, but is not extended to change-of-state their third year, Talian children generally acquire a second Talian past tense, the final analysis may account for the facts better than a change-of-state one. Early in There are other clues in Antinucci & Miller's study which suggest that a punctum some kind of PNPD is involved.