

This PDF includes a chapter from the following book:

Born to Parse

How Children Select Their Languages

© 2020 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

License Terms:

Made available under a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0
International Public License

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

OA Funding Provided By:

The open access edition of this book was made possible by generous funding from Arcadia—a charitable fund of Lisbet Rausing and Peter Baldwin.

The title-level DOI for this work is:

[doi:10.7551/mitpress/12799.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/12799.001.0001)

References

- Aboh, E. O. (2015). *The emergence of hybrid grammars: Language contact and change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aboh, E. O. (Ed.). (2017). Complexity in human languages: A multifaceted approach. Special issue, *Language Sciences*, 60.
- Adams, M. (1987). From Old French to the theory of pro-drop. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 5, 1–32.
- Allen, C. (1986). Reconsidering the history of *like*. *Journal of Linguistics*, 22(2), 375–409.
- Allen, C. (1995). *Case marking and reanalysis: Grammatical relations from Old to Early Modern English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, J. M. (1986). A note on Old English impersonals. *Journal of Linguistics*, 22(1), 167–77.
- Aronoff, M. (1976). *Word formation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Avrutin, S. (1994). *Psycholinguistic investigations in the theory of reference*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Avrutin, S. & Wexler, K. (1992). Development of Principle B in Russian: Coindexation at LF and coreference. *Language Acquisition*, 2(4), 259–306.
- Baker, C. L. & McCarthy, J. J. (Eds.). (1981). *The logical problem of language acquisition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Baker, M. C. (2001). *The atoms of language*. New York: Basic Books.

- Baker, M. C. (2008). The macroparameter in a microparametric world. In T. Biberauer (Ed.), *The limits of syntactic variation* (pp. 351–373). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bech, K. & Walkden, G. (2015). English is (still) a West Germanic language. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 39(1), 65–100.
- Bejar, S. (2002). Movement, morphology and learnability. In D. W. Lightfoot (Ed.), *Syntactic effects of morphological change* (pp. 307–325). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Belletti, A. (2017). Internal grammar and children's grammatical creativity against poor inputs. *Frontiers in Psychology: Language Sciences*, 8, 2074. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.02074>.
- Belletti, A. & Rizzi, L. (1988). Psych-verbs and θ -theory. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 6(3), 291–352.
- Berwick, R. C. (1985). *The acquisition of syntactic knowledge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Berwick, R. C. & Chomsky, N. (2016). *Why only us: Language and evolution*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Biberauer, T. (Ed.). (2008). *The limits of syntactic variation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Biberauer, T. & Richards, M. (2006). True optionality: When the grammar doesn't mind. In C. Boeckx (Ed.), *Minimalist essays* (pp. 35–67). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Boeckx, C. (2006). *Linguistic Minimalism: Origins, concepts, methods, and aims*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boeckx, C. (2014). What Principles and Parameters got wrong. In C. Picallo (Ed.), *Linguistic variation in the Minimalist framework*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198702894.003.0008>.
- Boeckx, C. (2015). *Elementary syntactic structures: Prospects of a feature-free syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borer, H. (1984). *Parametric syntax*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- Borges, H. & Pires, A. (2017). The emergence of Brazilian Portuguese: Earlier evidence for the development of a partial null subject grammar. *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, 2.31, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3765/plsa.v2i0.4096>.

- Borsley, R. (1997). Relative clauses and the theory of phrase structure. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 28(4), 629–647.
- Bošković, Ž. & Lasnik, H. (2003). On the distribution of null complementizers. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34(4), 527–546.
- Bresnan, J. W. (1972). *Theory of complementation in English syntax*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Campbell, L. (2015). Do languages and genes correlate? Some methodological issues. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 5(2), 202–226.
- Carstens, V. (2002). Antisymmetry and word order in serial constructions. *Language*, 78(1), 3–50.
- Casti, J. (1994). *Complexification: Explaining a paradoxical world through the science of surprise*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Chao, Y. R. (1968). *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1975). *The logical structure of linguistic theory*. New York: Plenum.
- Chomsky, N. (1980). On binding. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 11(1), 1–46.
- Chomsky, N. (1981a). *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1981b). Principles and parameters in syntactic theory. In N. Hornstein & D. W. Lightfoot (Eds.), *Explanation in linguistics: The logical problem of language acquisition* (pp. 132–175). London: Longman.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2005). Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36(1), 1–22.

- Cinque, G. (2013). Cognition, universal grammar and typological generalizations. *Lingua*, 130, 50–65.
- Cinque, G. (2017). A microparametric approach to the head-initial/head-final parameter. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Parameters; special issue, Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 309–366.
- Clark, R. (1992). The selection of syntactic knowledge. *Language Acquisition*, 2, 83–149.
- Collins, C. (1997). Argument sharing in serial verb constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 28(2), 461–497.
- Conroy, A., Takahashi, E., Lidz, J., & Phillips, C. (2009). Equal treatment for all antecedents: How children succeed with Principle B. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 40(3), 446–486.
- Cowper, E. & Hall, D. (2019). Scope variation in contrastive hierarchies of morphosyntactic features. In D. Lightfoot & J. Havenhill (Eds.), *Variable properties in language: Their nature and acquisition* (pp. 27–41). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Crain, S. (2012). *The emergence of meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crain, S. & Thornton, R. (1998). *Investigations in Universal Grammar: A guide to experiments in the acquisition of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Darwin, C. (1991). *On the origin of species by means of natural selection*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books. (Original work published 1859.)
- den Dikken, M. (2012). *The Cambridge handbook of generative grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denison, D. (1990). The OE impersonals revived. In S. Adamson, V. Law, N. Vincent, & S. Wright (Eds.), *Papers from the fifth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics* (pp. 111–140). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Ding, N., Melloni, L., Zhang, H., Tian, X., & Poeppel, D. (2016). Cortical tracking of hierarchical linguistic structures in connected speech. *Nature Neuroscience*, 19, 158–164.
- Dobzhansky, T. (1964). Biology, molecular and organismic. *American Zoologist*, 4, 443–452.
- Dobzhansky, T. (1973). Nothing in biology makes sense except in the light of evolution. *American Biology Teacher*, 35, 125–129.

- Dresher, B. E. (1999). Charting the learning path: Cues to parameter setting. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30(1), 27–67.
- Dresher, B. E. (2009). *The contrastive hierarchy in phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dresher, B. E. (2019). Contrastive feature hierarchies in phonology: Variation and universality. In D. Lightfoot & J. Havenhill (Eds.), *Variable properties in language: Their nature and acquisition* (pp. 13–25). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Duguine, M., Irurtzun, A., & Boeckx, C. (2017). Linguistic diversity and granularity: Two case-studies against parametric approaches. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Parameters; special issue, Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 445–473.
- Elbourne, P. (2005). On the acquisition of Principle B. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36(3), 333–365.
- Eldridge, N. & Gould, S. J. (1972). Punctuated equilibria: An alternative to phyletic gradualism. In T. J. M. Schopf (Ed.), *Models of paleobiology* (pp. 82–115). San Francisco: Freeman Cooper.
- Ellegård, A. (1954). *The auxiliary do: The establishment and regulation of its use in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Emonds, J. E. (1985). *A unified theory of syntactic categories*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- Emonds, J. E. & Faarlund, J. T. (2014). *English: The language of the Vikings*. Olomouc Modern Language Monographs 3. Olomouc, Czech Republic: Palacky University.
- Epstein, S. D., Obata, M., & Seeley, T. D. (2017). Is linguistic variation entirely linguistic? In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Parameters; special issue, Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 481–516.
- Fodor, J. D. (1998a). Unambiguous triggers. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 29(1), 1–36.
- Fodor, J. D. (1998b). Learning to parse? *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 27(2), 285–319.
- Fodor, J. D. (1998c). Parsing to learn. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 27(3), 339–374.
- Fries, C. (1940). On the development of the structural use of word-order in Modern English. *Language*, 16, 199–208.
- Getz, H. R. (2018a). Acquiring *wanna*: Beyond Universal Grammar. *Language Acquisition*, 26(2), 119–143.

- Getz, H. R. (2018b). *Sentence first, arguments after: Mechanisms of morphosyntax acquisition*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Getz, H. R. (2019). Acquisition of morphosyntax: A pattern learning approach. In D. Lightfoot & J. Havenhill (Eds.), *Variable properties in language: Their nature and acquisition* (pp. 103–114). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Getz, H. R., Ding, N., Newport, E. L., & Poeppel, D. (2018). Cortical tracking of constituent structure in language acquisition. *Cognition*, 181, 135–140.
- Getz, H. R. & Lightfoot, D. W. (To appear). Children discovering variable properties.
- Gibson, E. & Wexler, K. (1994). Triggers. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 25(3), 407–454.
- Gleick, J. (1987). *Chaos: Making a new science*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Grant, R. & Grant, P. (1989). *Evolutionary dynamics of a natural population*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Greenberg, J. H. (1966). Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of language* (pp. 73–113). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Grodzinsky, Y. & Reinhart, T. (1993). The innateness of binding and coreference. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 24(1), 69–101.
- Guasti, M. T. (2016). *Language acquisition: The growth of grammar* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Haeberli, E. (2002a). Inflectional morphology and the loss of verb second in English. In D.W. Lightfoot (Ed.), *Syntactic effects of morphological change* (pp. 88–106). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haeberli, E. (2002b). Observations on the loss of verb second in the history of English. In C. J.-W. Zwart & W. Abraham (Eds.), *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax: Proceedings from the fifteenth Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax* (pp. 245–272). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Haeberli, E. & Ihsane, T. (To appear). The recategorization of modals in English: Evidence from adverb placement. In B. Egedi & V. Hegedus (Eds.),

- Functional heads across time: Syntactic re-analysis and change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haegeman, L. & Ihsane, T. (2001). Adult null subjects in the non-pro-drop languages: Two diary dialects. *Language Acquisition*, 9, 329–346.
- Haider, H. (2005). How to turn German into Icelandic—and derive the OV–VO contrast. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Syntax*, 8, 1–53.
- Haken, H. (1984). *The science of structure: Synergetics*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Heinz, J. (2016). Computational theories of learning and developmental psycholinguistics. In J. Lidz, W. Snyder, & J. Pater (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of developmental linguistics* (pp. 633–663). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heinz, J. & Idsardi, W. (2011). Sentence and word complexity. *Science*, 333 (6040), 295–297.
- Heinz, J. & Idsardi, W. (2013). What complexity differences reveal about domains in language. *Topics in Cognitive Science*, 5(1), 111–131.
- Heycock, C., Sorace, A., Hansen, Z. S., Wilson, F., & Vikner, S. (2012). Detecting the late stages of syntactic change: The loss of V-to-T in Faroese. *Language*, 88, 558–600.
- Hockett, C. (1958). *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- Holmberg, A. (2010). Parameters in minimalist theory: The case of Scandinavian. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 36, 1–48.
- Holmberg, A. (2016). Norse against Old English: 20–0. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 6(1), 21–23.
- Hornstein, N. (2009). *A theory of syntax: Minimal operations and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornstein, N. & Idsardi, W. (2014). The 3rd Hilbert Question: What can you learn from degree 0-ish data. *Faculty of Language* (blog). <http://facultyoflanguage.blogspot.com/2014/12/the-third-hilbert-question-what-can-you.html>.
- Hornstein, N. & Weinberg, A. S. (1981). Case theory and preposition stranding. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 12(1), 55–91.
- Huang, C.-T. J., Li, Y.-H. A., & Li, Y. (2009). *The syntax of Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hudson Kam, C. & Newport, E. L. (2005). Regularizing unpredictable variation: The roles of adult and child learners in language formation and change. *Language Learning and Development*, 1(2), 151–195.
- Humboldt, W. von. (1971). *Linguistic variability and intellectual development* (G. C. Buck & F. A. Raven, Trans.). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. (Original work published 1836.)
- Jakobson, R. (1941). *Kindersprache, und allgemeine Lautgesetze*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.
- Jespersen, O. (1909–1949). *A modern English grammar on historical principles*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Karimi, S. & Piattelli-Palmarini, M. (Eds.). (2017). Parameters. Special issue, *Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4).
- Kauffman, S. (1995). *At home in the Universe: The search for laws of self-organisation and complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kayne, R. S. (1994). *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. S. (1996). Microparametric syntax: Some introductory remarks. In J. R. Black & V. Motapanyane (Eds.), *Microparametric syntax and dialect variation* (pp. ix–xviii). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kayne, R. S. (2005). Some notes on comparative syntax, with special reference to English and French. In G. Cinque & R. S. Kayne (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of comparative syntax* (pp. 3–69). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keenan, E. (2002). Explaining the creation of reflexive pronouns in English. In D. Minkova & R. Stockwell (Eds.), *Studies in the history of the English language: A millennial perspective* (pp. 325–354). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kegl, J., Senghas, A., & Coppola, M. (1998). Creation through contact: Sign language emergence and sign language change in Nicaragua. In M. DeGraff (Ed.), *Language creation and change: Creolization, diachrony, and development* (pp. 179–237). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kiparsky, P. (1968). Linguistic universals and linguistic change. In E. Bach & R. Harms (Eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory* (pp. 171–202). New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Kroch, A. (1989). Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change. *Language Variation and Change*, 1, 199–244.

- Kroch, A. (1994). Morphosyntactic variation. In K. Beals (Ed.), *Papers from the 30th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society: Parasession on variation and linguistic theory* (pp. 180–201). Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Kroch, A. & Santorini, B. (2013, June 29). What a parsed corpus is and how to use it. Presentation, Workshop on Diachronic Syntax, LSA Summer Institute. <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~kroch/lisa13ws.html>.
- Kroch, A. & Taylor, A. (1997). The syntax of verb movement in Middle English: Dialect variation and language contact. In A. van Kemenade & N. Vincent (Eds.), *Parameters of morphosyntactic change* (pp. 297–325). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Larson, R. (1991). Some issues in verb serialization. In C. Lefebvre (Ed.), *Serial verbs: Grammatical, comparative, and cognitive approaches* (pp. 185–210). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lasnik, H. (1976). Remarks on coreference. *Linguistic Analysis*, 2(1), 1–22.
- Lasnik, H. (1999). *Minimalist analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lasnik, H. (with Depiante, M. & Stepanov, A.) (2000). “Syntactic structures” revisited: *Contemporary lectures on classic transformational theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Leech, G. (2003). Modality on the move: The English modal auxiliaries 1961–1992. In R. Facchinetti, M. Krug, & F. R. Palmer (Eds.), *Modality in contemporary English* (pp. 223–240). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Li, C. & Thompson, S. (1974). Historical change of word order: A case-study in Chinese and its implications. In J. M. Anderson & C. Jones (Eds.), *Historical linguistics: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Historical Linguistics* (pp. 199–217). Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Lidz, J. (2010). Language learning and language universals. *Biolinguistics*, 4, 201–217.
- Lidz, J. & Gagliardi, A. (2015). How nature meets nurture: Universal Grammar and statistical learning. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 1, 333–353.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1979). *Principles of diachronic syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lightfoot, D. W. (1982). *The language lottery: Toward a biology of language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1989). The child's trigger experience: Degree-0 learnability. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 12(2): 321–334.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1991). *How to set parameters: Arguments from language change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1993). Why UG needs a learning theory: Triggering verb movement. In C. Jones (Ed.), *Historical linguistics: Problems and perspectives* (pp. 190–214). London: Longman.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1995). Grammars for people. *Journal of Linguistics*, 31(2), 393–99.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1999). *The development of language: Acquisition, change, and evolution*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2002). [Introduction]. In *Syntactic structures*, by N. Chomsky, 2nd ed. (pp. v–xviii). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2005). Learning from creoles. *Lingua*, 115, 197–199.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2006a). *How new languages emerge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2006b). Minimizing government: Deletion as cliticization. *Linguistic Review*, 23(2), 97–126.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2011). Multilingualism everywhere. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 14(2), 162–164.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2012). Explaining matrix/subordinate domain discrepancies. In L. Aelbrecht, L. Haegeman, & R. Nye (Eds.), *Main clause phenomena: New horizons* (pp. 159–176). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2013). Types of explanation in history. *Language*, 89(4), e18–e38.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2015). How to trigger elements of I-languages. In A. Gallego & D. Ott (Eds.), *Fifty years later: Reflections on Chomsky's "Aspects"* (pp. 175–185). MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 77. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2016). [Review of Emonds & Faarlund 2014]. *Language*, 92(2), 474–477.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2017a). Acquisition and learnability. In A. Ledgeway & I. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of historical syntax* (pp. 381–400). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lightfoot, D. W. (2017b). Discovering new variable properties without parameters. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Parameters; special issue, Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 409–444.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2017c). Imperfect transmission and discontinuity. In A. Ledgeway & I. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of historical syntax* (pp. 515–533). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2017d). Restructuring. In A. Ledgeway & I. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of historical syntax* (pp. 113–133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (2018). Nothing in syntax makes sense except in the light of change. In A. Gallego & R. Martin (Eds.), *Language, syntax, and the natural sciences* (pp. 224–240). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. & Havenhill, J. (Eds.). (2019). *Variable properties in language: Their nature and acquisition*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Lightfoot, D. W. & Westergaard, M. (2007). Language acquisition and language change: Interrelationships. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(5), 396–416.
- Lobeck, A. (1995). *Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing, and identification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Longobardi, G. (2001). Formal syntax, diachronic minimalism, and etymology: The history of French *chez*. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 32(2), 275–302.
- Longobardi, G. & Guardiano, C. (2017). Phylogenetic reconstruction in syntax: The parametric comparison method. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Parameters; special issue, Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 241–271.
- Longobardi, G., Guardiano, C., Silvestri, G., Boattini, A., & Ceolin, A. (2013). Toward a syntactic phylogeny of modern Indo-European languages. *Journal of Historical Linguistics*, 3(1), 122–152.
- Mayberry, R. I. & R. Kluender (2018). Rethinking the critical period for language: New insights into an old question from American Sign Language. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 21(5), 886–905.
- Mayr, E. (1942). *Systematics and the origin of species*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McWhorter, J. H. (2009). What else happened to English? A brief for the Celtic hypothesis. *English Language and Linguistics*, 13, 163–191.

- McWhorter, J. H. (2016). Too good to be true: English is not Norse. *Language Dynamics and Change*, 6(1), 34–36.
- Meisel, J. (2011). Bilingual language acquisition and theories of diachronic change: Bilingualism as cause and effect of grammatical change. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 14, 121–145.
- Mitchener, W. G. & Nowak, M. A. (2004). Chaos and language. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B*, 271, 701–704.
- Montrul, S. (2008). *Incomplete acquisition in bilingualism: Re-examining the age factor*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Musso, M., Moro, A., Glauche, V., Rijntjes, M., Reichenbach, J., Büchel, C., & Weiller, C. (2003). Broca's area and the language instinct. *Nature Neuroscience*, 6, 774–781.
- Narayanan, H. & Niyogi, P. (2013). Language evolution, coalescent processes, and the consensus problem on a social network. Unpublished manuscript. <http://faculty.washington.edu/harin/LangEvol.pdf>.
- Nelson, M. J., El Karoui, I., Giber, K., Yang, X., Cohen, L., Koopman, H., Cash, S. S., Naccache, L., Hale, J. T., Pallier, C., & Dehaene, S. (2017). Neurophysiological dynamics of phrase-structure building during sentence processing. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(18), E3669–E3678. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1701590114>.
- Newmeyer, F. J. (2004). Against a parameter-setting approach to language variation. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook*, 4, 181–234.
- Newmeyer, F. J. (2017). Where, if anywhere, are parameters? A critical historical overview of parametric theory. In C. Bower, L. Horn, & R. Zanuttini (Eds.), *On looking into words (and beyond)* (pp. 547–569). Berlin: Language Science Press. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.495465>.
- Newport, E. L. (1998). Reduced input in the acquisition of signed languages: Contributions to the study of creolization. In M. DeGraff (Ed.), *Language creation and change: Creolization, diachrony, and development* (pp. 161–178). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Niyogi, P. (2006). *The computational nature of language learning and evolution*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Niyogi, P. & Berwick, R. (1995). *The logical problem of language change*. AI Memo 1516. Cambridge, MA: Artificial Intelligence Laboratory and Center for Biological Learning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/7196>.

- Niyogi, P. & Berwick, R. (1997). A dynamical systems model of language change. *Complex Systems*, 11, 161–204.
- Niyogi, P. & Berwick, R. (2009). The proper treatment of language acquisition and change in a population setting. *Proceedings of the National Academies of Science*, 106(25), 10124–10129.
- Nunes, J. (2004). *Linearization of chains and sideways movement*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Omaki, A. & Lidz, J. (2015). Linking parser development to acquisition of syntactic knowledge. *Language Acquisition*, 22, 158–192. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10489223.2014.943903>.
- O’Neil, W. (1978). The evolution of the Germanic inflectional systems: A study in the causes of language change. *Orbis*, 27(2), 248–285.
- Paul, H. (1877). Die Vocale der Flexions- und Ableitungssilben in den ältesten germanischen Dialecten. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 4, 314–475.
- Paul, H. (1880). *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*. Tübingen, Germany: Niemeyer.
- Pesetsky, D. (1991). Zero syntax II: An essay on infinitives. Unpublished manuscript, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Pesetsky, D. (1995). *Zero syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Peyraube, A. (1985). Les structures en *ba* en Chinois médiéval et moderne. *Cahiers de Linguistique—Asie Orientale*, 14(2), 193–213.
- Phillips, C. (2003a). Linear order or constituency. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 34(1), 37–90.
- Phillips, C. (2003b). Syntax. In L. Nadel (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of cognitive science* (Vol. 4, pp. 319–329). London: Nature Publishing Group.
- Piattelli-Palmarini, M. (Ed.). (1980). *Language and learning: The debate between Jean Piaget and Noam Chomsky*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Piattelli-Palmarini, M. & Berwick, R. C. (Eds.). (2013). *Rich languages from poor inputs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pintzuk, S. (2002). Verb-object order in Old English: Variation as grammatical competition. In D. W. Lightfoot (Ed.), *Syntactic effects of morphological change* (pp. 276–299). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Poletto, C. (2018). The twists and shakes of PRO Drop: On the licensing of null topics in Old Italian varieties. Paper presented at 20th Diachronic Generative Syntax meeting, DiGGS '20, York University, UK.
- Potsdam, E. (1997). NegP and subjunctive complements in English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 28(3), 533–541.
- Preminger, O. (2014). *Agreement and its failures*. Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 68. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Prigogine, I. & Stengers, I. (1997). *The end of certainty: Time, chaos, and the new laws of nature*. New York: The Free Press.
- Richards, N. (2013). Lardil “case stacking” and the timing of case assignment syntax. *Syntax*, 16(1), 42–76.
- Rizzi, L. (1978). Violations of the wh-island constraint in Italian and the Subjacency Condition. In C. Dubuisson, D. W. Lightfoot, & Y.-C. Morin (Eds.), *Montreal Working Papers in Linguistics*, 11, 155–190.
- Rizzi, L. (1982). *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- Rizzi, L. (1990). *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. (2017). On the format and locus of parameters: The role of morphosyntactic features. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), Parameters; special issue, *Linguistic Analysis*, 41(3–4), 159–192.
- Rizzi, L. & Cinque, G. (2016). Functional categories and syntactic theory. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 2(1), 139–163.
- Roberts, I. G. (2007). *Diachronic syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, I. G. (2017). Inertia. In A. Ledgeway & I. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of historical syntax* (pp. 425–445). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, I. G. & Holmberg, A. (2010). Introduction: Parameters in minimalist theory. In T. Biberauer, A. Holmberg, I. G. Roberts, & M. Sheehan, *Parametric variation: Null subjects in minimalist theory* (pp. 1–57). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, I. G. & Roussou, A. (2003). *Syntactic change: A minimalist approach to grammaticalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sakas, W. & Fodor, J. D. (2001). The structural triggers learner. In S. Bertolo (Ed.), *Language acquisition and learnability* (pp. 172–233). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Sandler, W., Meir, I., Padden, C., & Aronoff, M. (2005). The emergence of grammar: Systematic structure in a new language. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 102, 2661–2665.
- Sapir, E. (1925). Sound patterns in language. *Language*, 1(2), 37–51.
- Senghas, A., Kita, S., & Özyürek, A. (2004). Children creating core properties of language: Evidence from an emerging sign language in Nicaragua. *Science*, 305, 1779–1782.
- Singleton, J. L. & Newport, E. L. (2004). When learners surpass their models: The acquisition of American Sign Language from impoverished input. *Cognitive Psychology*, 49, 370–407.
- Smith, N.V. & Tsimpli, I.-M. (1995). *The mind of a savant: Language learning and modularity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Snyder, W. (2007). *Child language: The parametric approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokoe, W. (1960). Sign language structure: An outline of the visual communication systems of the American deaf. *Studies in linguistics: Occasional Papers* (No. 8). Buffalo: Department of Anthropology and Linguistics, University of Buffalo.
- Sybesma, R. (1999). *The Mandarin VP*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer.
- Tattersall, I. (2016, August 18). At the birth of language. *New York Review of Books*, 27–28.
- Thom, R. (1972). *Stabilité structurelle et morphogénèse: Essai d'une théorie générale des modèles*. Reading, MA: W. A. Benjamin.
- Thoms, G. (2019, January 4). On the uncommon emergence of preposition stranding. Presentation, ninety-third annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.
- Thornton, R. & Wexler, K. (1999). *Principle B, VP ellipsis, and interpretation in child grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Tinbergen, N. (1957). *The herring gull's world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trubetsky, N. (1939). Gründzuge der Phonologie. In *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 7.
- Trudgill, P. (2002). *Sociolinguistic variation and change*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Trudgill, P. (2016). Norsified English or anglicized Norse? *Language Dynamics and Change*, 6(1), 46–48.
- Valian, V. & Coulson, S. (1988). Anchor points in language learning: The role of marker frequency. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 27(1), 71–86.
- van Craenenbroeck, J. & Merchant, J. (2013). Ellipsis phenomena. In M. den Dikken (Ed.), *Cambridge handbook of generative syntax* (pp. 701–745). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Gelderen, E. (2011). *The linguistic cycle: Language change and the language faculty*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- van Kemenade, A. (1987). *Syntactic case and morphological case in the history of English*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- van Riemsdijk, H. C. (1978). *A case study in syntactic markedness*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Foris.
- Vergnaud, J.-R. (2008). Letter to Noam Chomsky and Howard Lasnik on “Filters and control.” In R. Freidin, C. P. Otero, & M.-L. Zubizarreta (Eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory: Essays in honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud* (pp. 3–16). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (Original letter sent 1977.)
- Vikner, S. (1995). *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Visser, F. T. (1963–1973). *An historical syntax of the English language*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill.
- Walkden, G. (2012). Against inertia. *Lingua*, 122, 891–901.
- Walkden, G. (2017, November 1). Preposition stranding in Early West Germanic. Presentation, LinG Colloquium, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.
- Wallenberg, J. C. (2013, August 2). A unified theory of stable variation, syntactic optionality, and syntactic change. Presentation, fifteenth Diachronic Generative Syntax conference (DiGS 15), University of Ottawa.
- Wallenberg, J. C. (2016). Extraposition is disappearing. *Language*, 92(4), e237–e256.
- Warner, A. (1995). Predicting the progressive passive: Parametric change within a lexicalist framework. *Language*, 71, 533–57.

- Weiner, J. (1994). *The beak of the finch: A story of evolution in our time*. New York: Knopf.
- Weiner, J. (1995). Evolution made visible. *Science*, 267, 30–33.
- Weinreich, U., Labov, W., & Herzog, M. I. (1968). Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W. P. Lehmann & Y. Malkiel (Eds.), *Directions for historical linguistics: A symposium* (pp. 95–188). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Westergaard, M. (2009). Usage-based vs. rule-based learning: The acquisition of word order in *wh*- questions in English and Norwegian. *Journal of Child Language*, 36(5), 1023–1051.
- Westergaard, M. (2014). Linguistic variation and micro-cues in first language acquisition. *Linguistic Variation*, 14, 26–45.
- Westergaard, M. (2017). Gradience and gradualness vs abruptness. In A. Ledgeway & I. G. Roberts (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of historical syntax* (pp. 446–466). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whitman, J. (2001). Relabelling. In S. Pintzuk, G. Tsoulas, & A. Warner (Eds.), *Diachronic syntax: Models and mechanisms* (pp. 220–238). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whitman, J. & Paul, W. (2005). Reanalysis and conservancy of structure in Chinese. In M. Batllori, M.-L. Hernanz, C. Picallo, & F. Roca (Eds.), *Grammaticalization and parametric variation* (pp. 82–94). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, E. (1978). Across-the-board rule application. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 9(1), 31–43.
- Yang, C. (2002). *Knowledge and learning in natural language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yang, C. (2006). *The infinite gift: How children learn and unlearn the languages of the world*. New York: Scribner's.
- Yang, C. (2016). *The price of linguistic productivity: How children learn to break the rules of language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Yang, C. & Roeper, T. (2011). Minimalism and language acquisition. In C. Boeckx (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of linguistic Minimalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Zagona, K. (1988). Proper government of antecedentless VP in English and Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 6, 95–128.
- Zimmerman, M. (2012). *The evolution of expletive subject pronouns in French*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Konstanz.
- Zwicky, A. M. (1994). What is a clitic? In J. Nevis, B. Joseph, D. Wanner, & A. M. Zwicky (Eds.), *Clitics: A comprehensive bibliography* (pp. xii–xx). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Zwicky, A. M. & Pullum, G. K. (1983). Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language*, 59(3), 502–513.