

LSci 51/CogS 56L: Acquisition of Language

Lecture 17 Syntactic acquisition IV

Knowledge of *wh*-questions

De Villiers 1995: comprehension task with 3- to 6-year-olds

“Once there was a boy who loved climbing trees in the forest. One afternoon he slipped and fell to the ground. He picked himself up and went home. That night when he had a bath, he saw a big bruise on his arm. He said to his Dad, ‘I must have hurt myself when I fell this afternoon.’”



Knowledge of *wh*-questions

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“Once there was a boy who loved climbing trees in the forest. One **afternoon** he slipped and fell to the ground. He picked himself up and went home. **That night** when he had a bath, he saw a big bruise on his arm. He said to his Dad, ‘I must have hurt myself when I fell this afternoon.’”

When did the boy say he fell?

—> When did the boy **say** ___ he fell?

—> When did the boy say he **fell** ___?

Two interpretations possible

When did the **saying** happen?

When did the **falling** happen?

Knowledge of *wh*-questions

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Two interpretations possible

When did the **saying** happen?

When did the **falling** happen?

Children allow both these structures
(and their interpretations), too.



Knowledge of *wh*-questions

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When did the boy say how he fell?

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When did the boy say how he fell?

Only one interpretation

—> When did the boy **say** __ [how he fell]? **When** did the **saying** happen?

*When did the boy say [how he **fel**]*? ***When** did the **falling** happen?*



Knowledge of *wh*-questions

De Villiers 1995: comprehension task with 3- to 6-year-olds

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When did the boy say how he fell?

Only one interpretation

—> When did the boy **say** ___ [how he fell]? **When** did the **saying** happen?

*When did the boy say [how he **fel** ~~X~~]? **When** did the **falling** happen?*

Children allow only the top structure
(and its interpretation), too.

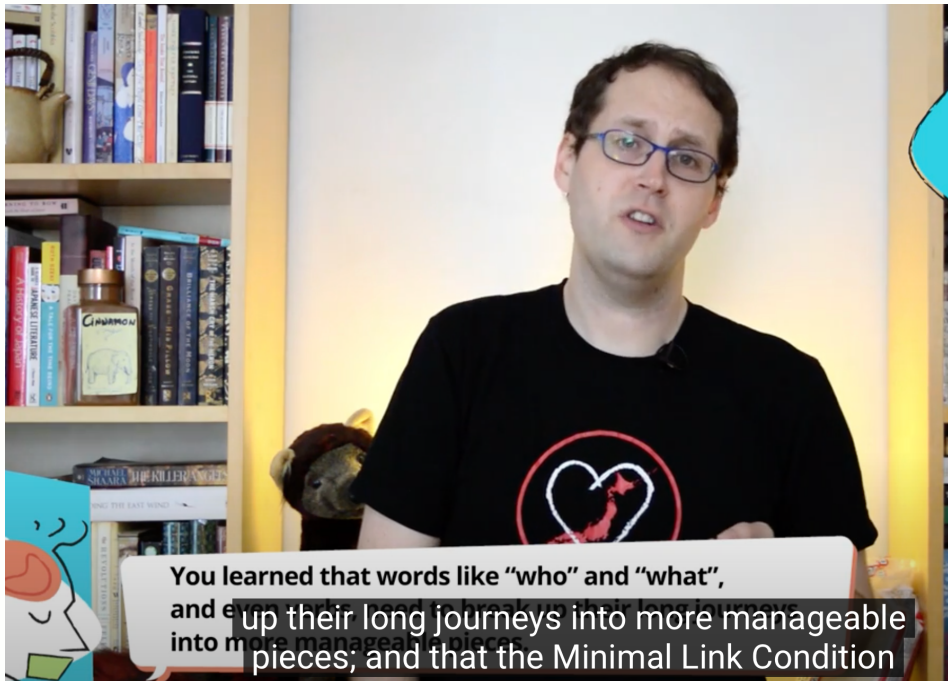


Knowledge of *wh*-questions

This knowledge of which *wh*-dependencies are allowed vs. not allowed is something children must learn for their language. It's sometimes referred to as knowing about “*syntactic islands*”.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01uH4XfJx3g>

0:38-1:30: Syntactic islands intro



[Extra]



Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

This kitty was bought as a present for someone.

Lily thinks this kitty is pretty.



What's going on here?

Who does Lily think the kitty for is pretty?



What does Lily think is pretty, and who does she think it's for?



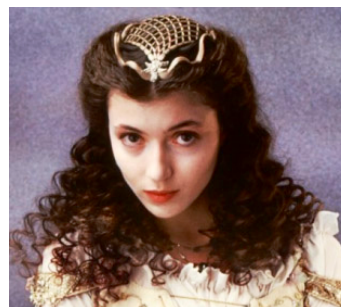


Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

What's going on here?

There's a **dependency** between the *wh*-word *who* and where it's understood (**the gap**)

Who does Lily think the kitty for ___{who} is pretty?





Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



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This dependency is **strongly dispreferred** in English.

Syntactic islands *involve wh-dependencies.*



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There's a **dependency** between the *wh*-word *who* and where it's understood (**the gap**)

Who does Lily think the kitty for ___{who} is pretty?



This dependency is **strongly dispreferred** in English.

One explanation: The dependency crosses a “**syntactic island**” (Ross 1967)



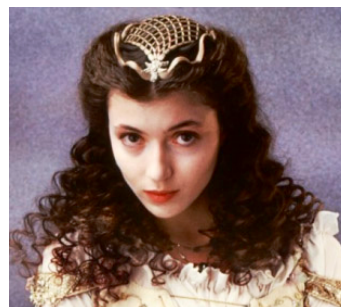


Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty?

Subject island





Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty?

Subject island



Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what?





Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island



Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

Elizabeth wondered if he actually did
and if so, what it was.

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what?





Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

Jack is somewhat tricky.

He claimed he bought something.

Elizabeth worried it was something dangerous.

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what?





Syntactic islands

involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)



Syntactic islands

involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.

(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)

What did Elizabeth think __what?



Elizabeth





Syntactic islands

involve wh-dependencies.

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

Jack



Elizabeth



Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.
(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)

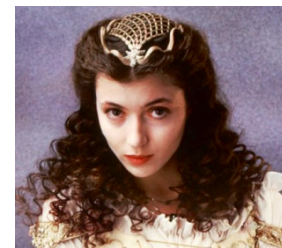
What did Elizabeth think Jack said __what?





Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

Lily



Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

Jack



Elizabeth



Important: It's not about the length of the dependency.
(Chomsky 1965, Ross 1967)

What did Elizabeth think Jack said Lily saw __what?





Syntactic islands *involve wh-dependencies.*

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island

English adults **judge** these island-crossing dependencies to be **far less acceptable** than many others, including others that are very similar except that they don't cross syntactic islands (Sprouse et al. 2012).





Syntactic islands *involve wh-dependencies.*

Ross 1967

Who does Lily think the kitty for __who is pretty? Subject island

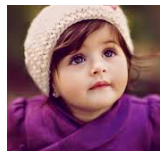
What did Jack make the claim that he bought __what? Complex NP island

What did Elizabeth wonder whether Jack bought __what? Whether island

What did Elizabeth worry if Jack bought __what? Adjunct island



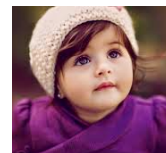
English-learning children strongly **disprefer** one of these island-crossing dependencies compared to others (de Villiers et al. 2008).





Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child knowledge as measured by preferred interpretation behavior

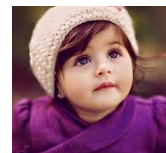
De Villiers et al. 2008:

How do children prefer to interpret potentially ambiguous *wh*-questions?



Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

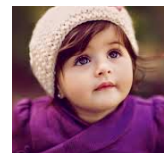
context





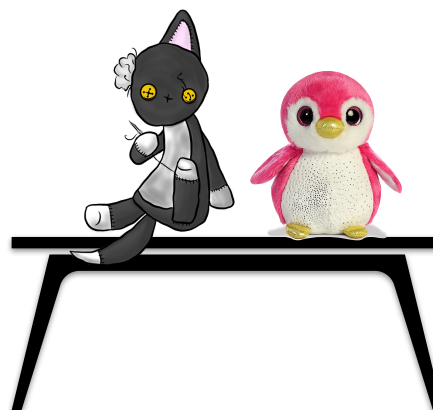
Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

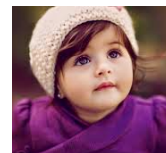
context





Child judgments

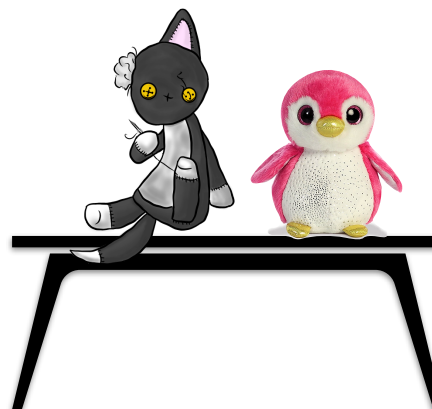
Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy fix the cat that was lying on the table with ___*what*?

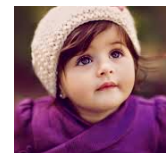
context





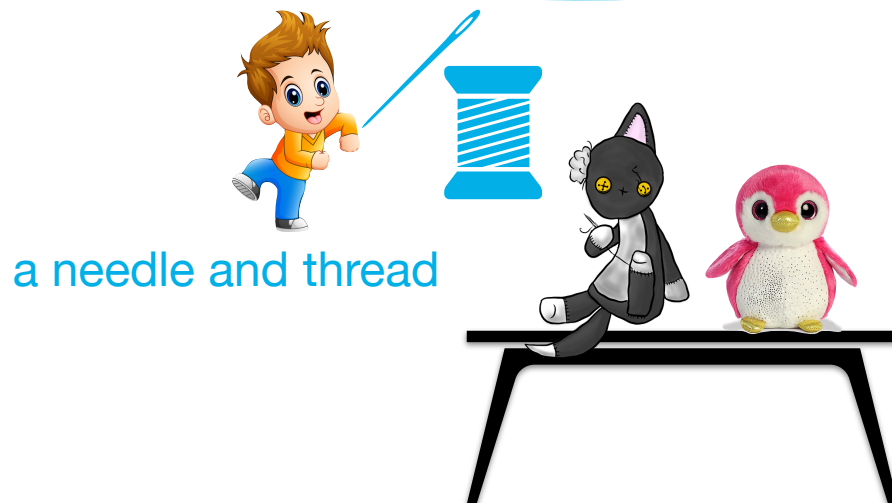
Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

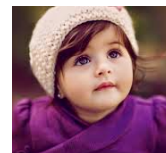
What did the boy [fix the cat that was lying on the table [with __what]]?





Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __*what*]]]]]]]]?

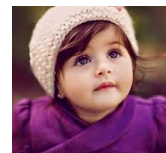


a penguin



Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

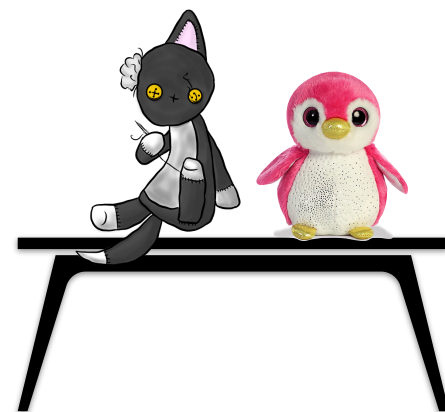


Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy fix the cat that was lying on the table with ___*what*?



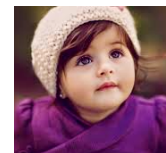
children strongly prefer this
interpretation





Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

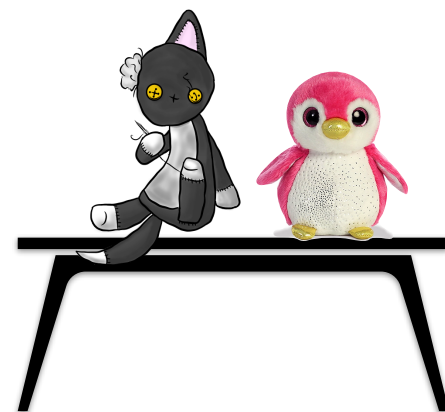


Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __*what*]]]]]]]]?



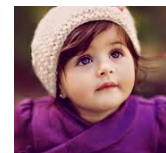
...and strongly
disprefer this
interpretation





Child judgments

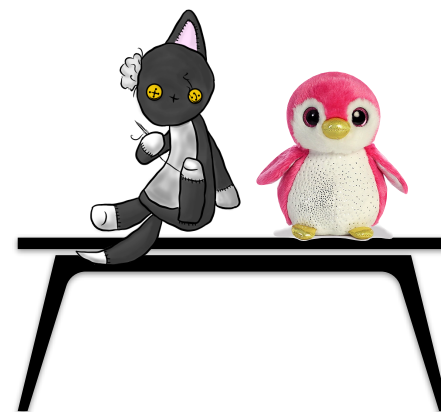
Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __*what*]]]]]]]]?

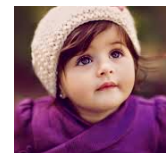
This means they strongly disprefer the *wh*-dependency this interpretation relies on.





Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.

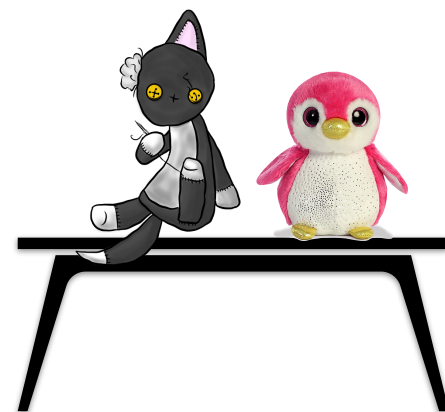


Child preferred interpretation behavior

What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with __what]]]]]]]]?



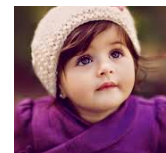
...which is a dependency that
crosses a Complex NP.





Child judgments

Syntactic islands
involve wh-dependencies.



Child preferred interpretation behavior

+ other *wh*-dependencies

Who did the little sister ask how to see ___?

Who did the boy ask what to bring ___?

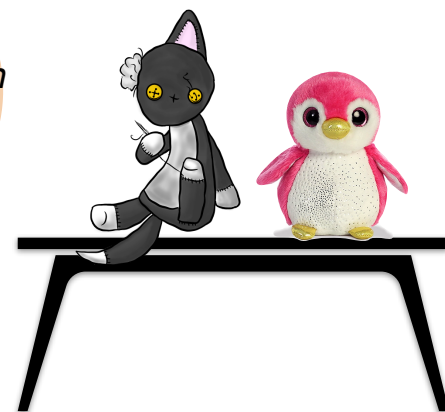
How did the mom learn what to bake ___?

How did the girl ask where to ride ___?

How did the boy who sneezed drink the milk ___?

What did the mother say
she bought ___?

Who did the policewoman
help to call ___?



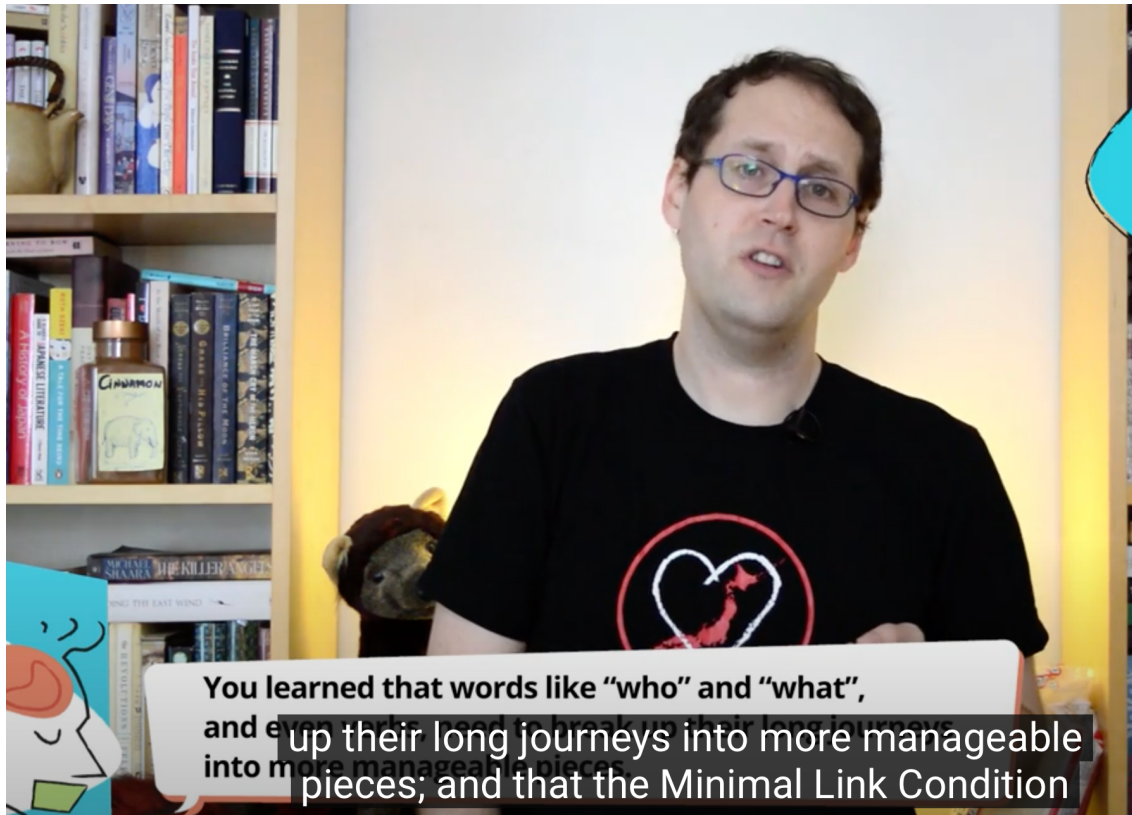
But how could a child **learn** this?



Syntactic islands [Extra]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=01uH4XfJx3g>

6:55-7:15: Breaking structure into pieces





Syntactic islands

one learning theory

Pearl & Sprouse 2013

Dickson, Pearl, & Futrell 2022, 2024, Dickson 2025

Learn the right building blocks





Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks



View *wh*-dependencies in terms of their building blocks and **track (count)** those building blocks in the **input**.





Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks

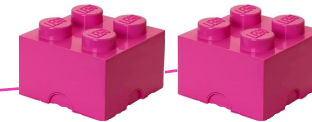


So if children break these dependencies into smaller building blocks, they can identify if a dependency has bad segments (made up of **one or more low probability building blocks**).

[_{CP} Who did [Lily [think [that [[the kitty [for who]] was pretty ?]]]]]



What did the boy [fix [the cat [that [was [lying [on [the table [with ____*what*]]]]]]]]?





Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks



Dickson & colleagues (Dickson, Pearl, & Futrell 2022, 2024, Dickson 2025) used **computational cognitive modeling** to investigate this kind of **acquisition theory** for **syntactic islands**.





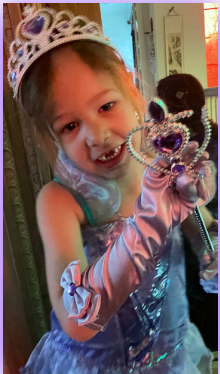
Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks



Dickson, Pearl, & Futrell 2022, 2024, Dickson 2025

They investigated a modeled child who looked for “efficient building blocks” that made the child’s input very predictable.





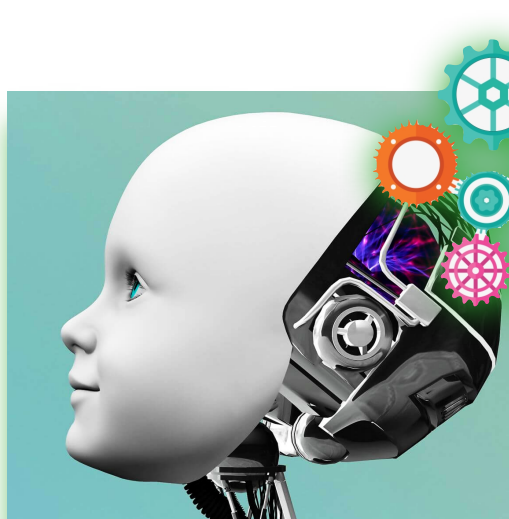
Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks



Dickson, Pearl, & Futrell 2022, 2024, Dickson 2025

This “efficient building blocks” learner was able to generate almost all of children’s observed behavior.





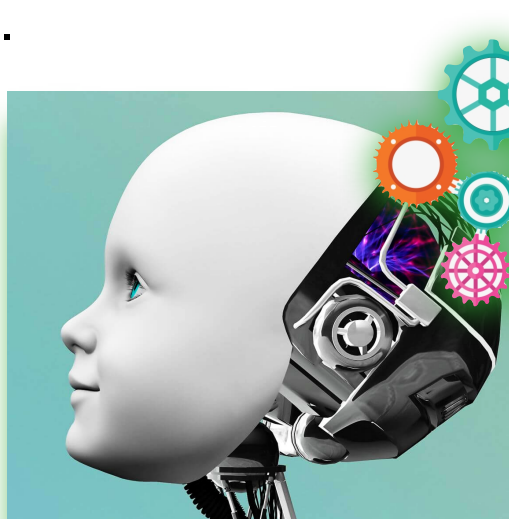
Syntactic islands

Learn the right building blocks



Dickson, Pearl, & Futrell 2022, 2024, Dickson 2025

Implication: This **learning theory** (implemented by the **modeled child**) is **pretty good** at capturing children's **behavior**. So, it may be a **pretty good explanation** for how **children** acquire syntactic island knowledge from their input.



Recap: Syntactic islands

Constraints on which *wh*-dependencies are allowed in a language (sometimes called knowledge of the language's “syntactic islands”) are one type of sophisticated syntactic knowledge children seem to learn fairly young.



One way children might do that is to look for efficient building blocks of these *wh*-dependencies that make the input more predictable.



Quantifiers



Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words that express quantities, like *a*, *some*, *every*, *none*, and *most*.

“We have words whose meanings make reference to specific quantities (*1, 2, 3,...*), to approximate quantities (*a few, several*), to existence (*some, any*), to universals (*every, all*), and to comparisons among quantities (*more, most*). ” - Lidz 2014

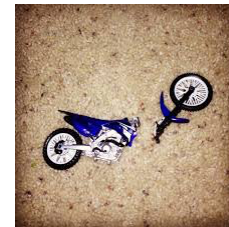
Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words that express quantities, like *a*, *some*, *every*, *none*, and *most*.

“Quantifiers like *every*, *some*, or *most*, also require representing a relation between two sets. For example, when we say “*every crayon is broken*,” we are expressing a relation between the set of crayons and the set of broken things such that the former is a subset of the latter...”

- Lidz 2014

broken things



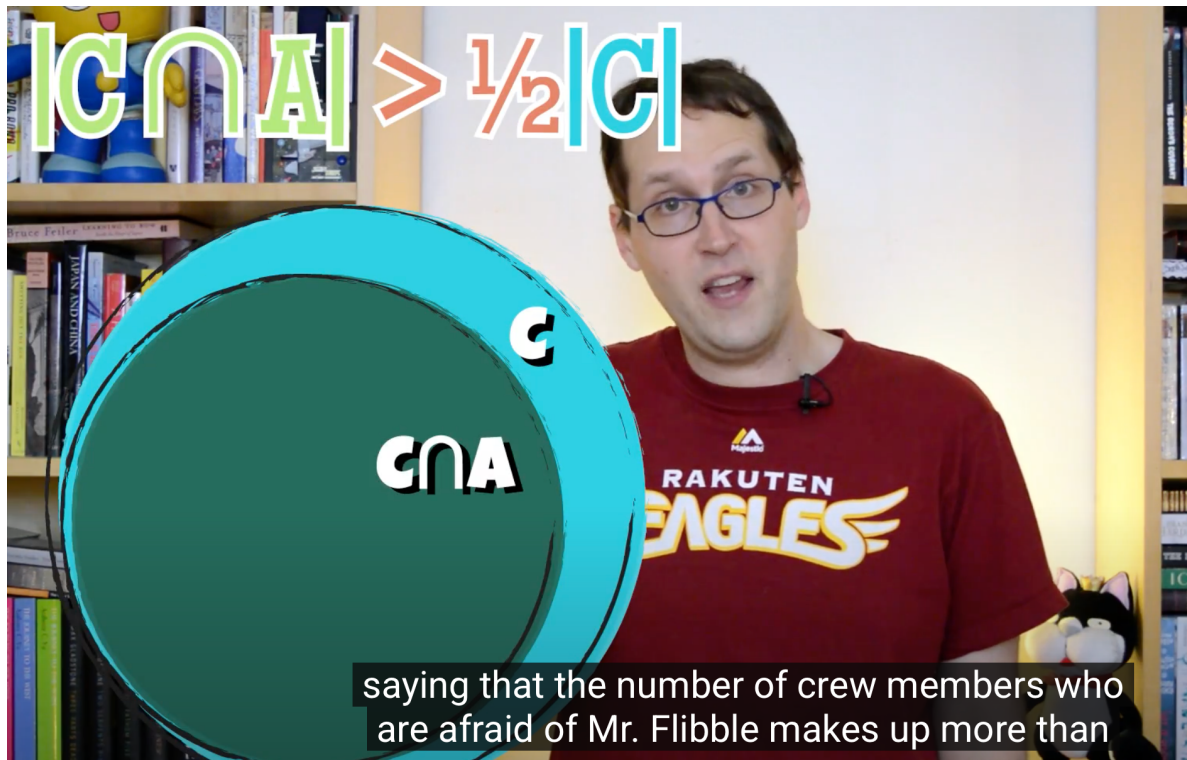
crayons



[Extra] Quantifiers & Sets

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U1l3C_hmjQ_M

3:46 - 3:59: sets with “most”



Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words that express quantities, like *a*, *some*, *every*, *none*, and *most*.

“The first problem is simply one of abstraction...they are not tied to concrete referents and *can be applied to any noun, with only a few constraints*...In addition, their meanings are *highly contextually defined*. Even a single phrase like *every girl* will pick out a different set of girls and a different number of girls depending on whether the context of discourse is the people in my class or the people in my family.” - Wagner 2010



Quantifiers: Cross-linguistic development

<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2016/09/160913124720.htm>

Testing children in 31 languages grouped into 11 language families.

“...children identified the quantifiers **all** or **none** more easily than **some** or **most**. This suggests that children **acquire quantifiers in the same order basing themselves on factors relating to the meaning and use of each quantifier.**”

Katsos & 50+ others 2016

Napoleon Katsos, Chris Cummins, Maria-José Ezeizabarrena, Anna Gavarró, Jelena Kuvač Kraljević, Gordana Hrzica, Kleantes K. Grohmann, Athina Skordi, Kristine Jensen de López, Lone Sundahl, Angeliek van Hout, Bart Hollebrandse, Jessica Overweg, Myrthe Faber, Margreet van Koert, Nafsika Smith, Maigi Vija, Sirli Zupping, Sari Kunnari, Tiffany Morisseau, Manana Rusieshvili, Kazuko Yatsushiro, Anja Fengler, Spyridoula Varlokosta, Katerina Konstantzou, Shira Farby, Maria Teresa Guasti, Mirta Vernice, Reiko Okabe, Miwa Isobe, Peter Crosthwaite, Yoonjee Hong, Ingrida Balčiūnienė, Yanti Marina Ahmad Nizar, Helen Grech, Daniela Gatt, Win Nee Cheong, Arve Asbjørnsen, Janne von Koss Torkildsen, Ewa Haman, Aneta Miękisz, Natalia Gagarina, Julia Puzanova, Darinka Anđelković, Maja Savić, Smiljana Jošić, Daniela Slančová, Svetlana Kapalková, Tania Barberán, Duygu Özge, Saima Hassan, Cecilia Yuet Hung Chan, Tomoya Okubo, Heather van der Lely, Uli Sauerland, Ira Noveck. **Cross-linguistic patterns in the acquisition of quantifiers.** *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2016; 113 (33): 9244 DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1601341113



Quantifiers: Cross-linguistic development

<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2016/09/160913124720.htm>

Testing children in 31 languages grouped into 11 language families.

In fact, an adult-like understanding of *most* comes in quite late — around 6 (Sullivan, Bale, & Barner 2018).

*“Could you put *most of the oranges* on the plate?”*

???



Quantifiers

“A final, and perhaps more difficult problem posed by quantifiers is the fact that their interpretation also depends on the **scope** they take in a sentence. Scope itself is often ambiguous and **does not depend on the linear order of elements in a sentence.**” – Wagner 2010



Quantifiers & Scope

<http://www.thelingspace.com/episode-8>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XC-MGuj75zQ>

0:39 - 5:24



Quantifiers & Scope

“Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

✗ No kitties sat on the stairs.

✓ Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Why are two interpretations available?

Quantifier scope

When two (or more) quantifiers are in a sentence, they interact semantically to determine the sentence’s meaning, based on the **scope** of each quantifier.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

“ **Every** kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”



✗ No kitties sat on the stairs.

✓ Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

“ **Every** kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”



surface $\forall$ kitties k $\neg$ k sat on the stairs

“For all kitties k , it’s not true that k sat on the stairs”

No kitties sat on the stairs.

Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

“ **Every** kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”



surface $\forall$ kitties k k sat on the stairs

“For all kitties k , it’s not true that k sat on the stairs”

No kitties sat on the stairs.

Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

“ **Every** kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”



inverse $\neg \forall$ kitties k , k sat on the stairs

“It’s not true that for all kitties k , k sat on the stairs”

Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Quantifiers

Another quantifier scope example

Everyone saw **a** movie last night.



surface $\forall$ people $p \exists$ a movie m that p saw.

"For all people p , p saw a movie m ."

Quantifiers

Another quantifier scope example

Everyone saw **a** movie last night.



(It's okay if it's the same movie. All that matters is that everyone did see a movie.)

surface $\forall$ people $p \exists$ a movie m that p saw.

"For all people p , p saw a movie m ."

Quantifiers

Another quantifier scope example

Everyone saw **a** movie last night.



inverse $\exists$ a movie **m** that $\forall$ people **p**, **p** saw **m**.

*“There’s a movie **m** that all people **p** saw.”*

Quantifiers

Another quantifier scope example

Everyone saw a movie last night.

$\forall$

$\exists$



(It has to be the same movie.)

inverse $\exists$ a movie m that $\forall$ people p , p saw m .

“There’s a movie m that all people p saw.”

Quantifiers & Scope

Children's preferences for scope (Lidz & Musolino 2002, Lidz 2018)

Children find it easier to interpret scope relations that match the linear order (**isomorphic**, **surface**). Adults can more easily get the interpretation that does not match the linear surface order (non-isomorphic, inverse).

Everyone saw **a** movie last night.



Children prefer this interpretation (isomorphic):

scope: **every** >> **a** (“**every** has scope over **a**”)

For **every** person **p**, that person saw **a** movie **m**.



Quantifiers & Scope

Children's preferences for scope (Lidz & Musolino 2002)

Children find it easier to interpret scope relations that match the linear order (**isomorphic**, **surface**). Adults can more easily get the interpretation that does not match the linear surface order (**non-isomorphic**, **inverse**).

Everyone saw **a** movie last night.



As opposed to this one (non-isomorphic):

scope: **a** >> **every** (“**a** has scope over **every**”)

For **a** movie **m**, **every** **person** saw **m**.



Quantifiers & Scope

Children's preferences can be changed (Viau, Lidz, & Musolino 2010)

If children are primed with the **inverse** interpretation, they can more easily access the **inverse** interpretation in other sentences.

$\forall$ $\exists$
Everyone saw a movie last night.

Primed with context that supports this one (inverse):

scope: a >> every (“a has scope over every”)

For a movie m, every person saw m.

$\exists$ $\forall$



Quantifiers & Scope

Children's preferences can be changed (Viau, Lidz, & Musolino 2010)

If children are primed with the **inverse** interpretation, they can more easily access the **inverse** interpretation in other sentences.

$\forall$ $\exists$
Everyone saw a movie last night.

Primed with a $\gg$ every

$\forall$ $\neg$
Every horse **didn't** jump over the fence.

More likely to get this one (inverse):

scope: **n't** $\gg$ **every** (“n't has scope over every”)

$\neg$ $\forall$
It is **not** the case that **every** horse jumped over the fence.



Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

inverse — $\forall$ $\neg$ Every kitty didn’t
 ??
 Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



What’s really going on with kids and the inverse scope?

5-year-olds

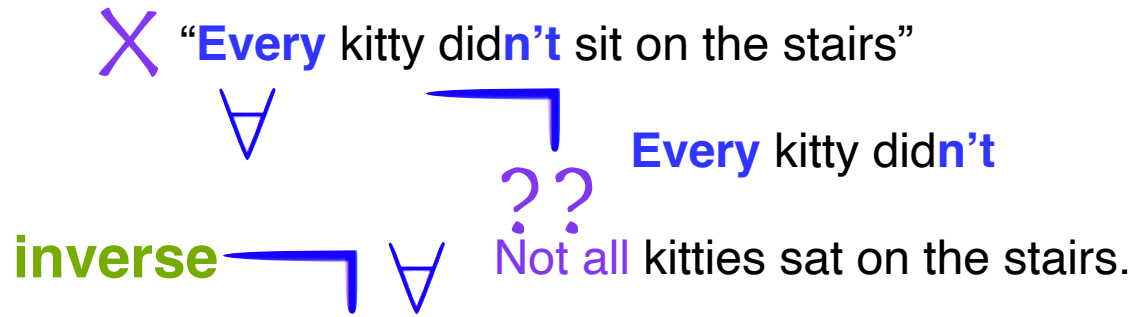


One idea: **grammatical processing** problem

The **inverse scope** is harder to get from the surface string.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope



What’s really going on with kids and the inverse scope?

5-year-olds



grammatical processing

Another idea: pragmatic context management problem.

Children thought the topic of conversation (the implicit Question Under Discussion) was something else and this utterance doesn’t answer that QUD very well.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

inverse — $\forall$ $\neg$ Every kitty didn’t
?? Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Did none of the kitties sit on the stairs?

Do kitties like stairs?

QUD *How many kitties sat on the stairs?*

5-year-olds



grammatical processing

Another idea: **pragmatic context** management problem.

Children thought the topic of conversation (the implicit **Question Under Discussion**) was something else and this utterance doesn’t answer that QUD very well.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

inverse — $\forall$ $\neg$ Every kitty didn’t
?? Not all kitties sat on the stairs.



Kitties don’t like stairs

expectations about the world

Kitties love stairs.

Kitties don’t care about stairs.

5-year-olds



grammatical processing

Another idea: **pragmatic context** management problem.
QUD

Children’s prior **expectations about the world** make this utterance less informative.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

inverse $\forall$ $\neg$ Every kitty didn’t
?? Not all kitties sat on the stairs.

QUD

grammatical processing

expectations about the world



5-year-olds



It’s hard to manipulate only one of these factors in experimental research investigating children’s responses.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”

inverse $\forall$ $\neg$ Every kitty didn’t
?? Not all kitties sat on the stairs.

QUD

grammatical processing

expectations about the world



5-year-olds



Using a computational cognitive model that formalizes the separate contribution of each factor, Savinelli, Scontras, & Pearl (2017) determined which ones have the largest impact on children’s observed behavior.

Quantifiers & Scope

Quantifier scope

X “Every kitty didn’t sit on the stairs”



Every kitty didn’t

??

inverse



Not all kitties sat on the stairs.

QUD

grammatical processing

expectations about the world



5-year-olds



The **pragmatic** factors seem to be the driving force behind children’s behavior. This suggests that 5-year-olds are still developing their ability to manage the pragmatic context of a conversation as well as adults do. However, they **know that the inverse scope interpretation is possible and can access it.**

Recap: Quantifiers

Quantifiers are also more sophisticated since they can interact with each other to form the interpretation of a sentence. In many cases, the meaning of the sentence is ambiguous since more than one interpretation is possible.

Children have preferences for how to interpret scopally-ambiguous utterances — they prefer the surface interpretation over the inverse interpretation.

Children's surface-scope preference may be because pragmatic factors disfavor the inverse interpretation. In particular, the inverse interpretation isn't as informative as the surface interpretation would be.

Questions?



You should be able to do all the review questions for syntactic acquisition, and all the questions for HW5.