Temporal Reliability of 10 Language Measures in Adults: Reliability of Morpheme Production in Adult Speech Compared to Children's

3 Abstract

Language samples are used for several purposes in both healthy and clinical populations, 4 5 but little information exists about the length a language sample needs to be to accurately 6 represent a person's linguistic skills, especially for adults. This study used a test-retest paradigm 7 to compare language samples taken from two conversations of 20 adults speaking in pairs, recorded a maximum of a week apart. Frequency counts and reliability measures of several 8 inflectional morphemes were compared from recording 1 to recording 2 for sample sizes of 50, 9 100, 150 and 200 utterances. Results showed sizable variation in frequency and reliability 10 11 between different morphemes, suggesting that some linguistic items may be more useful measures of typical adult language than others. 100 utterances appeared to be the most useful 12 sample size, after taking into consideration the degree of reliability and time constraints of 13 gathering samples. Finally, a comparison of adult data to earlier child reliability data suggested 14 that if reliability is used as a benchmark of language proficiency, higher reliability is likely to be 15 a sign of greater proficiency. 16

17 Keywords

18 Language samples, morphosyntax, reliability, morphology

Linguistic output can be measured and analyzed in numerous ways, dependent upon the
goals of the analyst. Whereas standardized language tests typically limit themselves to the
domains for which they were designed, samples of spontaneous language can be used to
investigate an extensive range of language related areas such as word-finding (German 1987),

vocabulary (Bleses, Werner & Philip 2018), grammar (Hollister, Van Horne & Zebrowski 2017), 23 pragmatics (Klusek, Martin & Losh 2014), and language dominance (Solorio et al. 2011). 24 Language samples can also be put to clinical use in areas as diverse as exploring grammatical 25 ability in children with autism spectrum disorder (Wittke et al. 2017), comparing the language of 26 groups with Parkinson's disease differentiated by neural degeneration in the right versus left 27 28 hemisphere, (Batens et al. 2015), tracking language development in young children with hearing loss (Tomblin et al. 2015) and even the analysis of a presidential Twitter feed (Ott 2017). 29 The value of spontaneous speech samples was made clear by Wagenaar, Snow and Prins 30 31 (1975) who stated that they "... provide[s] the most subtle and complete reflection of language abilities". However, this leads to the recognition of a serious problem; despite the widespread 32 use of language samples in research, the issue of reliability, or in other words, the issue of how 33 34 representative any given sample is of an individual's language, is mostly unknown. For example, if a person's speech is recorded until a specified amount of utterances have been produced, it is 35 unclear at what point we can say that the sample is long enough to be representative of that 36 37 individual's typically produced language. Furthermore, when considering the notion of being representative of a person's linguistic output, a nuanced question must specify a precise area of 38 39 language, as it is unlikely that the same size sample would be the required amount for an honest representation of phonological, semantic and morphosyntactic capacities. Instead, each area will 40 be found to have its own required sample size. 41

In addition to the question of the size of the language sample necessary to provide an accurate representation of a person's typical speech, further issues remain unexplored such as whether it makes a difference if the sample belongs to an adult versus a 3-year-old child. Our inability to answer these questions was emphasized by Muma (1998: 316) who warned that the

often-used sample size of 50-100 utterances in the clinical study of child language is in no way 46 guaranteed to be an accurate representation of their typical language. The issue is further 47 highlighted by Tomasello and Stahl (2004) who warn researchers of the potential risk of error 48 when assuming that a sample is representative of a speaker's ability as any sample is likely to 49 represent only a small portion of a given person's maximum linguistic ability. Cole et al. (1989: 50 51 260) emphasized that "although reliability information is basic to the interpretation of test results, this measurement characteristic appears to have been generally overlooked in the area of 52 53 language sample interpretation". Despite Cole's warning over 30 years ago, little work has been published to remedy this issue, particularly around adult language. 54 55 The goal of this study is to investigate the reliability of language production in healthy monolingual English-speaking adults engaged in spontaneous conversation with other adults. 56 57 Degrees of reliability will be established for samples of 50, 100, 150 and 200 utterances to determine whether increasing sample sizes correlate with increasing reliability. This information 58 will in turn allow the authors to suggest which morphemes are more reliable than others which 59 may be useful for future clinical studies. It will also lead to a discussion about what sample size 60 out of those tested is the most useful for research. The specific items examined will be a group of 61 62 inflectional morphemes used in child studies carried out by Author (2013; 2014; 2015). Finally, adult frequency and reliability will be compared to help determine whether reliability increases 63 64 with greater mastery over language or whether it decreases over time, due to using a greater

65 variety of linguistic forms.

Different types of reliability exist and more than one can be appropriately used with
language samples, but the type discussed in this article is known as test-retest reliability or
temporal reliability. This type of reliability, which will be referred to throughout the remainder

of this article simply as 'reliability' measures the stability of the scores from the same person at 69 two or more different times using the same measurement tool. For example, tests of IQ are 70 carefully tested for temporal reliability to ensure that the test will provide a similar score for an 71 individual each time taken. In this study, temporal reliability is used to assess to what degree the 72 production frequency of a particular item derived from a language sample is consistent with the 73 74 production frequency of the same item taken from a language sample under similar circumstances but at a different time. For an extensive discussion of the statistical concept of 75 reliability under Classical Test Theory (CTT), refer to Author (2014). 76

77 Motivations for the Current Study

Numerous motivations underlie this study; the first being a desire to understand the 78 79 frequency and reliability of specific morphemes in adult language. Although a small number of studies, which will be discussed shortly, exist regarding reliability of general measures of adult 80 language such as mean length of utterance (MLU), little is known about the reliability of 81 syntactic constructions as specific as individual bound morphemes. Having such limited 82 knowledge regarding the reliability of typical adult human language, at least in the area of 83 specific syntactic structures such as inflectional morphemes, leads to the question of whether 84 reliability, or frequency for that matter, are possible candidates for providing a measurable 85 baseline or benchmark representing typical native adult levels of language production, especially 86 if those baselines differ from children's. 87

Another motivation is to continue to explore the relationship between frequency and reliability. Work by Author (2013; 2014; 2015) indicated a general higher level of reliability in morphemes produced more frequently, including the highest reliability of all tested items for a specially developed target called 'multiverb' which was a global measure counting any utterance

with more than one verb. This item was included specifically to ensure that 2 and 3-year-old
children had at least one item with high frequency so this link could be explored. For individual
syntactic structures, the copula had the highest frequency and highest reliability at each sample
size while the genitive was the least frequent and displayed the lowest degree of reliability.
Interestingly, the copula stood out from the other morphemes tested when a split-half comparison
was carried out, showing that while most morphemes tended to be spread relatively evenly
throughout the samples, use of the copula was more clustered.

99 Another important motivation is to ensure that professionals who use language samples 100 are aware of the issues around minimum sample sizes required to be representative of a person's linguistic skills. Without the knowledge of the reliability of most aspects of language, 101 conclusions drawn from language samples may be considered suspect. For instance, language 102 programs often offer a test of English for international students when they first arrive to the US. 103 Along with a multiple-choice placement test, students generally produce a single writing sample 104 and participate in a brief oral interview. On the basis of this testing, students are either placed 105 into a particular level or released from the requirement to attend English language classes before 106 matriculating to credit courses. In other words, these are high stakes tests, but they rely on 107 108 limited language samples. To our knowledge, no research has been done on the required sample 109 size of oral or written samples of a foreign language to show the appropriate minimum sample 110 size.

111 These same limitations also apply to professionals diagnosing and treating individuals 112 with language-related impairments such as Specific Language Impairment and aphasia. It is 113 crucial that the degree of reliability of the sample be considered, given that language samples are 114 commonly used as an important aspect of diagnostics and measurement of progress (SimonCereijido & Gutiérrez-Clellen 2007; Zimmerer et al. 2020) In order to do this though, we must
first examine the degree to which language samples taken from healthy adult populations can be
considered reliable.

118 **Review of the Literature**

A review of the literature shows that much of the reliability work carried out in adult language samples has been in the field of aphasia, language disability caused by brain trauma, most often post-stroke. Unfortunately, the body of work examining reliability of both healthy adults and aphasia patients was small enough to be referred to as "relatively unexplored territory" by Prins and Bastiaanse in 2004. That categorization is still applicable today.

124 Aphasia can be divided into fluent and non-fluent categories and one characteristic of non-fluent 125 aphasia is agrammatism, meaning that speech is made up primarily of content words and lacking in function words. A study by Saffran, Berndt and Schwartz (1989) examined the reliability of 126 127 language in patients with agrammatic aphasia, looking at the proportion of closed class words, proportion of verb inflections, proportion of well-formed sentences and an embedding index. 128 Measures of temporal reliability varied from .53 to .92, leading Prins and Bastiaanse (2004) to 129 remark that "It may be the case, however, that this variability is not due to unreliability of the 130 scoring system, but to the unstable behavior of the agrammatic speakers", specifically referring 131 to a lack of free and bound morphemes and a lack of well-formed sentences as hallmarks of 132 133 agrammatic aphasia. Variability in language production in aphasic speakers underscores the importance of understanding reliability of spontaneous language in clinical groups. 134

In 1993, Nicholas and Brookshire carried out reliability checks on their newly developed
standardized, rule-based language scoring system, quantifying speech informativeness of

aphasics based on the analysis of Correct Information Units (CIUs). CIUs are topics pre-137 identified as a response to specific pictures used as tools to elicit speech. In addition to the 138 number of CIUs per minute, words per minute (WPM), percentage CIUs and total number of 139 words were monitored. Four individual pictures, two picture sequences and two direct questions 140 were used to elicit speech samples. The researchers analyzed the performance of 20 aphasics 141 142 and 20 healthy adults to explore group differences including reliability. Each individual was tested three times in order to determine the reliability of production of each linguistic item. 143 Correlations in both healthy and brain-damaged adults ranged from .88 to .98, showing high 144 145 reliability for both groups, although WPM, CIUs per minute and percentage CIUs were more stable than the number of CIUs and number of words. Notably, the lowest reliability for any 146 measure was r = .88 for non-brain-damaged people for the measure of CIUs per minute. A 147 148 subsequent paper by the same authors (Brookshire & Nicholas 1994) reexamined the data from their 1993 study, analyzing language samples derived from a smaller subset of the 10 original 149 stimuli used in the original paper. Results showed that reliability tended to drop as the number of 150 stimuli declined and that when using one picture as the sole stimulus, some subjects exhibited 151 "dramatic instability" of language production. The authors warned of making decisions about the 152 153 speech of aphasics based on one short sample, "because such measures can be highly unstable from test to test. Because of this instability, a patient's type or severity of aphasia might appear 154 to have changed, even though no actual change has occurred." 155

The Nicholas and Brookshire (1993) tool was criticized by Armstrong (2000) speaking of the "lack of adequate linguistic description" as well as the need to use more stimuli in order to increase the length of the language samples in order to be representative of the speakers' overall abilities.

Given the possible propensity to greater variation in speech production of patients with 160 aphasia than healthy adults, it is important to have reliability measures of these healthy adults for 161 the sake of comparing aphasic and typical language production. This is highlighted by Prins and 162 Bastiaanse (2004) who made the following recommendation regarding research into language 163 sample use in aphasia: "One of the topics that should be investigated is the reliability of 164 linguistic variables. Although inter-rater reliability is usually satisfactory, hardly anything is 165 known about test-retest reliability. In other words: to what extent is the linguistic behaviour of 166 aphasic patients stable? Furthermore, especially for clinical practice, it is important that group 167 168 studies are performed in order to establish standards for statistically reliable improvement. In this way, the results of individual treatment studies could be interpreted much better." 169

To develop performance norms in adults of different ages, a study by Wright et al. (2005) 170 171 looked specifically at reliability measures in 40 healthy adults who were divided by age into a younger group (mean 23.9 years) and an older group (mean 67.6 years). Language samples were 172 gathered on two occasions, 10-20 days apart for to examine test-retest reliability scores of 'main 173 events', which are identical to CIUs discussed earlier. Language samples were gathered based on 174 175 elicited responses to two single pictures and two picture sequences taken from Nicholas and Brookshire (1993). If a response lasted for a duration of less than 15 seconds, participants were 176 encouraged to speak more. While the younger group displayed a significantly higher number of 177 main events (or CIUs) than the older group, the reliability of the younger adults' main event 178 production was .70 while the older group's was .76, a result they called "sufficiently stable". 179 Unfortunately, the authors did not report the length of the language samples used although they 180 do highlight the need to have norms for a non-brain-damaged population that can be used for 181 age-matching in further research. 182

When exploring the body of work that has been carried out in the field of reliability of 183 adult language production, it is notable that several different target items have been examined 184 such as words produced per minute (Saffran, Berndt & Schwartz 1989; Nicholas & Brookshire 185 1993), number and percentage of CIUs (Nicholas & Brookshire 1993), proportion of well-186 formed sentences (Saffran, Berndt & Schwartz 1989), degree of embedding (Saffran, Berndt & 187 Schwartz 1989) and inclusion of main events (Wright et al. 2005). These measures could be 188 referred to as *global*, meaning that they are not looking at the use of particular words or syntactic 189 constructions. The literature is lacking both frequency and reliability information regarding 190 191 specific linguistic items in adult language. However, a small number of studies of child language have taken a more microscopic view of language, examining individual morphemes which could 192 provide a foundation for adult work. 193

The first and largest of these studies to date is from a dataset published by the Wisconsin 194 Department of Public Instruction (Leadholm & Miller 1992), which collected language samples 195 from 266 children in local schools, ranging from 3 - 13 years of age. The goal of the study was 196 to develop norms for a typical population in order to provide a comparison for language 197 produced by children with language disability but only frequency, range and standard deviation 198 were provided without reliability measures. Each age has data for several global items provided 199 for both 100 utterance samples and 12-minute samples including MLU, total number of words 200 and number of different words. What sets this study apart however, is the inclusion of frequency 201 202 information of specific syntactic constructions including the bound morphemes of regular past, plural, possessive, third person singular and present progressive along with personal pronouns, 203 conjunctions and modals. Semantic counts are also available for individual question words, 204

conjunctions, negatives, modals, and pronouns, providing the most extensive frequency norms of
specific items in child language to date.

Two studies based on 27 children aged 2;6 to 3;6 (Author 2013; 2014) looked at the 207 208 frequency of production of specific morphological constructions in the same vein as Leadholm and Miller (1992), but also examined reliability of different sample sizes using a test-retest 209 210 procedure based on counts of the copula, past tense, third person singular, do as an uncontracted auxiliary, be as an uncontracted auxiliary, the contracted auxiliary, the genitive and a one more 211 global structure that they termed 'multiverb utterances' which was defined as being any 212 213 utterance with more than one verb. The target morphemes were chosen based on the theory of specific disruption to certain inflectional morphemes in children with Specific Language 214 Impairment (Leonard, Eyer, Bedore & Grela 1997), with the goal being to provide a baseline of 215 216 typically developing children that might be of assistance in developing tools to recognize children with SLI at an early age. Frequency counts of each item were provided for sample 217 lengths of 50, 100, 150 and 200 utterances to compare reliability. Results ranged from -0.01 for 218 219 the past tense at 100 utterances to 0.78 for contracted auxiliaries at 200 utterances, showing that the shift to counting specific linguistic structures led to largely varying and overall lower 220 reliabilities than the global measures examined earlier. 221

Author (2015) next examined the differences between child and adult speech in terms of the frequency and reliability on the same morphemes as their earlier studies, again using sample sizes of 50, 100, 150 and 200 utterances taken from 17 mothers interacting with their children aged 2;6-3;6, thereby creating samples of child-directed-speech, known for its difference from adult to adult speech due to its qualities of being "syntactically and semantically simpler than [language] used to address adults" (Grieser and Kuhl 1988). Reliabilities in child-directed adult

language varied from -0.05 for the third person singular at 50 utterances to .58 for the plural at 200 utterances. Results indicated that frequency counts were higher for adults than the children aged 2;6 – 3;6, the relative frequency of items in the child language samples mirrored those in adult samples and that the reliability of most elements examined was lower in adult language than child language. Although of interest, the fact that the adults were speaking to their very young children means that it is likely that their speech in this context was not representative of their typical language with other adults.

In addition to developing frequency and reliability norms of healthy adults producing 235 236 conversational language, this study also compares the speech of young children to the speech of adult-to-adult language, to determine whether significantly different production patterns may 237 provide markers of language proficiency. If it is discovered that young children's reliability 238 varies greatly from adult language in terms of reliability, this could suggest that reliability is a 239 measure of competency. There are reasons to think that this could work in different directions. It 240 is possible that higher reliability is a hallmark of early language learning, in that fewer words and 241 structures are available to the child (or foreign language learner), therefore creating a situation 242 where the same structures are used more repetitively in early language, leading to higher 243 244 reliability. On the other hand, it is possible that adult language will be more reliable than children's given the length of utterances which leads to higher frequency of usage of the 245 examined morphemes. Either way, a marked discrepancy between the two groups could suggest 246 247 that the reliability measure assigned to adult language is a 'goalpost' towards which early language would move as it develops. 248

249 This study seeks to answer the following, specific research questions:

250	a. How frequent is the production of each of a defined set of morphemes in adult-to-			
251	adult speech at 50, 100, 150 and 200 utterances?			
252	b. How reliable is the production of these morphemes at sample lengths of 50, 100,			
253	150 and 200 utterances?			
254	c. How do frequency and reliability measures of specific bound morphemes and the			
255	more general multiverb in adult language samples compare to those in Author's			
256	(2013; 2014) child language samples?			
257	Method			
258	Participants			
258 259	Participants Transcripts from recordings of 20 adults (13 female, 7 male) aged 18-65 (mean 33.4,			
	-			
259	Transcripts from recordings of 20 adults (13 female, 7 male) aged 18-65 (mean 33.4,			
259 260	Transcripts from recordings of 20 adults (13 female, 7 male) aged 18-65 (mean 33.4, SD=15.6) were analyzed in this study. All adults recruited were native English speakers living in			
259 260 261	Transcripts from recordings of 20 adults (13 female, 7 male) aged 18-65 (mean 33.4, SD=15.6) were analyzed in this study. All adults recruited were native English speakers living in monolingual homes and reported negatively to having hearing problems, current or past speech			
259 260 261 262	Transcripts from recordings of 20 adults (13 female, 7 male) aged 18-65 (mean 33.4, SD=15.6) were analyzed in this study. All adults recruited were native English speakers living in monolingual homes and reported negatively to having hearing problems, current or past speech or language disorders, speech and language therapy or neurological issues that might have an			

265 **Procedure**

Participants in this study were recorded in two sessions within a week of each other in the location of their choice based on instructions of being in a quiet place where they would not be interrupted and that the location be the same each time. Recordings were made on smartphones and participants were asked to talk to each other about topics of their choosing for approximately 30 minutes each session. Although instructions to speak about past events were included in Author's earlier studies of children aged 2;6-3;6 in order to offer the opportunity to produce the

past tense, it was deemed unnecessary in this case due to the volume of language expected to be
produced and the high degree of speaker competency which was viewed as likely to produce a
variety of tenses naturally.

Orthographic transcription of the samples was carried out by university graduate students in the first author's class as an exercise. These transcriptions were then reviewed and corrected by the second author. Each sample was divided into utterances according to P-units (Loban 1976). Following Miller and Chapman (2004), P-units were limited to a maximum of two independent clauses in order to avoid run-on sentences. 5% of samples transcribed by the second author were transcribed by the first author to assess transcription reliability. Inter-transcriber reliability was 0.94.

Identical rules about inclusion and exclusion from the sample from Author (2013; 2014) were applied to the current study. For example, a word that was repeated due to lack of fluency was counted only once; if a participant uttered "I kicked... kicked the ball", only one count of a past tense would be awarded for the utterance. It also would not be scored as a multi-verb utterance which is described below. Each item or category had a list of examples of inclusion vs exclusion of questionable occurrences. One example of this is shown by the following utterance when considering whether or not a copula had been used:

289

"I was like 'come on over'"

Due to the repetitive nature of this structure, in which 'was' combined with 'like' meant 'said', it was decided that this particular form of 'was' would not be included as a copula. A similar decision was made not to include words such as 'clothes' into the category of plural as it does not show productive plurality of a noun. More important than exactly what was included

and excluded from a morphosyntactic category such as 'genitive' is the fact that the same rules
were applied consistently across all participants and all studies to ensure true comparisons of
child and adult reliability.

297 The items chosen to examine in this study were based on the earlier child studies by Author, (2013; 2014). The former of these papers focused on morphosyntactic items that have 298 299 been put forward as potential markers for Specific Language Impairment (Cleave & Rice 1997; Leonard 2014; Leonard et al. 1997; Rice et al. 1995; Rice & Wexler 1996) including the copula, 300 third person singular (3s), do as an uncontracted auxiliary (do-aux), be as an uncontracted 301 302 auxiliary (*be*-aux), contracted auxiliary ('-aux), and past tense (-ed). The latter paper added items including the plural and the present progressive (-ing) from Stage II of Brown's table of 303 morpheme acquisition (1973) and the genitive (-'s possessive) from Stage III in order to compare 304 the reliability of more recent Stage III acquisitions with those of the earlier acquired Stage II. 305 Both papers also included a newly constructed category labelled as "multi-verb utterance", 306 defined as any utterance with more than one verb, including auxiliaries with a lexical verb or 307 verbs in separate clauses. The sole purpose of the multi-verb was to ensure that there was an item 308 that was likely to have high frequency even in the language produced by children at age two in 309 310 order to allow the researchers to ask the question of whether high frequency items are more reliable than less frequent items. 311

312 [TABLE 1 NEAR HERE]

Multi-verb was the only binary item from the list. Whether an utterance contained two or more verbs, it got a single count of 1 as opposed to 0 which was awarded to any utterance free of verbs. All other items received a count for the number of times they appeared in the sample with no ceiling.

317	Each conversation's transcript was a minimum of 225 utterances. The first 25 were
318	excluded for the purpose of allowing a brief warmup phase and to match the procedure used in
319	Author's earlier studies (2013; 2014). The ensuing 200 utterances were coded according to the
320	number of occurrences in each utterance of each targeted morphosyntactic item. Overall totals
321	for each target item were established for each item at 50, 100, 150 and 200 utterances.
322	Results
323	Adult Frequency
324	In the following table, each morphosyntactic item is listed twice and identified with a 1 or
325	2. This indicates whether it refers to the first or second language sample gathered.
326	[TABLE 2 NEAR HERE]
327	In looking only at frequency of adult language in Table 2, it is clear that some structures
328	are much more common in adult speech than others. For instance, at 200 utterances, uses of
329	multiverb constructions, copula, and past tense number close to or above 50 instances. On the
330	other hand, genitive and 3 rd person singular still number fewer than 10, even at 200 utterances.
331	Plural, -ing, be-aux, do-aux, and 'aux all have between 13 and 30 instances of use. From this we
332	can confirm that different morphosyntactic structures are not used at equal frequencies, even in
333	adults with fully formed linguistic systems. Clearly, some structures are much more frequent
334	than others, as can be seen in Table 3 In order from most frequent to least frequent, based on
335	counts at 200 utterances with the right column showing their average frequency in a 200-
336	utterance sample:
337	[TABLE 3 NEAR HERE]
338	[TABLE 4 NEAR HERE]

When we look at the correlations for adults in Table 4, we see that there are several robust correlations. At 50 utterances, only multiverb and copula reach a significant correlation, but by 100 utterances, plural, 'aux, and past have all reached significant correlations that continue through 150 and 200 utterances. The correlations for both -ing and be-aux reach significance at 100 utterances, but drop to .5 or below at 150 utterances. Genitive, do-aux, and 3s simply never reach a significant correlation.

This data speaks to our question of what morphosyntactic structures are appropriate for 345 study with language samples. First, several of these structures, including genitive, do-aux, and 346 347 3s, do not appear to be reliable. They never reach significant correlations, even at 200 utterances. For the purposes of language sample analysis that relies on consistent occurrences of a structure, 348 349 none of these three are reliable enough for dependable analysis. In other words, these 350 constructions do not appear to be used consistently by adults in different language samples, and are unlikely to be useful in assessing an individual's language proficiency unless much longer or 351 elicited samples in future studies show much higher reliability. 352

At the other end of the spectrum are the structures with robust correlations, indicating that these structures are produced consistently across language samples. These are multiverb, copula, plural, and 'aux, all of which reach correlations of .7 or above in samples of 100 utterances or fewer. Of these, multiverb and 'aux have the strongest correlations, giving them the greatest potential for providing benchmarks in language sample analysis.

Between these two we have a small set of structures that are inconsistent, or for which correlations are not robust. Following Wright et al. 2005, we consider .7 to be sufficiently stable for our correlations, and none of these forms reach a correlation of .7, though they do reach correlations of .5 or above. These structures may show themselves to be of use in language

362 proficiency measurement, but perhaps not to the same degree as the structures and measures 363 already shown to be more reliable. This medium category includes -ing and be-aux, both of 364 which reach a correlation between .56 and .61 at 100 utterances, but then drop to .5 or below at 365 150. Here we also include past, which reaches a correlation of .6 by 50 utterances, but this 366 correlation never rises to .7.

367 [TABLE 5 NEAR HERE]

In addition to illustrating the reliability of some particular measures, we must also 368 consider the sample size for these claims. It is clear that for most morphosyntactic measures 369 under examination for adults, reliability is not present at 50 utterances. However, for most 370 selected morphosyntactic measures, a significant correlation is reached by 100 utterances. At that 371 372 point, only genitive, do-aux, and 3s fail to reach a significant correlation. Furthermore, correlations for these three morphemes never rise above .47, and that is only for genitive; for do-373 aux, .1 is the strongest correlation, while the correlation for 3s is always negative. In short, the 374 items that have not reached a significant correlation by 100 utterances do not reach one by 200. 375 While the correlations for multiverb, copula, and 'aux continue to strengthen with longer 376 samples, the gains are all .11 or less, and in others, like plural, reliability falls slightly with 377 longer samples. This data seems to indicate that 100 utterances is the optimal sample size for 378 reliability of those tested here; at 150 utterances, -ing and *be*-aux both fall to .5 or below, and 379 while -ing returns to a significant correlation at 200 utterances, be-aux does not. This instability 380 in the strength of the correlation is seen in several other instances as well: at 100 utterances the 381 plural has a correlation of .8, but this correlation has fallen to .69 at 200 utterances. The data thus 382 383 indicates that 100 utterances should be enough for a reliable sample; it is not clear that the gain in strength of correlation is enough to merit the time and effort involved in collecting and 384

transcribing an additional 100 utterances. Thus, if we are looking for how long a language
sample needs to be in order to be considered a reliable sample of a person's use of inflectional
morphemes, a sample of at least 100 utterances is recommended to ensure that studies of adult
language are scientifically meaningful.

389 [TABLE 6 NEAR HERE]

390 [TABLE 7 NEAR HERE]

391 Comparison of Adult and Child Reliability

When we compare adult and child language samples, there are a number of similarities. 392 First, the child language samples reported in Author (2013; 2014) reflected varying frequencies 393 for different morphosyntactic forms. Multiverb was the most frequent, at 37 and 44 uses at 200 394 utterances, while genitive was the least frequent with values close to 1 even at 200 utterances. 395 For children, this variation could have been at least partially due to children still being in the 396 process of acquiring this structure, but this explanation is not available for the adults, whose 397 linguistic systems are assumed to be fully formed. For both children and adults, we see that 398 genitive forms are only rarely used, even in mature linguistic systems. 399

When we compare adult and child language, we further see that the relative frequency is not identical. Table 8 shows the relative frequency of adult and children at 200 utterances (most frequent of the 2 samples taken).

403 [TABLE 8 NEAR HERE]

In both cases, multiverb is the most frequent and genitive the least frequent. However, the
other structures vary in relative frequency between the 2 groups. For instance, the frequency of

past tense is second only to multiverb for adults, with an average of 64.2 uses, while for children, 406 the past is only used an average of 4.5 times, falling close to the middle in terms of relative 407 frequency for the group as a whole. This difference in relative frequency could be due to several 408 factors. First, the children in the study were ages 2;6 - 3;6 and were potentially still in the 409 process of acquiring some parts of their linguistic system. Therefore, they may not have fully 410 411 acquired the past tense. Adults, on the other hand, have a fully developed linguistic system, and could have a stronger command of past tense usage. In addition, it is likely the case that adults 412 speaking to other adults tend to talk more, although they may engage more in discussion of the 413 414 here and now with children. This leads to the question of whether adult language varies morphosyntactically depending whether they are speaking to a child or another adult. Although 415 of interest, this question is beyond the scope of the current work. 416

Additional comparisons with the correlations from Author's child language study (2015), shows some striking similarities between the child and adult language samples, as well as several distinct differences. First, multiverb is the strongest correlation at 50 utterances in both adults and children. As can be seen in Table 8, this is also the most frequent structure. Second, the most robust correlations arise with multiverb, copula, and 'aux, but the correlations are stronger in the adult language. For adults, all three of these reach correlations above .8, with 'aux as high as .89. For children, these same measures fall between .63 (copula) and .78.

Another similarity evident between the adult and child correlation patterns is fluctuation within the strength of correlation (previously discussed for adults). For example, in the child samples, correlations for the copula reach .7 at 150 utterances, but fall to .63 at 200 utterances. This fluctuation leads to the conclusion that these correlations are driven by more than just frequency. Because each sample is nested within those with greater utterances, clearly a sample

of 200 utterances will have an equal or greater frequency across all categories than a sample of
100 or 150 utterances. If reliability was solely driven by frequency, we would expect to see
correlations rise steadily from 50 to 200 utterances. However, this is not what is seen in Tables Y
and Z.

These fluctuations speak directly to the question of how long a language sample should 433 434 be in order to be considered reliable. Based on the low correlations present between 50-utterance samples, Author (2015) claim that 50 utterances for a child language sample is not reliable 435 enough for the morphsyntactic measures at hand. Here, we see that the same claim must be made 436 437 for adult language samples: 50 utterances is not enough to see reliable use of morphosyntactic structures. While previous researchers (Pavelko, Price & Owens 2020) have found reliability in 438 samples even as short as 25 utterances, the measures under examination in those studies were 439 more global measures, like MLU, words per sentence, and clauses per sentence. For the usage of 440 specific inflectional morphemes, correlations at 50 utterances are just not strong enough to draw 441 conclusions about the use of these items. A sample of at least 100 utterances is necessary. 442

The most robust correlations for adults, falling at .7 or above at 100, 150, and 200 443 utterances, are multiverb, copula, and 'aux. These three constructions are clearly the most 444 reliable. However, when comparing these with the frequencies previously shown, they are not all 445 the most frequent. While multiverb and copula are both quite frequent, 'aux is much less 446 frequent, appearing only an average of 13.55 times even in a 200-utterance sample. Past, which 447 is the second most frequent construction, does have significant correlations, but these never rise 448 to .7, even though frequency rises to an average of 76 instances at 200 utterances in Time 2. 449 450 From this, we can see that frequency is not a direct indicator of the strength of correlation. In

other words, it is not the case that the strongest correlations always arise from the most frequentitems.

453 In their study of child language, Author (2013) found similar results for multiverb, 454 copula, and 'aux (see Table 7). Results showed that the strongest correlations found were for multiverb, copula, and 'aux, which all reached correlations of .57 or above by 100 utterances, 455 456 and by 150 utterances had all reached .7. However, uses of plural never reached a significant correlation at 100 and 150. On the other hand, be-aux was quite robust in the child language 457 samples, reaching a correlation of .74 by 100 utterances, but be-aux was not as robust in the adult 458 459 language; it reached a significant correlation of .61 at 100 utterances, but fell to around .5 at 150 and 200 utterances. Crucially, while multiverb and copula were among the most frequent items, 460 'aux and be-aux were much less frequent. Whether we are looking at children or adults, it is yet 461 again made clear that there is more than frequency driving the strength of correlation. 462

As we turn from frequency to examine other factors that may be affecting reliability, one 463 possibility to consider is that the most reliable forms of multiverb and 'aux are structures that do 464 not rely on any particular tense or content, unlike genitive, 3s, and *do*-aux, none of which reach 465 reliable correlations. In other words, use of the most reliable structures could be largely stylistic, 466 in the sense that they are not required for effective communication, but are used frequently 467 nonetheless. Given the option to use these forms, speakers use them with similar frequencies in 468 different samples. The less reliable structures, on the other hand, require some particular person 469 or situation in order to be used. The genitive requires speaking of possession, 3s requires 470 speaking of a person not involved in the conversation in present tense, and *do*-aux is most often 471 472 used in the asking of questions. In different conversations, these items may or may not be appropriate given the conversation at hand. To ensure that these particular contexts exist in 473

different samples, it would be necessary to provide elicitation prompts or scenarios, but even this
would not guarantee a higher degree of reliability. No elicitation prompts were used for the adult
language samples, but in the child samples, parents were asked to talk about something that had
happened in the recent past. Even though adults complied, this did not result in strong
correlations for past tense in the child language samples.

The other two highest correlations for the adult language, plural and copula, do require particular contexts for their use, but the contexts are not as specific as for genitive, do-aux, and questions. In addition, the plural and copula structures are among the highest in frequency for both children and adults. It is possible that these 2 forms are ones that appear frequently in language in general, regardless of context. As we move toward further examination of reliability in language samples, it may be fruitful to examine the degree to which additional morphemes require particular contexts or participants.

Finally, we consider whether reliability measures may be a useful tool in measuring 486 linguistic competency where typical adult language of a native speaker is considered as the ideal, 487 and if so, is higher competency reflected by higher or lower reliability? Generally, samples of 488 child language were not as robust in either frequency or reliability as adult samples were, with 489 child reliability being lower than adult reliability in 28 out of the 40 spots on the reliability 490 charts. When considering reliability at only the 100 utterance measure, we find that for 7 out of 491 492 10 items, child reliability was lower than adult. This provides us with an indication that if measures of reliability do indeed turn out to be a measure of linguistic ability, it seems likely that 493 lower reliability will indicate lower proficiency. 494

Because children were aged 2;6 – 3;6 and were still in the process of acquiring their
linguistic system, and Author's (2014) chosen morphosyntactic categories were chosen at least

partially due to their presence on Brown's order of acquisition list, one might think that low 497 reliability was dependent upon a lack of familiarity with specific target items counted. However, 498 the results overall cannot simply be shrugged off as due to acquisitional stages. Consider, for 499 instance, that contracted auxiliary is the latest acquired morpheme that Brown studied, later than 500 genitive, past, plural, 3s, all of which were less reliable in the child language study than 'aux 501 502 was. That the latest acquired morpheme was highly reliable is more likely to be related to the nature of that morpheme than strictly about the acquisitional stages. In other words, there is 503 something about particular morphemes that makes them more likely to be used across a variety 504 505 of contexts and conversations, while other forms are less likely to be used in this way. This finding is encouraging in that it suggests that certain reliable linguistic markers of development 506 may exist. 507

508

Conclusion

509 This examination of the reliability of adult language samples in comparison with those of 510 child language samples has shown several interesting results. First, we see that for both groups, a sample size of 100 utterances is likely to be the best among those tested here, being long enough 511 to reach reliable correlations, but short enough for feasible analysis by linguists and clinicians. 512 Second, we see that frequency and reliability do not always go hand in hand, even in mature 513 linguistic systems given that the most robust correlations do not always arise from the most 514 frequent structures. Third, we have proposed that some morphosyntactic categories are better 515 candidates than others for providing linguistic benchmarks. In particular, the multiverb 516 construction, copula, plural, and contracted auxiliary all show robust correlations at 100 517 518 utterances; these structures are the best targets for morphosyntactic study that rely on quantity of production. Additional forms, namely -ing, be-aux, and past, may be considered as reliable, but 519

to a lesser degree. Also, some morphosyntactic forms do not lend themselves to study due to very low correlations. These forms include genitive, do-aux, and 3s. Finally, examination of the reliability of adult morphosyntactic use in language samples provides early indicators that if reliability will eventually be used as a measure of progress, it is likely that higher reliability, not lower, will be a sign of greater proficiency.

References 526 Armstrong, E. 2000. 'Aphasic discourse analysis: The story so far,' Aphasiology 14/9: 875-892. 527 https://doi.org/10.1080/02687030050127685 Author 2015. Details withheld to preserve blind review. 528 529 Author 2014. Details withheld to preserve blind review. Author 2013. Details withheld to preserve blind review. 530 Batens, K., De Letter, M., Raedt, R., Duyck, W., Vanhoutte, S., Van Roost, D., & Santens, P. 531 532 2015. 'Subthalamic nucleus stimulation and spontaneous language production in Parkinson's disease: A double laterality problem,' Brain and Language 147: 76-84. 533 534 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandl.2015.06.002 Bleses, D., Werner, V. A. C. H., & Philip, S. D. 2018. 'Self-reported parental vocabulary input 535 frequency for young children,' Journal of Child Language 45/5: 1073-1090. 536 https://doi.org/10.1017/s0305000918000089 537 538 Brookshire, R. H., & Nicholas, L. E. 1994. 'Test-retest stability of measures of connected speech 539 in aphasia,' Clinical Aphasiology 22: 119-133. http://aphasiology.pitt.edu/163/1/22-540 09.pdf Cleave, P. L., & Rice, M. L. 1997. 'An examination of the morpheme BE in children with 541 specific language impairment: The role of contractibility and grammatical form 542 class,' Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research 40/3: 480-492. 543 544 https://doi.org/10.1044/jslhr.4003.480

545	Cole, K. N., Mills, P. E., & Dale, P. S. 1989. 'Examination of test-retest and split-half reliability			
546	for measures derived from language samples of young handicapped children,' Languag			
547	Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools 20/3: 259-268. https://doi.org/10.1044/0161-			
548	<u>1461.2003.259</u>			
549	German, D. J. 1987. 'Spontaneous language profiles of children with word-finding			
550	problems.' Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools 18/3: 217-230.			
551	https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1044/0161-1461.1803.217			
552	Grieser, D. L., & Kuhl, P. K. 1988. 'Maternal speech to infants in a tonal language: Support for			
553	universal prosodic features in motherese,' Developmental Psychology 24/1: 14.			

- 554 https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0012-1649.24.1.14
- Hollister, J., Van Horne, A. O., & Zebrowski, P. 2017. 'The relationship between grammatical
- 556 development and disfluencies in preschool children who stutter and those who
- 557 recover,' *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology* 26/1: 44-56.
- 558 https://doi.org/10.1044%2F2016_AJSLP-15-0022
- 559 Klusek, J., Martin, G. E., & Losh, M. 2014. 'A comparison of pragmatic language in boys with
- autism and fragile X syndrome,' *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing*
- 561 *Research* 57/5: 1692-1707. <u>https://doi.org/10.1044%2F2014_JSLHR-L-13-0064</u>
- Leadholm, B. J., & Miller, J. F. 1994. Language Sample Analysis: The Wisconsin Guide.
- 563 Bulletin 92424. <u>https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED371528</u>
- Leonard, L. B. 2014. *Children with Specific Language Impairment*. MIT press.
- 565 <u>https://muse.jhu.edu/book/46919</u>

566	Leonard, L. B., Eyer, J. A., Bedore, L. M., & Grela, B. G. 1997. 'Three accounts of the			
567	grammatical morpheme difficulties of English-speaking children with specific language			
568	impairment,' Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research 40/4: 741-753.			
569	https://doi.org/10.1044/jslhr.4004.741			
570	Loban, W. 1976. Language Development: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve. NCTE			
571	Committee on Research Report No. 18. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED128818.pdf			
572	Miller, J., & Chapman, R. (2004). Systematic Analysis of Language Transcripts (SALT v8.0).			
573	Madison, WI: Language Analysis Laboratory, Waisman Center, University of Wisconsin-			
574	Madison.			
575	Muma, J. R. 1998. Effective Speech-language Pathology: A Cognitive Socialization Approach.			
576	Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315805979			
577	Nicholas, L. E., & Brookshire, R. H. 1993. 'A system for quantifying the informativeness and			
578	efficiency of the connected speech of adults with aphasia,' Journal of Speech, Language,			
579	and Hearing Research 36/2: 338-350. https://doi.org/10.1044/jshr.3602.338			
580	Ott, B. L. 2017. 'The age of Twitter: Donald J. Trump and the politics of debasement,' Critical			
581	Studies in Media Communication 34/1: 59-68.			
582	https://doi.org/10.1080/15295036.2016.1266686			
583	Pavelko, S. L., Price, L. R., & Owens Jr, R. E. 2020. 'Revisiting reliability: Using sampling			
584	utterances and grammatical analysis revised (SUGAR) to compare 25-and 50-utterance			
585	language samples,' Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools 1:1-17.			
586	https://doi.org/10.1044/2020_LSHSS-19-00026			

587	Prins, R., & Bastiaanse, R. 2004. 'Analyzing the spontaneous speech of aphasic			
588	speakers,' Aphasiology 18/12: 1075-1091. https://doi.org/10.1080/02687030444000534			
589	Rice, M. L., & Wexler, K. 1996. 'Toward tense as a clinical marker of specific language			
590	impairment in English-speaking children,' Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing			
591	Research 39/6; 1239-1257. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1044/jshr.3906.1239			
592	Saffran, E. M., Berndt, R. S., & Schwartz, M. F. 1989. 'The quantitative analysis of agrammatic			
593	production: Procedure and data,' Brain and Language 37/3: 440-479.			
594	https://doi.org/10.1016/0093-934x(89)90030-8			
595	Simon-Cereijido, G., & Gutiérrez-Clellen, V. F. 2007. 'Spontaneous language markers of			
595 596	Simon-Cereijido, G., & Gutiérrez-Clellen, V. F. 2007. 'Spontaneous language markers of Spanish language impairment,' <i>Applied Psycholinguistics</i> 28/2: 317-339.			
596	Spanish language impairment,' Applied Psycholinguistics 28/2: 317-339.			
596 597	Spanish language impairment,' <i>Applied Psycholinguistics</i> 28/2: 317-339. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716407070166			
596 597 598	 Spanish language impairment,' <i>Applied Psycholinguistics</i> 28/2: 317-339. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716407070166</u> Solorio, T., Sherman, M., Liu, Y., Bedore, L., Pena, E., & Iglesias, A. 2011. 'Analyzing 			
596 597 598 599	 Spanish language impairment,' <i>Applied Psycholinguistics</i> 28/2: 317-339. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716407070166</u> Solorio, T., Sherman, M., Liu, Y., Bedore, L., Pena, E., & Iglesias, A. 2011. 'Analyzing language samples of Spanish–English bilingual children for the automated prediction of 			

- enough?,' *Journal of Child Language* 31/1: 101-121.
- 604 <u>https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1017/S0305000903005944</u>
- Tomblin, J. B., Harrison, M., Ambrose, S. E., Walker, E. A., Oleson, J. J., & Moeller, M. P.
- 606 2015. 'Language outcomes in young children with mild to severe hearing loss,' *Ear and*
- 607 *Hearing* 36: 76S-91S. <u>https://doi.org/10.1097/aud.00000000000219</u>

608	Wagenaar, E., Snow, C., & Prins, R. 1975. 'Spontaneous speech of aphasic patients: A
609	psycholinguistic analysis,' Brain and language 2: 281-303.

610 https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/S0093-934X(75)80071-X

- 611 Wittke, K., Mastergeorge, A. M., Ozonoff, S., Rogers, S. J., & Naigles, L. R. 2017.
- 612 'Grammatical language impairment in autism spectrum disorder: Exploring language
- 613 phenotypes beyond standardized testing,' *Frontiers in Psychology* 8: 532.
- 614 <u>https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00532</u>
- 615 Wright, H. H., Capilouto, G., Wagovich, S., Cranfill, T., & Davis, J. 2005. 'Development and
- reliability of a quantitative measure of adults' narratives,' *Aphasiology* 19/3-5: 263-273.
- 617 https://aphasia.talkbank.org/discourse/lit/Wrightetal2005.pdf
- 618 Zimmerer, V. C., Hardy, C. J., Eastman, J., Dutta, S., Varnet, L., Bond, R. L., ... & Varley, R. A.
- 619 2020. 'Automated profiling of spontaneous speech in primary progressive aphasia and
- behavioral-variant frontotemporal dementia: An approach based on usage-
- 621 frequency,' *Cortex* 133: 103-119. <u>https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cortex.2020.08.027</u>
- 622 **Table 1**

623 *List and Examples of Target Morphosyntactic Structures*

Morphosyntactic Structures	Examples
multiverb utterances	he <u>came</u> and I <u>ate</u> (two clauses); it <u>can drive</u> fast (aux + verb)
copula	donkey <u>is</u> hungry
plural	I like spoon <u>s</u>
present progressive (-ing)	Mommy is sleep <u>ing</u>
genitive	it's Sophie <u>'s</u> bear
contracted aux ('aux)	it <u>'s</u> chasing the cow
do-aux: uncontracted	I <u>do</u> like it / <u>do</u> you like it
be-aux: uncontracted	they <u>are</u> going
third person singular (3s)	daddy eats cake
past tense	she walk <u>ed;</u> he <u>ran</u>

Table 2

Frequency of morphemes in adult language samples

Morphemes	Number of Instances			
	50	100	150	200
multiverb 1	27 (8.43)	52.3 (14.75)	75.95 (18.12)	89.75 (19.99)
multiverb 2	25.15 (4.60)	51.45 (9.74)	76.7 (13.43)	90.55 (15.34)
copula 1	14.9 (3.24)	30.45 (6.32)	45.45 (8.48)	53.5 (8.57)
copula 2	16.2 (3.52)	29.25 (5.51)	43.45 (7.88)	49.75 (8.75)
plural 1	10.6 (5.85)	21 (13.23)	28.5 (15.52)	33.1 (18.59)
plural 2	9.85 (3.91)	18 (8.45)	25.25 (9.81)	32.5 (18.27)
-ing 1	7.3 (4.10)	13.25 (7.22)	18.7 (9.99)	21.25 (11.17)
-ing 2	5.3 (2.58)	11.3 (4.78)	17.9 (6.15)	21.3 (6.28)
genitive 1	0.6 (0.75)	0.85 (0.99)	1.15 (1.46)	1.3 (1.69)
genitive 2	0.65 (1.18)	1 (1.62)	1.25 (1.97)	1.5 (2.14)
'aux 1	4.5 (4.16)	8.25 (5.62)	11.55 (7.52)	13.55 (7.81)
'aux 2	3.9 (2.40)	7.9 (5.06)	12.3 (7.62)	15.3 (9.91)
do-aux 1	4.9 (2.95)	9.65 (4.09)	13.6 (4.62)	15.5 (4.94)
do-aux 2	3.9 (3.37)	8.3 (4.37)	12.05 (6.64)	14.25 (6.90)
be-aux 1	5.05 (4.16)	9.8 (7.51)	13.5 (8.98)	15.85 (9.91)
be-aux 2	4.3 (2.41)	9.1 (4.45)	13.8 (6.39)	16.45 (7.18)
3s 1	3.5 (3.03)	6 (6.85)	7.85 (7.43)	8.65 (7.24)
3s 2	1.8 (1.73)	4.4 (4.04)	5.4 (3.86)	6.75 (4.41)
past 1	18.3 (13.39)	39.85 (19.5)	55.95 (24.75)	64.2 (25.32)
past 2	22.15 (13.36)	44.6 (19.73)	66.1 (30.28)	76.35 (32.19)

Table 3

- *Number of specific morpheme types used by adults in 200 utterances in descending order of*
- *frequency*

multiverb	90
past	70

copula	52
plural	33
-ing	21
be-aux	16
do-aux	15
'aux	14
3s	8
genitive	1

Table 4

Reliability of adult language samples – Correlation between two samples

	Number of Utterances			
	50	100	150	200
multiverb	.58*	.81*	.88*	.86*
copula	.65 *	.70*	.7*	.81*
plural	.49	.8*	.79*	.69*
-ing	.34	.56*	.48	.63*
genitive	.13	.35	.41	.47
'aux	.09	.82*	.84*	.89*
do-aux	32	.1	.08	11
be-aux	.44	.61*	.5	.51
38	42	36	4	54
past	.38	.66*	.69*	.64*

*p < .05 634

Table 5 635

Categories of reliability 636

Unreliable:	genitive, do-aux, 3s
Partially Reliable:	-ing, be-aux, past
Reliable:	multiverb, copula, plural, 'aux

637

Table 6 638

Frequency of Morphemes in Child Language Samples 639

Morphemes	Number of Instances				
	50	100	150	200	
multiverb 1	7.9 (4.3)	17.4 (8.3)	26.7 (10.8)	37.2 (15.2)	
multiverb 2	11.0 (5.8)	21.8 (10.6)	32.7 (15.2)	44.3 (19.7)	
copula 1	6.7 (4.5)	12.5 (7.2)	17.8 (10.4)	24.0 (13.0)	
copula 2	5.7 (3.7)	11.3 (6.5)	15.9 (8.3)	20.1 (9.4)	
plural 1	3.1 (2.7)	6.4 (2.9)	9.1 (3.6)	12.3 (4.8)	
plural 2	2.5 (2.1)	5.7 (2.9)	8.7 (4.3)	12.1 (5.0)	
-ing 1	2.1 (2.1)	4.5 (4.3)	7.4 (5.5)	9.8 (6.2)	
-ing 2	2.9 (2.8)	5.8 (5.4)	8.7 (6.8)	11.0 (7.4)	
genitive 1	0.22 (.60)	0.52 (.79)	0.91 (1.2)	1.1 (1.3)	
genitive 2	0.17 (.39)	0.43 (.89)	0.61 (.94)	0.74 (.96)	
'aux 1	1.8 (1.6)	3.9 (3.7)	6.1 (5.2)	9.0 (8.3)	
'aux 2	2.4 (3.1)	4.5 (5.0)	6.1 (6.0)	8.3 (7.0)	
do-aux 1	0.8 (1.1)	1.9 (1.7)	2.9 (2.1)	4.4 (2.9)	
do-aux 2	1.3 (1.4)	2.5 (1.9)	3.3 (2.1)	5.3 (3.2)	
be-aux 1	0.4 (0.9)	1.1 (2.4)	1.7 (3.2)	1.8 (3.2)	
be-aux 2	0.4 (0.8)	0.9 (1.9)	1.3 (2.3)	1.4 (2.4)	
3s 1	0.8 (1.3)	1.2 (1.3)	1.6 (1.7)	2.4 (2.7)	
3s 2	1.2 (1.3)	1.8 (1.9)	2.1 (2.0)	3.0 (2.5)	
past 1	0.8 (1.3)	2.1 (2.9)	3.3 (3.9)	4.5 (5.6)	
past 2	0.7 (1.1)	1.6 (2.1)	2.8 (3.4)	3.6 (3.8)	

*SD in parenthesis

Table 7

- *Reliability of child language samples Correlation between two samples in children aged 2;6-*
- *3;6*

	Instances			
	50	100	150	200
multiverb	.56*	.70*	.70*	.73*
copula	.32	.64*	.70*	.63*
plural	.22	.24	.35	.49*
-ing	.26	.39*	.52*	.47*
genitive	.21	.12	.01	05
'aux	.29	.57*	.76*	.78*
do-aux	.27	.21	.41	.52*
be-aux	.34	.74*	.69*	.66*
3s	.16	.22	.36*	.38*
past	.11	-0.01	.32	.32

Table 8

646 Morpheme Frequency Comparison of Adults and Children

I	Adults	Child	ren	
Multiverb	89.75	Multiverb	37.2	
Past	64.2	Copula	24.0	
Copula	53.5	Plural	12.3	
Plural	33.1	-ing	11.0	
-ing	21.25	'aux	9.0	
Be aux	15.85	Past	4.5	
Do aux	15.5	Do-aux	4.4	
'aux	13.55	3s	2.4	
3s	8.65	Be-aux	1.8	

	Genitive	1.3	Genitive	1.1	
647	Frequency using Time 1 at 200 utterances for adults and children ordered greatest to least				