



Zentrum für Allgemeine
Sprachwissenschaft

Acquisition of Discourse Phenomena Across Languages and Populations (ADILP)

October 16 – 17, 2015
Center for General Linguistics (ZAS)
Schützenstraße 18, 10117 Berlin

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Berlin, October 16 – 17, 2015
ZAS, Schützenstr. 18, 10117 Berlin
Room Trajectory-Room, 3.08

Programme

Friday, October 16 2015

9:00 - 9:45	Registration
9:45-10:55	Opening + Plenary Elizabeth Peña , University of Texas at Austin <i>Narratives in Spanish-English bilinguals with and without language impairment</i>
10:55-11:15	Coffee Session on Discourse BI-SLI, Marie Curie Grant
11:15-11:30	Elena Tribushinina , Utrecht University <i>Introduction</i>
11:30-12:00	Elena Tribushinina , Utrecht University <i>Production of coherence markers by simultaneous bilinguals and monolinguals with SLI</i>
12:00-12:30	Pim Mak , Utrecht University <i>Processing of coherence markers by simultaneous bilinguals and monolinguals with SLI</i>
12:30-13:00	Natalia Gagarina & Natalie Suermeli , ZAS Berlin <i>Who is chasing whom in that story? On the acquisition of referentiality in children's narratives</i>
13:00-14:30	Lunch
14:30-15:00	Ute Bohnacker & Josefin Lindgren , Uppsala University <i>Inferring intentions and emotions of story characters: Age effects in narrative comprehension</i>
15:00-15.30	Rachel Yifat, Shiran Sharabi, Hanna Mormer, Naomi Adas & Patrice L. (Tamar) Weiss , University of Haifa <i>Spontaneous use of referring expressions by children with autism spectrum disorder during computer games with a function of Enforced Collaboration</i>
15:30-16:00	Giang Pham , San Diego State University & Barbara Zurer Pearson , University of Massachusetts, Amherst <i>The Weaker First Language Still Matters: Associations between Vietnamese Vocabulary and English Narratives</i>
16:00-16:20	Coffee
16:20-17:20	Plenary Carol Westby , The University of Vermont and Brigham Young University <i>Telling Tales: The Interactive Roles of Fictional and Personal Stories in Life</i>
18:00	Social Dinner at Ristorante Lungomare , Krausenstr. 11/corner Charlottenstraße

Saturday, October 17 2015

9:00-10:00	Registration
10:00-11:10	Plenary Ira Noveck , French National Centre for Scientific Research, CNRS- Université de Lyon <i>What children's choices reveal: Linguistically encoded meaning, inference and mindreading in reference resolution</i>
11:10-11:30	Coffee
11:30-12:00	Marilyn Nippold , University of Oregon <i>Metacognitive verbs in narrative speaking: Acquisition in adolescents</i>
12:00-12:30	Josefin Lindgren , Uppsala University & Jorrig Vogels , Saarland University <i>Referential cohesion in Swedish pre-school children's narratives</i>
12:30-13:00	Ulla Licandro , Leibniz University Hannover <i>Narrative Discourse of Turkish-German Dual Language Learning Preschoolers</i>
13:00-14:30	Lunch
14:30-15:00	Josefin Lindgren , Uppsala University <i>Exploring character introductions in the narrative production of Swedish- speaking four- to six-year-olds</i>
15:00-15:30	Damaris Bartz & Dagmar Bittner , ZAS Berlin <i>Expressing adversativity: morphosyntactic properties of early "aber"-sentences in German L1-acquisition</i>
15:30-16:00	Milena Kuehnast & Viktoria Bartlitz , ZAS Berlin <i>Developmental steps in expressing contrast – cross-linguistic experimental evidence</i>
16:00-16:30	General discussion, closing

Friday, October 16, 2015: Session 1

Elizabeth Peña (University of Texas at Austin)

Narratives in Spanish-English bilinguals with and without language impairment

Narrative tasks provide a way to efficiently elicit a child's knowledge of vocabulary, grammar and story structures. When telling stories in two languages, emerging bilingual children may show differences across their two languages that are due to differences in language structure and/or due to their different levels of knowledge of that language. This variation may make it difficult for clinicians to reliably determine language difference and language impairment. I will present narrative data on 21 Spanish-English bilingual children with language impairment and their peers matched age-, sex-, IQ, and language exposure. Between group similarities and differences in micro- and macro- structure will be presented and their relationships discussed. A core vocabulary analysis explores similarities and differences in core frequency by semantic and lexical frequency.

Friday, October 16, 2015: Session 2

Elena Tribushinina (Utrecht University)

Production of coherence markers by simultaneous bilinguals and monolinguals with SLI

This talk compares the use of coherence markers in the narratives elicited from Russian-Dutch simultaneous bilinguals (dominant in Dutch), monolingual Russian- and Dutchspeaking children with typical language development (TLD) and their Russian-speaking peers with specific language impairment (SLI). The focus is on two kinds of coherence phenomena: additive connectives (and, but) and personal pronouns (more specifically, pronominal gender).

The results reveal no differences in connective use in the Dutch narratives produced by bilinguals and monolinguals. In contrast, frequency distributions of Russian additive connectives in the narratives produced by bilingual participants are clearly different from both Russian monolingual groups (TLD and SLI) and are compatible with the typological properties of the children's dominant language (Dutch), which can be taken as evidence of cross-linguistic influence. However, based on error rates and types of errors we cannot distinguish between bilinguals and monolinguals with SLI; both groups make significantly more errors in connective use than monolinguals with TLD. Hence, cross-linguistic influence can only partly explain deviant connective use by bilinguals; processing cost in bilingualism can also be an important factor shaping language production of bilingual children.

In the domain of pronominal gender, we find significant differences between bilinguals and monolinguals in both Dutch and Russian. However, in the case of Dutch, we encounter positive transfer from Russian – Russian-Dutch bilinguals use pronouns more correctly than their monolingual Dutch peers. At the same time, production of pronouns in the Russian narratives of the bilingual children seems to be negatively affected by Dutch: bilinguals below age 6 have difficulty using feminine pronouns and often choose a masculine pronoun that is a default form in Dutch. Bilinguals make significantly more errors with pronominal gender than monolinguals with TLD and SLI, but do catch up with the monolingual groups by age 7.

Pim Mak (Utrecht University)

Processing of coherence markers by simultaneous bilinguals and monolinguals with SLI

Speech corpora can tell us much about the linguistic development of children. In the talk by Elena Tribushinina a comparison has been presented of the language production and processing of typically developing monolingual Russian children with (1) monolingual Russian children with specific language impairment (SLI) and with (2) bilingual Russian-Dutch children. The errors that these groups of children make provide an insight in their linguistic abilities.

However, if children make certain mistakes, this may be due to lack of knowledge, but also to other factors, such as processing limitations. Processing research, for example using eye tracking, can provide further evidence for the source of the errors children make. In this talk, I compare language production and processing of typically developing monolingual Russian children with (1) monolingual Russian children with specific language impairment (SLI) and with (2) bilingual Russian-Dutch children. The latter two groups make similar errors in speech production. However, eye tracking experiments, using the Visual World Paradigm,

show that in processing these two groups have different profiles: The bilingual children perform as well as monolingual children with typical language development in processing, thereby showing an understanding of constructions in which they make many errors in production. This was not the case for children with SLI. This suggests that the production errors have different causes in the two populations.

Natalia Gagarina & Natalie Suermeli (ZAS Berlin)

Who is chasing whom in that story? On the acquisition of referentiality in children's narratives

The production of a well-formed narrative requires a coordination of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic levels and is related to the acquisition of specific linguistic forms and semantic relations (Berman, 1988, Karmiloff-Smith, 1987). The principal task for a young narrator is to learn various forms of language specific referential expressions and to select the appropriate one that will clearly identify a referent for a listener. How to choose an adequate reference in a language like Russian, in which referential choice is usually made between the two basic options – full NPs and third person pronouns?

Referential adequacy was defined according to the cognitive multi-factorial approach to referential choice (Kibrik, 2000) and its score was calculated on the basis of interaction between a reference in discourse and working memory: the interpretation of activation correlates with the degree of referents' activation in speaker's working memory.

The development of referential adequacy was examined in dependence of the referential functions of all characters in the text: introduction, maintenance and reintroduction. Referential adequacy was based on the analyses of all mentions of a story character. The linear distance to the antecedent was counted in clauses after Givon (1990) and the rhetorical distance was coded after Kibrik (2000).

The elicited narratives of ninety preschool children were analyzed. The children composed three groups, each including thirty participants – Russian-German early sequential bilinguals, Russian-speaking monolinguals with typical development (TD) and with specific language impairment (SLI). Each of these three groups was divided into two age cohorts with the mean ages 56 months and 72 months respectively.

The results showed no significant difference in referential adequacy between bilingual and monolingual TD children. Surprisingly, the younger SLI group showed significantly higher adequacy scores (in %) than the bilingual and the monolingual TDs (SLI vs. bilingual: $W = 142$, $p\text{-value} = 0.014$, SLI vs. monolingual TD: $t = 2.13$, $df = 25.53$, $p\text{-value} = 0.042$). This high level of the proper use of referential expressions might be due to the therapeutic training, which these children regularly get in the kindergarten.

As far as the developmental tendency is concerned, the increase of referential adequacy was documented for the two TD groups, however the $p\text{-value}$ was slightly above the significance level (bilinguals: $W = 66.5$, $p\text{-value} = 0.068$, monolinguals: $t = -1.9289$, $df = 22$, $p\text{-value} = 0.066$). This might be due to the low number of children per group. As expected, the referential adequacy was higher for the function of introduction as compared to maintenance and reintroduction.

Friday, October 16, 2015: Session 3

Ute Bohnacker & Josefin Lindgren (Uppsala University)

Inferring intentions and emotions of story characters: Age effects in narrative comprehension

Learning how to tell a story involves the mastery of both ‘landscape of action’ and ‘landscape of consciousness’ (Bruner 1986). This means that children must not only narrate action sequences, but also infer and explain the thoughts, emotions and intentions of story characters: How does this character feel? Why does s/he carry out an action? What’s his/her goal? There is an ongoing debate about the age at which children are able to understand these mental states, and they are often seen in relationship with cognitive development (Theory of Mind, cf. Shapiro & Hudson 1991, Tomasello 2003, Westby 2012). Several studies have pointed out an age discrepancy here: Nicolopoulou & Richner (2007) found that children could conceive of story characters’ mental states around age 4 even though they did not much mention them in their narrations before age 8–9. In a study by Stein & Glenn (1979), children aged 6 understood the goals, thoughts and emotions of main characters well even though they performed poorly when expressing them in a story recall task. Children’s story comprehension needs to be investigated further, particularly for languages other than monolingual English.

A new assessment tool, the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN, Gagarina et al. 2012), opens up new possibilities. It combines production with comprehension and specifically taps the understanding of goals and mental states. As MAIN contains 4 structurally parallel fictional picture sequences (6 pictures each), child performance can be compared across stimuli, and across languages for bilinguals.

Preliminary results indicate that children age 7 do not yet regularly express the intentions and emotions of story characters in narratives elicited by MAIN (Bohnacker, in press).

The present paper is one of the first to report story comprehension results for MAIN. For 124 children, we studied how the understanding of intentions and emotions of protagonists in picture stories develops between age 4–7. 72 monolingual Swedish-speaking children aged 4;0–6;10 and 52 Swedish-English bilinguals aged 4;11–7;9 told two MAIN stories each and subsequently answered 10 comprehension questions.

For each narrative, a story comprehension score based on the responses to all comprehension questions was calculated. Additionally, the responses to individual comprehension questions were analyzed in detail and compared across age groups.

Clear age effects were found for the overall comprehension score, with a similar pattern for monolingual and bilingual children. Most improvement happened between age 5 and 6. Intentions (goals) of story characters were generally understood well, even by the youngest children (age 4). By contrast, children had difficulties in inferring the emotional reactions of a protagonist, even at age 6–7. This, we believe, is not because of ‘badly drawn pictures’ but rather because children rarely took the entire plotline into account. A qualitative analysis revealed that they homed in on the facial and bodily depictions of protagonists in individual pictures and inferred mental states from these. With increasing age, children focused less on such ‘short-range’ mental states and drew more inferences from the story as a whole.

References

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Rachel Yifat, Shiran Sharabi, Hanna Mormer, Naomi Adas & Patrice L. (Tamar) Weiss (University of Haifa)

Spontaneous use of referring expressions by children with autism spectrum disorder during computer games with a function of Enforced Collaboration

Appropriate use of referring expressions requires knowledge of the linguistic meanings of these forms and the ability to make assumptions about the addressee's focus of attention (mental state) in relation to the intended referent. For that reason, referential communication has been extensively studied in children with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) (Arnold et al., 2009; Dahlgren & Sandberg, 2008). However, these studies mainly used referential communication structured tasks to elicit referring expressions. The purpose of the present study was to examine the spontaneous referential choices made by high-functioning children with ASD and typically developing (TD) control group during computer games with a function of Enforced Collaboration (EC). It is well known that computer games stimulate interest and motivation among children with autism (Piper et al., 2006). Moreover, computer games with an EC function that posit an active involvement of players and foster collaboration between pairs of children towards the achievement of a common goal, were found to be effective in encouraging social interaction and the development of social competence (Bauminger-Zviely et al., 2013).

Participants in the current study included 16 children with high-functioning ASD and 16 TD children aged 5-8 years and matched by age, linguistic and cognitive abilities. Pairs of children played two different computer games during three separate sessions, using the Join In Suite program with an EC function: the Bridge game which requires cooperation of the sharing type, and the Alien game which requires cooperation through collaborative planning. Video recordings of all sessions (total of 96 interactions) were made with two cameras

simultaneously, one recording the children's faces and one recording the computer screen. This allowed the capture of both verbal and non-verbal information in relation to what occurred during the games. All videotapes were transcribed with each line corresponding to an utterance, defined as a spoken segment by a particular speaker with boundaries based on intonation contour. Referring expressions were identified and coded on the basis of both function and form. Function classification included informative, uninformative and redundant referents. Form classification was defined by the part of speech of the referent including explicit referents (nouns), underspecified referents (deixis) and zeros (no referent encoded). In contrast to previous studies, no differences were found between the ASD and TD groups on most of the measures of referential communication. Children with ASD produced mostly informative referents. Their use of redundant and uninformative referents was slightly higher than that of the TD children. There was an increase in the use of referring expressions from the first to the last sessions, indicating that communication became more effective as children became more familiar with the games. We conclude that at least part of the success of children with ASD to use referring expressions appropriately may be attributed to the computerized setting with an Enforced Collaboration function.

References

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Giang Pham (San Diego State University) & Barbara Zurer Pearson (University of Massachusetts)

The Weaker First Language Still Matters: Associations between Vietnamese Vocabulary and English Narratives

This study explores relationships between Vietnamese and English vocabulary and oral narratives in first- and second-grade bilingual children. It is well-established that both vocabulary and oral narrative are strong predictors of literacy (Storch & Whitehurst, 2002), and, further, that story structures of oral narratives represent an area where a child's two languages can tap into a common ability (Cummins, 1979; Gutierrez-Clellen, 2012; Pearson, 2002; Uccelli & Paez, 2007). Thus, oral narrative development in either language may contribute to increased story quality in both languages as shown, for example, by regression

analyses in Uccelli and Paez (2007), where L1-Spanish story-scores contributed significantly to L2-English story-scores.

In contrast to the kindergarteners studied by Uccelli and Paez, who were approximately balanced between their two languages, the participants in this study were learning typologically different languages, and had much lower proficiency in Vietnamese than English. It is, therefore, an open empirical question whether their oral language measures will show cross-language facilitation in either direction.

Participants were 24 typically-developing children, mean age 7;3yrs. All parents were foreign born, and 83% of the children were exposed to Vietnamese-only in the home. School instruction was in English-only. Vocabulary and narrative skills were tested with parallel measures in Vietnamese and English. Vocabulary was tested with a subset of items from the Expressive and Receptive One-Word Picture Vocabulary Tests (EOW, ROW, Brownell, 2000ab) and a Vietnamese adaptation (Pham & Kohnert, 2014). Narrative skills were assessed with Vietnamese and English versions of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN: Gagarina et al., 2012). The MAIN protocol includes two parallel story-retell scripts, administered with picture support.

Table 1 displays means for the three tasks in each language and cross-language comparisons using paired-sample t-tests. On average, children performed better in English than Vietnamese, with the largest difference between languages in expressive vocabulary (EOW). Correlations between measures in Table 2 show that Vietnamese story-scores were positively related to receptive and expressive vocabulary in Vietnamese, but not to age. English story-scores were positively related to age, expressive vocabulary in English, and receptive vocabulary in Vietnamese. Regression models further examined the predictive nature of these correlations. Importantly, Vietnamese receptive vocabulary accounted for an additional 19% of unique variance in English story structure, even after controlling for age and English expressive vocabulary.

Findings suggest the presence of one-way cross-language transfer from Vietnamese to English, even for this sample of children with highly limited Vietnamese proficiency. Therefore, in addition to positive psychological and social effects of maintaining one's first language (e.g., Phinney et al., 2001), there seem to be academic benefits as well, even when children are already experiencing first language loss.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Cross-language Comparisons

	English	Vietnamese	p-value, paired-sample t-test
ROW	52% (17%)	60% (14%)	0.054
EOW	17% (10%)	50% (16%)	< 0.001**
Story	33% (19%)	53% (12%)	< 0.001**

Table 2. Correlations between Vocabulary and Story-scores in Vietnamese(V) and English(E).

	Story-V	Story-E
Age	0.39	0.44*
ROW-V	0.48*	0.50*
EOW-V	0.57**	0.13
ROW-E	0.01	0.37
EOW-E	-0.05	0.44*

Friday, October 16, 2015: Session 4

Carol Westby (The University of Vermont and Brigham Young University)

Telling Tales: The Interactive Roles of Fictional and Personal Stories in Life

Typically developing three-year-old children begin to tell stories about themselves and others. In contrast, children with language impairments exhibit delays in developing narrative skills that compromise their social understanding and academic performance. Interest in narratives in children with and without language impairments began with publications on the development of the structure of fictional stories. Children's comprehension and production of fictional narratives predict their academic performance.

Increasing attention has been given to the importance of personal narratives, particularly those triggered by autobiographical memories and integrated into life stories. From their emergence at the end of the preschool years through adulthood, autobiographical memories are gradually strung together into life stories of increasing coherence. Good autobiographical memories for the past are associated with greater social problem-solving and self-regulation skills. Life stories produced from elaborated autobiographical memories are instrumental in promoting a self-identity. Persons may not have equal skills with fictional and personal narratives. Those with autism and some types of language and behavioral difficulties exhibit greater difficulty with personal than fictional narratives.

Narrative intervention strategies have focused on teaching narrative structure, particularly the structure characteristic of fictional stories. Although recognizing narrative structure (reflected in plot) is an important narrative skill, it is not sufficient for comprehending characters' motivations, the way characters drive the plot, and the story themes. Children who understand these concepts in fictional stories are better able to construct personal stories from their autobiographical narratives. Adults can help children draw upon and elaborate autobiographical memories; and then assist them in using what they have learned about plots, characters, and themes in fictional stories to organize their personal stories. This presentation will explain role and development of autobiographical life story narratives and describe strategies using fictional narratives to develop the cognitive and linguistic foundations for personal narratives.

Saturday, October 17 2015: Session 1

Ira Noveck (French National Centre for Scientific Research, CNRS-Université de Lyon)

What children's choices reveal: Linguistically encoded meaning, inference and mindreading in reference resolution

For a relatively mature addressee, the linguistically encoded meaning of a sentence, such as "Give me the hat", suffices in order to identify a single hat when it is the only one in view; however, it would not be enough if there were two. Presumably, the speaker had one in mind and the addressee would need to figure out which. The adjective in "Give me the black hat" suffices for distinguishing between two hats, one black and one hat; however, a listener would be non-plussed if there were only one black hat in view. This depiction of mature referential skills is not always evident among children. In the talk, I aim to bring reference resolution in line with other pragmatic phenomena before asking a new question: What actually develops? The talk considers two candidates as an answer to this question, inferential abilities and mindreading.

Marilyn A. Nippold (University of Oregon)

Metacognitive verbs in narrative speaking: Acquisition in adolescents

The development of narrative speaking – or storytelling ability – is a long and gradual process that begins in early childhood. By age 5, most children can tell simple stories about real or imagined events, and many of them enjoy sharing anecdotes with peers. Nevertheless, narrative speaking continues to develop during the school-age years as children encounter increasingly complex stories in the classroom which they are expected to read, retell, and discuss with their teachers and classmates. Although much has been learned about narrative speaking in children ages 5 to 12 years, less is known about adolescents.

The purpose of this study was to examine narrative speaking ability in adolescents, a population that has been relatively neglected by researchers when compared with preschool and school-age children. The participants were 40 adolescents (mean age = 14 years) with typical development who spoke American English as their primary language. Each adolescent was interviewed using a narrative task that involved fables. Fables were employed in the study because they are short stories that attempt to teach lessons in ethics through the actions of animals that talk and behave like people, often concluding with a moral message or proverb. Although superficially simple, fables are actually quite complex because they focus on complicated mental states and events such as fear, pride, wisdom, and sacrifice. Hence, when adolescents are asked to retell and interpret fables, they can be expected to use complex language, including metacognitive verbs – or words that refer to acts of thinking, knowing, and feeling (e.g., *understand, fear, realize, assume, enjoy*) – and complex syntax. When these two aspects of language co-occur in speaking or writing, this is taken as evidence for the *lexicon-syntax interface* in development.

For the narrative task, the adolescent listened to two fables by the Greek storyteller Aesop, and retold each one. After retelling a fable, the examiner asked questions that prompted reflection on the philosophical and figurative meanings of the story and a critical analysis of the moral message being conveyed. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and analyzed for the use of metacognitive verbs and complex syntax measured in terms of mean length of C-unit (MLCU) and clausal density (CD).

As predicted, the narrative speaking task elicited a wide variety of metacognitive verbs, ranging from simple and early-developing words (*know, think, believe, feel, guess*) to those that were more advanced (*agree, approve, plan, pretend, deserve, decide*). Overall, the adolescents produced a mean of 0.55 metacognitive verbs per C-unit (MCVP) (SD = .15; range = 0.19-0.95), indicating that on average, about half of their C-units contained a metacognitive verb. The analyses also yielded strong, positive, and statistically significant correlation coefficients between MCVP and MLCU ($r = .63, p < .0001$) and between MCVP and CD ($r = .70, p < .0001$). In other words, adolescents who produced a greater number of metacognitive verbs per C-unit also produced longer and more complex sentences. Hence, the study supports the lexicon-syntax interface in the development of narrative speaking in adolescents.

Josefin Lindgren (Uppsala University) & Jorrig Vogels (Saarland University)

Referential cohesion in Swedish pre-school children's narratives

Referential cohesion is an important part of any type of discourse, as speakers use referring expressions to glue utterances together. In a coherent discourse, pronouns are typically used for referents that are currently in the focus of attention, while more elaborate expressions, such as definite noun phrases, are required when the referent is less salient (e.g. Ariel, 1990; Grosz, Joshi, & Weinstein, 1995). Choosing an appropriate expression thus requires the speaker to continuously keep track of the salience of referents in the discourse. In addition, it requires the use of complex linguistic skills, including pragmatic competence, as well as theory of mind. Because maintaining detailed models of the ongoing discourse is cognitively challenging, it is expected that children have problems choosing referring expressions properly to create a coherent discourse. Indeed, it has been shown that children aged 4–6 often overuse pronouns, including pronouns that are unrecoverable by the listener (e.g. Hendriks, Koster, & Hoeks, 2014; Karmiloff-Smith, 1985).

The question is when and how children learn to choose referring expressions such that it results in a coherent discourse. If they do not maintain detailed models of the discourse, what other strategies do they use to determine what type of referring expression to choose? To investigate this, we analyzed the referring expressions in oral narratives produced by 72 monolingual Swedish-speaking children aged 4;0–6;10.

The narratives were elicited using picture stimuli of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN, Gagarina et. al., 2012). Characters in the stimuli (the stories Cat and Dog) included a boy, several animals, and a number of inanimate objects. The children told their stories to an adult listener who could not see the pictures. All references for which the referent could be identified were coded according to function (introduction, reintroduction, maintenance), topichood (topic, non-topic), animacy of the referent (human, animate, inanimate) and form of referring expression (e.g. pronoun, definite noun phrase). Only results from referent reintroduction and maintenance are reported here.

As expected, the children did not always produce referentially coherent narratives. Notably, they often used pronouns to reintroduce characters, even when these pronouns were ambiguous or misleading. Interestingly, the majority of these unrecoverable pronouns referred to the boy. This suggests that children follow a strategy of pronominalizing human referents, irrespective of whether these are salient in the local linguistic context. Although the six-year-olds did not seem to perform differently than the four-year-olds in this respect, they produced fewer ambiguous or misleading referring expressions. They also seemed to be more sensitive to whether the referent was topical or not.

The results will be discussed in light of theories suggesting that the accessibility of discourse entities can be measured at multiple levels, more locally or more globally (e.g. Kaiser & Trueswell, 2008; Vogels, 2014). We propose that children at first overuse global factors such as animacy to determine how accessible a referent is, only later learning to include more local factors such as topichood.

Ulla Licandro (Leibniz University Hannover)

Narrative Discourse of Turkish-German Dual Language Learning Preschoolers

Narration is an important vehicle and predictor for linguistic, social, and academic learning in childhood. By moving beyond isolated utterances, narrative analysis can provide insight into complex, socially and academically valid aspects of language development (e.g., Norbury, Gemmell, & Paul, 2014), such as decontextualized language skills. Also, the inclusion of narrative assessment procedures has been recommended as a less biased instrument in assessing dual language learners' (DLLs) language abilities (e.g., Bedore, Pena, Gillam, & Ho, 2010). However, little is known about the factors that influence DLLs' narrative development, especially in children from dual language backgrounds other than Spanish and English (Hammer, Hoff, Uchikoshi, Gillanders, Castro, & Sandilos, 2014).

The goal of the present study was to analyze the oral fictional narrative productions of Turkish-German preschool-aged children in response to a wordless picture book to explore the relationship between performance on concurrent measures such as language skills, nonverbal intelligence, preschool participation, and indices of narrative micro- and macrostructure. 3-to 6-year-old DLLs completed an assessment battery and produced narrative samples in German based on the wordless picture book "Frog, Where Are You?" (Mayer, 1969).

Two-tailed Spearman rank-correlations were applied to investigate relations between measures. Correlations between narrative microstructure and macrostructure were positive, significant, and generally high in strength ($r = .62$ to $.85$). Correlations between expressive and receptive language and narrative microstructure and narrative complexity were also positive, significant, and moderate to high in strength ($r = .41$ to $.68$), with the strongest correlations surfacing between expressive and receptive language and lexical diversity (number of different words, *Vocd*, $r = .50$ to $.57$) as well as expressive and receptive language and narrative complexity ($r = .59$ to $.68$). Furthermore, a regression analysis was applied to identify variables that influence narrative complexity (a measure combining story grammar, cohesive devices, and evaluative language use). The model that best predicted narrative complexity included age, expressive language skills, and nonverbal IQ; the overall model fit was $R^2 = .53$ with expressive language being the highest contributor.

These and other findings contribute to our knowledge of narrative language skills of DLL preschoolers. One conclusion that can be drawn from the results is that nonverbal intelligence is an important contributor to narrative complexity, but both narrative coherence and cohesion might suffer when a DLL's array of linguistic devices in the respective language is very limited. Further aspects will be discussed.

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Josefin Lindgren (Uppsala University)

Exploring character introductions in the narrative production of Swedish-speaking four- to six-year-olds

A narrative is an example of complex discourse, requiring the speaker to use suitable linguistic expressions and taking the listener's prior knowledge into account. Narrative ability becomes increasingly important as children grow older, e.g. for literacy development (Dickinson & Tabors 2001). As has been shown in earlier studies, children's narratives develop extensively during the later preschool years (e.g. Berman & Slobin 1994). Part of telling a good story is to properly introduce new story characters and to make it clear to the listener which character performed which action. This paper investigates character introductions in the oral narratives of 72 monolingual Swedish preschoolers aged 4;0-6;10. Since character introduction has not been investigated for Swedish, the study had an explorative focus, where the aim was to investigate character in the narratives from different perspectives.

Picture stimuli of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN, Gagarina et al. 2012) were used to make the children tell a story to a listener who could not see the pictures. All character introductions produced by the children were coded using several measures, including type of referring expression (in Swedish, a new character is better introduced by an indefinite noun phrase than by a pronoun), and a scoring system for first mentions adapted from the Edmonton Narrative Norms Instrument (ENNI, Schneider et al. 2005).

Clear age effects were found. For instance, few four- and five-year-olds introduced all story characters with an indefinite noun phrase, whereas this was done by 75% of the six-year-olds. This suggests that the ability to correctly introduce referents in Swedish narratives is not fully developed until the age of six. Most measures showed no difference between four- and five-year olds, but the five-year olds used more indefinite noun phrases, whereas the four year-olds used an equal proportion of definite and indefinite noun phrases to introduce their story character, indicating that the ability to correctly distinguish between indefinite and definite in narrative production develops from age five onwards. In addition to reporting on results from various measures and a detailed analysis of age effects, potential task and genre effects will be discussed.

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Damaris Bartz & Dagmar Bittner (ZAS Berlin)

Expressing adversativity: morpho-syntactic properties of early "aber"-sentences in German L1-acquisition.

To our knowledge, the existing studies on the acquisition of the adversative connector *but* (Germ. *aber*) are focused nearly exclusively on the emergence of the semantic properties or use types of the connector (e.g. Kyratzis & Ervin-Tripp 1999, Gülzow et al. in press). All studies found a stepwise emergence of the different use types (i.e. semantic opposition, denial of expectation, illocution etc.). The question which is not answered yet is what determines the observed order of acquisition. On the one hand, there clearly is an increase in semantic complexity between some use types, e.g. between semantic opposition (*Max is a musician, but not a painter*) and denial of expectation (*Max is a musician but he likes soccer*). On the other hand, well-formed *but*-utterances exhibit certain syntactic conditions concerning verb position, negation or even elliptic structure. Furthermore some use types are bound to specific syntactic structures. Semantic opposition, for instance, often requires syntactic parallelism of the related connects; other use types require a certain type and position of negation etc. Figuring out how semantic and syntactic factors interact in the acquisition of the use types of the connector *but*, is the long term goal of the cross-linguistic project on the acquisition of *but*.

One step towards this goal is a detailed analysis of the syntactic development of *but*-clauses. In our talk we will present analyses of the syntactic structure of the early *aber*-connects documented in the longitudinal data of one L1-German child. The question we address is whether the syntactic development of *aber*-connects in the first year of *aber*-production is embedded in the overall syntactic development of main-clause structure or whether there is a specific path of development raised by the adversative meaning of the connector.

In German, the connector *aber* -like the connector *und*- coordinates two main clauses, i.e. clauses having the finite verb in V2-position and allowing non-subject phrases in the pre-verbal position (Vorfeld).

(1) Die Sonne scheint am Tag ABER IN DER NACHT SCHEINT DER MOND.

The sun shines at day but the moon shines at night

Given this one could expect that the syntactic structure of the *aber*-connects a child produces is not different from the syntactic structure of the other types of main clauses in the child's language production. The respective hypothesis is: The syntactic development of *aber*-connects should be embedded in the overall syntactic development. However, the adversative connector *aber* emerges about two-to-three months later in the children's language production than the additive connector *und* 'and'. The cross-linguistically later acquisition of the adversative connector is explained by an increase in the semantic complexity of the coherence relation assigned by the connector. While the additive connector *and* only assigns the feature [+additive] the adversative connector *but* additionally assigns the feature [+polarity], that is it means [+additive; +polar] (Evers-Vermeul & Sanders 2009). The higher semantic complexity of the adversative connector might have costs which affect the syntactic development of *but*/*aber*-connects. So it could even be that the syntactic development of *but*/*aber*-connects is not embedded in the overall syntactic development of main clauses. At least three scenarios are possible in this case:

- a) The syntactic development of *but/ (aber)*-connects proceeds slower but shows the same developmental path than that of main clauses in general;
- b) The syntactic development of *but/ (aber)*-connects proceeds not slower but on a deviant developmental path than that of main clauses in general;
- c) The syntactic development of *but/ (aber)*-connects proceeds slower and on a deviant developmental path than that of main clauses in general.

The scenario under b) is ruled out by the finding that the V2-position realizing the category of finiteness (Jordens 2012) and emerging in *aber*-connects 5-6 months after the first productions of *aber* is acquired 2-3 months later than in main clauses in general. Taking into account further criteria we will discuss whether scenario a) or c) is at place and in what sense the syntactic development constraints the emergence of semantic use types of *aber*-connects.

Milena Kuehnast & Viktoria Bartlitz (ZAS Berlin)

Developmental steps in expressing contrast – cross-linguistic experimental evidence

Negative polarity and conventional implicatures have been identified as constitutive meaning elements of adversative connectives (Louwerse 2001, Blakemore 2002, Evers-Vermeul & Sanders 2009). By conventional implicature, adversative connectives trigger the inference that the conjoined propositions should not hold together. Thus contrast relations imply negative polarity involving syntactically overt or covert negation. The present production study investigated syntactic factors like co-ordination and expression of negation to gain insights into the processes underlying the acquisition of contrast types in German, English, and Bulgarian as languages with differently shaped adversative systems.

We present data from a sentence-continuation experiment with 3-, 4- and 6-year-old monolingual children and adult control groups based on pictures depicting alternative actions. Production of adversative sentences was prompted by means of a positive or a negative first clause, e.g. ‘She wants to collect chestnuts but ...’ vs. ‘She doesn’t want to collect chestnuts but...’. We analysed the syntactic complexity of the produced continuations (full clauses, finite predicate, infinitive, or objects) and the realisation of overt negation. These properties allow inferences about the interpretation of an adversative utterance as a contrast relation situated on the content (Semantic Opposition), or on the epistemic or pragmatic level (Denial of Expectation).

The pattern found in adult production indicated preferences for clausal coordination with Denial of Expectation reading for German *aber*, English *but* and Bulgarian *no*, and for Semantic Opposition with Bulgarian *a*. These preferences were only slightly affected by the presence of negation in the prompt. However, children’s interpretation of adversative connectives as Semantic Opposition markers was aided by the presence of negation. We also found a significant interaction of polarity and syntactic complexity. In all languages, three-year-olds often produced ill-formed adversative sentences by conjoining two positive sub-clausal elements, clausal co-ordinations being mostly well-formed. Older children produced significantly more negation markers in all co-ordination types. They also produced clausal co-

ordinations to express inference driven Denial of Expectation with covert negation, e.g., She wants to collect chestnuts, but she needs to go home. We discuss these findings with respect to developmental steps in the intertwining of negative polarity and syntactic co-ordination in the construal of contrast relations.

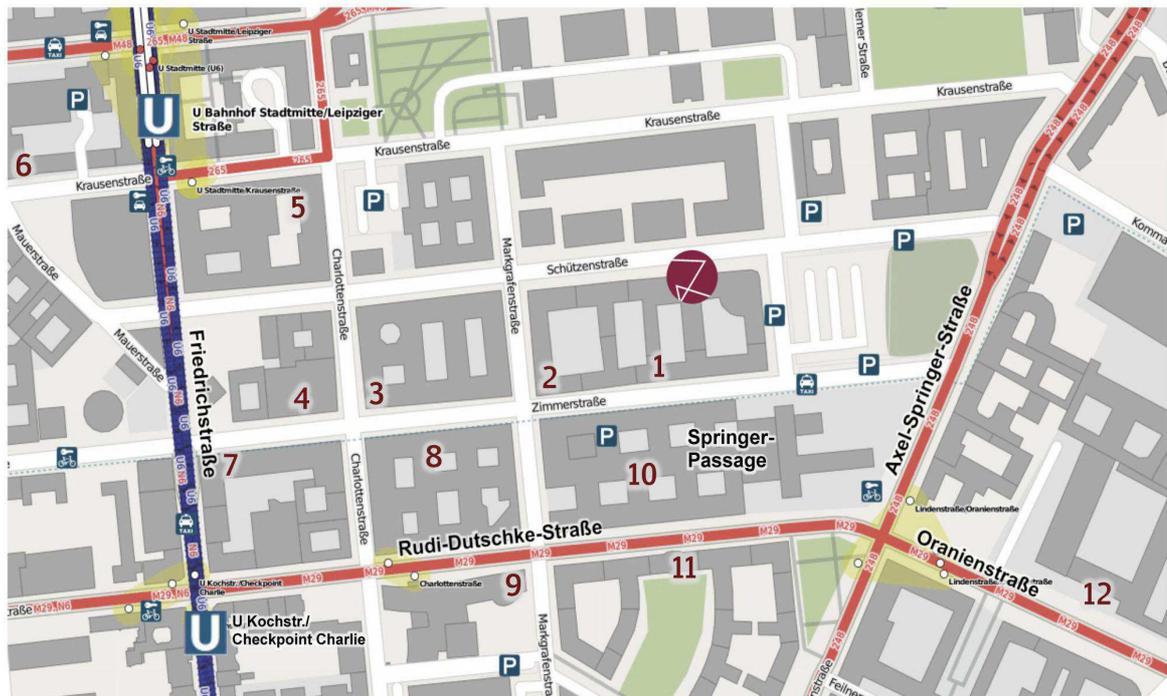
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Where to eat near ZAS



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Sprachwissenschaft



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Selection of restaurants

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1 Russtrôt
Zimmerstr. 65
Mo-Fr 11-17, Sa 12-17
<i>Russian cuisine</i> | 5 Trattoria Lungomare
Krausenstr. 11
Mo-Sa 10-24
<i>Italian cuisine</i>
SOCIAL DINNER | 9 Café brennBar
Axel-Springer-Str. 40/41
Mo-Fr 7:30-18
<i>Daily lunch specials</i> |
| 2 Soupkultur
Markgrafenstr. 22
Mo-Fr 11:30-15:30,
<i>Soup, pasta and
rice dishes</i> | 6 Sisaket
Mauerstr. 76
Mo-Sa 11:30-23:30
<i>Thai cuisine</i> | 10 Deli News Coffeeshop
Axel-Springer-Passage
Mo-Fr 7:30-21
<i>Bakery products and
little snacks</i> |
| 3 Viet Bowl
Zimmerstr. 69
Mo-So 11:30-23
<i>Vietnamese cuisine</i> | 7 Belegschaft
Zimmerstr. 23
Mo-Do 8-18, Fr 8-17
<i>Quick organic food</i> | 11 Pepe Pizza
Rudi-Dutschke-Str. 9
Mo-Fr 11-15
<i>Pizza</i> |
| 4 Ishin Japanese Deli
Charlottenstr. 16
Mo-Sa 11-22
<i>Japanese cuisine</i> | 8 Caramel
Zimmerstr. 26
Mo-Fr 11-16
<i>Salads, sandwiches,
and daily lunch specials</i> | 12 taz Café
Rudi-Dutschke-Str. 23
Mo-Fr 8-20
<i>Daily lunch specials</i> |