Emergent syntactic categories and increasing granularity

Evidence from a multilingual corpus study

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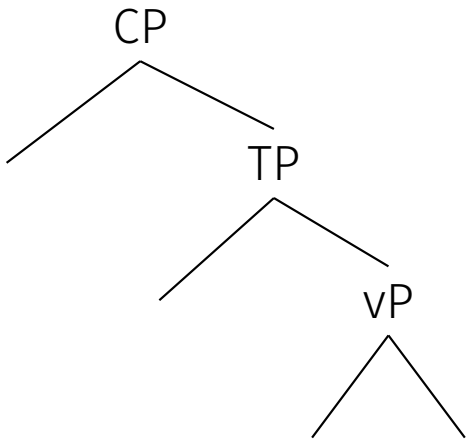
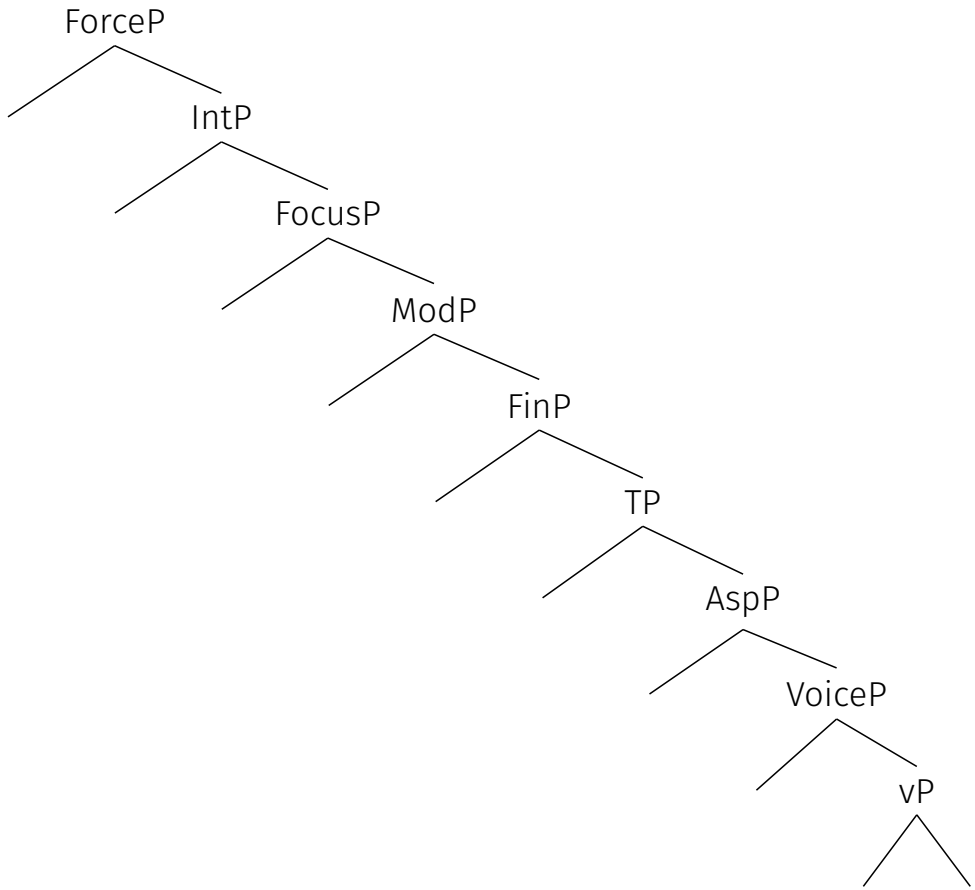
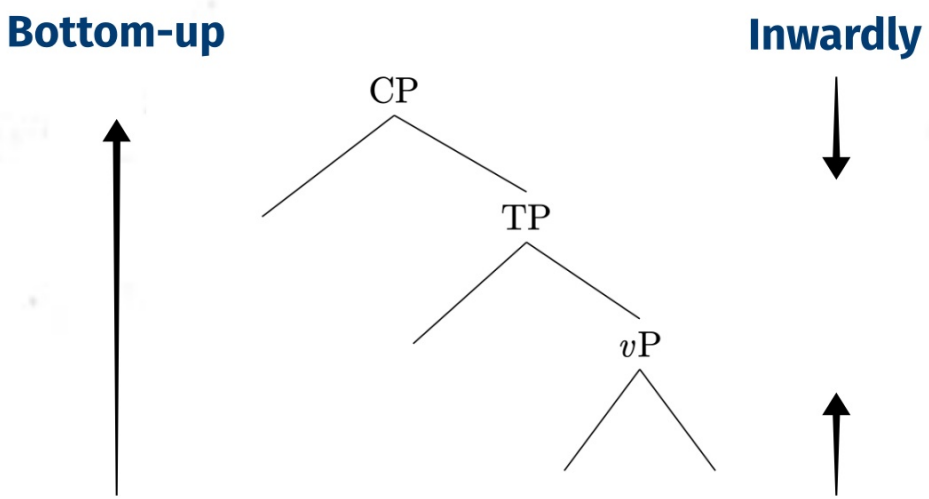
1. Introduction

- Syntactic trees grow → differences in **granularity** across (and within) frameworks:



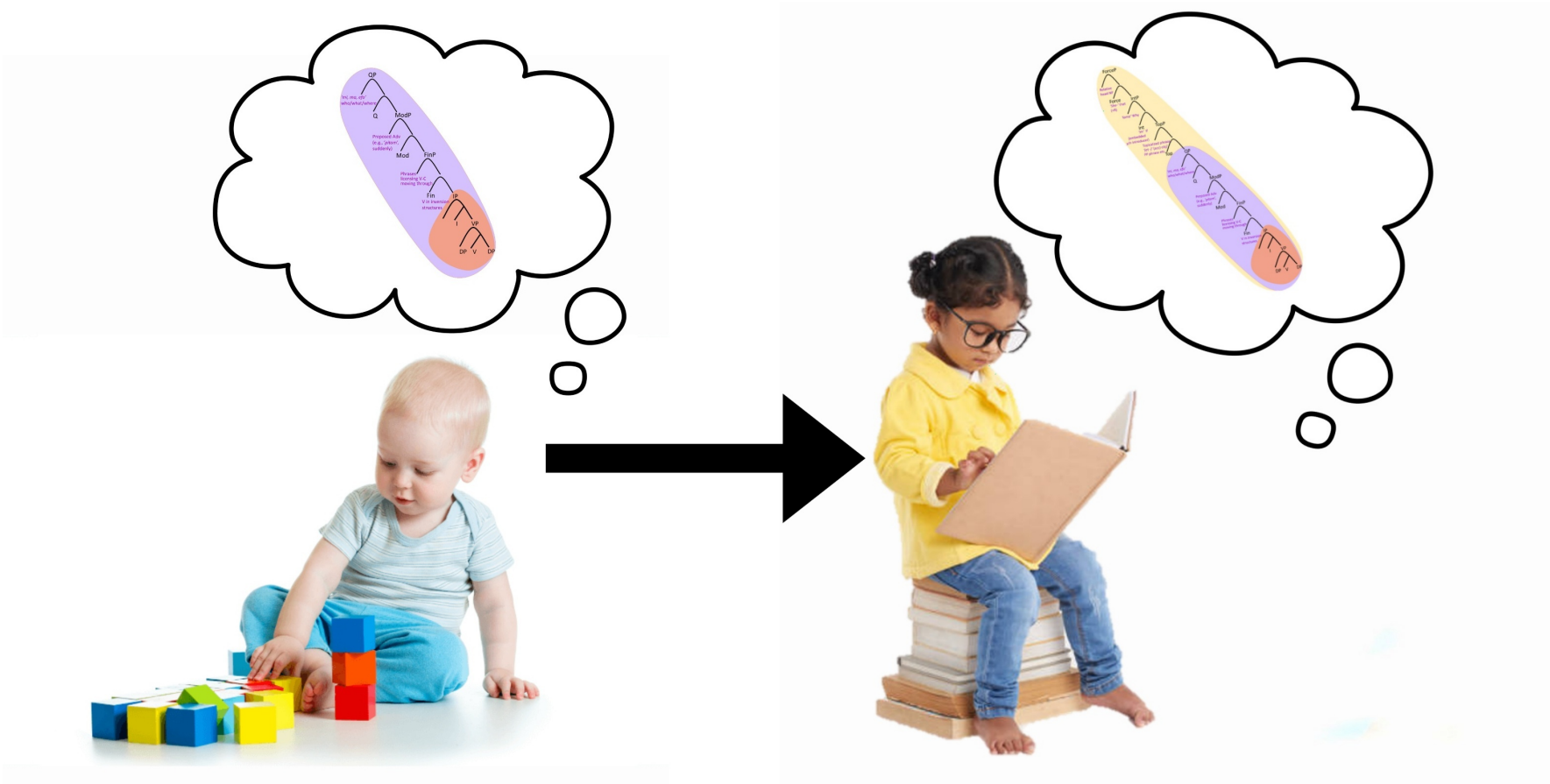


- How do children acquire these trees?
- **Prior maturational work:** focus on *directionality* of acquisition
  - Trees are acquired **bottom-up**: *v*P → TP → CP (i.a., Radford, 1990; Rizzi, 1993; Friedmann et al., 2021; Diercks et al., 2023).
  - Trees are acquired **inwardly**: *v*P & CP → TP (i.a., Galasso, 2003; Tsimpli, 2005; Heim & Wiltschko, 2021).



- **What about granularity, though?** How 'fine-grained' are children's trees at the start?
  - *Implicit* assumption in work thus far: granularity is *fixed* by UG. In cartographic approaches, as soon as a child acquires a specific domain, it is cartographic in nature.
- Existing cartographic approaches:
  - Westergaard (2009)'s micro-cues model: children have access to cartographic left-peripheral knowledge from the start.
  - Friedmann et al. (2021)'s Growing Trees: the cartographic left periphery emerges in two steps, and develops very late in its entirety.

Testable prediction: If (parts of) cartographic CP are available early, we should see (some) evidence for its distinct projections reasonably early (as noted in by Westergaard, 2009; Moscati & Rizzi, 2021; Moscati, 2023, and explored directly by Soares, 2006)



Bigger tree, same granularity?

(Tree diagrams from Friedmann et al., 2021)

- Granularity never changes throughout development?
- **Today:** revisiting the development of the left periphery:
  - Are categories acquired in a specific directionality?
  - But most importantly, when do children show evidence for access to an articulated CP domain?

→ ***Changes in granularity*** **might be an important (unexplored) aspect of syntactic development.**

2. Theoretical background

- **Maturation** of functional categories
  - (Arguably) **dominant** approach so far: **bottom-up** approach.
  - The top of the tree (≈ **CP**) acquired **last** (Radford, 1990; Rizzi, 1993; Friedmann et al., 2021; Diercks et al., 2023).
  - Growing Trees Hypothesis (most recent, left periphery-centred proposal): two-stage development of LP.

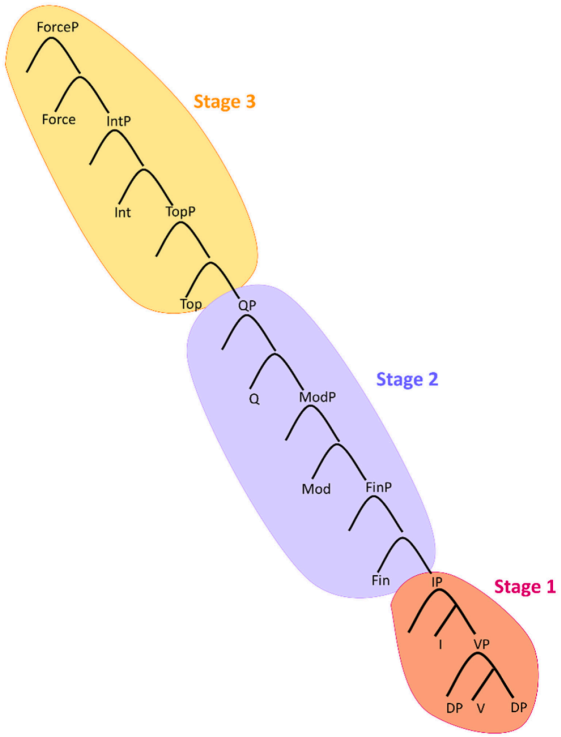


Figure 1: Stages in the Growing Trees Hypothesis (Friedmann et al., 2021, p. 12)

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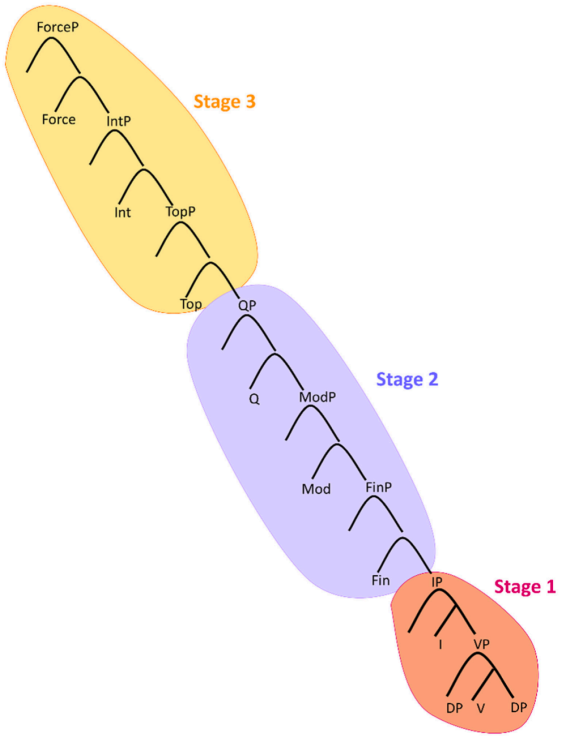

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Bottom-up directionality, fixed granularity

- **Maturation** of functional categories
  - More recently revived idea: **inward** approach. **CP** emerges **early**! (i.a., Galasso, 2003; Tsimpli, 2005; Heim & Wiltschko, 2021).
  - Galasso (2003)'s 'Empty Middle' approach: CP>∅>VP to CP>IP>VP.
  - Heim & Wiltschko (2021)'s Inward Growing Spine: spine matures inwardly.

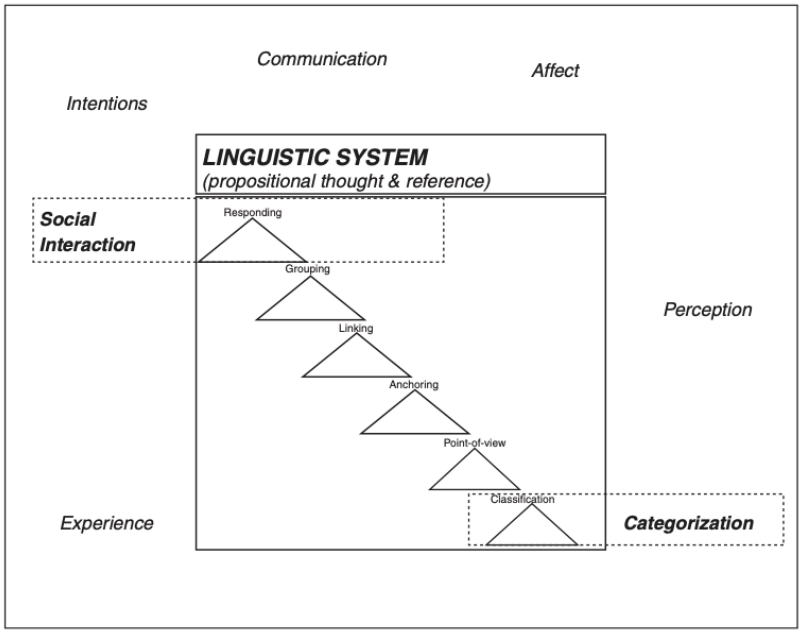

Figure 2: Bridge Model (Hinzen & Wiltschko, 2023)

[1] With the exception of Heim & Wiltschko (2021), who incorporate an (implicit) notion of granularity. Since cartography is not adopted in their work, we will set this aside for time reasons.

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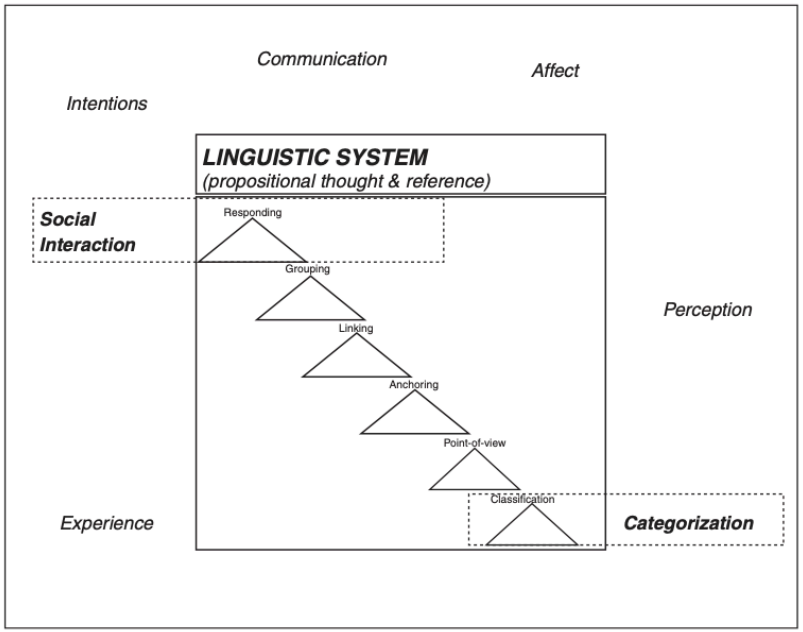

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Inward directionality, (generally)[1] fixed granularity

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- **Continuity**: children's initial state ≈ adult's functional inventory.
  - Of various strengths: Strong Continuity, Weak Continuity (Underspecification of features, Lexical Learning, etc.) (i.a., Poeppel & Wexler, 1993; Hyams, 1992, 1996; Clahsen et al., 1994)
  - Westergaard (2009)'s micro-cues approach: sensitivity to cartographic structures early on.

[2] Possible underspecification of features notwithstanding.

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Continuity (no maturation), fixed granularity[2]

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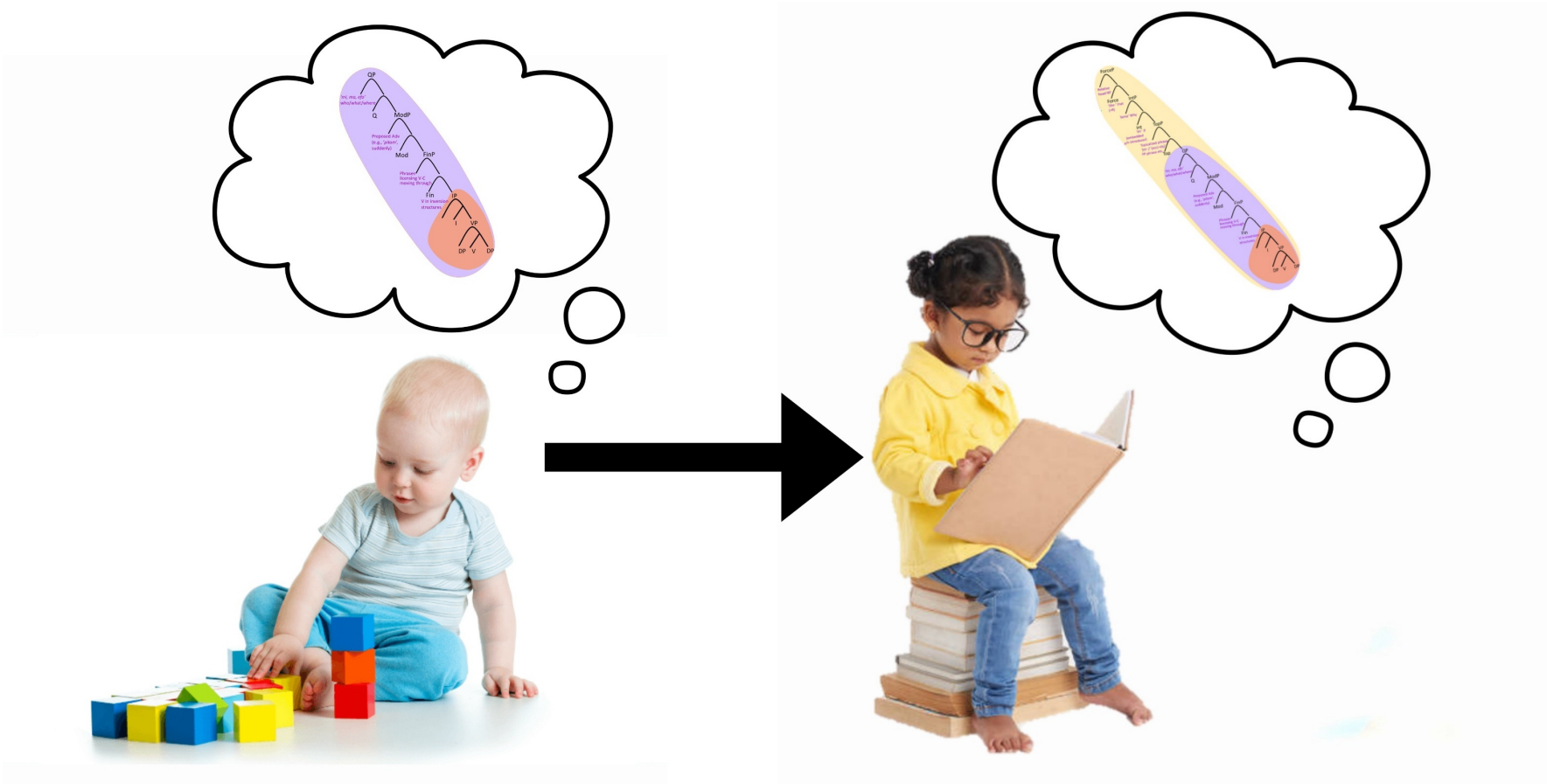

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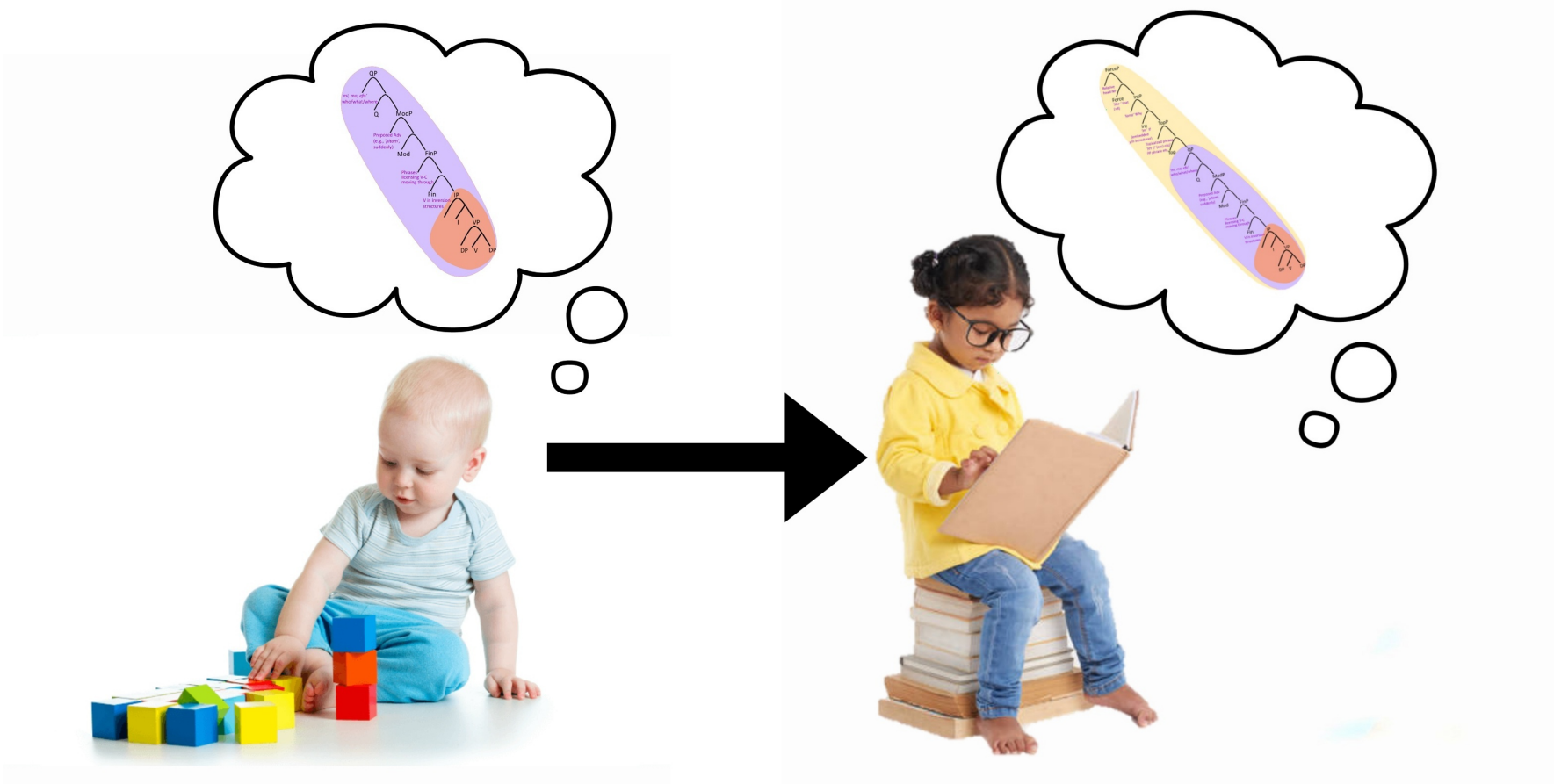
(Tree diagrams from Friedmann et al., 2021)



Not in all approaches...

(Tree diagrams from Friedmann et al., 2021)

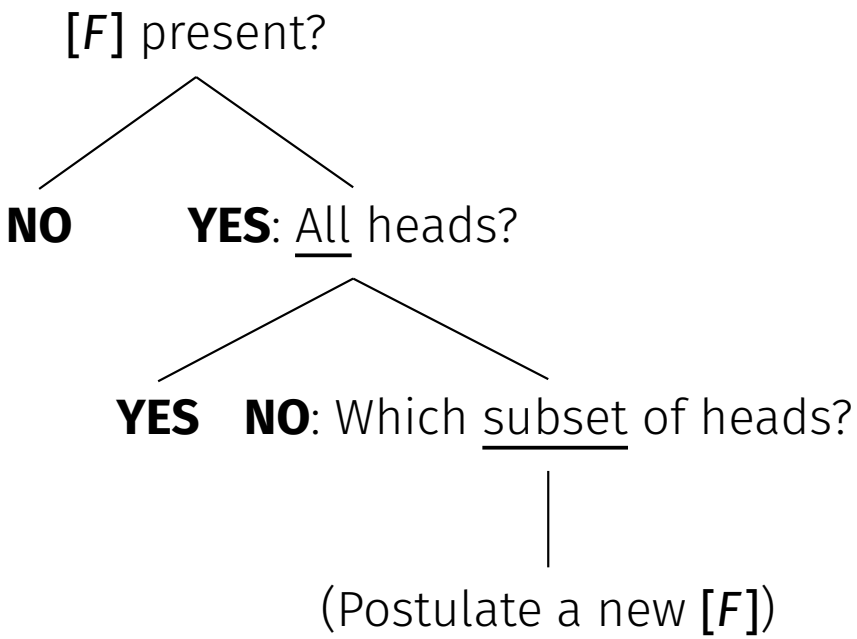
- **Neo-emergentism** (Biberauer, 2011, *et seq.*; Biberauer & Roberts, 2015)
  - *Emergentist generative approach*: **minimal UG**, no innate categories[3].
  - → Hypothesis relevant here: Biberauer & Roberts (2015)'s **emergent categorial hierarchy**.
    - Different levels of granularity across frameworks unified → different stages of a learning path (**coarse- to fine-grained**).

'Basic CP' *before* cartographic-type CP

[3] Leaving open the possibility that an innate *template* of some kind could guide the development of the functional spine (see, e.g., Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014; Wiltschko, 2014).

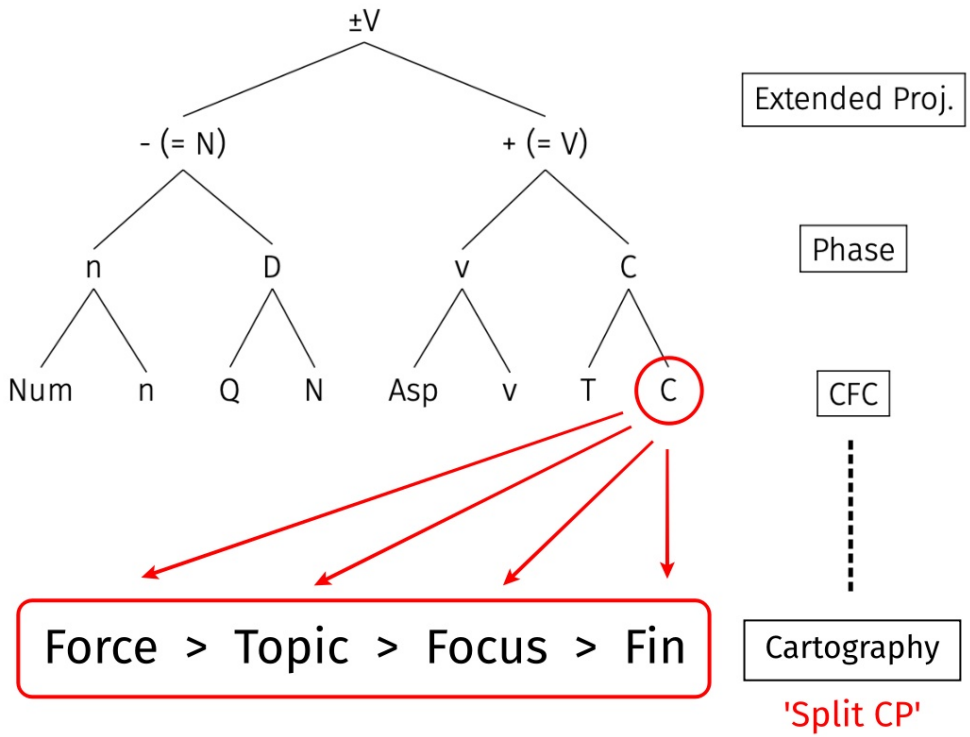
- **Neo-emergentism** (Biberauer, 2011, *et seq.*; Biberauer & Roberts, 2015)
  - Maximise Minimal Means (Biberauer, 2019), one general-cognitive bias, two (of several) language-specific manifestations.
    1. **Feature Economy** (FE; generalised from Roberts & Roussou, 2003)
       Postulate as few **[*F*]**s as possible to account for the PLD.
    2. **Input Generalisation** (IG; adapted from Roberts, 2021; termed *Feature* Generalisation in Biberauer, 2020)
       Maximise available **[*F*]**s.

(1) The NO>ALL>SOME learning path



- MMM and NO>ALL>SOME then make two key predictions about *formal feature postulation* (Biberauer & Roberts, 2015):
  - **'Parameter setting'** (following the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture)
  - **Emergence of functional categories**

(2) **Extended Projection** (V) > **phase** (C, v) > **Core Functional Category** or **CFC** (C, T, v) > "**cartographic field**" (e.g. Tense, Mood, Aspect, Topic, Focus) > **semantically distinct head** (e.g., Cinque, 1999; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007).



Syntactic categories 'granularise' (become *refined*) during development

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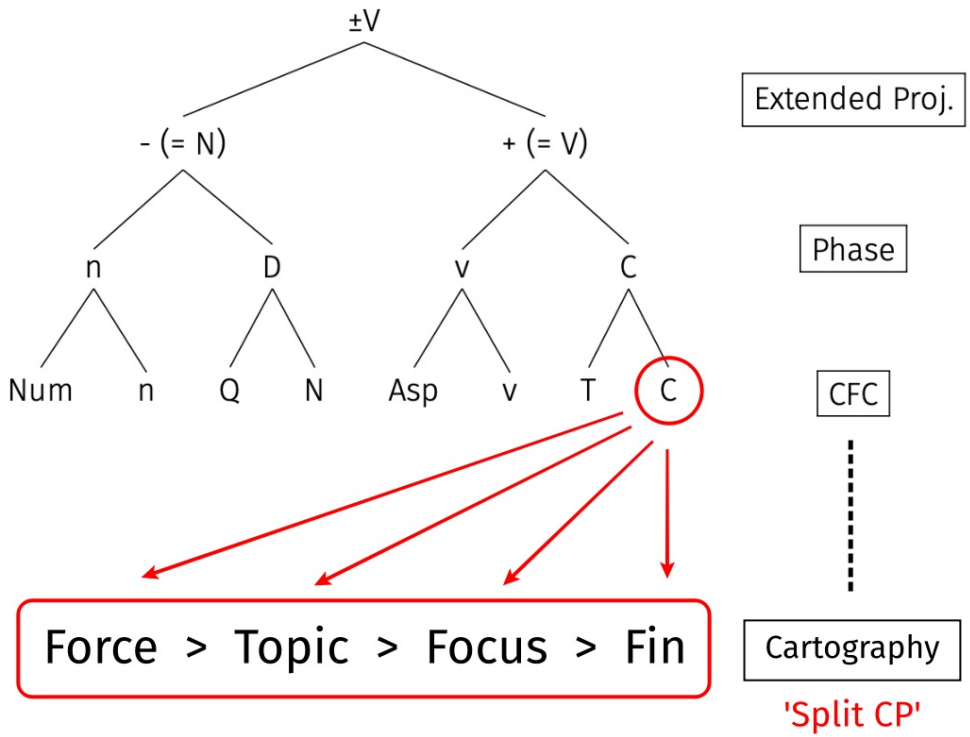

Any apparent directionality epiphenomenal, flexible granularity

- **This is the intuition we pursue in the corpus study**.
  - Grant that **various degrees of granularity** may be needed to capture to **crosslinguistic typology** of CP (i.a., Giorgi & Pianesi, 1997; Biberauer & Roberts, 2015; Hsu, 2017; Walkden, 2017; Larson, 2021; Cournane & Klævik-Pettersen, 2023).
  - No specific granularity *assumed a priori* when analysing the data → **'Let the data decide'**.
  - **Inquires** into not just 'earliness' of functional domains, but also their *granularity* throughout development.

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  - See also Soares (2006) for a very similar analytical approach to European Portuguese data.

Predictions for development of left periphery

- **Bottom up (Growing Trees)**:
  - Late CP (two-stage).
  - Fixed (cartographic) granularity: evidence for it once (or soon after) CP matures.
- **Inward maturation**:
  - Early CP.
  - Fixed granularity: if cartographic, evidence for it once (or soon after) CP matures.
- **Neo-emergentism (Biberauer & Roberts, 2015)**:
  - Early CP.
  - *Flexible* granularity: *late* emergence of cartographic elaboration of CP.

3. Corpus study

- Longitudinal analysis of 10 typically-developing children in CHILDES, across five languages (Catalan, Spanish, Italian, German and Dutch)

Table 1: Children studied in the CHILDES database and summary information

Language	Corpus	Child	Files	Age	MLUw
Catalan	Serra-Solé	Laura	19	1;07-4;00	1.03-3.47
		Gisela	21	1;07-4;02	1.02-3.51
Italian	Calambrone	Martina	13	1;07-2;07	1.26-2.69
		Rosa	21	1;07-3;03	1.27-3.24
Spanish	Llinàs-Ojea	Irene	59	0;11-3;02	1.0-5.13
	Montes	Koki	13	1;07-2;11	1.96-3.61
German	Miller	Kerstin	37	1;03-3;04	1.09-2.89
		Simone	50	1;09-2;09	1.52-4.89
Dutch	Groningen	Josse	28	2;0-3;04	1.2-4.01
	van Kampen	Sarah	50	1;06-5;02	1.07-6.07

- **CP diagnostics**:
  1. Wh-questions
  2. Yes/no questions (Germanic only)
  3. V-to-C movement (Germanic only)
  4. Topics/Foci
  5. Illocutionary (main clause) complementisers (Romance only)
  6. Finite embedding

- **Split CP diagnostics** (Romance):
  1. Top > Wh
  2. Top > Top/Foc
  3. Complementiser > Wh/Top
  4. Quotative *que* 'that' > Wh (Ibero-Romance only)
  5. Topic > interrogative que 'that' (Catalan only)
  6. *Sí que/sì che* 'yes that' and *que sí que* 'that yes that' structures (for the latter, Ibero-Romance only)

(4) a. **La Júlia**, **on** ha anat? (Top > Wh, Catalan)
the Júlia where AUX.HAVE.3SG go.PTCP
'Júlia, where has she gone?'

b. **Questo**, **a te**, ti spaventa (Top > Top/Foc, Italian)
this to you CL.IO= scare.3SG
'This, it scares YOU.'

c. ¿**Que** **cuánto** te han costado estas
that.QUOT how.much CL.IO= AUX.HAVE.3PL cost.PTCP these
bambas? (Comp > Wh, Spanish)
trainers
'How much have you said these trainers have cost you!?'

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  6. Finite embedding

- **Split CP diagnostics** (Germanic, V3 orders):
  1. Frame-setters
  2. Hanging Topic Left-Dislocation
  3. Contrastive Left-Dislocation
  4. Conditional/temporal clauses with resumptive *dann*/*dan* 'then'

(5)

a. **In alle geval**, ik had het niet verwacht (Frame-setter, Dutch)
in any case I AUX.HAVE.PST.1SG it not expect.PTCP
'Anyway, I had not expected it.' (Haegeman & Greco, 2020, p. 65)

b. **Diesen Kuchen hier**, den möchte ich probieren (CLD, German)
the.ACC cake.ACC here PRON.ACC want.1SG I try.INF
'This cake here, I want to try.'

c. **Als** het niet zo warm is, **dan** ga ik naar buiten (Conditional with
when/if it not so hot be.3SG then go.1SG I to outside
resumptive, Dutch)
'When/if it isn't so hot, then I'll go out.'

3. Corpus study

3.1. Results and generalisations

Results: Stages observed

- Transparent order of appearance of the structures analysed in the ten children. **Very early CP emergence**. **Split CP structures** systematically emerge at a ***later*** stage.
  1. Stage 1 – **CP structures**: 1.38 MLUw (range 1.15-1.54).
  2. Stage 2 – **CP and TP structures**: 1.64 MLUw (range 1.44-1.94).
  3. Stage 3 – **Split CP structures**: 2.57 MLUw (range 2.32-2.8).
- Focus on Stages 1 and 2 (as a group) *vs* Stage 3 here.

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↪ **Unpacking 3 Generalisations**

Generalisation 1: Early Acquisition of CP

CP-structures emerge early on in the developmental data.

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CP-structures emerge early on in the developmental data.

→ 'Directionality' of emergence likely isn't bottom-up.

Some children:

Age	MLUw	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.20	1.03									
1;09.07	1.09									
1;10.22	1.15							✓		
1;11.12	1.15							✓		
2;02.05	1.35							✓		
2;02.13	1.3					✓				
2;04.11	1.44				✓	✓				
2;05.08	1.64									
2;06.25	1.76				✓	✓				
2;07.20	1.78	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;08.30	1.88			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.17	1.98	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
3;00.02	2.42	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;03.21	3.47	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;05.13	2.54	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;10.00	2.97	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;10.01	2.91	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;11.12	3.0	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.10	3.18	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: Production of structures by Laura (Catalan)

Age	MLUw	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.13	1.27					✓				
1;09.11	1.5					✓				
1;10.08	1.44					✓				
1;11.24	1.39				✓	✓				
2;01.14	1.41					✓				
2;01.29	1.5				✓	✓				
2;02.11	1.54					✓				
2;04.23	1.75					✓	✓			
2;04.29	1.78				✓	✓	✓			
2;05.25	2.14	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;06.29	2.6				✓	✓			✓	
2;07.00	1.34					✓				
2;07.26	2.78	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;09.04	2.87	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;09.24	2.54				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;10.14	2.5				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2;11.12	3.03				✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;11.30	2.6	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
3;00.24	3.07	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.29	2.89	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
3;03.23	3.24	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 3: Production of structures by Rosa (Italian)

See Appendix for full tables of all children.

Age	MLUw	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
1;09.11	1.54					✓				
1;10.20	1.62				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.21	1.69				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.22	1.71				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.27	1.52									
1;10.28	1.94		✓		✓	✓		✓		
1;11.13	1.53		✓		✓	✓				
1;11.14	1.88		✓		✓	✓				
1;11.23	2.21		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;00.01	2.27		✓	✓	✓	✓				
2;00.03	2.28		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;00.05	2.31		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;00.23	2.31	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;00.26	1.98	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;01.12	1.93	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;01.16	1.63			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.18	1.72			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.19	1.78		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.20	2.03				✓	✓				
2;01.21	1.79	✓			✓	✓		✓		
2;02.03	1.71			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.04	1.94		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.07	1.66	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.18	2.22			✓	✓	✓				
2;02.19	2.0					✓				
2;02.20	2.09	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;02.21	1.99	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;04.17	1.82	✓			✓	✓		✓		
2;04.19	1.89			✓	✓	✓				
2;04.20	1.96			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;04.21	1.92		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;05.13	2.52		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;05.16	2.35				✓	✓		✓		
2;05.19	2.62	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;05.22	2.67			✓	✓				✓	
2;06.10	3.35			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.16	4.04			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.23	2.78		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;06.24	2.27			✓	✓					
2;06.26	2.88	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.28	3.43				✓			✓		
2;07.04	4.89	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.19	4.0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.23	2.67	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;08.08	2.97		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;08.09	2.9		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;08.15	2.5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;08.16	2.0				✓		✓			
2;09.10	3.47		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;09.26	2.85	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.28	3.46		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	

Table 4: Production of structures by Simone (German)

Age	MLUw	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
1;06.16	1.12									
1;07.21	1.17					Wh-less				
1;08.28	1.07									
1;09.10	1.17					Wh-less				
1;10.05	1.09				✓					
1;10.13	1.17				✓					
1;11.01	1.25				✓					
1;11.15	1.37				✓	Wh-less				
2;00.17	1.68	✓			✓		✓	✓		
2;01.10	1.88		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
2;02.18	2.11	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			
2;03.16	2.05		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;04.02	2.53	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;04.09	2.34			✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;04.27	2.46	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;05.09	2.47	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;05.22	2.59		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;06.04	2.74		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;06.11	2.45	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
2;06.18	2.8		✓	✓	✓	Wh-less	✓	✓		
2;07.16	2.51	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;08.06	2.66		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;08.19	2.97	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;09.02	2.59	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;09.07	3.15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;10.18	2.88	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.03	2.87	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.27	3.64	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
3;00.19	3.52	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.17	3.06		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;02.13	3.82	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;03.21	3.05	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;04.13	3.15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;05.30	2.89	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;07.25	3.24	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;10.07	3.71	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;11.04	4.07	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.11	3.81	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.30	4.08	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4;01.11	4.66	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;03.04	5.37	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;04.28	4.28	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4;05.29	4.7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;06.12	5.06	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;07.25	4.62	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;08.03	5.03	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;09.13	6.07	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;09.29	5.2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;11.15	4.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5;02.13	4.92	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 5: Production of structures by Sarah (Dutch)

Table 6: Emergence of all CP-structures for the 10 children

	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed
Laura Cat.		2;02.13		2;08.20	1;10.22	3;00.02
Gisela Cat.		2;06.23		2;08.00	1;08.24	2;08.00
Martina It.		1;08.02		1;10.29	1;08.02	1;11.20
Rosa It.		1;07.13		2;04.23	2;09.04	2;06.29
Irene Sp.		1;04.16		1;08.09b	1;08.09a	1;09.10
Koki Sp.		1;11.25		1;11.25	2;02.27	1;11.25
Kerstin Ger.	1;10.05	1;10.03	2;00.10	2;00.05		2;07.23
Simone Ger.	1;10.20	1;09.11	2;00.23	1;10.20		2;04.20
Josse Dutch	2;00.07	2;00.07	2;03.28	2;03.28		2;09.02
Sarah Dutch	1;10.05	2;02.18	2;00.17	2;00.17		3;00.19

Table 7: CP-structures produced at Stages 1 + 2 and its length

	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Length
Laura		15		4	42	4	1;10.22-3;03.21 (MLUw 1.15-2.54)
Gisela		1		0	6	0	2;04.25-2;08.00 (MLUw 1.58-2.61)
Martina		21		4	7	8	1;08.02-2;04.13 (MLUw 1.57-2.69)
Rosa		133		12	3	8	1;07.13-2;10.14 (MLUw 1.27-2.5)
Irene		18		3	10	4	1;04.16-1;11.13 (MLUw 1.32-2.95)
Koki		32		7	2	4	1;07.20-2;04.18 (MLUw 1.96-2.69)
Kerstin	✓	16	21	27		1	1;10.03-2;09.11 (MLUw 1.28-2.32)
Simone	✓	166	3	105		24	1;10.03-2;06.23 (MLUw 1.54-2.78)
Josse	✓	62	37	68		1	2;00.07-2;11.09 (MLUw 1.2-3.57)
Sarah	✓	124	104	116		0	1;10.05-3;00.19 (MLUw 1.09-3.52)

Generalisation 2: Structural Height and Acquisition Mismatch

There is a dissociation between structural height and order of emergence. Acquisition does not proceed successively upwards; some syntactically very high elements emerge early.

→ Evidences comes from early **topics** and **illocutionary complementisers**.

- Comparable emergence time of embedding markers and topicalisation in Friedmann et al. (2021) (their Stage 3) is, in several instances, not replicated.

Table 8: Emergence of topicalisation *vs* embedding markers

	Topicalisation	**Embedding**
Laura	2;08.03	3;00.02
	1.88 MLUw	2.42 MLUw
Gisela	2;08.00	2;08.00 (**same file**)
	2.61 MLUw	2.61 MLUw
Martina	1;08.17	1;11.20
	1.56 MLUw	1.99 MLUw
Rosa	2;04.29	2;06.29
	1.77 MLUw	2.6 MLUw
Irene	1;08.09b	1;09.10
	2.24 MLUw	3.28 MLUw
Koki	1;11.25	1;11.25 (**same file**)
	2.47 MLUw	2.47 MLUw
Kerstin	2;00.05	2;07.23
	1.76 MLUw	2.13 MLUw
Simone	1;10.20	2;04.20
	1.62 MLUw	1.96 MLUw
Josse	2;03.28	2;09.02
	1.94 MLUw	2.42 MLUw
Sarah	2;00.17	3;00.19
	1.68 MLUw	3.52 MLUw
Average	1.93 MLUw	2.54 MLUw

- Crosslinguistic picture of acquisition of topicalisation appears **diverse**, but in a ***systematic*** way → correlation with **formal, featural complexity** (Bosch & Biberauer, to appear).

Table 9: Topicalisation strategies, their acquisition and their formal complexity

Language	**Acquisition**	**Formal characteristics of topicalisation**	**Parametric complexity**
French	Very early	Adjoined or base-generated	Macroparametric
Germanic V2	Very early	Generalised V2 diacritic	Mesoparametric
Mandarin Japanese Korean	(Possibly) early	Operator movement or base-generation[4]	Mesoparameter
European Portuguese[5]	Early	Operator movement	Mesoparametric
Spanish Italian Catalan	Late	Non-operator movement with CLLD	Microparameteric
Greek	Late	Non-operator movement with CLLD	Microparameter
Hebrew Brazilian Portuguese	Late	Non-operator movement without CLLD	Microparametric

[4] Depending on theoretical analysis
[5] Non-CLLD topics only.

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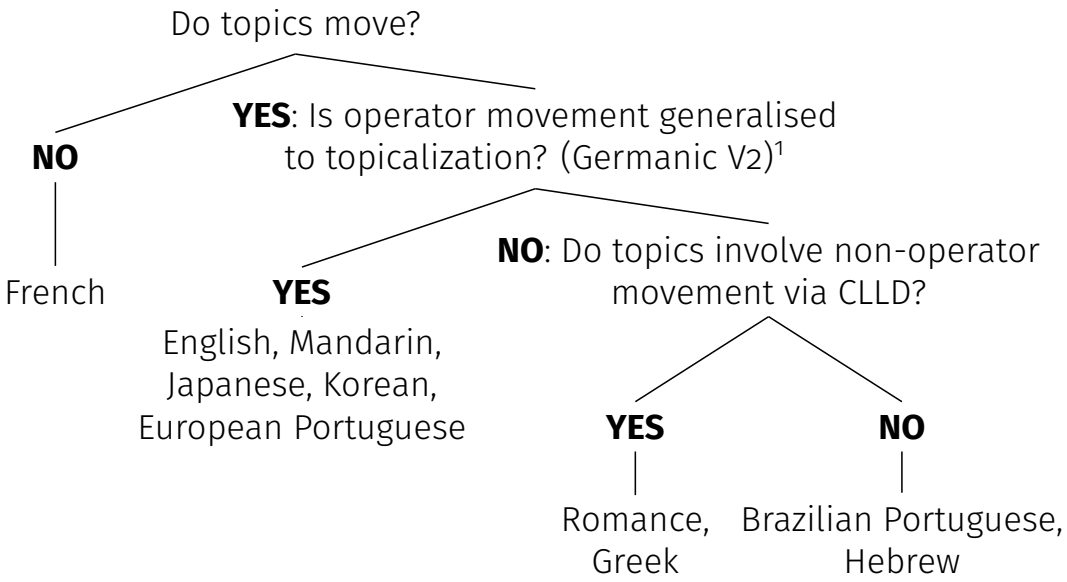
(6) Topics in a crosslinguistic acquisition hierarchy



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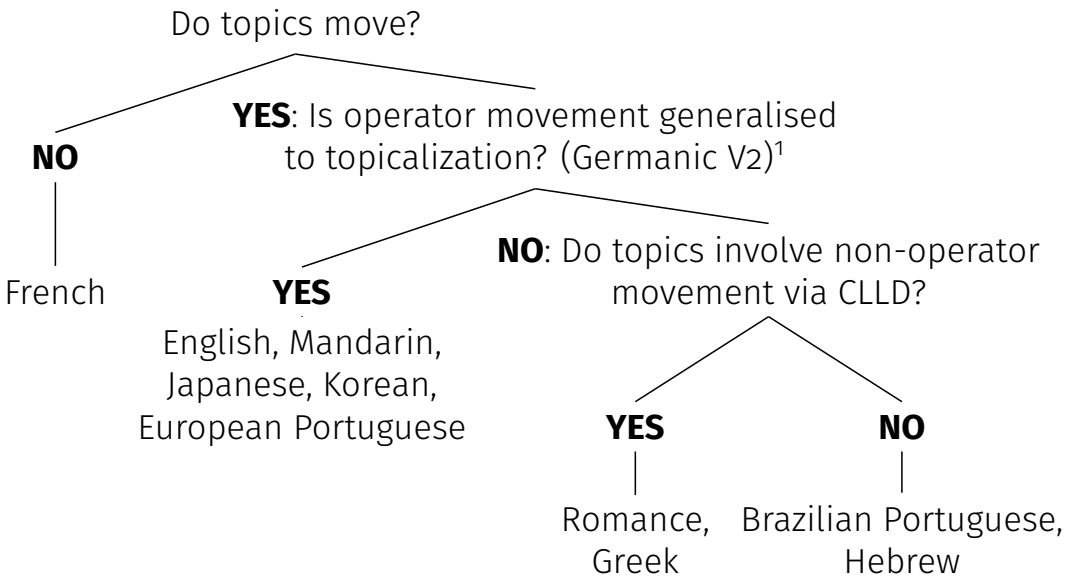

! **'Late' topics in maturational work *epiphenomena* of L1s studied, *not* result of universal maturational constraints on CP.**

[5] In Germanic, operator topics fall out from its generalised V2 system, unlike the other languages considered, hence its parenthetical placement.

- Illocutionary complementisers (Corr, 2016) also emerge from the earliest files for many children (Bosch, 2023c).

(7) a. Ai, **que** crema! (Laura, MLUw 1.35)
ouch that.EXCL burn.3SG
'Ouch, it's burning!'

b. **Que** cau! (Laura, MLUw 1.3)
that.EXCL fall.3SG
'It's falling!'

→ Development *cannot* be recapitulating a cartographic spine in a bottom-up manner.

- **Some of the structurally highest elements don't emerge last.**

- **Broader** generalisation, attested across a wider sample of 10 Catalan and Spanish children - Bosch (2023c).

Table 10: Emergence of illocutionary and embedding complementisers

Language	Children	Illocutionary	Embedding
Catalan	Laura	1;10.22	3;00.02
		1.15 MLUw	2.42 MLUw
	Gisela	1;08.24	2;08.00
		1.13 MLUw	2.61 MLUw
	Àlvar	2;02.06	2;06.25
		1.84 MLUw	1.91 MLUw
	Guillem	2;02.28	2;11.25
		1.54 MLUw	2.44 MLUw
	Júlia	2;06.25	2;06.25
		2.74 MLUw	2.74 MLUw
Spanish	Irene	1;08.09	1;09.10
		1.88 MLUw	3.28 MLUw
	Yasmin	1;10.08	2;05.18
		1.93 MLUw	2.47 MLUw
	Juan	1;11.11	2;01.21
		1.58 MLUw	1.77 MLUw
	Magín	1;09.01	1;10.00
		1.78 MLUw	2.73 MLUw
	Emilio	2;04.17	2;04.17
		2.18 MLUw	2.18 MLUw
Total		**1.67 MLUw**	**2.42 MLUw**

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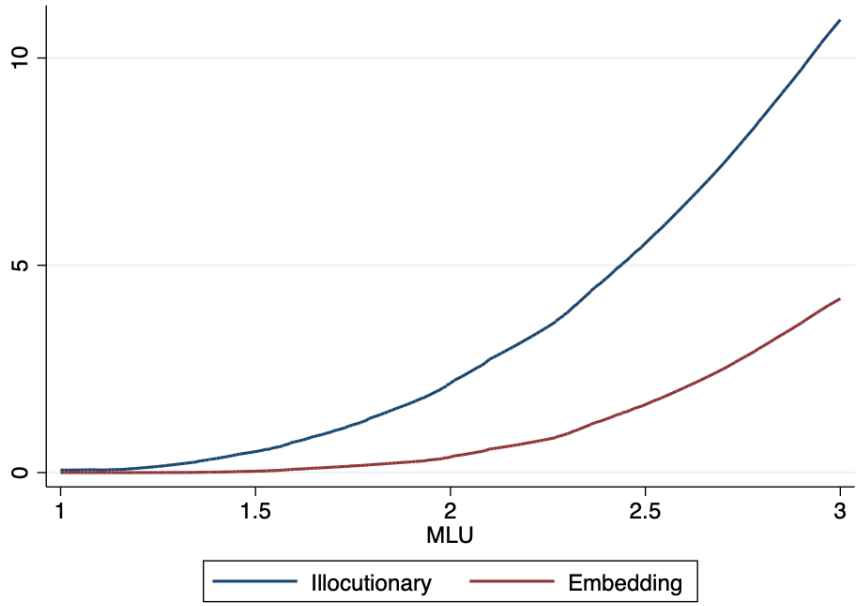

Figure 3: The development of complementisers in the Catalan and Spanish children

- **Structural Height and Acquisition don't match – recap**
  - L1-dependent Topic Development.
  - Early acquisition of illocutionary complementisers in Ibero-Romance.
  - 'Constrained' heterogeneity in developmental orders of acquisition:

    near-impossible to establish orders of acquisition of all CP diagnostics used that are *crosslinguistically universal*. Some language/child will show a different ordering

Table 11: Relative order of emergence of diagnostics studied

Child	Order of emergence
Laura	Illoc > Wh > Topic > Embed > Split CP
Gisela	Illoc > Wh > Topic/Embed/Split CP
Martina	Illoc/Wh > Topic > Embed > Split CP
Rosa	Wh > Topic > Embed > Illoc > Split CP
Irene	Wh > Illoc/Topic > Embed > Split CP
Koki	Topic > Wh/Embed > Illoc > Split CP
Kerstin	Wh > V2 > Topic/YN > Embed > Split CP
Simone	Wh > V2/Topic > YN > Embed > Split CP
Josse	Wh/V2 > Topic/YN > Embed > Split CP
Sarah	V2 > Y/N/Topic > Wh > Embed/Split CP

Generalisation 3: Cartography is Emergent

Evidence for cartographic-type structure within CP systematically and abruptly emerges at a later developmental stage, elaborating on developmentally-prior structure (a 'basic' CP).

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Evidence for cartographic-type structure within CP systematically and abruptly emerges at a later developmental stage, elaborating on developmentally-prior structure (a 'basic' CP).

↪ Corroborates independent syntactic and biolinguistic work advocating for an 'emergent cartography' (i.a., Soares, 2006; Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014; Svenonius, 2016; Scontras et al., 2017; Mišmaš et al., 2018; Leivada & Westergaard, 2019; Marušič et al., 2019; Larson, 2021; Ramchand, 2023).

Table 12: Emergence of CP- *vs* Split CP-structures

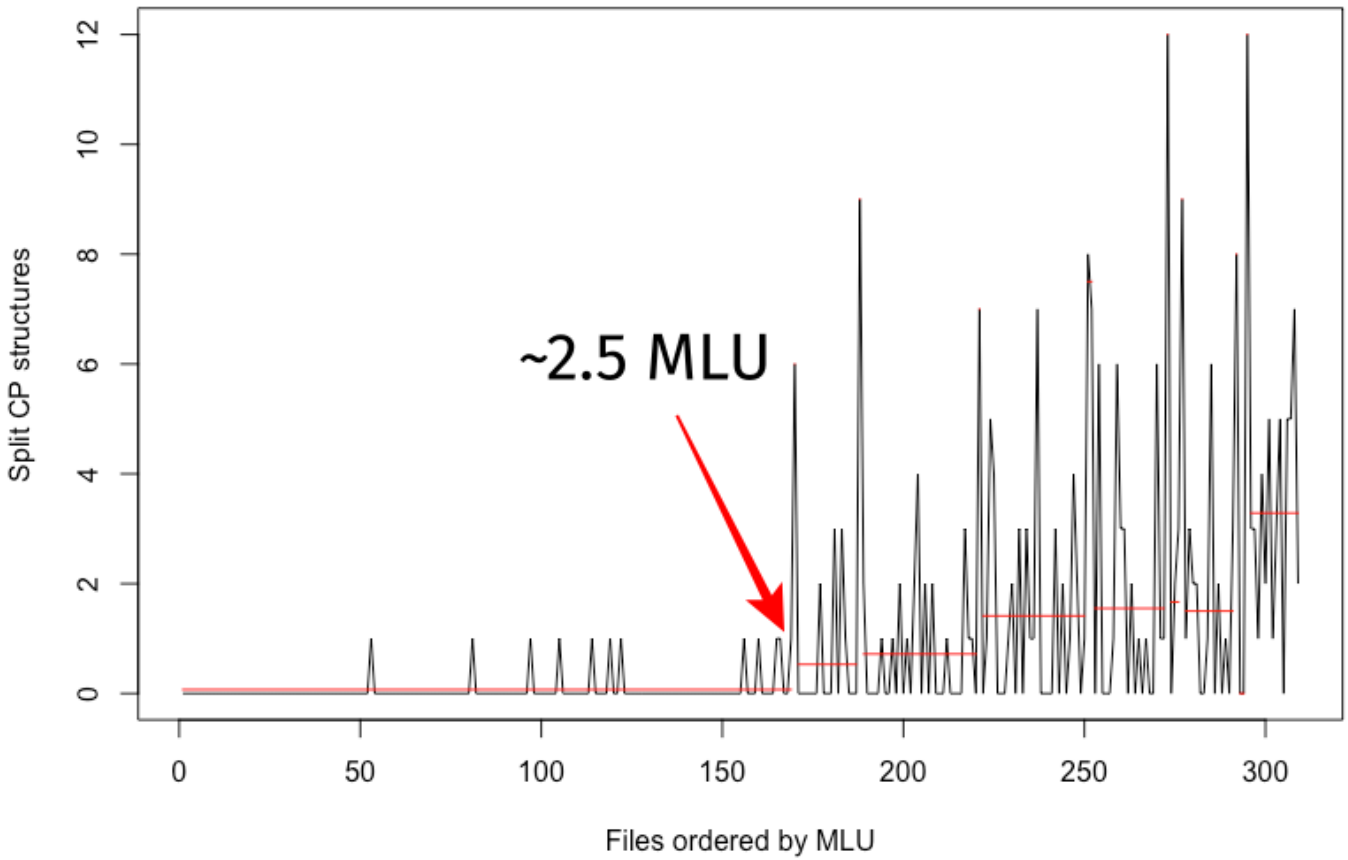
	CP-structures	**Split CP-structures**
Laura	1;10.22	3;03.21
	1.15 MLUw	2.54 MLUw
Gisela	2;04.25	2;08.00
	1.58 MLUw	2.61 MLUw
Martina	1;08.02	2;04.13
	1.57 MLUw	2.69 MLUw
Rosa	1;07.13	2;10.14
	1.27 MLUw	2.5 MLUw
Irene	1;04.16	1;11.13
	1.32 MLUw	2.95 MLUw
Koki	1;07.20	2;04.18
	1.96 MLUw	2.69 MLUw
Kerstin	1;10.03	2;09.11
	1.28 MLUw	2.32 MLUw
Simone	1;09.11	2;06.23
	1.54 MLUw	2.78 MLUw
Josse	2;00.07	2;11.09
	1.2 MLUw	3.57 MLUw
Sarah	1;10.05	3;00.19
	1.09 MLUw	3.52 MLUw

- Emergence is not just late, but ***sudden and 'explosive'*** in the production data (z = –2.949874, p = 0.003).

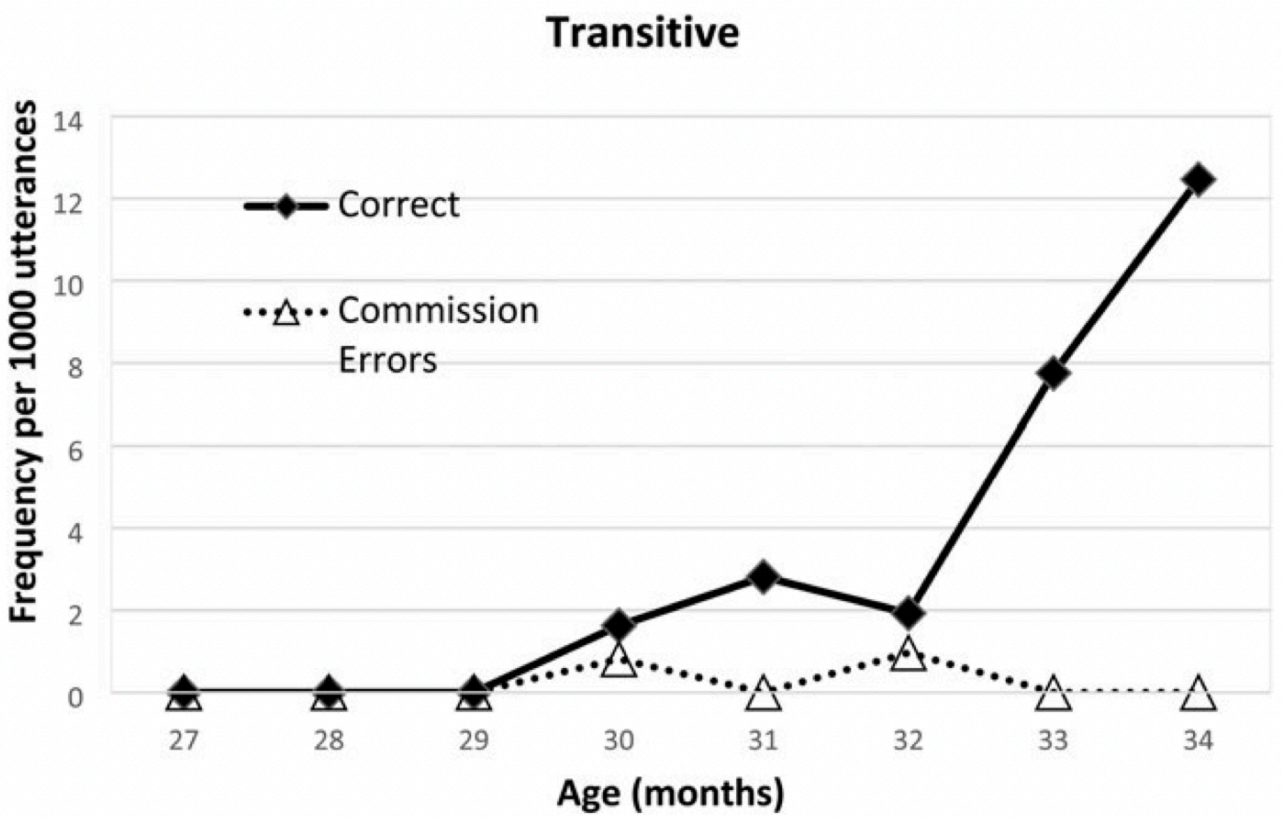
Table 13: Production of Split CP-structures before and after MLUw ~ 2.5

	Before MLUw ~ 2.5	**After MLUw ~ 2.5**	%
Laura	1	20	4.8-95.2%
Gisela	0	9	0-100%
Martina	0	5	0-100%
Rosa	1	31	3.1-96.9%
Irene	0	85	0-100%
Koki	0	41	0-100 %
Kerstin	3	4	42.9-57.1%
Simone	2	7	22.2-77.8%
Josse	1	19	5-95%
Sarah	2	51	3.8-96.2%
Total	10	272	3.5-96.5%

- Detecting when the change occurs with change point analysis



- Similar **'explosive'** trend reported in Snyder (2007, 2021) for the development verb-particle constructions in English → also taken as evidence for a potential ***grammatical* change**.



- **So far:** Closer look at the development of left peripheral knowledge reveals two significant trends:
  - **CP knowledge** emerges **early**, and not in a way that recapitulates a cartographic spine bottom-up.
  - Evidence for **articulated CP structure** emerges **significantly late** (after TP and complex structures like subordination).

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  - Evidence for **articulated CP structure** emerges **significantly late** (after TP and complex structures like subordination).
- BUT:
  - Could this be explained by the **relative length** of these two groups of structures? (e.g., Split CP-structures may need higher MLUw)
  - Or **input frequency**?

  → Results from input analysis and fixed effects logistic regression suggest **No, at least not entirely**.

Fixed effects logistic regression

- Testing the likelihood of relative length of CP *vs* Split CP structures as the driving factor of the patterns → fixed-effects logistic regression model with length of (a sample of) the CP/Split CP utterances analysed, MLUw and Age as fixed effects.
- **Results:**
  - → The effect of ***mlu*** is **highly** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 1.23, $p < .001$)
  - → The effect of ***age*** is **highly** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 0.08, $p = .001$)
  - → The effect of ***length*** is ***not*** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 0.04, $p = .563$)

Input analysis

- Ongoing work, but Split CP structures appear to be preliminarily more frequent than illocutionary complementisers, foci, CLLD in some languages.

4. Theoretical account and implications

- Most theoretical approaches → 'fixed granularity', imposed by UG. Development accounted for by 'recapitulating' this spine, either bottom-up or inwardly.

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- Generalisations 1-3 generate a *contradiction* in current maturational approaches.
  - Early CP emergence → challenges bottom-up approaches.
  - Early topics/complementisers and late embedding → challenges a cartographic bottom-up approach.
  - Split CP is late → challenges any account with fully innate functional (esp. cartographic) categories (either bottom-up or inward-growing, and continuity).
  - ? Early CP but late cartographic-type left periphery?

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Innate categories (fixed granularity) and directionality-based maturation lead to this 'deadlock'

- Our proposed solution here: *dropping innate categories* (at least cartographic ones).
  - → Emergent categories lend us the flexibility needed to rationalise these patterns.
- Biberauer & Roberts (2015)'s **emergent categorial hierarchy**:
  - First, children access core '**macroparametric**' structural properties (see also work on 'Very Early Parameter-setting') → *basic* CP domain.
  - Once mastered, these enable ('unlock') more complex, increasingly '**micro-parametric**' refinements → *(part-)cartographic* structure.
  - Input *vs* intake discrepancies (Tsimpli, 2014; Gagliardi, 2012; Lidz & Gagliardi, 2015).
- Understanding the **contribution** of neo-emergentism:
  - ✓ Emergent categories → expect *departures* from strict directionality.
  - ✓ Emergent categories and increasing granularity go hand-in-hand.
  - ✓ Discrete change in representations → 'sudden' and 'explosive' emergence expected (aligning with Snyder, 2007, 2021).

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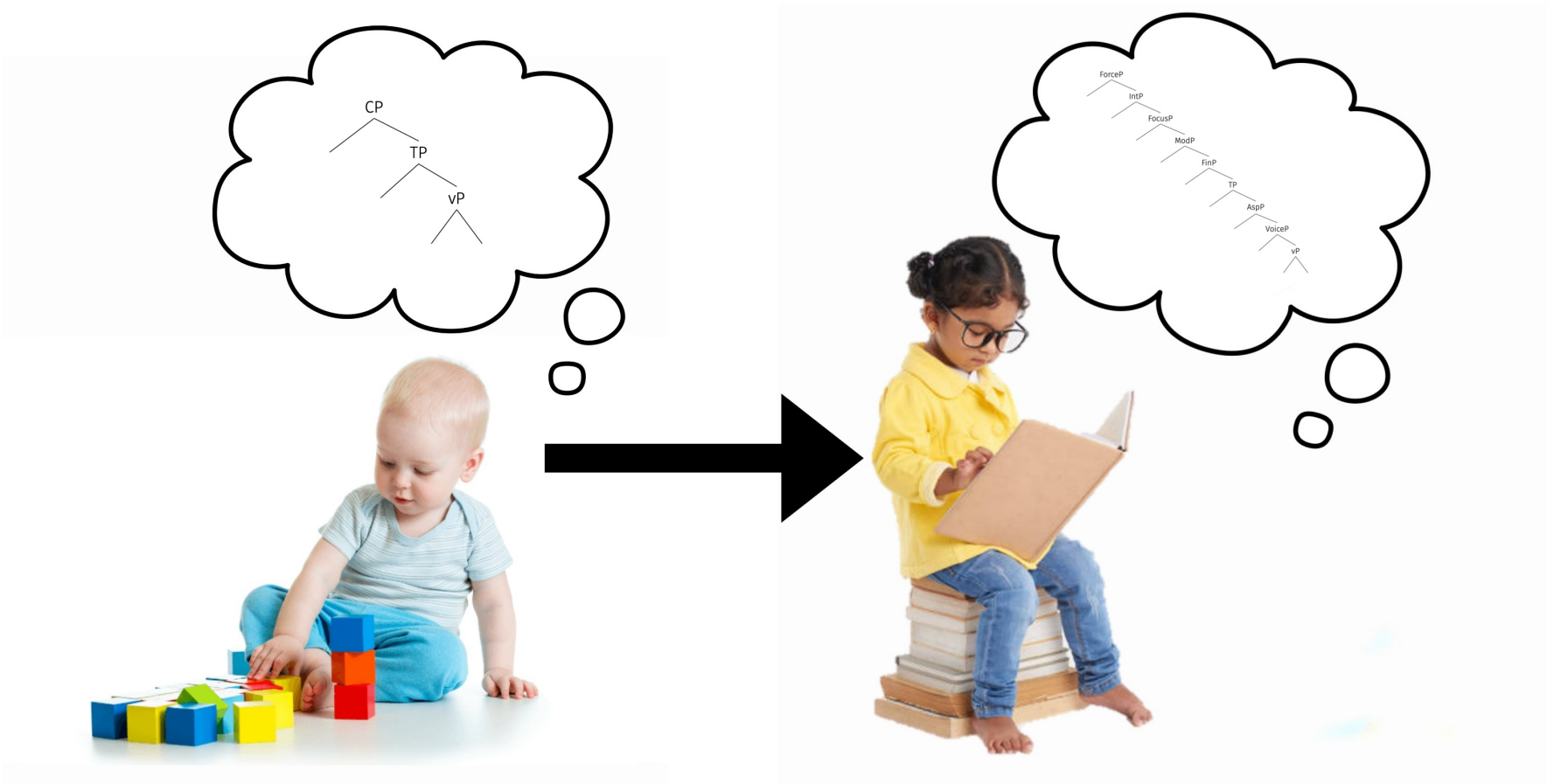
  - ✓ Discrete change in representations → 'sudden' and 'explosive' emergence expected (aligning with Snyder, 2007, 2021).

→ **This not just accommodates, but crucially *predicts*, the patterns observed**



Bigger tree, different granularity

5. Conclusion

→ **Novel generalisation**: early CP *vs* late Split CP knowledge, in production.

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- Generalisations 1-3 foreground three (largely) new challenges and requirements:
  - Early CP emergence.
  - A move away from exclusively directionality-centred approaches.
  - Potential role of granularity and categorial flexibility: neither fixed nor always fine-grained in development.
- **Further work** needed:
  - More children/languages, other structures and syntactic domains (work in progress!)
  - Comprehension/behavioural studies (although non-trivial to probe)
  - Alternative explanations for the patterns?

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☞ More generally, ***productive questions and patterns*** surface when probing acquisition through a **neo-emergentist** lens.

What we are working on at the moment

- Acquisition of the left periphery in monolinguals and bilinguals, expanding on this paper:
  - Corroboration with more monolinguals.
  - Romance-Romance bilinguals.
  - Germanic-Romance bilinguals.
- The development of topicalisation crosslinguistically, and the role of the A' feature geometry.
- Embedded CP and V2 in German-Italian bilinguals.
- Supporting developmental parallels in diachronic syntax.
- Extension to other functional domains beyond CP.

Thank you!

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Slides 💻→

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6. Extra slides and Appendix

Results: the effect of MLUw and age

- Age is not a reliable predictive factor of timeline of emergence of structures, presenting high variance within each Stage (as in Friedmann et al., 2021). It's the stages that remain identical across children.

Table 14: Age of emergence across the three stages

	Stage 1	**Stage 2**	**Stage 3**
Laura	1;10.22	2;04.11	3;03.21
Gisela	—	2;04.25	2;08.00
Martina	1;08.02	1;10.29	2;04.13
Rosa	1;07.13	2;04.29	2;10.14
Irene	1;04.16	1;06.16	1;11.13
Koki	—	1;07.20	2;04.18
Kerstin	1;10.03	2;01.01	2;09.11
Simone	1;09.11	1;10.28	2;06.23
Josse	2;00.07	2;02.08	2;11.09
Sarah	1;10.05	2;00.17	3;00.19

Additional case studies

- 'Basic' before 'cartographic-type' patterns repeat themselves in other work:
  - De Lisser et al. (2017) on acquisition of the **TMA** field in **Jamaican Creole**
    - **Co-ocurrence** of TMA markers systematically at Phase 2 (MLU 2.5-3.49) or Phase 3 (MLU > 3.5) in the data reported. *No* examples at Stage 1 (< MLU 2.5).
  - Development of **PPs** (Sanfelici & Gallina, 2022) in **Italian**
    - **Bimorphemic** prepositions (such as *dentro a* 'inside', *sopra di* 'above') only in Groups 3 (MLU 2.50-2.99) and Groups 4 (3.0-3.49).
  - Mitrofanova (2018)'s **Underspecification of P Hypothesis**
    - Initial stage with a **coarse-grained prepositional category**, but without cartographic heads encoding fine-grained meaning distinctions (such as Svenonius's, 2006, 2008, AxialPartP).

Results: longer utterances or emergent knowledge?

- **But**, do Split CP structures emerge 'late' simply because lower utterance lengths cannot accommodate these constructions (even though the child's competence *does* capture them)?
  - **Likely not**. Arguments come from two domains: fixed effects logistic regression and comparison of production lengths across stages.

Fixed effects logistic regression

- Testing the likelihood of relative length of CP *vs* Split CP structures as the driving factor of the patterns → fixed-effects logistic regression model with length of (a sample of) the CP/Split CP utterances analysed, MLUw and Age as fixed effects.
- **Results:**
  - → The effect of ***mlu*** is **highly** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 1.23, $p < .001$)
  - → The effect of ***age*** is **highly** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 0.08, $p = .001$)
  - → The effect of ***length*** is ***not*** *statistically significant* and positive (β = 0.04, $p = .563$)

Results: longer utterances or emergent knowledge?

Patterns cannot be accounted for entirely by *length*. MLU (as an average length of *all* utterances and metric of syntactic development) is a much stronger predictor.

- NB: Importantly, length also cannot account for the 'suddenness' and 'explosiveness' with which Split CP structures emerge (growth of utterance length often isn't exponential).

Corpus data: comparison across stages

- Structures at Stage 1 or Stage 2 can occasionally be as long as or even longer than those at Stage 3, raising problems for utterance length as a complete account of the patterns.

(8) a. Aquest, on va? (Catalan, Gisela – Stage 3)
this where go.3SG
'This one, where does it go? / This one, where is it going?'

b. Jo tinc un petit suisse (Catalan, Gisela – Stage 1)
I have.1SG a petit suisse
'I have a petit suisse.'

c. No, jo em vull treure els patins (Catalan, Gisela – Stage 2)
no I CL.REFL want.1SG take.off.INF the skates
'No, I want to take off the skates.'

(9) a. Nog ik heb het gegeven (Dutch, Josse – Stage 3)
yet I AUX.HAVE.1SG it give.PTCP
'Yet I gave it.'

b. Wat doet ie nou? (Dutch, Josse – Stage 1)
what do.3SG he now
'What is he doing now?'

c. Kan niet zo een zwembad maken van de duikplank (Josse – Stage 2)
can.1SG not so a pool make.INF from the diving.board
'I can't jump to the swimming pool from the diving board.'

Corpus data: comparison across stages

- Derivational Complexity accounts (e.g., Jakubowicz, 2005, 2011) offer a partial account at best:
  - Many Split CP-structures do not require more movement (more derivational complexity) than CP-structures → they thus fall outside the definition of 'complex' in these approaches (see the Derivational Complexity Metric in Jakubowicz, 2011).
- For more in depth discussion, see the note in Bosch (2023a).

Full tables (from Bosch, 2023b)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.20	1.03									
1;09.07	1.09									
1;10.22	1.15							✓		
1;11.12	1.15							✓		
2;02.05	1.35							✓		
2;02.13	1.3					✓				
2;04.11	1.44				✓	✓				
2;05.08	1.64									
2;06.25	1.76				✓	✓				
2;07.20	1.78	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;08.30	1.88			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.17	1.98	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		?
3;00.02	2.42	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;03.21	3.47	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;05.13	2.54	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;10.00	2.97	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;10.01	2.91	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;11.12	3.0	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.10	3.18	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 15: Production of structures by Laura (Catalan)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.14	1.04									
1;08.03	1.02									
1;08.24	1.13							✓		
1;09.00	1.16									
1;10.07	1.14									
1;11.11	1.09									
2;01.23	1.53									
2;02.06	1.5									
2;04.25	1.58		✓		✓			✓		
2;06.23	2.32	✓		✓		✓		✓		
2;08.00	2.61	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.16	2.68	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;11.00	2.6	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	
3;00.29	2.63	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		
3;05.15	2.66			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;06.28	3.51	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;10.02	2.95	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;11.14	2.71	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.24	2.22	✓		✓	✓		✓			
4;02.03	3.41	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 16: Production of structures by Gisela (Catalan)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.18	1.26				✓					
1;08.02	1.9					✓		✓		
1;08.17	1.57					✓	✓			
1;09.01	1.59									
1;10.29	1.66				✓	✓	✓			
1;11.02	1.99				✓	✓		✓		
1;11.20	1.99	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;01.12	1.86				✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;03.01	2.55	✓				✓		✓	✓	
2;03.22	2.64	✓			✓	✓			✓	
2;04.13	2.69	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
2;05.21	2.37				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.15	2.55	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

Table 17: Production of structures by Martina (Italian)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.13	1.27					✓				
1;09.11	1.5					✓				
1;10.08	1.44					✓				
1;11.24	1.39				✓	✓				
2;01.14	1.41					✓				
2;01.29	1.5				✓[6]	✓				?
2;02.11	1.54					✓				
2;04.23	1.75					✓	✓			
2;04.29	1.78				✓	✓	✓			
2;05.25	2.14	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;06.29	2.6				✓	✓			✓	
2;07.00	1.34					✓				
2;07.26	2.78	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;09.04	2.87	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;09.24	2.54				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;10.14	2.5				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2;11.12	3.03				✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;11.30	2.6	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
3;00.24	3.07	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.29	2.89	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
3;03.23	3.24	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 18: Production of structures by Rosa (Italian)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
0;11.01	1.42									
1;01.25	1.08									
1;01.28	1.05									
1;02.05	1.27									
1;04.16	1.32					✓				
1;04.17	1.0									
1;05.01	1.59									
1;05.15	1.53									
1;05.27	1.43									
1;06.01	1.57									
1;06.16a	1.61	✓								
1;06.16b	2.15									
1;07.05a	1.84									
1;07.05b	1.69					✓				
1;07.05c	1.8									
1;07.22a	1.94	✓								
1;07.22b	1.94	✓								
1;07.22c	3.0									
1;08.09a	1.88							✓		
1;08.09b	2.24						✓			
1;08.26	2.28					✓				
1;09.10	3.28				✓	✓			✓	
1;09.28a	2.53					✓		✓	✓	
1;09.28b	3.09						✓	✓		
1;10.16	2.62				✓	✓			✓	
1;10.29a	2.36					✓				
1;10.29b	2.22					✓				
1;11.01	3.09					✓	✓	✓	✓	
1;11.13	2.95				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1;11.30	3.22			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;00.13	3.09			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
2;00.28	3.11				✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;01.18	4.94	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;01.29	3.24				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;02.14	3.96			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;02.29	3.08				✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;03.13	3.44				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;03.28	3.44				✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;04.13a	4.2	✓			✓	✓			✓	
2;04.13b	2.7			✓		✓	✓		✓	
2;04.28	2.99	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;05.13a	3.0				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
2;05.13b	2.83			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;05.27	3.99			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.12	5.12	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	
2;06.26	4.12			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.09	4.12	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.28	4.41			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;08.14	2.59				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
2;08.27	3.45				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.11	3.65		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.26	3.23	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;10.13	4.74				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;10.28	5.13	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;11.11	3.19	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;11.27	4.01		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;00.24	3.52					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.22	3.11		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;02.19	3.38	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 19: Production of structures by Irene (Spanish)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	S-Cl-V	Aux	Wh-Q	Top/Foc	Illoc	Embed	Split CP
1;07.20	1.96						✓			
1;09.18	2.54	✓		✓	✓					
1;11.25	2.47	✓			✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;01.29	2.51	✓			✓	✓	✓			
2;02.27	2.47				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;03.21	2.07				✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;04.18	2.69	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2;05.24	3.08	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2;06.10	2.71	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.10	3.61	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;08.09	2.75	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.14	2.93			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
2;11.14	3.38	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 20: Production of structures by Koki (Spanish)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
1;03.22	1.09									
1;04.13	1.31									
1;05.03	1.38									
1;05.06	1.38									
1;05.17	1.58					Wh-less				
1;05.24	1.36					✓				
1;06.06	1.45									
1;06.13	1.46									
1;06.20	1.37									
1;07.09	1.58					✓				
1;07.10	1.39					✓				
1;07.24	1.34									
1;08.07	1.2									
1;08.22	1.4									
1;08.26	1.12									
1;10.03	1.28					✓				
1;10.05	1.38				✓	✓				
1;11.20	1.53				✓					
2;00.05	1.76				✓			✓		
2;00.10	1.68				✓		✓	✓		
2;01.01	1.59			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.02	1.58		✓		✓	✓	✓			
2;02.20	1.72		✓		✓	✓	✓			
2;02.21	1.65	✓	✓		✓	Wh-less				
2;03.01	1.81				✓	✓				
2;03.02	1.86		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;04.14	1.98		✓		✓			✓		
2;04.16	1.67		✓	✓	✓	Wh-less	✓	✓		?
2;05.12	1.8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;05.14	1.78	✓			✓			✓		?
2;06.02	2.25	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;06.03	1.62		✓		✓					
2;07.23	2.13	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;09.11	2.32	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
2;10.27	2.38		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;02.08	2.68	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;04.03	2.89	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 21: Production of structures by Kerstin (German)

Age	MLUw	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
1;09.11	1.54					✓				
1;10.20	1.62				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.21	1.69				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.22	1.71				✓	✓		✓		
1;10.27	1.52									
1;10.28	1.94		✓		✓	✓		✓		
1;11.13	1.53		✓		✓	✓				
1;11.14	1.88		✓		✓	✓				
1;11.23	2.21		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;00.01	2.27		✓	✓	✓	✓				
2;00.03	2.28		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;00.05	2.31		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;00.23	2.31	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;00.26	1.98	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;01.12	1.93	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;01.16	1.63			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.18	1.72			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.19	1.78		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;01.20	2.03				✓	✓				
2;01.21	1.79	✓			✓	✓		✓		
2;02.03	1.71			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.04	1.94		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.07	1.66	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;02.18	2.22			✓	✓	✓				
2;02.19	2.0					✓				
2;02.20	2.09	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;02.21	1.99	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;04.17	1.82	✓			✓	✓		✓		
2;04.19	1.89			✓	✓	✓				
2;04.20	1.96			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;04.21	1.92		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;05.13	2.52		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;05.16	2.35				✓	✓		✓		
2;05.19	2.62	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;05.22	2.67			✓	✓	✓			✓	
2;06.10	3.35			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.16	4.04			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.23	2.78		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;06.24	2.27			✓	✓					
2;06.26	2.88	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;06.28	3.43				✓			✓		
2;07.04	4.89	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.19	4.0	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;07.23	2.67	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;08.08	2.97		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;08.09	2.9		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;08.15	2.5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
2;08.16	2.0				✓		✓			
2;09.10	3.47		✓		✓	✓		✓		
2;09.26	2.85	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;09.28	3.46		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	

Table 22: Production of structures by Simone (German)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
2;00.07	1.2				✓	✓				
2;00.21	1.44				✓					
2;01.12	1.55				✓					
2;01.26	1.59				✓	✓				
2;02.08	1.69		✓		✓	✓				
2;02.22	1.74				✓	✓				
2;03.28	1.94	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;04.11	2.14		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;04.25	1.9				✓	✓		✓		
2;05.11	1.59				✓		✓	✓		
2;06.01	2.17			✓	✓	✓		✓		
2;06.22	2.11	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;07.06	2.19		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;07.20	2.46		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;08.04	2.25		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;08.18	2.55		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;09.02	2.42	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2;09.16	2.8		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.09	3.57	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2;11.23	2.98	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
3;00.06	3.06	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;00.20	4.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;01.10	3.91	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.24	3.78	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;02.15	3.95	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;02.29	3.19	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;03.27	3.39	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;04.17	3.2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 23: Production of structures by Josse (Dutch)

Age	MLU	S-Neg-V	S-Adv-V	Aux	V2	Wh-Q	Y/N-Q	Top/Foc	Embed	Split CP
1;06.16	1.12									
1;07.21	1.17					Wh-less				
1;08.28	1.07									
1;09.10	1.17					Wh-less				
1;10.05	1.09				✓					
1;10.13	1.17				✓					
1;11.01	1.25				✓					
1;11.15	1.37				✓	Wh-less				
2;00.17	1.68	✓			✓		✓	✓		
2;01.10	1.88		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
2;02.18	2.11	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			
2;03.16	2.05		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;04.02	2.53	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;04.09	2.34			✓	✓	✓	✓			
2;04.27	2.46	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;05.09	2.47	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;05.22	2.59		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		?
2;06.04	2.74		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;06.11	2.45	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
2;06.18	2.8		✓	✓	✓	Wh-less	✓	✓		
2;07.16	2.51	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;08.06	2.66		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;08.19	2.97	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;09.02	2.59	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;09.07	3.15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;10.18	2.88	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.03	2.87	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2;11.27	3.64	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
3;00.19	3.52	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;01.17	3.06		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;02.13	3.82	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;03.21	3.05	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;04.13	3.15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;05.30	2.89	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;07.25	3.24	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3;10.07	3.71	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3;11.04	4.07	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.11	3.81	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;00.30	4.08	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4;01.11	4.66	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;03.04	5.37	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;04.28	4.28	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4;05.29	4.7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;06.12	5.06	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;07.25	4.62	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;08.03	5.03	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;09.13	6.07	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;09.29	5.2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4;11.15	4.01	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5;02.13	4.92	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 24: Production of structures by Sarah (Dutch)

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