Semantic Identity and Overt-morphology Trigger Syntactic Recursion

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Background

The Strong Minimalist Thesis

Interfaces + Merge (Recursion) Language

(Chomsky (2007, 2008, Sauerland and Gärtner eds. (2007))

Cross-linguistic Variation

Recursive prenominal possessives are not Test Conditions: 4 conditions allowed in German.

Recursive locatives are not allowed in Romanian.

Recursive tensed clauses are not allowed lin Kalmak.

- -> Recursion is triggered. Repeated Use of –no in Japanese
- (1) a. Mary's friend's house
 - b. Meari-no tomodachi-no ie
- (2) a. An apple in the box on the table
 - b. tsukue-no ue-no hako-no naka-no ringo

Language Acquisition Data

English:3- to 5-year-olds do not grasp embedded POSSs (John's friend's father's hat) or LOCs (the cat next to the dog next to the cow) (Limbach and Adone (2010) and Pérez-Leroux et al. (2012, 2018)).

Japanese: 4- to 5-year-olds easily give recursive interpretation to sentences with two and three POSS phrases. Recursive POSSs are easier for children than recursive LOCs. (Terunuma et al. (2017), Terunuma and Nakato (2018)).

Research Questions

- (i) Why are LOCs delayed in Japanese?
- (ii) Why are both LOCs and POSSs later in English?

Answers to the RQs

- (i) The delay in Japanese LOCs is observed when initially <u>phrases</u> recursively are semantically used inconsistent;
- (ii) The acquisition of recursion is delayed in English because it lacks an overt morpheme repeatedly used cross-categorically, such as -no in Japanese.

Selected References

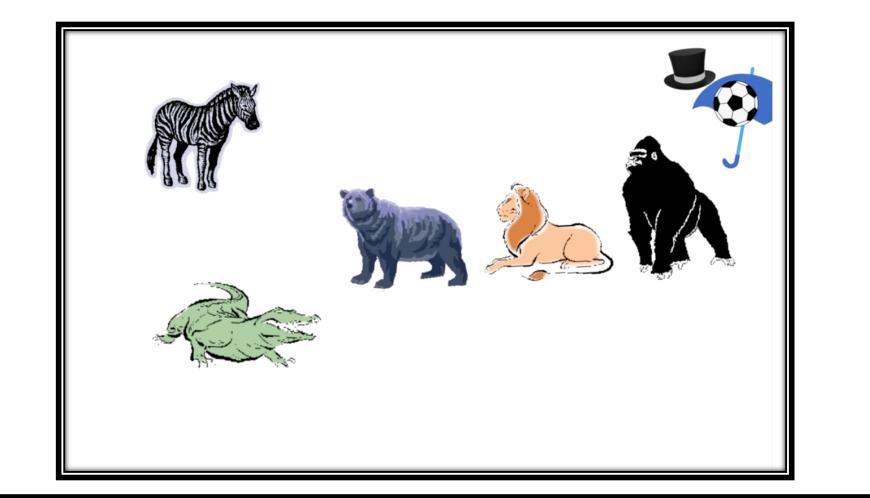
Amaral et al. (2018) Recursion across Domains. / Sevecenco et al. (2015) The Acquisition of Recursive Relative PPs and Relative Clauses in Child English. GALA Proceedings 2015. / Terunuma et al. (2017) Acquisition of Recursive Possessives and Locatives within DPs in Japanese. BUCLD 41.

Experiment

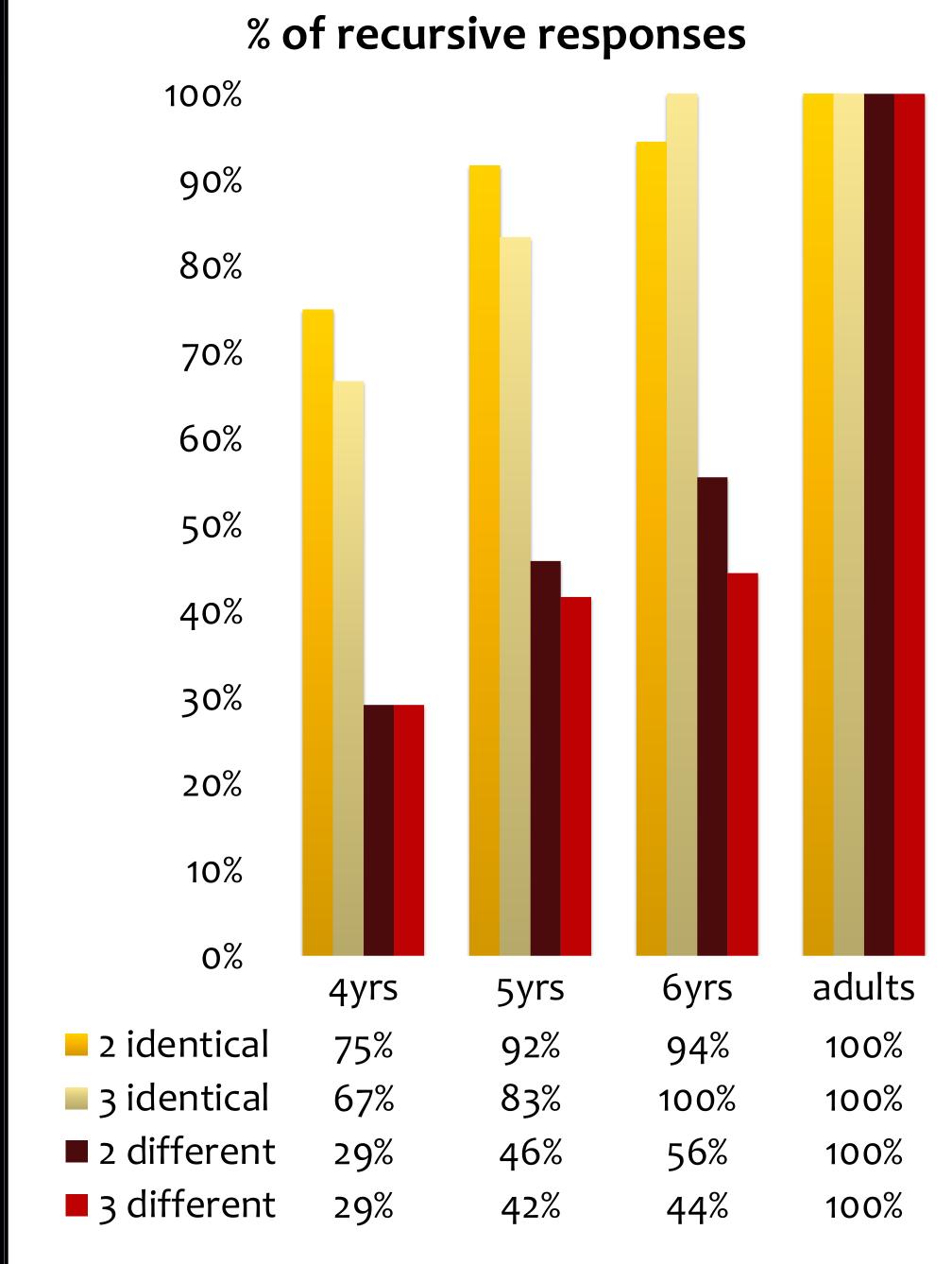
Participants: 22 mono-lingual Japanesespeaking children aged from 4 to 6 Method: children were asked to move 2010), animals on the iPad-screen after they heard stimulus sentences.

(A) Identical LOCs

- 2 Identical LOCs, 3 identical LOCs
- (B) Different LOCs
 - 2 different LOCs, 3 different LOCs
- (3) 2 identical LOCs (2-ident-LOCs) kuma-no shita-no kirin-no shita-no giraffe under under bear shimauma (o misete) zebra
- "Show me a zebra under a giraffe under a bear."
- (4) 2 different LOCs (2-diff-LOCs) kuma-no shita-no kirin-no tonari-no under giraffe next to bear shimauma (o misete) zebra
- "Show me a zebra next to a giraffe year-olds. under a bear."



Results



Paired t-test show statistical difference (p < 0.05) between 2-ident-LOCs and 2-diff-LOCs in 4- and 5-year-olds and between 3ident-LOCs and 3-diff-LOCs in 5- and 6-

No significant difference is observed between 2-ident-LOCs and 3-ident-LOCs or between 2-diff-LOCs and 3-diff-LOCs.

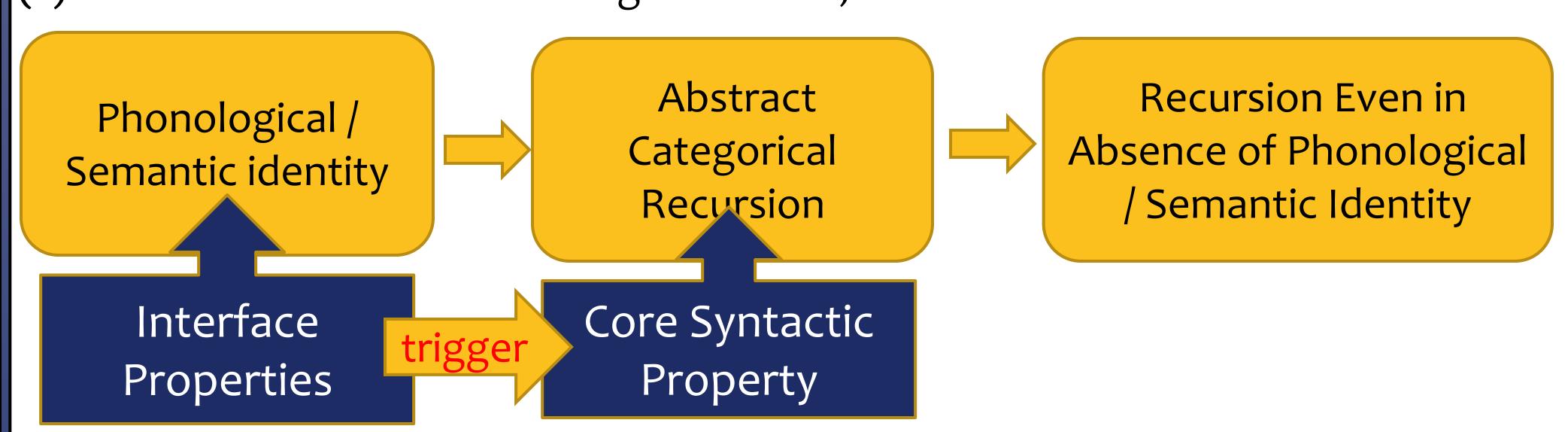
→ Semantic identity of LOC phrases makes it easier for Japanese children to recognize recursion.

Discussion

The acquisition path is defined both by the recognizable critical features at the SM and CI interfaces, and the stepwise abstraction toward categorical definition.

Possible Developmental Path

- (i)Recursion is first defined in terms of LOC-P or POSS-P with a semantic dimension,
- (ii) then it is abstracted to a categorical level, such as full PP recursion



The recognition of recursion belongs in a larger theory of how co-indexing of all kinds functions as an acquisition trigger and leads to interpretation.

We assume that every form of phonological identity leads to a set of hypotheses:

Phi-feature agreement, Binding with coreference, Recursive Operator linking The acquisition system actively looks for recursion at every level. If no overt trigger exists, then binding of P-nodes is possible if they carry identical lexical items, or identical semantic forms, like locative or possessive.