Adjunct control in children is predicted by working memory (but not inhibitory control)

Juliana Gerard and Dana McDaniel

Ulster University University of Southern Maine

Adjunct control

John called Bill after _____ leaving the store.

Chomsky (1981)

Adjunct control

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.

Chomsky (1981)

Acquisition of adjunct control

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.

Available interpretation(s): Adults: Subject control (John) 4-7 year olds: Subject control (John) Object control (Bill) Sentence internal (John or Bill) Free reference (anyone)

Goodluck (1981), Hsu, Cairns, & Fiengo (1985), McDaniel, Cairns, & Hsu (1991),

Cairns, McDaniel, Hsu, & Rapp (1994), Broihier & Wexler (1995), Goodluck (2001), Adler (2006), Gerard et al (2017, 2018), Gerard (2022)

5

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



Goodluck (1981), Hsu et al (1985), McDaniel et al (1991), Cairns et al (1994), Broihier & Wexler (1995), Goodluck (2001), Adler (2006)

conclusions

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



2. Non-adult pragmatics

The security guard stopped the woman_i [before PRO_i boarding the plane]. (Green 2018: 73)

Potatoes are tastier after PRO boiling them. (Ackema & Schoorlemmer 1995:182)

pragmatic preference

→ John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.

7

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



Landau (2021)

8

conclusions

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



Wexler (1992, 2019)

9

conclusions

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



Gerard et al (2017, 2018), Gerard (2022)

conclusions

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



conclusions

Non-adult behavior: Why?

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.



conclusions

Hypotheses: non-adult behavior

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.

H1: domain-general

adult grammar + non-adult processing predicts: adjunct control ~ domain general process

- working memory
- inhibitory control

H2: language-specific

non-adult grammar, pragmatics

predicts: free reference for PRO

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store. \rightarrow John or Bill leftJohn called Bill after he left the store. \rightarrow John or Bill left

Hsu et al (1985), McDaniel et al (1991), Cairns et al (1994), Sherman & Lust (1993)

Hypotheses: non-adult behavior

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store.

H1: domain-general

adult grammar + non-adult processing

predicts: adjunct control ~ domain general process

working memory

inhibitory control

H2: language-specific

non-adult grammar, pragmatics

predicts: free reference for PRO

John called Bill after PRO leaving the store. \rightarrow John or Bill leftJohn called Bill after he left the store. \rightarrow John or Bill left





14

Current study: method

- Adjunct control vs ambiguous pronouns (TVJT)
 - John called Bill after PRO leaving the store
 - John called Bill after he left the store
- Working memory
- Inhibitory control

72 adults 81 children, 4;0-7;10, m=5;6

15

Truth value judgment task (TVJT)

Mickey fanned **Diego** after _____ hugging the blue bear



72 adults 81 children, 4;0-7;10, m=5;6

results

16

TVJT



- Over Zoom (Lookit)
- 3 types of sentences:



- 1. Mickey fanned Diego after ____ hugging the blue bear (adjunct control)
- 2. Mickey fanned Diego after he hugged the blue bear (ambiguous pronoun)
- 3. Dora fanned Diego after he hugged the blue bear (control)

Dependent variable: proportion subject interpretations

72 adults 81 children, 4;0-7;10, m=5;6

Working memory task (Backwards span)



Van de Weijer-Bergsma et al (2016)

Working memory task (Backwards span)



Van de Weijer-Bergsma et al (2016)

conflict

19

Inhibitory control

non-conflict



Find the dog!

Inhibitory control

non-conflict











Find the dog!



Huang & Hollister (2019)

adjunct control: Mickey fanned Diego after hugging the blue bear pronoun: Mickey fanned Diego after he hugged the blue bear

Results: sentences







results

Results: sentences



22

23

p=.01 adjunct control/pronoun : working memory

✓ Domain-general processes× Ambiguous pronouns



adjunct control: Mickey fanned Diego after hugging the blue bear pronoun: Mickey fanned Diego after he hugged the blue bear

subject (.5)/non-subject (.5) ~ adjunct control (-.5)/pronoun (.5) * centered working memory * centered conflict - non-conflict

24

Results

adjunct control/pronoun : inhibitory control





adjunct control: Mickey fanned Diego after hugging the blue bear pronoun: Mickey fanned Diego after he hugged the blue bear

subject (.5)/non-subject (.5) ~ adjunct control (-.5)/pronoun (.5) * centered working memory * centered conflict - non-conflict

conclusions

Conclusions

- Why working memory?
 - How?
- Acquisition

26

How: adjunct control in real time

John



How: adjunct control in real time

John called



How: adjunct control in real time

John called Bill



How: adjunct control in real time

John called Bill after



How: adjunct control in real time

John called Bill after leaving



31

How: adjunct control in real time



Grammar: subject = 'John' interpretation: John left

32

How: adjunct control in real time



To retrieve subject:

- missing subject
- "leaving" as cue
- activate John
 - not Bill
- \rightarrow John left

Gerard et al (2017), Parker et al (2015), Gordon et al (2001, 2004)

33

How: adjunct control in real time



To retrieve subject:

- missing subject
- "leaving" as cue
- activate John
 - not Bill
- ightarrow John left

Encoding?

Acquisition

John₁ called Bill₂ after PRO leaving the store.







Acquisition

Linguistic input ≠ intake

1. Non-adult grammar $\xrightarrow{(specific)}{input}$ adult grammar 2. Non-adult pragmatics $\xrightarrow{(specific)}{input}$ adult pragmatics 3. Non-adult processing $\xrightarrow{processes}{develop}$ adult processing + adult grammar

conclusions

Acquisition

Linguistic input ≠ intake

 Non-adult grammar (specific) input input adult grammar
Non-adult pragmatics (specific) input adult pragmatics
Non-adult processing processes develop adult processing + adult grammar
→ role of input?

Gerard (2021)

conclusions

Thank you!

- HSP conference organizers
- Ulster University Modern Languages and Linguistics
- Lookit
- ChildrenHelpingScience
- SciStarter
- Nuffield Research Placements
- Morgan Macleod

contact: j.gerard@ulster.ac.uk

References

Adler, A. N. (2006). Syntax and discourse in the acquisition of adjunct control. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- Broihier, K., & Wexler, K. (1995). Children's acquisition of control in temporal adjuncts. Papers on Language Processing and Acquisition, MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 26, 193–220.
- Cairns, H. S., McDaniel, D., Hsu, J. R., & Rapp, M. (1994). A longitudinal study of principles of control and pronominal reference in child English. Language, 70(2), 260–288.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). Lectures on government and binding. Foris Publications.

Courage, M., & Cowan, N. (2008). The development of memory in infancy and childhood. Psychology Press.

- Fodor, J. D. (1989). Learning the Periphery. In R. J. Matthews & W. Demopoulos (Eds.), Learnability and Linguistic Theory (pp. 129–154). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-0955-7 7
- Gerard, J. (2021). Adjunct control and the poverty of the stimulus. In Non-canonical Control in a Cross-linguistic Perspective

(Vol. 270, pp. 221–257). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Gerard, J. (2022). The extragrammaticality of the acquisition of adjunct control. Language Acquisition, 29(2), 107–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/10489223.2021.1971231
- Gerard, J., Lidz, J., Zuckerman, S., & Pinto, M. (2017). Similarity-Based Interference and the Acquisition of Adjunct Control. Frontiers in Psychology, 8. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01822
- Gerard, J., Lidz, J., Zuckerman, S., & Pinto, M. (2018). The acquisition of adjunct control is colored by the task. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, *3*(1). https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.547
- Goodluck, H. (1981). Children's grammar of complement-subject interpretation. In S. Tavakolian (Ed.), Language acquisition and linguistic theory (pp. 139–166). The MIT Press.

Goodluck, H. (2001). The Nominal Analysis of Children's Interpretations of Adjunct PRO Clauses. Language, 77(3), 494–509.

conclusions

References

- Gordon, P. C., Hendrick, R., & Johnson, M. (2001). Memory interference during language processing. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 27*(6), 1411.
- Gordon, P. C., Hendrick, R., & Johnson, M. (2004). Effects of noun phrase type on sentence complexity. *Journal of Memory and Language*, *51*(1), 97–114.
- Hsu, J. R., Cairns, H. S., & Fiengo, R. W. (1985). The development of grammars underlying children's interpretation of complex sentences. *Cognition*, 20(1), 25–48.
- Huang, Y. T., & Hollister, E. (2019). Developmental parsing and linguistic knowledge: Reexamining the role of cognitive control in the kindergarten path effect. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, *184*, 210–219.

Landau, I. (2021). A Selectional Theory of Adjunct Control. MIT Press.

McDaniel, D., Cairns, H. S., & Hsu, J. R. (1991). Control principles in the grammars of young children. *Language Acquisition*, 1(4), 297–335.

Parker, D., Lago, S., & Phillips, C. (2015). Interference in the processing of adjunct control. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6.

Sherman, J. C., & Lust, B. (1993). Children are in control. *Cognition*, 46(1), 1–51.

- Van de Weijer-Bergsma, E., Kroesbergen, E. H., Jolani, S., & Van Luit, J. E. H. (2016). The Monkey game: A computerized verbal working memory task for self-reliant administration in primary school children. *Behavior Research Methods*, *48*(2), 756–771. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-015-0607-y
- Wexler, K. (1992). Some issues in the growth of control. In R. Larson, S. latridou, U. Lahiri, & J. Higginbotham (Eds.), *Control and grammar* (pp. 253–295). Springer.