use of temporal connectives, presenting a narrative sequence from one deictic center to the next.

4.2. Spatial Expression

The younger narrators rely heavily on clause-initial use of the spatial adverb *da* 'there'. Directional prefixes on verbs are used from the youngest age to indicate path in a general way, with specification of source and/or goal becoming more frequent in the later preschool period. A wide range of verbs of motion is used, generally conflated with manner, and combined with path satellites and deictic directional particles. Three-year-olds have almost full command of this complex, satellite-framed system.

4.3. Characters and Agency

The main protagonists tend to be introduced by definite noun-phrases by narrators of all ages, with use of indefinite noun-phrases becoming an equal option only by school-age. Peripheral characters come to be introduced by indefinite noun-phrases more frequently and at earlier ages. Continuing reference is by noun or pronoun, with preschoolers making especially heavy use of pronouns for the boy as "thematic subject"; but there is increasing use of zero pronoun in conjoined clauses by 9-year-olds and adults. Nine-year-olds also make frequent use of left-dislocations in which a clause-initial noun-phrase is followed by a pronominal copy; right-dislocations are rare.

Passives are used by adults to keep a topical participant in subject position, especially when the goal of a main protagonist is blocked. Most passives also focus on a negative consequence for the subject. This construction is rarely used by children; however they do make use of reflexive constructions which often function to downgrade agency. Attention to inner states and motivations develops with age, but even the youngest narrators comment on intentions of the protagonists.

Chapter IIIC

DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC FORMS: SPANISH

Eugenia Sebastián and Dan I. Slobin

0. INTRODUCTION

The Spanish narratives were gathered in three countries — Spain, Chile, and Argentina.[1] The subjects all came from middle-class, urban environments and all had Spanish as their only mother tongue. All of the analyses in this volume are based on the European Spanish data, but some comparisons are made in this chapter with the Latin American versions. In the Madrid sample there were 12 subjects each in the age groups 3, 4, 5, 9, and adult. The Chilean and Argentinian samples also had 12 subjects per group, including age groups 7 and 11.

1. Spanish Tense/Aspect

Spanish is an interesting language for the study of tense and aspect because it grammaticizes a great deal of information in its verb forms. Verbal inflectional morphemes mark person and number, along with tense distinctions between present, past, and future, aspectual distinctions of perfective/imperfective, progressive, and perfect, as well as imperative, conditional, and subjunctive.

The **perfective/imperfective** (PFV/IPFV) distinction is obligatory in the past tense only (in contrast to languages like Russian, for example, in which this distinction applies in both past and future). This aspectual choice requires the speaker to take a particular stance with regard to a past event. If one wishes to present an event "from outside," without attention to its internal structure (for example, in order to present it as something over and done with), one uses the perfective past (*comió* 'eat:PFV), whereas if one attends to the internal structure of an event, one uses the imperfective past (*comía* 'eat:IPFV'). Thus in Spanish, as in a number of other languages, the perfective past describes a **limited** or **bounded** action — that is, a process that comes to an end, whereas the imperfective past presents the action of the verb as **not limited** or **unbounded** (Demonte, 1991). The imperfective past can be used to indicate the temporal setting in which one or more completed events occurred, marked by the perfective — e.g., *Llovía cuando llegué a Madrid* 'It rained:IPFV when I arrived:PFV in Madrid'. In this example, the action of arriving is presented as completed, whereas the event of raining is not. Some

[1] Data were gathered in Madrid by Eugenia Sebastián, who also thanks the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, for the facilities which she enjoyed while working on this chapter. Data were gathered in Santiago, Chile, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, by Aura Bocaz, with support from Grant H2643-8712 from Universidad de Chile. We are grateful to her for sharing her texts, and insights, with us. Further aspects of her analyses of those materials can be found in the references under Bocaz and Slobin & Bocaz. Examples from Latin American children are prefixed by *c* (Chile) and *a* (Argentina).

analysts prefer to characterize the perfective as presenting an event as "terminal" (*concluso*) and the imperfective as "nonterminal" (*inconcluso*). This interpretation of the imperfective allows for an openness about the possible realization or conclusion of an action — what Fernández-Ramírez (1986) has referred to as *expectativa*. To take an example from that author, if we are told *No había forma de convencer a Luis* 'There was:IPFV no way to convince Luis', we remain open as to whether Luis was ultimately convinced or not.

Spanish also marks **progressive** aspect, constructed with the verb *estar* 'be' + PRES.PART. The progressive can occur in the past in both imperfective and perfective forms (*estaba/estuvo* 'was:IPFV/was:PFV' + PRES.PART), with the perfect in both present and past (*ha/había estado* 'has/have been + PRES.PART), and further combinations which we will not consider here, since our aim is to compare the progressive with the present, on one hand, and with the imperfective past, on the other. The basic notion that underlies the progressive is that of **duration** or **progress** (Comrie, 1976; Fernández-Ramírez, 1986; RAE, 1982). For example, *estoy comiendo* 'I am eating' indicates that the activity of eating is ongoing at the moment of speaking, with no indication of when the eating started or how long it may continue, and with no attention to either the beginning or end of the activity. The progressive contrasts with the simple present in that it does not mark **habitual** aspect. In the past tense, as well, the progressive indicates only ongoing process — e.g., *(yo) estaba comiendo cuando llegó Miguel* '(I) was:IPFV eating when Miguel arrived:PFV' indicates that Miguel's arrival took place while the activity of eating was already in progress. As various authors have suggested (e.g., Comrie, 1976; Marchand, 1955), the distinction between progressive and nonprogressive forms is not as rigid in Spanish as it is in languages like English, where the absence of a distinction between perfective and imperfective makes it necessary to rely on the progressive to indicate durativity. Consequently, the progressive is considerably "more optional" in Spanish than English.

The **perfect** is formed with the verb *haber* 'have' + PAST.PART. The **present perfect** (e.g., *ha comido* 'has eaten') indicates a continuation into the present of a past situation, thus relating both to the present and the past. In distinction to other languages, the Spanish present perfect permits the specification of event time, as, for example *Hoy me he levantado a las 8* 'Today I have gotten up at 8:00' (Comrie, 1976). (However in many regions of Spain and America such specification is only allowed if the event occurred within the present day. Furthermore, the degree of use of the present perfect varies widely across the Spanish-speaking world, and is almost absent in some parts of Latin America.) The **past perfect** (e.g., *había comido* 'had eaten') functions, as in English, as a relative tense, taking a retrospective stance from a reference point in the past.

Tables 1a, 1b, and 1c summarize the range of tense/aspect forms used by child narrators of the frog story in three dialects of Spanish. It is evident that the forms are acquired early. Almost every combination is attested in the 3-year-old sample from Spain, and comparison with the Chilean and Argentinian data convinces us that we did not chance upon a particularly precocious sample in Madrid. In all three samples, two rare forms are either later acquisitions or are absent: the past perfect (PAST.PERF) and the past progressive with a perfective auxiliary (PFV.PROG). The other striking difference is the absence of the present perfect (PRES.PERF) in the Latin American samples, reflecting the disappearance of this form in colloquial speech. Otherwise, it would appear that the richness of the tense/aspect system stimulates, rather than retards its acquisition.

TABLE 1a
Spain: Number of Children
Using Tense/Aspect Forms at Least Once
(N=12)

Tense/Aspect Form	Age			
	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs
PRES	11	8	7	10
PRES.PROG	6	7	3	5
IFV.PROG	5	5	8	1
PFV.PROG	0	0	0	2
IFV	9	10	7	11
PFV	8	10	9	6
PRES.PERF	9	4	6	3
PAST.PERF	0	3	2	6

1.1. Present/Past Tense

Inflectional errors are rare in our texts, restricted to familiar overregularizations (e.g., *ponió* for *puso* 'put:PFV [*S4a-4;1*], *caíba* for *caía* 'fall:IPFV [*S4d-4;5*]). However, the overall correctness of morphological form is a long way from the felicitous use of tenses for purposes of narration. It is important to consider the effect of choice of dominant tense on the selection of tense forms in narrative. For example, a past-tense narration is unlikely to have present-tense verb forms unless the narrator temporarily steps outside of

TABLE 1b
Chile: Number of Children
Using Tense/Aspect Forms at Least Once
(N=12)

Tense/Aspect Form	Age			
	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs
PRES	10	10	8	6
PRES.PROG	10	10	4	2
IFV.PROG	4	10	11	9
PFV.PROG	0	1	0	0
IFV	7	8	12	12
PFV	12	12	12	12
PRES.PERF	0	0	0	0
PAST.PERF	0	1	3	9

TABLE 1c
Argentina: Number of Children
Using Tense/Aspect Forms at Least Once
(N=12)

Tense/Aspect Form	Age			
	3 yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs
PRES	12	8	10	9
PRES.PROG	10	7	8	5
IFV.PROG	5	5	9	6
PFV.PROG	0	0	0	0
IFV2	8	11	11	12
PFV	12	11	12	10
PRES.PERF	0	0	0	0
PAST.PERF	0	0	0	8

narrative time — as in the case of making reference to the general attributes of some depicted object.

1.1.1. Dominant tense

A narration can be carried out in the past or in the present or in an alternation of the two tenses (Silva-Corvalán, 1983). All three possibilities are available in this picture-story type of narration. Table 2 shows the choice of these three options by age group in the Madrid sample. (Dominant tense is defined as that tense used in 80% of the clauses in a text.)

TABLE 2
Number of Spanish Texts with Dominant Present, Past, or Mixed Tense Forms, by Age-Group (N=12)

Tense	Age				
	3yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs	Adult
Present	5	2	3	8	10
Past	2	8	7	4	2
Mixed	5	2	2	0	0

Until age 5 the children oscillate in choice of dominant tense, whereas 9-year-olds and adults tend to use the present tense throughout their narrations. Switches between past and present in the 3-year-old texts often go back and forth from clause to clause, based on picture-description strategies rather than either syntactic or narrative considerations. However, such switching begins to decline at age 4, and — what is more important — longer stretches of text continue in the same tense. Example (1) shows the sort of tense switching characteristic of ages 4-5. This 4-year-old begins to narrate Picture 9 in present tense, switches to past tense for Picture 10, and continues in past tense through Picture 12. At the same time, however, aspect is appropriately used to characterize types of events, distinguishing between processes (PROG, IPFV), states (PRES, IPFV), and completed actions (PFV).[2]

(1) *Éste está mirando por un agujero y el perro quiere coger esto. Éste se puso de rodillas. Aquí se quería subir y aquí salían moscas. Y aquí se subió el niño al árbol. Y aquí se cayó.*

'This.one is looking:PRES.PROG in a hole and the dog wants:PRES to get this.thing. This.one got:PFV on his knees. Here (he) wanted:PFV to climb and here flies came.out:IPFV. And here the boy climbed:PFV the tree. And here (he) fell:PFV.' [*S4i-4;7*]

[2] "Null pronouns" are given in parentheses in the glosses. For example, in (1) *se cayó* 'REFL fall:3SG:PFV' is glossed as '(he) fell'. Pronouns are based on Spanish gender; thus *la rana* 'DEF.ART:SG:FEM frog', when referenced with a null pronoun, is glossed as 'she' in this chapter. For consistency, we refer to the frog as *she* in the English text of the chapter as well.

Nine-year-olds and adults almost always pick the present as dominant tense. This seems to be the prototypical verb form for telling a story in Spanish. There are no relevant differences between 9-year-olds and adults in their uses of present tense; however these uses differ considerably from those of the younger narrators. Compare the following initial story segments from a 3- and a 9-year-old:

(2a) *Aquí que están viendo la rana. Aquí que están durmiendo y la rana está saliendo. Aquí se está poniendo, y aquí el perro se está metiendo. Aquí a mirar si está la rana. Aquí ha abierto los ojos y no está.*

'Here that they are seeing the frog. Here that they are sleeping and the frog is leaving. Here (he) is putting (on), and here the dog is putting.in. Here to look if the frog is (there). Here (he) has opened his eyes and (it) is not (there).' [*S3i-3;10*]

(2b) *Esto es un niño y un perro — ¿no? — que encuentran una rana y la meten en un bote. Entonces el niño se va a dormir y la rana se escapa. Al día siguiente el niño y el perro disgustados miran el bote. El niño se levanta, se viste y ve el vaso de cristal que estaba la rana. Se lo pone en la cabeza. El niño mira por la ventana y grita.*

'This is a boy and a dog — right? — that find a frog and put her in a jar. Then the boy goes to sleep and the frog escapes. The next day the boy and the dog, (both) upset, look at the jar. The boy gets up, gets dressed and sees the glass jar that the frog was (in). (He) puts it on his head. The boy looks out of the window and calls.' [*S9e-9;6*]

Although the 3-year-old consistently maintains present tense, this does not structure his narrative organization in the same way as in the 9-year-old text. Rather, he uses present tense as a means of describing one picture after another, emphasized by the use of *aquí* 'here', and especially by the use of the present tense in the progressive aspect. As discussed in Section 1.2.1, this is the characteristic form of picture description. The 9-year-old, although using present-tense verbs, follows a temporal rather than a spatial organization, segmenting the narration with the use of *entonces* 'then' and *al día siguiente* 'the next day'.

1.1.2. Tense/aspect shifting

Tense/aspect contrasts in narration can be determined by either syntactic factors (e.g., as required in certain types of subordination) or by narrative functions. For example, a characteristic of the present-tense adult texts is an initial stage-setting in the imperfective past, as in (3).

(3) *Esto era un niño pequeño que tenía un perro y una rana que por las noches guardaba en una botella, en un frasco grande. Una buena noche, la rana decide escaparse ...*

'This was:IPFV a little boy that had:IPFV a dog and a frog that (he) kept:IPFV at night in a bottle, in a big jar. One night, the frog decides:PRES to escape ...' [story continues in present tense] [*S20j*]

The past-tense adult texts also begin with imperfective verbs, indicating that this is the characteristic form for stage-setting.

This does not occur, however, in the 9-year-old texts. There is only one instance of a tense shift between the initial stage-setting and the rest of the narration — and, in fact, this shift is produced in the reverse direction: a past tense text begins in the present:

(4) *Un niño un perro y una rana que está metida en un bote, y luego se acuesta y la rana ve que están dormidos los dos y se escapa. Y a la mañana siguiente miran el bote para ver si estaba la rana y vieron que no estaba.*

'A boy a dog and a frog that is placed in a jar, and then (he) goes.to.sleep:PRES and the frog sees:PRES that the two of them are sleeping:PRES.PROG and (she) escapes:PRES. And the next morning (they) look:PRES (at) the jar to see if the frog was:IPFV (there) and (they) saw:PFV that (she) was:IPFV not (there).' [*S9d-9;5*]

As noted above, early tense shifting cannot be explained on discursive grounds. However, it would be incorrect to make the same claim with regard to aspect shifting. A tense shift in Spanish from present to past necessarily requires an aspectual choice — perfective or imperfective. Although we cannot speak of a **systematic** use of these forms for discursive ends until age 5, there are isolated examples at age 3 of well-motivated aspectual contrasts (discussed in more detail in Section 1.2.3). For example, the following narrative segment shows an interesting combination of tense shifts with no obvious justification (from present to past), accompanied by aspectual shifts in the past with apparent discourse motivation.

(5) *Y se sube encima de esto y esto es muy malo ... Y entonces el niño se cayó y éste era muy pequeño. Entonces se cayó otra vez. El niño se cayó al agua y éste le comía el pelo. Se subió a un tronco de un árbol y entonces se bañaba así.*

'And (he) climbs:PRES on top of this.one and it is very bad ... And then the boy fell:PFV and this.one was:IPFV very little. Then (he) fell:PFV again. The boy fell:PFV to the water and this.one ate:IPFV his hair. (He) climbed:PFV a tree trunk and then (he) bathed:IPFV like this.' [*S3e-3;8*]

Here we see a relation between the Aktionsart of the verb and its aspectual marking. Completed events — 'fall' and 'climb' — are given in the perfective, and states and activities — 'be little', 'eat', 'bathe' — in the imperfective. The former are foregrounded events, in that they advance the plot, while the latter are backgrounded, describing ancillary situations.

At age 3, such contrasts in verb form are almost the only means of expressing temporal contrasts that are of narrative relevance. Older children and adults, however, supplement morphological means with additional lexical and syntactic options, as discussed below.

1.2. Grammatical Aspect

In this section we consider the uses made by children of aspectual marking on the verb; the following section (1.3) deals with expressions of aspect outside of verbal inflection. In the subsections below we examine contrasts expressed by inflectional marking of progressive, perfect, and perfective/imperfective aspects.

1.2.1. Progressive aspect

As noted above, the progressive is generally optional in Spanish and is not the only means of expressing durativity. Therefore we expected that it would be used infrequently in our narratives, as Silva-Corvalán (1983) has found with adult subjects. In our adult texts only 2.9% of the total verbs are in the progressive: 1.6% in the present and 1.3% in the imperfective past. (There were no adult instances of perfective past progressives, such as *estuvo buscando* 'was:PFV searching', attested in a few 9-year-old examples.) This tendency is also reflected in the 9-year-old texts, where only 4% of verbs are in the progressive (2.3% PRES.PROG, 0.7% IPFV.PROG, 1% PFV.PROG). However, the progressive is much more frequent at younger ages, both in the present and imperfective past. The present progressive is used at a similar rate by both 3- and 4-year-olds (6.6% and 6.3%). This greater frequency can be explained by the function of the progressive in picture description. For example, the child of 3;8 represented in (6) begins to use imperfective past progressive forms to describe the pictures, switching to the perfective when beginning to tell the story.

(6) *Se va a romper la boca y el niño mirando al perro. Y el niño estaba llamando y el perro estaba mirando. Estaba mirando el niño en ese agujero a ver qué había y el perro estaba mirando ... Se cayó éste.*

'(He) is going to break his mouth and the boy looking at the dog. And the boy was calling:IPFV.PROG and the dog was looking:IPFV.PROG. The boy was looking:IPFV.PROG in that hole to see what was:IPFV (there) and

the dog was looking:IPFV.PROG ... This.one fell:PFV.' [*S3e-3;8*]

As discussed in Chapter IVA, these early contrasts between progressive and nonprogressive are the first linguistic means of expressing a type of **simultaneity**. The youngest children do not yet use subordinate clauses or lexical elements to indicate the temporal overlap of two events or activities.

It is interesting that some preschoolers recognize the durative element of particular situations, using the present participle without an auxiliary, and appropriately contrasting progressive and nonprogressive events in this fashion. This can be seen in the first use of *mirando* 'looking' in (6), as well as in (7), below.

(7) *Y aquí se sentó en el agua y el perro subiéndose a su cabeza.*

'And here (he) sat.down:PFV in the water and the dog climbing on his head.' [*S4i-4;7*]

Such examples suggest that the element that the child recognizes as basic for marking durativity or progressivity is the present participle. This form is used in several other constructions which may facilitate its acquisition. It is used in combination with "semi-auxiliaries" to express various additional nuances — called **phases** by Coseriu (1976) — such as **continuative phase** (e.g., *sigue buscando* '(he) continues looking' [*S9a-9;1*]) and **progressive phase**, which seems to take an internal perspective on an event which is, itself, in progress. This construction uses the verb *ir* 'go', bleached of its core meaning of movement, as a semi-auxiliary with the present participle. Compare, for example, the way in which a Chilean child of 4;5 uses progressive aspect in the first clause and progressive phase in the second, in order to place an ongoing event of shorter duration (escaping) within the timeframe of one of longer duration (sleeping):

(8) *Estaban durmiendo y la rana calladita se iba escapando del frasco.*

'(They) were sleeping:IPFV.PROG and the frog very.quietly went:IPFV escaping:PRES.PART from the jar.' [*cS4e-4;5*]

In addition, the present participle is the verbal form used to indicate **manner**, consistent with the verb-framed typology of Spanish, as discussed in Chapter III0. For example, with verbs of motion, the verb conveys the "fact of motion," and manner can be expressed by a present participle, as in *el perro se fue corriendo* 'the dog went.off:PFV running [*S3j-3;11*]. It is possible that this range of functions of the present participle facilitates the acquisition of its systematic use in various types of periphrasis.

Nine-year-old and adult narrators use progressive forms basically to indicate that something is in progress. Therefore verbs that refer to an activity that is maintained throughout the story, until the final re-encounter with the

frog, are almost always in the progressive. These verbs include *buscar* 'search', *llamar* 'call', and *mirar* 'look', as in the following example:

(9) *Y el niño creía que estaba en el agujero y estaba llamándola.*

'And the boy thought:IPFV that (it) was:IPFV in the hole and (he) was calling.it:IPFV.PROG.' [*S9d-9;5*]

Accordingly, we can say that the past progressive marks continuity in these narratives, because the search for the frog has an implicit continuity until the very end of the story, and, as discussed in Chapter IIA, all adult subjects mention this continuity.

One further question that continues to generate a great deal of confusion is the following: As mentioned above, there seems to be general agreement that it is the concept of **duration** that characterizes the periphrastic form *estar* 'be' + PRES.PART (i.e. PROGRESSIVE). However, the picture is somewhat more complex, because there are cases in which *estar* 'be' is used in the perfective (*estuvo*) with the present participle of a verb denoting a continuing action, in order to indicate the **total duration** of a process. That is, it is possible, in the past tense, to form progressives with either an imperfective or a perfective auxiliary. The former is far more frequent, however the latter is used by two 9-year-olds in the Madrid sample, appropriately indicating a continuing action that is also bounded, as in the following examples:

(10a) *Y estuvieron llamándola por la ventana.*

'And (they) were:PFV calling her through the window.' [*S9d-9;5*]

(10b) *Y luego la estuvieron buscando por todas las partes.*

'And then (they) were:PFV searching for her everywhere.' [*S9g-9;6*]

If one substitutes the simple form for the periphrastic in these two examples the notion of **total duration** of the event is lost and only its punctual endpoint is indicated. The reader may ask, then, why the same narrator (S9d) uses the same verb, *llamar* 'call' — which denotes a continuing action in our story — with the imperfective auxiliary in (9) and the perfective auxiliary in (10a). The answer is that in (9) the narrator does not refer to the total duration of the event of calling, but does so (10a).

1.2.2. Perfect aspect

Present Perfect. The present perfect is a complex verbal form, in that it establishes temporal relations with both the present and the past. Although it refers to situations that have already taken place — therefore referring to the past — it maintains a close relation with the present. In Klein's (1992) terms, when one uses the present perfect one "makes a claim" about a particular time: That time includes the time of utterance (present tense) and it is

included in the posttime of the situation referred to (perfect aspect). Contextual information allows for various interpretations of the present perfect. For example, if the consequences of the situation persist at the time of utterance, the form is interpretable as resultative. As noted by Comrie (1976), the perfect does not tell us anything about the aspectual contour of a situation in itself, which can be understood as perfective or imperfective, depending on the verb and the situation to which it refers. Thus, for example, the present perfect can indicate the final result of a process (*He encontrado tu libro* 'I have found your book') or can indicate a durative action (*He llorado mucho su muerte* 'I have cried much over his death') (Fernández-Ramírez, 1986).

On grounds of conceptual complexity, Slobin and Bocaz (1988) considered that the present perfect might be a late acquisition. However, as shown in Table 1, it is widely used in the Madrid sample from the youngest ages. By contrast, it is not used by any of the Chilean or Argentinian children of any age, reflecting its marginal and literary usage in those Latin American dialects. (Similar dialectal differences have been noted for the English present perfect, where it is a relatively early acquisition in Britain [Gathercole, 1986], but relatively late in the United States. Again, the factors influencing acquisition seem to be dialectal — reflecting frequency of use and functionality in the grammar — rather than any inherent complexity in either the form or the functions of the construction in itself.)

In the data from Spain, narrators switch into the present perfect when the predominant tense is present, but not past, indicating that this is essentially a form oriented to the present. The switch is found most frequently in 3-year-old stories, but almost always for a single function: to indicate an action that can be inferred from a visible, depicted endstate rather than an action with no immediate pictured support. Thus, in the examples in (11), climbing and breaking can be inferred from the pictured situations of the boy in the tree (Picture 11) and the broken glass (Picture 7):

(11a) *Aquí se ha subido.*

'Here he has climbed.' [*S3a-3;6*]

(11b) *Aquí se ha roto lo de la rana.*

'Here the frog's (thing) has broken.' [*S3i-3;10*]

This pattern is repeated in the 4-year-old group, but beginning with age 5, children also begin to use the present perfect for situations which are not depicted but can be inferred from preceding situations:

(12a) *Y el niño se tapa la nariz* ***porque le ha mordido este bicho.***

'And the boy covers his nose **because this rat has bitten him.**' [*S5i-5;11*]

(12b) *Y cuando se despierta el niño se encuentra que* ***se ha ido.***

'And when the boy wake up he finds that **(she) has gone away.**' [*S5c-5;4*]

Neither of these two actions reported in the present perfect actually appears in the pictures, but they can be inferred on the basis of depictions of their consequences (the boy's expression and posture for (12a) and the empty jar for (12b)). These consequences are not obvious endstates, as in (11), but rather require acts of interpretation. We can interpret that the gopher has bitten the boy because in Picture 10 he covers his nose, with a startled expression. Similarly, we can infer that the frog has gone away because it no longer appears in Picture 3. Note that mention of the disappearance of the frog could also be made with a negation of her existence, *no está* '(she) is not (there)', an option that is frequently taken in Spanish. That is, many perfects of completive verbs (*se ha ido/escapado* 'has gone away/escaped') are the equivalent of negated presents of noncompletive verbs. In the opinion of some authors (e.g., Fernández-Ramírez, 1986) this can be taken as additional evidence of the present orientation of the perfect.

Nine-year-olds use the present perfect retrospectively as well, to bring a past action back onto the scene to motivate or explain the current situation, as in the following example, where the action of the bees in Picture 12 is motivated by the dog's actions in Pictures 9 and 10.

(13) *Y luego - entonces se van todas las abejas en busca del perro* ***porque les ha tirado el panal.***

'And afterwards - then all of the bees go looking for the dog **because he has knocked down their hive.**' [*S9h-9;8*]

What we see developmentally, then, is an expansion of the temporal distance between a completed past situation and the current state of affairs at utterance (=narrative) time, along with more indirect means of linking the two situations into a single time frame "for which a claim is being made."

Past Perfect. The past perfect always plays a clearly retrospective function, beginning with its first uses at age 4. The form is absent in 3-year-old narrations, perhaps due to the fact that it requires attention to three temporal points — speech time, reference time, event time — and, as Weist (1986) has suggested, this poses difficulties for children younger than 4. There are some 4-year-old uses of the past perfect to refer to an immediately preceding change of state in past-tense narratives, parallel to uses of the present perfect in present-tense narratives, as in (14):

(14) *Y el ubo estaba en el agujero que **había subido el niño.***

'And the owl was in the hole that **the boy had climbed to**.' [*S4k-4;10*]

Towards the end of the preschool period there are more mature uses of the past perfect to indicate **narrative retrospection**, i.e., to refer to a temporally distant prior event that is relevant to the current point in the plot, as in (15):

(15) *El niño buscaba a ver si **se había metido por ahí.***

'The boy searched to see if **(the frog) had hidden herself over there**.' [*S5h-5;9*]

Switches from the **present tense** to the past perfect are also used for the expression of current relevance of a past event, beginning at age 9:

(16) *Y ve a el perro disgustado **porque se había roto el vaso de cristal.***

'And (he) looks disgustedly at the dog **because the glass jar had broken**.' [*S9e-9;6*]

Younger children very rarely switch from present tense to past perfect, preferring to switch from present into present perfect or from past into past perfect. However, 9-year-olds are able to switch from present tense into both present and past perfect to indicate past actions whose repercussions are in some way included in the present.

Although the present perfect is absent from colloquial speech in Chilean and Argentinian Spanish, the past perfect is used in those dialects. Table 3 shows the numbers of children using the past perfect once or more in each of the three Spanish language samples, where the Latin American data give us an additional developmental point at age 7. The past perfect begins to make its appearance at ages 4 and 5 in Spain and in Chile, and by age 7 it is frequently used in both Chile and Argentina.

TABLE 3
Number of Children Using Past Perfect at Least Once
(N = 12)

Country	Age				
	3yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	7 yrs	9 yrs
Spain	0	3	2	-	6
Chile	0	1	3	8	9
Argentina	0	0	0	5	8

The 7-year-old data in Bocaz's Latin American sample show fully mature uses of the past perfect to present a series of activities seen as anterior to narrative reference time in past-tense narratives. In the following example the narrator felicitously switches from an account of the dog's activities in the perfective to relate the activities of the boy in the past perfect, as shown Pictures 9-11.

(17) *De repente el perro subió más, y salieron unas abejas. Claro que le fue peor al niño, **porque le había salido la ardilla y le había mordido la nariz.** Y después al perro se le cayó el panal, y salieron todas las abejas.*

'Suddenly the dog climbed:PFV more, and some bees came.out:PFV. Of course things went:PFV worse for the boy, **because the mole had come.out:PAST.PERF at him and had bitten:PAST.PERF him on the nose.** And then (unhappily for) the dog, the beehive fell:PFV and all of the bees came.out:PFV.' [*cS7j-7;6*]

Although the activities of the dog and the boy are depicted as simultaneous, the narrator has located reference time with respect to the dog and must backtrack to bring the listener up-to-date with regard to the boy. Clearly, by this age, the story proceeds in narrative time. As Slobin and Bocaz point out (1988, p. 14): "It seems evident that the acquisition of the past perfect reflects an emerging sense of narrative organization. It does not come to be widely used until after age 7, when children show evidence of a sense of plot in their narrations."

1.2.3. Perfective/imperfective aspect

Beginning with the youngest narrators, contrasts between perfective and imperfective are frequent and well-motivated. Three-year-olds use the perfective to indicate completed actions and the imperfective to indicate states or durative events, as in the following examples:

(18) *El perro **se acercó** a la ventana, **descansaba - no se levantaba. Se cayó.***

The dog **approached**:PFV the window, **rested**:IPFV- **didn't get.up**:IPFV. **Fell**:PFV.' [*S3b-3;6*]

(19) *Aquí es que **buscaban** a la rana. Aquí que lo **encontraron.***

'Here it is that they **looked.for**:IPFV the frog. Here that they **found**:PFV it.' [*S3k-3;11*]

By around age 5, these contrasts begin to serve narrative "grounding" functions, with perfective serving to encode plot-advancing events and imperfective used for various kinds of background. An early kind of backgrounding is already evident in some 4-year-old past-tense narratives, where the

imperfective is (correctly) used for enduring physical states, inner states, and conditions of modality, as in the following example:

(20) *El perrito **quería** coger la piña [=panal] pero como **era** tan pequeño no la **podía** coger.*

'The doggie **wanted**:IPFV to get the pinecone [=beehive] but since he **was**:IPFV so small he **could**:IPFV not get (it).' [*S4a-4;1*]

The following example, from a 5-year-old, shows mature use of aspectual contrasts in the past tense, building up a situation by use of imperfective and past progressive and then moving the action forward in the perfective:

(21) *El perro **quería coger** el tarro de miel que **estaba colgado** en el árbol. El niño **veía** un agujero, y **estaba llamando** por el agujero. **Salió** la rata, y el niño se **puso** la mano en la nariz. **Dijo** "¡uy!"*

'The dog **wanted**:IPFV to get the pot of honey that **was**:IPFV hung in the tree. The boy **saw**:IPFV a hole, and **was calling**:IPFV.PROG into the hole. A rat **came.out**:PFV and the boy **put**:PFV his hand on his nose. (He) **said**:PFV "uy!" [*S5d-5;4*]

By age 5, aspectual marking is no longer determined by the Aktionsart of the verb, as at earlier ages. This child not only uses *llamar* 'call' in the past progressive, as in the above example, but also in the perfective, to indicate a single act of calling:

(22) *Salió de su casa y **llamó** a la rana.*

'(He) left:PFV his house and **called**:PFV the frog.' [*S5d-5;4*]

Especially interesting is aspectual variation of the verb *ver* 'see'. Spanish distinguishes between the bounded seeing of a momentary event, in the perfective, and the unbounded seeing of a state or process, in the imperfective. This child appropriately notes these contrasts. In (21), seeing a hole, the verb is given in the imperfective *veía*. The same form is used for witnessing a process. Picture 6 shows the dog in mid-fall, and both the fall and the boy's perception are appropriately described in the imperfective:

(23) *El niño **veía** que **se caía** el perro.*

'The boy **saw**:IPFV that the dog **fell**:IPFV.' [*S5d-5;4*]

However, elsewhere in the same text, the acts of seeing are momentary, and appropriately perfective. In (24) he sees (=realizes) that the frog is gone; in (25) he sees (=catches sight of) the runaway frog:

(24) *El perro miró para abajo, y **vió** que no estaba la rana.*

'The dog looked:PFV down, and **saw**:PFV that the frog was:IPFV not (there).' [*S5d-5;4*]

(25) *Se subieron por un tronco del árbol. Allí **vieron** a la rana que se escapó, al padre y a la madre.*

'They climbed:PFV over a tree trunk. There they **saw**:PFV the frog that escaped:PFV, the father and the mother.' [*S5d-5;4*]

Thus, by age 5, the Spanish-speaking child can take different perspectives on events described by the same verbs, flexibly using aspect to indicate an event **construal** independent of the inherent lexical semantics of the verb.

An additional function of aspectual contrasts — in both present and past tenses — is to indicate that events with two different temporal contours are occurring simultaneously. This issue is discussed, with a number of examples, in Chapter IVA, Section 5.2.1, and Chapter VB discusses implications for language and cognition.[3] To cite one example here, the following contrast between perfective and imperfective indicates that the two events are to be construed as overlapping in time:

(26) *Se **cayó** el niño y le **perseguían** al perro las avispas.*

'The boy **fell**:PFV and the wasps **chased**:IPFV the dog.' [*S5f-5;7*]

1.3. Lexical Aspect

In addition to its rich system of aspectual morphology on the verb, Spanish can also mark aspectual distinctions by means of other devices. Here we examine the use of **particles** with aspectual functions, **aspectual verbs**, and **aspectual adverbs.**

1.3.1. A particle with aspectual value: The reflexive se

Spanish, being a verb-framed language, does not have aspectual particles such as English *eat **up***. However, **reflexive** verb morphology provides an additional means of indicating aspect in Spanish. For example, the reflexive version of various change of state verbs indicates inception of the state, as in *sentar-se* 'seat-self' (=sit down) and *levantar-se* 'raise-self' (=stand/get up). For such verbs, the inceptive reflexive contrasts with the stative participle — e.g., *se sentó* 'REFL sit:PFV' (=sat down) versus *estaba sentado* 'be:IPFV sit:PAST.PART' (=was seated). Note that the nonreflexive forms correspond more to descriptions of pictured situations than of events and, accordingly, these forms are more frequent in the younger texts, whereas older narrators make more use of reflexive forms. The following examples of stative descriptions by means of participles are typical of 3- and 4-year-old uses. Some of

[3] Also see Bocaz (1989c) for an analysis of the marking of simultaneity in the Latin American samples.

these uses are verbless, consisting of a "pure description," sometimes even using the participle of a verb of motion such as *subir* 'ascend', as in (27a).

(27a) *Y aquí el niño* ***subido*** *en un árbol.*

'And here the boy **ascend**:PAST.PART (="mounted") in a tree.' [*S3g-3;8*]

(27b) *El niño está ahí* ***sentado*** *en una banqueta.*

'The boy is there **seated** on a stool.' [*S4b-4;1*]

(27c) *Está* ***dormido*** *en la cama.*

'(He) is **asleep** in the bed.' [*S4i-4;7*]

The reflexive has another function in addition to indicating change of state. Some verbs acquire a more perfective or completive sense when they are marked with the reflexive particle. For example, the sentence *Alex se bebió la leche* 'Alex **REFL** drink:PFV the milk' corresponds to the English *Alex drank* ***up*** *the milk*, whereas the nonreflexive version corresponds to *Alex drank (some of) the milk.* This additional nuance has narrative consequences — particularly evident with regard to verbs of motion in the frog story. For most such verbs the reflexive is optional; for example, our texts have instances of both *subir* 'ascend' and *subirse* 'ascend:REFL', *bajar* and *bajarse* 'descend', *caer* and *caerse* 'fall'. In narrative discourse, the reflexive form takes on an additional meaning of "narrative completion," in that the speaker is about to switch to a different topic, phase, or perspective point in the narrative. For example, in the following two segments the 9-year-old narrator uses *subir* in both forms. In (28a) he goes on to evaluate the purpose of climbing, therefore using the nonreflexive form, while in (28b) he switches reference from the dog to the boy, using the reflexive to close off the climbing event as not part of the event reported in the following clause.

(28a) *El niño se protege del buho y* ***sube*** *a unas ramas para llamar a la rana.*

'The boy protects himself from the owl and **climbs** to some branches to call the frog.' [*S9l-9;11*]

(28b) *El perro* ***se sube*** *encima del niño, y el niño escucha un sonido.*

'The dog **climbs**:REFL on top of the boy, and the boy hears a sound.' [*S9l-9;11*]

This is a particularly nice example of a discursively oriented extension of perfectivity, here marked on a present-tense verb, to indicate that one event is — for narrative purposes — "over and done with." Similar oppositions of reflexive/nonreflexive verbs of motion also occur in past-tense narratives, adding a dimension of "super-perfectivity" to verbs that are already inflected in the past perfective. Developmentally, it appears that even 3-year-olds show some differentiated use of reflexive and nonreflexive forms. There are

only isolated infelicitous uses of a reflexive form of a verb of motion in a main clause followed by a subordinate clause that adds further information about the event. One might speculate that the central role of perfectivity in the inflectional system makes that notion more available for discourse purposes, attracting additional means of indicating perfectivity even in a present-tense narrative. That is, as discussed in Chapter VB, the language appears to guide the learner's attention to a particular semantic domain, by means of regular grammatical marking of that domain. In addition, because Spanish is a verb-framed language, the means for expressing a salient dimension are drawn from within the system of verbal marking — in this case, extending the use of the reflexive.

1.3.2. Aspectual verbs

Aspectual verbs are not used with great frequency during the preschool period, perhaps due to the richness of aspectual marking in verbal morphology. Children of all ages use **inchoatives** (*ponerse* 'become', *empezar* 'start') and **protractives** (*quedarse* 'remain', *seguir* 'continue'), but only adults use **cumulatives** (*llegar hasta/a* 'reach') and **completives** (*acabar* 'finish'). Table 4 shows that there is a developmental increase in the percentage of verbs that fall into these categories as well as an increase in the lexical diversity of the category.

TABLE 4
Development of Aspectual Verbs

	Age				
	3yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs	Adult
Percent of aspectual verbs (out of total verbs used)	0.2	0.5	0.9	5.2	8.0
No. of types	2	4	4	7	16

As shown in the table, children younger than 9 rarely use aspectual verbs, limiting their aspectual expression to verb morphology and, as described in the next section, aspectual adverbs. Of the aspectual verbs that are used in the preschool period, 70% are inchoatives, especially *empezar* 'start', along with some instances of verbs that indicate temporal extent of an activity or event, such as *seguir* 'continue'.

Inchoative verbs mark the onset or entry into a state or situation: *empezó a llorar* 'started to cry'. However, the examples of inchoatives in our texts are more frequently used to mark the beginning of a series of events rather

than a single event. This is particularly evident beginning with age 5, where an inchoative is first used to indicate the beginning of the search. Marking of episode onset is the major function of inchoatives for the 9-year-olds and adults. Examples from all three ages are given below.

(29a) *Empezó a buscar y a buscar, dijo "rana."*

'(He) started to search and to search, said "frog."' [*S5b-5;2*]

(29b) *Entonces el niño sale al jardín y empieza a llamar a la rana.*

'Then the boy goes out to the garden and starts to call the frog.' [*S9e-9;5*]

(29c) *Salen al bosque, empiezan a llamar a la rana, la rana no aparece.*

'(They) go out to the woods, start to call the frog, the frog doesn't appear.' [*S20b*]

For adults, inchoative verbs are the main means of indicating transitions in the plot, as opposed to the heavy use of sequentials such as *luego, entonces* 'then' in the preschool texts. Furthermore, adults segment the plot into larger units, therefore having less need to mark sequence between what are, essentially, subevents. It is interesting to note that when 9-year-olds begin to use inchoatives in a mature, **prospective** function — pointing ahead to the next series of events in the plot — they often anchor themselves as well in sequential markers, as in the example cited above in (29b): '**Then** the boy goes out to the garden **and starts** to call the frog.'

The other frequent type of aspectual verb, as noted above, marks an activity or event as extended in time. Nine-year-olds begin to use the verb *seguir* 'continue' to refer to activities that span several episodes or even the entire plot, and this verb is used with great frequency in the adult texts. We noted in Section 1.2.1 that 9-year-olds use progressive aspect on verbs whose action is maintained throughout the story, such as *buscar* 'search' and *llamar* 'call'. To this device is added the use of aspectual verbs, as shown in (30):

(30) *Sigue buscando y se sube a una piedra.*

'(He) continues searching and climbs a rock.' [*S9a-9;1*]

The use of *seguir* with an accompanying verb does not appear until age 9, when it is used by seven of the 12 narrators[4]. Eleven of the twelve adults use this construction — with greater frequency and diversity of contexts, indicating more mature narrative organization, as discussed in Chapter IVD.

[4] The only preschool uses of *seguir* are as a main verb indicating a continuing condition — e.g., *Y el perro todavía sigue con el cubo en la cabeza* 'And the dog still continues with the block on his head' [*S4f-4;7*].

1.3.3. Aspectual adverbs

The developmental picture is quite different when we turn to the use of aspectual adverbs. These are much more frequent than aspectual verbs in the preschool period, especially the adverb *ya* 'already'. Three-year-olds frequently add this adverb to the present perfect, as if to emphasize the completive aspect of a state or process. This is especially frequent in "blow-by-blow" descriptions of the stages of an event, as in the following examples:

(31a) *Y entonces el perro está encontrando al niño que estaba en las piedras encima y entonces* ***ya*** *lo ha encontrado.*

'And then the dog is finding the boy who was:IPFV up on the rocks and then he has found:PRES.PERF him **already**.' [*S3d-3;8*]

(31b) *Aquí que se caen los dos al agua aquí ... Aquí que* ***ya*** *se han caído. Aquí que están en el agua.*

'Here that (they) fall:PRES the two of them to the water here ... Here that (they) have fallen:PRES.PERF **already**. Here that (they) are:PRES in the water.' [*S3i-3;10*]

The 3-year-olds use *ya* more than any other age group, with 21 instances in comparison with only seven for the 9-year-olds and three for the adults. The drop in frequency after age 3 is also evident in comparing the percentage of clauses at each age containing *ya*: 3 — 4.2%, 4 — 1.1%, 5 — 1.0%, 9 — 1.0%, adult — 0.5%. This early overuse of the adverb of the perfect suggests that 3-year-olds, when using the present perfect verb construction, are probably orienting to aspectual rather than temporal characteristics of events, using *ya* to indicate an aspectual contrast between resultant states and ongoing processes (cf. early uses in Turkish of the nonwitnessed past *-miş*, as discussed in Chapter IIIE).

Older speakers use *ya* to indicate the temporal point of view of a **narrator**. These uses are retrospective, bringing the listener "up-to-date" with regard to the result of a past situation. Note also that *ya* is not tied to the present perfect, but occurs in these examples with the present and the imperfective. It is not a redundant reinforcer of the present perfect, but rather serves an independent narrative function.

(32a) *La colmena se cae. Entonces el perro mira hacia atrás, y el niño* ***ya*** *no está en el agujero sino que se ha subido a un árbol.*

'The hive falls. Then the dog looks back, and the boy is **already** not (=no longer) at the hole, but has climbed a tree.' [*S9c-9;3*]

(32b) *Y miran y ven [...] a la rana que se le había escapado, con un macho y a muchos hijitos que* ***ya*** *tenían.*

'And (they) look and see [...] the frog that had run away from them, with a male and many children that they **already** had:IPFV.' [*S9f-9;6*]

Another frequent aspectual adverb in the 3- and 4-year-old texts is *otra vez* 'again', marking **recurrence**. Its high frequency at this age can be attributed to its use to refer to a situation that appears in more than one picture. This use disappears in the texts of older narrators, who understand that the sequence of pictures represent a continuing situation rather than a series of independent occurrences with new protagonists. Thus, for example, a 4-year-old treats the owl in Picture 13 as a new owl, in contrast to the owl in Picture 12:

(33) *Entonces aquí otra vez sale un buho*

'Then here **again** an owl comes out.' [*S4e-4;6*]

A frequent form beginning at age 9 is *mientras (tanto)* 'meanwhile' (14 instances at age 9, 26 in adult texts). It is used to relate ongoing activities and simultaneous events, as discussed in Chapter IVA. Mature narrators use this form to switch from one simultaneous event to the other, establishing a narrative boundary between the two events, as in the following example from a 9-year-old:

(34) *Y el perro va a la casa de abejas, y le salen todas las abejas y van detrás de él. El niño* ***mientras*** *busca por un árbol a ver si está.*

'And the dog goes to the house of the bees, and all of the bees come out at him and go after him. The boy **meanwhile** searches in a tree to see if (she) is (there).' [*S9a-9;1*]

In summary, the youngest children do not seem to have any difficulty in using adverbial constructions with aspectual meanings, especially those that indicate result or repetition. However, the heavy use of verbal aspectual morphology may minimize the need for the use of such adverbs in Spanish. Nine-year-olds seem more comfortable with aspectual verbs, rather than adverbs, and the range and functions of such verbs increase by adulthood. It is characteristic of older narrators to use inchoative verbs, such as *empezar* 'start', to refer to the beginning of a series of events, or episode, rather than to a single event. The segmentation of the narrative into episodes makes it less necessary to link each individual event to the next. As a result, there is a notable decrease with age in elements for "chaining" one clause to the next, as discussed in Section 4.

2. EVENT CONFLATION: MOTION AND LOCATION

As outlined in Chapter III0, Spanish is a **verb-framed** language, along with Hebrew and Turkish, in contrast to the two **satellite-framed** languages in our sample, English and German. This distinction, proposed by Leonard Talmy (1985, 1991), is especially clear with regard to Spanish verbs of motion — indeed, Talmy has used this semantic domain of Spanish to demonstrate prototypical characteristics of a verb-framed language. Consider his example of descriptions of a bottle floating out of a cave, comparing English and Spanish:

(35a) *The bottle floated out of the cave.*

(35b) *La botella salió flotando de la cueva.*

'The bottle exited floating of the cave.'

In English, a satellite to the verb, *out*, conveys the core information of the path of movement, whereas in Spanish it is the verb itself, *salir* 'exit', that conveys this information. Supporting information about the manner of movement is conveyed by the verb in English and by the gerund *flotando* in Spanish. These patterns are quite pervasive in the two languages (with the exception of the use of Latinate verbs of motion in English). Thus English has a large collection of verbs of motion which convey manner, but not directionality (*walk, run, crawl, fly*, etc.), combinable with a large collection of satellites (*in, up to, across*, etc.). Spanish prefers verbs of inherent directionality (*entrar* 'enter', *salir* 'exit', *subir* 'ascend', *bajar* 'descend', etc.). The same typological contrast applies to verbs of caused motion; compare, for example, English *put, push, shove, squeeze ... + in* and Spanish *meter* 'insert'.

As a consequence of these typological differences, Spanish has a relatively small set of verbs of motion and caused motion, in comparison with English and German. The following is the total list of such verbs used in all 60 texts from Spain, including periphrastic forms:

(36) *acercarse* 'approach', *alcanzar* 'reach', *arrojar* 'throw', *bajar(se)* 'descend', *caer(se)* 'fall', *correr* 'run', *dar-un-empujón* 'give-a-push', *dar-un-salto* 'give-a-jump', *entrar* 'enter', *escapar(se)* 'escape', *hacer-caer* 'make-fall', *huir* 'flee', *ir(se)* 'go (away)', *llegar* 'arrive', *llevar(se)* 'carry (off)', *marchar(se)* 'go (away)', *meter-se* 'insert-oneself', *nadar* 'swim', *perseguir* 'chase', *poner-se* 'put-oneself', *regresar* 'return', *sacar-se* 'remove-oneself', *salir* 'exit', *saltar* 'jump', *subir(se)* 'ascend', *tirar* 'throw', *traspasar* 'go.over', *venir* 'come', *volar(se)* 'fly (away)', *volver(se)* 'return'.

There are 27 verb types listed in (36), compared with 47 in English (Chapter IIIA) and 44 in German (Chapter IIIB). In fact, however, the number of verb types is considerably greater in English and German, due to the many types of

verb+satellite combinations. There are 123 such types listed for English in Chapter IIIA (e.g., *climb + down, on, out, over, up, up in, up on*).

In addition to the small list of rather general verbs of motion, locative prepositions in Spanish are also few and general in meaning. The most frequent in the frog stories are the goal-marker *a*, the source-marker *de*, and the locative *en* — all taking their more specific meanings in combination with particular verbs plus world knowledge. For example, the directional preposition *a* corresponds to motion *to, toward, into, onto*, as in *llevar a un precipicio* 'carry ***a*** a cliff', *caerse al agua* 'fall ***a*** the water', *subir a un árbol* 'ascend ***a*** a tree', *subir a una piedra* 'ascend ***a*** a rock'.

As a consequence of these typological factors, we find that, overall, Spanish frog stories have less information about the details of paths and manners of motion. Manner is rarely attended to, at any age. Narration of path, however, shows an interesting developmental pattern, characterized by two main phases and a possible intervening phase for some children.

Phase 1. Young children describe a change of location with a simple verb alone, or with the addition of one prepositional phrase, specifying either source or goal, as in the following examples:

(37) **ascend**:

(a) *Se ha subido.*

'He has ascended' [tree]. [*S3f-3;8*]

(b) *El niño se sube al árbol.*

'The boy ascends to the tree.' [*S3a-3;6*]

(38) **descend**:

(a) *Se cayó.*

'(He) fell' [window]. [*S3b-3;6*]

(b) *Se ha caído el perro de por la ventana.*

'The dog has fallen from through the window.' [Note this child's groping for the appropriate preposition.] [*S3g-3;8*]

(c) *Le tiró.*

'(He) threw him' [water]. [*S3l-3;11*]

(d) *Le va a tirar al agua.*

'(He) is going to throw him to the water.' [*S3f-3;8*]

Similar examples could be given for 'enter' and 'exit'. Half of the preschoolers follow such patterns, as do many 9-year-olds and adults as well. Sparseness of path description is characteristic of Spanish generally, as discussed below.

Phase 2. The other half of the preschoolers sometimes add more detail by the use of directional locative adverbs. Although we do not have longitudinal data, we would like to suggest that this phase reflects a U-shaped developmental curve — that is, we propose that some Spanish-speaking preschoolers may attempt to provide more information about paths of motion than is generally found in the language. (It is, of course, possible that these two groups of children represent two different types of individual style, rather than a developmental sequence, or even that locative elaboration is an earlier phase. Further research is needed.)

There are four directional adverbs in our data: *arriba* 'upwards', *abajo* 'downwards', *dentro* 'inwards', and *encima* 'topwards' (=onto an upper surface). Table 5 shows the use of these adverbs by age:

TABLE 5
Number of Locative Adverbs Used with Verbs of Motion, by Age and Number of Narrators

Adverb	Age				
	3yrs	4 yrs	5 yrs	9 yrs	Adult
arriba 'upwards'		3			
abajo 'downwards'	1	2	3		
dentro 'inwards'	4	6	1		4
encima 'topwards'	8	4	7	5	2
Total occurrences	13	15	11	5	6
No. of narrators	6	6	5	3	5
Mean no. of adverbs/narrator	1.2	1.8	1.8	1.0	1.0

As can be seen in the table, there are somewhat more narrators per age group who use these adverbs in the preschool period than at later ages, and the preschoolers use more types of adverbs and with greater frequency. The fact that 4- and 5-year-olds use a somewhat greater mean number of adverbs per narrator (1.8) than 3-year-olds (1.2) might support our suggestion of U-shaped development. The 9-year-olds use only *encima* 'topwards', most frequently for the unusual situation of the dog climbing onto the boy's head in Picture 19 (a clearly noncanonical kind of ascent, calling for special mention). The most frequent adult use is *dentro* 'inwards', describing the dog's entry into the jar, along with the verb *meter(se)* 'insert (oneself)' (clearly another kind of noncanonical change of location).

By contrast, the preschoolers tend to use directional adverbs redundantly, reinforcing the meaning of the associated verb of motion (just as they make redundant use of the adverb *ya* 'already' along with present perfect verbs forms, as discussed above). The following examples are characteristic:

(39a) *Sube por* ***arriba*** por el tronco.

'(He) ascends along **upwards** along the trunk.' [*S4c-4;4*]

(39b) *Se cayó* ***encima*** *del - de - del - del agua ...* ***encima.***

'(He) fell **on.top** of.the - of - of.the - of.the water ... **on.top**.' [Note hesitations and repetition.] [*S5e-5;4*]

(39c) *Entonces* ***abajo*** *... se cayó.*

'Then **downwards** ... (he) fell.' [*S4e-4;6*]

Other uses in this "Phase 2" group are not redundant, but are more elaborate than is typical of the speech of older narrators, e.g.,:

(40) *El perro se cae - por la ventana baja con la cabeza dentro.*

'The dog falls - through the window downwards with his head inside [the jar].' [*S4k-4;10*]

Such uses suggest that these children feel a need to "reinforce" the directional meaning inherent in the verb of motion.

Phase 3. There are two major changes after age 5 in our data, in addition to the decreased use of directional adverbs shown in Table 5. Both of these changes reflect an increasing tendency to provide information outside of the motion descriptions provided by verbs and adverbs. One change is towards increased specification of source or goal, and the other is towards increased static locative description.

As shown in (37) and (38), preschoolers sometimes indicate source or goal by the use of prepositional phrases. About half of the motion descriptions have such specification in the preschool period, whereas 9-year-olds and adults specify source/goal about 62% of the time.[5] Thus there is some increase with age, but this is not the most important development. In fact, Spanish narrators of all ages almost never specify both source and goal with regard to a single verb, by contrast to the frequency of this pattern in English

[5] These figures are considerably lower than in English, where 5-year-olds provide source/goal specification in prepositional phrases about 60% of the time, as do 9-year-olds, and adults do so 82% of the time. The development is thus earlier in English and the end point is higher than in Spanish. Even at the mature level of artistic fiction, novelists writing in Spanish provide much less information about paths of movement than do novelists writing in English (Slobin, in press-c). Slobin interprets this striking difference in terms of differing typological constraints on motion description.

and German. There are only two such instances in our entire Spanish corpus of 60 stories, and in the Latin American corpus of 156 stories there is only a single occurrence of a clause that mentions both source and goal in relation to a verb. Such patterns are highly accessible in satellite-framed languages, as discussed in earlier chapters. However, Spanish grammar does not allow compact descriptions such as English *He tips him off over a cliff into the water* [*E9k-9;11*]. (For possible explanations see Aske, 1989; Slobin, in press-c.)

Proficient Spanish narrators make use of other means of presenting paths of motion. Rather than encode every segment of the path itself, the characteristic strategy is to devote more attention to setting the stage, allowing the directional verbs of motion to describe a general change of location. With these two types of information — static and dynamic — the listener can infer the path details that are specified in the satellites of a satellite-framed language. Thus a language like English or German, with rich means for path description, can often leave setting to be inferred, while a language like Spanish, with its sparser path possibilities, often relies on descriptions of settings, leaving paths to be inferred. For example, the English path description quoted above allows one to infer that the cliff is located above the water. This information is often specifically provided in Spanish narratives, as in the following examples, from all three countries.

(41a) *Los tiró a un precipicio donde había harta agua. Entonces se cayeron.*

'(He) threw them at a cliff where there was lots of water. Then they fell.' [*cS7e-7;4*]

(41b) *El ciervo le llevó hasta un sitio, donde debajo había un río. Entonces el ciervo tiró al perro y al niño al río. Y después cayeron.*

'The deer took him until a place, where below there was a river. Then the deer threw the dog and the boy to the river. And then they fell.' [*S9b-9;2*]

(41c) *Lo tiró. Por suerte, abajo, estaba el río. El niño cayó en el agua.*

'(He) threw him. Luckily, below, was the river. The boy fell in the water.' [*aS11k-11;8*]

While only 8% of the Madrid 5-year-olds provide this sort of static description of the location of the cliff and the water, 42% of the 9-year-olds do so (in comparison with 8% at both ages in English). Thus the verb-framed typology of Spanish has implications not only for the use of descriptions of motion but also descriptions of locations. On the level of rhetorical or narrative style, accordingly, such typological factors contribute to differences in the allocation of attention to elements of setting and action (as discussed in a crosslinguistic perspective in Chapter VB).

3. PERSPECTIVE

The main devices available to child narrators for manipulating perspective are variations in word order and in valence, discussed in the next two sections. At the level of the clause, Spanish has considerable freedom in word order, surpassed only by Turkish in our sample, as indicated in Table 1 of Chapter III0. (However, in the frog stories it appears that Spanish is on a par with Turkish in this regard.) At the level of verb-argument structure, reflexive morphology allows for detransitivizing of many of the change of state verbs in the frog story, while past participles allow for stativization. The availability of these two types of perspective shift minimizes the need for passive sentences. Although they are present in some adult texts, they represent a written register and are not considered in our developmental presentation.

3.1. Word Order

Although Spanish has traditionally been treated as a language with standard SVO word order, it allows for a broad range of different orders, especially in connected discourse such as narrative. Although there is no case-marking, person/number marking on the verb generally allows for subject identification and clitic object pronouns allow for preposing of definite and indefinite objects. In syntactic terms, Spanish allows for what Rizzi (1982) characterizes as "free inversion." Nevertheless, inversion is not as free or easy as it might seem. Torrego (1984) has noted that, in addition to free inversion, subject inversion is obligatory in certain *qu-* (wh-) constructions, offering examples such as:

(42) *¿Qué querían esos dos?* **¿Qué esos dos querían?*
what want:IPFV those two
'What did those two want?'

¿Con quién vendrá Juan hoy? **¿Con quién Juan vendrá hoy?*
with who come:FUT Juan today
'Who will Juan come with today?'

Furthermore, Contreras (1978) has demonstrated that certain sentences that have been treated as stylistic variations of one another are neither semantically nor syntactically equivalent. Thus, although Spanish is a language with a great degree of freedom in word order, there are obviously various types of restrictions. Having pointed this out, we move on to analyze our data with regard to word order.

In the first place, consider syntactically-determined deviations from standard SVO word order. The lack of expletive subjects in Spanish frequently

obliges narrators to begin the story with an inverted order. (The only alternative — often taken by the youngest children — is to simply begin by naming the protagonists, with no explicit predicate at all.) The following are typical examples of inversion in introducing protagonists:

(43a) *Estaba el perro con una rana.*
was the dog with a frog (='There was the dog with a frog.') [*S4l-4;10*]

(43b) *Primero era el amigo de un niño, luego había un perro y luego había una rana*
first was the friend of a boy, then existed[6] a dog and then existed a frog (='First there was a boy's friend, then there was a dog and then there was a frog.') [*S5b-5;2*]

(43c) *Es un niño y un perro que tienen una rana.*
is a boy and a dog that have a frog (='It/there is a boy and a dog that have a frog.') [*S9k-9;11*]

Standard formulaic introductions also require inversion:

(44) *Había una vez un niño un perrito y una rana.*
existed one time a boy a dog and a frog (='Once there was a boy a dog and a frog.') [*S4a-4;1*]

The appearance of a protagonist in the course of a story is often marked with "presentatives" (see Section 3.2 of Chapter IIID for similar constructions in Hebrew). Narrators of all ages make frequent use of the verb *salir* 'exit/come.out' for this purpose. Note that the subject always follows the verb and that the verb can be preceded by temporal and locative adverbs (45b-e) and by clitic object pronouns (45e).

(45a) *Y salen las moscas.*
'And come.out the flies.' [*S3b-3;6*]

(45b) *Y luego salió el pájaro.*
'And then came.out the bird.' [*S4d-4;5*]

(45c) *Y de aquí salen todas éstas.*
'And from here come.out all of these.' [*S5k-5;5*]

(45d) *Del agujero sale como una especie de ratón.*

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[6] The verb *haber*, formerly a verb of possession and now a grammatical element, functions both as an auxiliary in the present and past perfect and as an existential: *hay* 'there is/are', *había* 'there was/were'. We gloss this usage here as 'existed'.

'From the hole comes.out a sort of kind of rat.' [*S9c-9;3*]

(45e) *De ese árbol le sale un buho.*

'From that tree to.him comes.out an owl.' [*S20g*]

In these instances, it would not be ungrammatical to use SVO word order, but the discourse pragmatic function of presentation would be lost.

Similar to the use of *salir* to introduce protagonists, a preposed negative existential "introduces" the absence of a protagonist and a preposed verb of 'escape' "introduces" the disappearance of a protagonist. This is, of course, the motivating element at the beginning of the story, and, again, this sort of inversion is found across the age range:

(46a) *Y vió el nene en el día y no estaba la rana.*

and saw the boy in the day and not was the frog (='And the boy saw in the daytime and the frog was not there.') [*aS3g-3;7*][7]

(46b) *Y entonces no estaba la rana.*

and then not was the frog (='And then the frog was not there.) [*S4e-4;6*]

(46c) *Y vió que no estaba la rana.*

and saw that not was the frog (='And saw that the frog was not there.') [*S5d-5;4*]

(46d) *Un día por la noche se escapó la rana.*

one day at night escaped the frog (='One day, in the night-time, the frog escaped.') [*S9g-9;6*]

(46e) *Cuando llega la mañana, se levanta el chiquito, ¡qué sorpresa! Estaba el perro pero no estaba la rana.*

when comes morning, gets up the little boy — what a surprise! was the dog but not was the frog (='When morning comes, the little boy gets up — what a surprise! The dog was there but the frog was not there.') [*aS20c*]

Another syntactically determined deviation from SVO word order is the obligatory preverbal position of clitic object pronouns.[8] This is mastered by children younger than our 3-year-olds and is appropriately used for topic

[7] We have used an Argentinian example here because none of the Madrid 3-year-olds referred to the absence of the frog, and those that referred to her escape presented this information in non-inverted order, as a statement about the action of the frog rather than a presentation of the escape (e.g., *La rana salió del bote* 'The frog exited from the jar' [*S3b-3;6*]).

[8] The only exception is optional postposing of the pronoun in periphrastic constructions with the gerund; e.g., *la estuvieron buscando* 'OBJ.PRO be:PFV:PL searching' / *estuvieron buscándo-la* 'be:PFV:PL searching-OBJ.PRO' (=they were searching for her).

maintenance, as in the following example from the youngest child in the Madrid sample:

(47) *Y entonces el perro se cae con la botella. Y el niño se asoma en la ventana ... y luego aquí, luego* ***le*** *coge el niño.*

'And then the dog falls with the bottle. And the boy appears in the window ... and then here, then **him** picks.up the boy.' [*S3a-3;6*]

This construction also allows for postposing, or "copying" the object NP in an oblique phrase with the proposition *a* 'to', e.g.,:

(48) *Aquí el buho* ***le*** *ha tirado - del árbol* ***al niño.***

here the owl **him** has thrown - from the tree **to.the boy** (='Here the owl has thrown him from the tree, the boy.') [*S3g-3;8*]

Combining these two means of object marking gives Spanish the functional equivalent of the English passive without the morphological complexity of changing the voice of the verb.[9] The use of the pronoun makes it clear that the undergoer argument is a continuing topic. Furthermore, the presence of the actor argument as a subject noun later in the clause maintains clear reference to agency, although defocused. The youngest example of this type of construction comes from a Chilean child of 3;4.

(49a) *Al perro todas las ovejas [=abejas] lo*[10] *persiguen.*

to.the dog all the bees him chase (='All the bees chase the dog'; cf. *The dog is chased by all the bees.*) [*cS3h-3;4*]

As discussed in Chapter IVC, such inversions are functionally equivalent to English passives, which also occur in the preschool period (cf. *The dog's hiding so he doesn't get chased by that big deer* [*E3g-3;9*]). Such word-order variations are used freely by preschoolers to skillfully manipulate narrative perspective, allowing for topic maintenance and shift along with upgrading and downgrading of agency. The situation described in (49a) is especially prone to inversion, since the dog is generally more topic-worthy than the bees. Several variations are possible in Spanish, and all of them are attested at age 5 or younger in all three Spanish samples. In addition to the order in (49a) we find:

(49b) *Al perro le están persiguiendo las abejas.*

[9] Green (1990, pp. 256-257) notes that passives in Spanish, "though common in journalistic and technical writing, have been virtually ousted from speech and from literary styles to the advantage of the clitic forms, which may eventually generalise to all contexts."

[10] Most Latin American dialects preserve the distinction between *lo*/*la*:DIRECT OBJECT and *le*:INDIRECT OBJECT, generally neutralized in Madrid.

to.the dog him are chasing the bees [*aS5-5;5*]

(49c) *Le perseguía* - [sic] *al perro las avispas.*

him chased to.the dog the wasps [*S5f-5;7*]

Another story episode that calls for a choice in perspective is the fall from the cliff. The narrator has to make a topic choice between the undergoers (boy and dog) or the actor (deer) and, further, has to decide whether to maintain topic across the several phases of the episode. If the undergoers are selected as topic, canonical SVO word order is not available. The following example from a 3-year-old shows a successful struggle to introduce and maintain the boy and dog as topic of successive clauses while defocusing the deer by means of postposing in the first clause and null reference in the second. The several pauses indicate the difficulty of formulating and reformulating this complex perspective.

(50) *El niño - le cogió un ciervo muy grande - y le llevó - con él ... luego al perro y al - y al niño les tiró.*

the boy - him picked.up a deer very big - and him carried - with him ... then to.the dog and to.the - and to.the boy them threw:3SG (='The boy - a very big deer picked him up - and carried him - with him ... then the dog and - and the boy, he threw them.') [*S3j-3;11*]

The word-order variations we have considered thus far adhere to various sorts of syntactic requirements. Preposed existentials are required by the lack of expletives, and preposed presentatives (and "negative presentatives") are required to establish the presentative interpretation of the predicate. Clitic object pronouns must precede the verb, thereby perhaps facilitating the postposing of subject NPs. Other sorts of inversions are not syntactically required, but are options that are chosen on the basis of the narrator's organization of information flow. In Spanish it is typical to postpose a subject that is a continuing discourse topic in order to foreground the predicate as new information. This sort of word-order flexibility is exploited by the youngest narrators. We have already seen an example of subject postposing in (47), with a transitive verb. In that sentence, the preposed clitic object pronoun is syntactically determined. In intransitive clauses, however, the speaker is completely free with regard to pre- or postposing of the single nominal argument, following only pragmatic considerations, as shown in the following examples. Note that the postposed subject is always definite and is always a continuing topic. The examples in (51) foreground action verbs in the "vivid" progressive and those in (52) foreground states of desire/intention.

(51a) *Aquí está gritando el niño.*

'Here is shouting the boy.' [*S3g-3;8*]

(51b) *Y luego se va cayendo el niño.*

'And then goes falling the boy.' [*S3a-3;6*]

(51c) *Estaba llamando a la rana éste.*

was calling the frog this.one (='This one was calling the frog.') [*S3k-3;11*]

(52a) *Y ahora quiere esto el perro.*

'And now wants this the dog.' [*S4b-4;1*]

(52b) *Quería subir el perro.*

'Wanted to climb the dog.' [*S4e-4;6*]

(52c) *Quería alcanzar el perro a lo de las abejas.*

'Wanted to reach the dog to the thing of the bees.' [*S5k-5;5*]

In sum, Spanish allows considerable manipulation of word order for discourse purposes, because extensive person/number marking on the verb often serves to identify the grammatical subject, and clitic pronouns along with oblique prepositional phrases allow for the tracking of topical nonsubject arguments. Preschool-age children make abundant and appropriate use of the resulting opportunities for flexibility in perspective-taking.

3.2. Valence

Another way to manipulate perspective is to alter the expression of verb-argument structure. The typical patterns in Spanish have been described by Talmy (1985). Consider a verb that figures in the frog story — *romper* 'break': (1) the basic form of the verb is transitive/causative: *El perro* ***rompió*** *el frasco* 'The dog **broke** the jar'; (2) the reflexive form is intransitive/inchoative: *El frasco* ***se rompió*** 'The jar broke'; (3) the participle is stative: *El frasco* ***está roto*** 'The jar ***is broken'*** (*roto* = *romper*+PAST.PART:MASC).

Narrators across the age groups take either a causative or inchoative perspective on this event, with 60-70% preferring the latter, using the reflexive *romper-se* 'break-REFL'. This form provides a mediopassive or middle-voice perspective that corresponds to agentless passives in English (*the jar got broken*) and Turkish (*kavanoz kırıldı* 'jar break:PASS:PAST). Again, Spanish provides an accessible alternative to the passive construction (as discussed further in Chapter IVc).

Spanish speakers do not take a stative perspective with regard to the broken glass, but elsewhere in the texts past participles play an important function to encode resultant states. It seems that they reinforce the perspective that

is marked by the present perfect (which also uses the past participle) and the adverb *ya* 'already', as discussed above. In many instances, Spanish narrators use a stative description where English and German narrators tend to use active verbs. Compare, for example:

(53) **Picture 1:**

(a) *Y éste está aquí, **sentado** en este sito.*
'And this one is here, **seated** in this place.' [*S3c-3;7*]

(b) *He sat down.* [*E4a-4;0*]

(c) *Da sitzt der Junge.*
'There sits the boy.' [*G3d-3;6*]

(54) **Picture 15:**

(a) *El está **colgado** de la cabra [=ciervo].*
'He is **hung** from the goat [=deer].' [*S4b-4;1*]

(b) *And he slipped onto a deer.* [*E4b-4;4*]

(c) *Da hält er den Hirsch fest.*
'There he holds tight onto the deer.' [*G3b-3;11*]

Across construction types there seems to be a tendency towards stative descriptions in Spanish: present perfect + *ya*, extended locative state descriptions, and widespread use of participles.

4. CONNECTIVITY

Up to this point we have attended mainly to morphological forms and word-order patterns at the level of the verb and clause. In this section we turn our attention to the use of syntactic means to link clauses and relate information between clauses. Clauses can be joined by means of coordination (Section 4.1) and subordination (Section 4.2), and cross-clause information can be indexed by "null forms" (Section 4.3).

We had initially expected that the number and type of clauses would increase throughout the course of development. However, there is no significant increase in number of clauses per text across the four child age groups (Chapter IB, Table 3). In the case of the adults, we expected a greater diversity within the age group, following earlier discussions (Berman, 1988; Berman & Slobin, 1987) that adults can create extended narratives with a large number of clauses or can opt for a compact presentation of similar events, without presenting each of them in detail, as in (55):

(55) *Pero no obstante siguen buscando, a pesar de todas las persecuciones, a pesar de los sustos y de las caídas, hasta que al fin, llamando a la rana, el niño cae en los cuernos de un ciervo.*
'But nevertheless they continue searching, in spite of all the chases, in spite of the fears and the falls, until at last, calling for the frog, the boy falls on the horns of a deer.' [*S20f*]

In fact, the adult texts range between 30 and 184 clauses in length (between 55 and 193 in the Latin American samples). It seems that length and complexity are interrelated factors in adult narratives.

4.1. Simple Clause Connection

As mentioned above, and in Chapter IIA, 3- and 4-year-olds often do not conceive of the story as a structural unity, but rather build their texts picture by picture rather than event by event. As a consequence, the means they use to connect their discourse are the deictic markers *aquí* 'here' and *ahora* 'now', both with the function of sequential **chaining**. The locative *aquí* is especially favored by some of the youngest narrators. Nevertheless, it is used together with temporal markers by some 3-year-olds and many 4-year-olds. (See Chapter IVA for crosslinguistic comparisons.)

In addition to locative and temporal deictics, the younger children also use person deictics such as *éste* 'this.one', frequently accompanied by *también* 'also', for indicating activities carried out jointly by two protagonists as well as the same activity carried out across more than one picture by a single protagonist. That is to say, the inability to grasp the narrative cohesion of the picture series can lead the child to think that various boys and dogs take part in the story and that all of them are involved in the same adventures. (See (33), above, for an example of adverbial marking of such recurrence.)

Many of the younger children do not seem to understand that an event that is extended in time can serve as the cause of a following event, and they do not take one event as the background for another. As a consequence, there are very few subordinate clauses — and only those of a particular type, as discussed below.

When children of about age 4 succeed in going beyond the here and now, there is often a resulting "fluidity" in the temporal organization of the text as they introduce elements marking temporal sequence, both with and without accompanying locative deixis. It is most characteristic of the 3-year-olds to use a single temporal marker repeatedly, whereas 4-year-olds begin to combine several such markers, even within a single clause, as, for example:

(56) *Y aquí luego después se escondió.*
'And here then afterwards he hid himself.' [*S4e-4;6*]

This sort of overmarking is reminiscent of redundant uses of aspectual and locative directional adverbs, as discussed above, reflecting the well-known phenomenon that the child often tends to overuse linguistic marking at points in development when form-function relations are being analyzed (Bowerman, 1982b; Karmiloff-Smith, 1979; Slobin, 1973). We find 4-year-old texts in which almost every clause has such excessive marking:

(57) *Y **después** el niño se cae y **después** el perro se escapa, **después** el buho se queda en un árbol y **después** el buho se va. El niño se ha ponido [=puesto] en un ciervo y **después** el perro se va corriendo, **después** los tira y el ciervo se para. **Después** se caen al agua, se ponen ahí y **después** se contentan y el otro se cae. **Después** suben por arriba, por el tronco, **después** bajan sin hacer ruido porque ahí dentro hay cosas.*

'And **afterwards** the boy falls and **afterwards** the dog runs away, **afterwards** the owl stays in a tree and **afterwards** the owl goes away. The boy has put himself on a deer and **afterwards** the dog runs away, **afterwards** (he) throws them and the deer stops. **Afterwards** they fall to the water, they end up there and **afterwards** they get happy and the other one falls. **Afterwards** they climb up, over the trunk, **afterwards** they go down without making noise because inside of there there are things.' [*S4c-4;4*]

The temporal markers that occur in the texts are *después* 'afterwards', *luego* 'after', and *entonces* 'then', with a similar distribution in texts with predominant present, past, or mixed tense. However, in the preschool period, these markers function to chain one event after the other, whereas they are used by 9-year-olds to establish temporal relations between larger events or episodes. Compare (57) with the following, from a 9-year-old narrative:

(58) ***Entonces** siguieron buscando en un sitio donde viven las ratas por el campo, y el perro buscaba por donde el panal, pero olía muy mal la rata. **Entonces** el niño dejó a la rata y se subió a un árbol y el panal se cayó. **Después** salió una lechuza y se asustó el niño y se cayó, y las abejas empezaron a perseguir al perro. **Entonces** la lechuza dejó al niño y se subió a una roca, el niño. **Entonces** se agarró a unos cuernos de un ciervo.*

'**Then** they continued searching in a place where rats live in the field, and the dog searched where there was the hive, but the rat smelled very bad. **Then** the boy left the rat and climbed a tree and the hive fell. **Afterwards** an owl came out and scared the boy and he fell, and the bees started to chase the dog. **Then** the owl left the boy and (he) climbed a rock, the boy. **Then** he held onto some horns of a deer.' [*S9b-9;2*]

The narrative immaturity of the youngest children is also reflected syntactically in the repeated use of the conjunction *y* 'and', to the exclusion of other possible adversative or disjunctive conjunctions to link successive clauses, as if the narration were the sum of a series of independent clauses to be interpreted contextually. This pattern disappears, of course, when narrators begin to make use of more types of conjunction — especially subordinate. As a result, the proportion of clauses linked by *y* 'and' drops with age, from about 55% at ages 4 and 5, to 41% at age 9, and only 24% in the adult texts.

4.2. Complex Clause Connection

The decline of coordination in favor of subordination beginning at age 9 should not be interpreted as a total absence of subordination in the three younger age groups. In fact, those children use various subordinate clauses, but with much less variability in type of subordination. The younger preschoolers are limited to the use of adverbial subordination, always placing the subordinate clause before the matrix clause. Beginning at age 5, children begin to show somewhat more flexibility in type and placement of subordinate clauses.

4.2.1. Temporal adverbial clauses

The temporal relation between a matrix and subordinate clause is basically expressed by the tenses of the verbs in the two clauses. However, there are instances in which the verb tenses are insufficient to establish the type of temporal relation, even in a language like Spanish with its abundance of tense/aspect marking on the verb. Accordingly, temporal connectives do not function simply as clause-linking devices, but also serve to indicate if the events expressed in the two clauses are to be interpreted as simultaneous or sequential in time.

The first temporal subordinate conjunction to appear is *cuando* 'when', already present in 3-year-old texts. This form in Spanish can indicate two kinds of temporal relations: **simultaneity** between the events in the two clauses (*cuando se estaba durmiendo la rana salió* 'when he was sleeping the frog escaped' [*S5e-5;4*]) or **immediate anteriority** of the event in the subordinate clause (*cuando se despertó el niño no se encontraba nada* 'when the boy woke up he didn't see anything' [*S4g-4;7*]).

This is the only temporal subordinator used by 3- and 4-year-olds, but it functions somewhat differently at the two ages. The first function of *cuando*, at age 3, is to chain clauses that don't necessarily require the establishment of a specific temporal relation between the two events. Three-year-olds use *cuando* as a means of advancing the narrative action, often as a sort of obligatory marker of the events in the next picture, as if they need a temporal

conjunction simply to mark the fact of of spatio-temporal sequence — of moving on from the previous picture.

Beginning at age 4, subordinate clauses with *cuando* establish a temporal context, e.g.,:

(59) *Y luego, cuando era de noche, se metió en la cama.*

'And after, when it was night-time, he went to bed.' [*S4e-4;6*]

By age 5, children use subordinate clauses with *cuando* in a systematic fashion to mark narrative background, e.g.,:

(60) *Y cuando estaban durmiendo el niño y el perro, se escapó la rana.*

'And when they were sleeping, the boy and the dog, the frog escaped.' [*S5f-5;4*]

Until this age the subordinate clause is always in first position, but beginning with age 5, children begin to invert the order of mention of events, allowing the subordinate clause to occupy second position:

(61) *Y coge una bota cuando se levanta.*

'And (he) picks up a boot when (he) gets up.' [*S5c-5;4*]

The functions of this type of subordination are well established at this age, both for indicating immediate anteriority of one event to another and for backgrounding one of two events.

These two basic functions are maintained at age 9, but children of this age also make use of other temporal subordinate constructions. For example, if the narrator wants to mention two simultaneous events that have different protagonists, it is necessary to shift perspective from one protagonist to another. The first element used for this function is the subordinate conjunction *mientras* 'while':

(62) *Sale el buho y lo tira mientras las abejas le persiguen a su perro.*

'The owl comes out and throws him while the bees chase his dog.' [*S9a-9;1*]

4.2.2. Causal adverbial clauses

At age 5 we begin to find the use of other means of subordination, in addition to temporal subordination with *cuando*. Causal relations are interesting in this regard, since children possess a range of means for indicating such connections. A situation which lends itself to causal explanations is the boy's fall from the tree. As early as age 3;8, we find a causal role attributed to the owl, by means of a simple transitive clause:

(63a) *Aquí el buho le ha tirado del árbol al niño.*

'Here the owl has thrown him from the tree, the boy.' [*S3g-3;8*]

It is not until about a year later, however, that this event is analyzed into component phases:

(63b) *El niño se ha caído porque le ha tirado este buho.*

'The boy has fallen because him has thrown this owl' (=because this owl has thrown him). [*S4f-4;7*]

This sort of causal attribution, with a subordinate clause marked with *porque* 'because', requires an inverse order of mention of the two phases of the event — an ability which is generally considered to be beyond the skills of 5-year-olds (e.g., Clark, 1985). Some 4- and 5-year-olds apparently have difficulty with the inversion, and attempt other means to "package" together the phases of this causal event under one intonation contour. In the following example, a 5-year-old attempts to reverse order of mention with a causal connective, but has to backtrack and rephrase the account in iconic order:

(63c) *Se cayó porque salió ... esa era la casa de un buho, salió y le tiró.*

'(He) fell because (it) came out ... that was the house of an owl, (it) came out and threw him.' [*S5e-5;4*]

Another technique makes use of a relative clause, as discussed in the next section.

4.2.3. Relative clauses

In Chapter IVB there is a discussion of the greater frequency of use of relative clauses in Spanish and Hebrew in comparison with the other languages of this study (see Table 2, Chapter IVB). Slobin (1989) has suggested several factors that may play a role in this regard. The relativizer in Spanish (*que*) and Hebrew (*she*) is an invariant form, not marked for categories such as gender, number, or animacy. (In addition, the relativizer is obligatory in Spanish and Hebrew, while it can be omitted in some contexts in English.) Another contributing factor may be direction of information flow. Relative clauses, like other modifiers, follow the noun in Spanish and Hebrew. Compare, for example, the word-order patterns of the following 3-year-old relative clause (used to describe the log at the end of the story) and other sorts of noun modification in Spanish:

(64a) ...*un **tubo** que está **roto** ...* 'a tube that is broken' [*3a-3;6*]

(64b) *un **tubo roto*** 'a broken tube'

(64c) *un **tubo** de **madera*** 'a tube of wood' (=a wooden tube)

(64d) *la **rana** del **niño*** 'the frog of the boy' (=the boy's frog)

It is likely that the consistent postnominal placement of modifiers, along with morphological simplicity, contributes to the salience and accessibility of relative clauses. These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter IVB, and we will not summarize that discussion here. In general terms, we can speak of a "typology of use," in which relative clauses perform a range of frequent and significant functions in Spanish discourse.

There are no differences between the three preschool groups in the frequency of use of relative clauses. For each age group, less than 2% of the clauses are relatives, and a little more than half of the narrators use such clauses. All of the 9-year-olds and adults use relative clauses.

One explanation for the low rate of relative clause usage during the preschool period is the excessive use of *y* 'and', as discussed above. In many instances, *y* can perform the same clause-linking function as the relativizer *que*. Compare, for example, the two 5-year-old versions in (65), both referring to the same situation, using the same verbs:

(65a) *Salió un loro **que** le tiró al niño.*

'(There) came.out a parrot **that** threw the boy.' [*S5d-5;4*]

(65b) *Sale un cuco **y** le tira al niño.*

'(There) comes.out a cuckoo **and** throws the boy.' [*S5i-5;11*]

The difference here is not semantic, but rather, discursive. The version with *que* seems to "package" the two phases of the situation into a single event, while the version with *y* seems more like a description of two more separate events (as discussed further in Chapter IVC).

If we attend to the narrative functions of relative clauses, we find significant development with age. Consider first the function of relative clauses to **describe** a referent in some way.[11] Relative clauses are used by the youngest narrators for this function. We have seen one example, from our very youngest subject, the child of 3;6 quoted in (64a). Additional examples are:

[11] This function is differentiated further in Chapter IVB. Our general category here includes what Dasinger and Toupin call "General Discourse Functions" (naming, situating, reidentifying) and the Narrative Function of "presentation."

(66a) *Esto es una rana que coge el perro.*

'This is a frog that the dog takes.' [*S3c-3;7*]

(66b) *Y en el hoyo que había una ardilla se salía del agujero.*

'And in the hole that was there a squirrel came.out of the hole.' [*S4k-4;10*]

Although such uses of relative clauses are found in preschool texts, young children are apparently constrained by some limits of processing span that are no longer at play by age 9. An age difference we have noted is the ability of older children to chain two presentative relative clauses, as in (66c):

(66c)*Son un niño y un perro que están viendo una rana que tienen.*

'They are a boy and a dog that are looking at a frog that they have.' [*S9h-9;8*]

Another function of descriptive relative clauses is to provide the kind of static locative setting discussed in Section 2. (41a) and (41b) are examples of such relative clauses, using the locative relativizer *donde* 'where'. The need to provide such information in narrative is probably another factor leading to the frequency of relative clauses in Spanish.

A more mature narrative function of relative clauses is what Lambrecht (1988) has called the **continuative**. Such a relative clause, in the terms of Chapter IVB, "continues the narrative by depicting a subsequent or consequent event." This function appears at age 5 in Spanish (but is a late acquisition in the languages other than Hebrew). An early example was cited in (65a): *Salió un loro que le tiró al niño* '(There) came.out a parrot that threw the boy' [*S5d-5;4*]. As suggested in Section 4.2.2, this kind of relative clause provides another means of "packaging" together the two phases of a causal event in one continuous utterance. Most uses of continuative relative clauses by children are of this presentative type: The main clause puts a protagonist on the stage and the relative clause continues with an action of that protagonist. (Note that, contrary to some claims in the literature, the relative clause functions here to present foregrounded, plot-advancing material.) More mature uses present plot-advancing material in both clauses, e.g.,:

(67) *Y el niño cayó en la cabeza del alce, que aterrorizado, corrió.*

'And the boy fell on the head of the stag that, terrified, ran.' [*cS20c*]

Continuative relative clauses are used by significantly more adult narrators in Spanish than in the other four languages of the study (Chapter IVB, Table 3b).

Another function of relative clauses is that of **retrospection**.[12] Here the

[12] This is partly a subcategory of what Dasinger and Toupin (Chapter IVB) call the "motivating" function of a relative clause (the provision of information about a state of affairs

relative clause refers to a situation that is anterior to the event in the main clause. Such uses are very frequent in the 9-year-old and adult texts, e.g.,:

(68a) *Del agujero que había cavado el niño sale un animal.*

'From the hole that the boy had dug (there) came.out an animal.' [*S9e-9;6*]

(68b) *Estaba por la noche contemplando una ranita que habían cazado por la mañana.*

'At night he was looking at a froggie that they had caught in the morning.' [*S20c*]

In sum, relative clauses are remarkable in Spanish for their frequency of use, diversity of function, and precocity of acquisition. We refer the reader to Chapter IVB for an insightful discussion of factors that might account for the patterns of acquisition and use of this construction type.

4.3. Subject Ellipsis

Spanish differs from English and German (but not Turkish and Hebrew) with regard to the "pro-drop parameter" which has attracted much attention in formal syntax. It is not our intention to take up this literature here (for example, Hyams, 1987, 1989; Jaeggli, 1982; Rizzi, 1982, 1986; Suñer, 1990). Rather, our goal is to lay out some of the characteristics of subject ellipsis in Spanish in order to analyze the development of its narrative functions.

Sentences without overt subjects are normal in both written and spoken Spanish. Person/number marking on the verb allows for retrieval of the subject in most instances; contextual information is generally available for subject identification in those few cases of ambiguity (e.g., neutralization of 1SG and 3SG in the imperfective). This feature of Spanish will be evident to the reader from the many examples above where we have inserted subject pronouns in parentheses in the English glosses. (Here we represent a null pronoun with ∅.) In addition, Spanish has no expletive subjects (e.g., *hace calor* 'makes heat' [=it's hot]).

Null subjects occur in the youngest texts. The most obvious context is continuing reference to the same protagonist across clauses:

(69) *El perro estaba muy enfadado ... sube al árbol y no puede llegar y se cae lleno de moscas.*

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that enables the event described in the main clause), but we include any case in which the event described in the relative clause precedes that described in the main clause (Sebastián, 1989).

'The dog was very angry ... ∅ climbs on the tree and ∅ can't reach and ∅ falls full of flies.' [*S3b-3;6*]

By age 5, children are able to use null subjects across clauses with different subjects, keeping track of previous mention of protagonists and, where available, differences in number as well. In the following example, the narrator has already presented the protagonists; furthermore, the singular frog contrasts with the plural boy and dog.

(70) *Y cuando se estaban durmiendo la rana salió y luego se despertaron.* [*S5e-5;4*]

'And when ∅ were:PL sleeping the frog left and afterwards ∅ woke.up:PL.' [*S5e-5;4*]

Subject pronouns are exceptionally infrequent in the Spanish texts. There are only 14 instances in the entire corpus (*él* 'he' - 11, *ella* 'she' - 1, *ellos* 'they:MASC' - 2, *ellas* 'they:FEM' - 0). Of these, seven are used by 4-year-olds — five of them by the same child. There are no subject pronouns at all in the texts of 3- and 5-year-olds.

One reason for the rarity of subject pronouns in the frog story might be due to the genders of the participants. A main function of overt pronouns in Spanish is for contrastive reference. In this story, however, all of the major participants are masculine in gender, except for the frog, who is not present for most of the story (*el niño, el perro, el buho, el ciervo*; only the animal in the hole varies in gender: *la rata, el ratón, el topo, la ardilla*). There are therefore not many opportunities for contrastive use of pronouns (as in, for example, '**he** fell down and **she** ran away'). However, the one 4-year-old who makes frequent use of *él* does not use it consistently for shifting reference, but rather as a sort of deictic demonstrative, both for the same referent (71a) and for reference shift (71b):

(71a) *Y luego está de rodillas. Y él se sube y el perro también.*

'And afterwards ∅ (=boy) is on his knees.' [Picture 20] 'And he (=boy) climbs and the dog too.' [*S4b-4;1*]

(71b) *Ahora el perro quiere comerse a las moscas y él quiere llamar a todos los animales.*

'Now the dog wants to eat up all the flies and he (=boy) wants to call all the animals.' [Picture 8] [*S4b-4;1*]

It strikes us as anglocentric to refer to a language like Spanish as "pro-**drop**." What the Spanish-speaking child has to learn is not when to drop a subject pronoun, but rather when to **add** one appropriately. Such an example is provided by (71b), but this one child's unsystematic use of subject pronouns suggests that he has not yet mastered the use of "pro-add." The few

adult instances show appropriate contrastive use, as in (72a), or appropriate use for disambiguation, as in (72b) where there are two possible prior antecedents that are both plural.

(72a) *El buho siguió a Tomy, hasta que se refugió en lo alto de una piedra y ya lo dejó en paz, y* ***él*** *siguió buscando.*

'The owl followed Tomy, until ∅ protected himself on the top of a rock and finally ∅[13] left him in peace, and **he** continued searching.' [*S20d*]

(72b) *Y acercan detrás de un tronco para ver si las ranas que ahí cerca son las que* ***ellos*** *andan buscando.*

'And ∅ approach:PL (=boy and dog) behind a trunk to see if the frogs:FEM, that are nearby, are the ones that **they**:MASC are looking for.' [*S20c*]

Note that (72a) corresponds to a pronoun under contrastive stress in English, whereas (72b) does not. (Neither pronoun is stressed in the Spanish examples.) The acquisition tasks in Spanish and English are quite different. The English-speaking child has to learn that subject pronouns are almost always syntactically required, and, additionally, must sometimes be stressed as well. The Spanish-speaking child must learn that pronouns are required only in particular syntactic and discourse contexts — namely contexts in which agreement marking on the verb is insufficient to identify the subject referent. These contexts are defined pragmatically rather than syntactically, as is evident from the two null pronouns with different antecedents in (72a).

These typological differences also have consequences for event packaging. Consider, again, the event in which the owl throws the boy from the tree. We have noted that the use of *y* 'and' to link clauses with the verbs 'come.out' and 'throw' suggests a separation of the two phases of the event. Consider, now, the role of subject pronouns. The Spanish *y*-linked version in (73a) has a null subject in the second clause. We suggest that this level of packaging corresponds to an English *and*-linked version **with** a pronoun, as in (73b).

(73a) *Salió un buho y le tiró al niño.*

'(There) came.out an owl and ∅ threw the boy.'

(73b) *An owl came out and he threw the boy.*

The two clauses can be more tightly packaged in Spanish, as noted above, by the use of a relative clause. This seems to correspond to *and*-linking in

[13] Note that the null pronoun here refers to the owl, and not the boy. This is evident from context and is not marked with an overt pronoun.

English with ellipsis in the second clause:

(74a) *Salió un buho que le tiró al niño.*

'(There) came.out an owl that threw the boy.'

(74b) *An owl came out and ∅ threw the boy.*

Note that the null pronoun is the default in Spanish, whereas it serves to link the two clauses more tightly in English. In both languages, a special construction type provides the means for what we have been calling event packaging.

To complete the picture, a stressed subject pronoun in English serves a contrastive function corresponding to an unstressed pronoun in Spanish. Imagine a scene in which a monkey is trying to throw the boy from the tree, and then an owl comes out and does the throwing instead:

(76a) *El mono se fue. Salió un buho y él tiró al niño.*

'The monkey went away. (There) came.out an owl and he [unstressed] threw the boy.'

(76b) *The monkey went away. An owl came out and HE threw the boy.*

We would conclude, accordingly, that the Spanish-speaking child has to learn a "pro-add" language, whereas the English-speaking child has to learn when to stress or delete pronouns that are otherwise obligatory and unstressed.

5. SUMMARY

5.1. Tense/Aspect

Preschoolers make appropriate use of almost the full range of aspectual distinctions, using verbal morphology to distinguish between processes (PROG, IPFV), states (PRES, IPFV), and completed actions (PFV), and making aspectual distinctions in both past and present tenses at the youngest ages. Present participles are used for marking durativity and manner, and past participles are used to describe states. The present perfect is widely used by Madrid preschoolers, although it is absent in Chilean and Argentinian narrations at all ages. At first it is used for visible (depicted) endstates, but by age 5 it is also used to describe situations that can be inferred without immediate perceptual support; 9-year-olds also use it to reintroduce prior information that is relevant to the current situation in the narrative. The past perfect serves a retrospective function from age 4 onward. Aspect is also marked adverbially, and 3-year-olds make redundant use of *ya* 'already' with present perfect verbs. However, the rich system of inflectional marking of aspect seems to lessen reliance on the use of aspectual adverbs and verbs in preschool and school-age narratives.

5.2. Motion and Location

Consistent with the verb-framed typology of the language, speakers of all ages rely primarily on verbs of motion to encode trajectories, with limited encoding of source or goal, and very little attention to manner of movement. Some preschoolers add more detail by the use of directional locative adverbs, but this phase is short-lived, and school-age children and adults prefer to devote more narrative attention to stage-setting, thereby allowing locative trajectories to be inferred.

5.3. Perspective

Word order variation is flexibly and appropriately used by the youngest narrators, along with clitic object pronouns, for purposes of topic maintenance and shift, as well as introduction of new participants. These alternatives are supported by person/number marking on the verb, which is also mastered early on. (As a consequence, passive constructions are rare and mature forms in our texts.) Reflexive forms of transitive/causative verbs provide speakers with means of deriving intransitive/inchoative forms, providing a mediopassive or middle-voice perspective.

5.4. Connectivity

Preschoolers make abundant use of simple "chaining" connectives, equivalent to 'and', 'then'; older narrators tend to use such connectives only between larger narrative segments. Temporal subordination with *cuando* 'when' is present from age 3, indicating both simultaneity and immediate anteriority; causal subordination develops in the later preschool period. Relative clauses are used by the youngest children, but acquire an increasing range of functions with age. Presentative and continuative relative clauses are present at earlier ages than in most of the other languages of the study. The youngest children make appropriate use of null subjects. Subject pronouns are vanishingly rare — suggesting that the Spanish-speaking child is faced with the task of learning the appropriate contexts for the use of subject pronouns. Clitic object pronouns, by contrast, are appropriately used by the youngest narrators.

Chapter IIID

DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC FORMS: HEBREW

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