

# **Children's acquisition of relative clauses**

Holger Diessel

# Structure of relative clauses

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## External syntax

- (1) The *guy* we saw was Peter.
- (2) I know the *guy* you are talking about.
- (3) Peter gave the man we saw the keys.
- (4) He lives in the same *house* where Peter lives.
- (5) That's the *picture* I made.

## Internal syntax

- (1) The man who slept.
- (2) The man I met.
- (3) The man I gave the picture to.
- (4) The man I talked to.
- (5) The man whose dog chased the cat.

# Experimental studies

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- (1) The dog that jumps over the fence bumps into the lion.
- (2) The dog bumps into the lion that jumps over the fence.

Tavakolian (1977)

- |     |                                       |            |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------|
| (1) | This is the sugar that goes in there. | [Nina 3;0] |
| (2) | That's a picture I made.              | [Adam 3;0] |
| (3) | The one I want                        | [Abe 2;10] |
| (4) | The one who laughed.                  | [Abe 2;11] |

# Children's spontaneous REL-clauses

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	Age range	Finite	Nonfinite
Adam	2;3-4;10	178	120
Sarah	2;3-5;1	32	36
Nina	1;11-3;4	62	71
Peter	1;9-3;2	25	44
Naomi	1;8-3;3	8	16
	1;9-5;1	305	287

# Children's spontaneous REL-clauses

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- |     |       |  |            |
|-----|-------|--|------------|
| (1) | *CHI: | And here's a rabbit <u>that</u> I'm patting. | Nina 3;0   |
| (2) | *CHI: | And there's the penguins <u>that</u> we saw. | Nina 3;1   |
| (3) | *CHI: | Is that house <u>that's</u> on fire?         | Peter 2;10 |
|     |       |  |            |
| (4) | *FAT: | No what did you eat?                         | Abe 3;6    |
|     | *CHI: | Some apples <u>that</u> were sweet .         |            |
| (5) | *MOT: | What are those?                              | Nina 3;2   |
|     | *CHI: | Animals <u>that</u> are chasing that .       |            |
| (6) | *FAT: | What lion face?                              | Abe 3;11   |
|     | *CHI: | The lion face <u>you</u> were gonna draw.    |            |

# Children's spontaneous REL-clauses

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- |     |   |           |
|-----|---|-----------|
| (1) | That's doggy <u>turn around</u> .               | Nina 1;11 |
| (2) | This is my doggy <u>crys</u> .                  | Nina 2;0  |
| (3) | That's a turtle <u>swim</u> .                   | Nina 2;2  |
| (4) | Here's a mouse <u>go sleep</u> .                | Nina 2;3  |
| (5) | That's the roof <u>go on that home</u> .        | Nina 2;4  |
| (6) | That's the rabbit <u>fall off</u> .             | Nina 2;4  |
| (7) | There's a tape <u>go around right there</u> .   | Peter 2;0 |
| (8) | This is the fire engine <u>go 'whoo whoo'</u> . | Peter 2;6 |

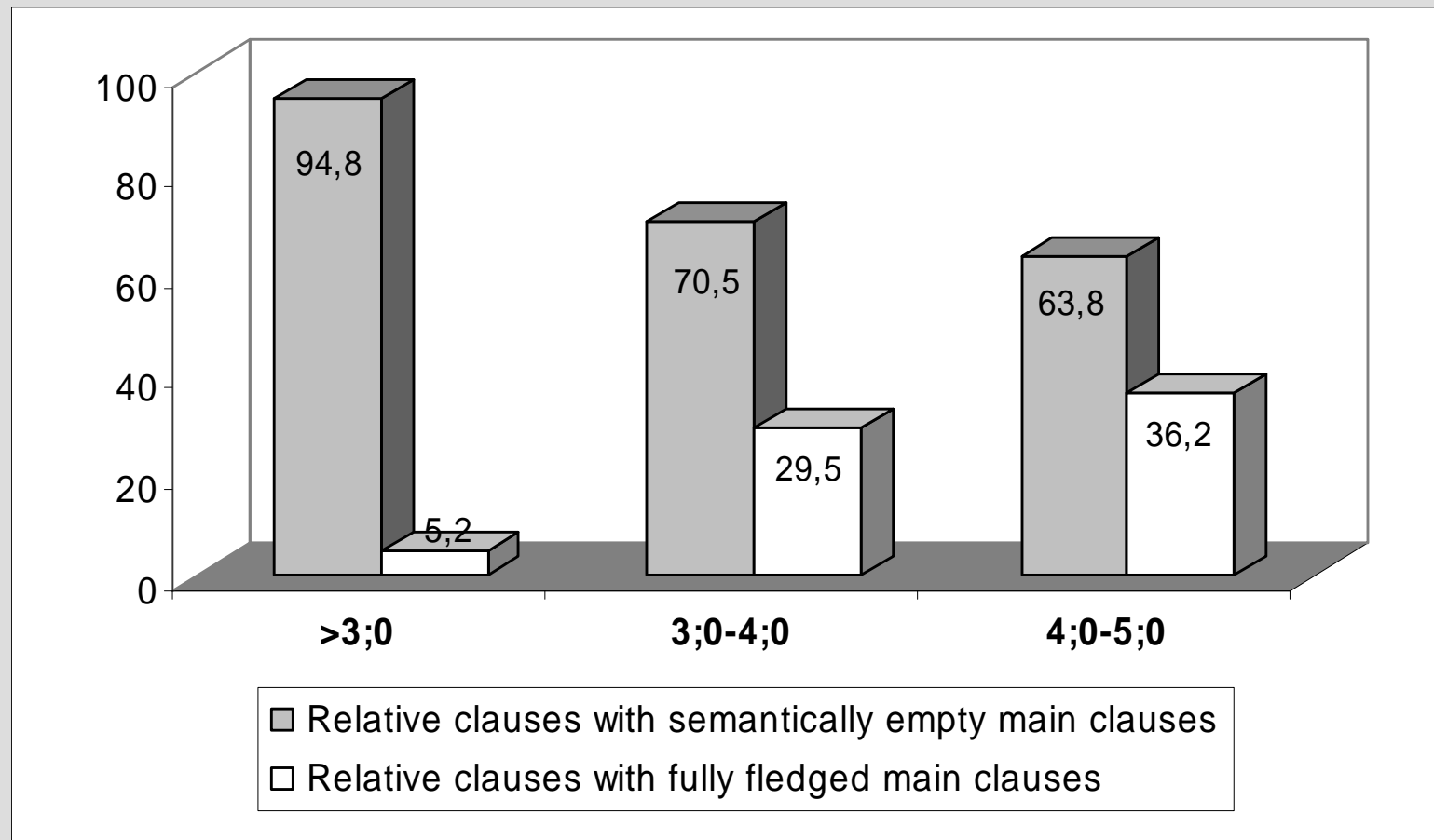
# Children's spontaneous REL-clauses

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# Children's spontaneous REL-clauses

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# Diessel and Tomasello 2005

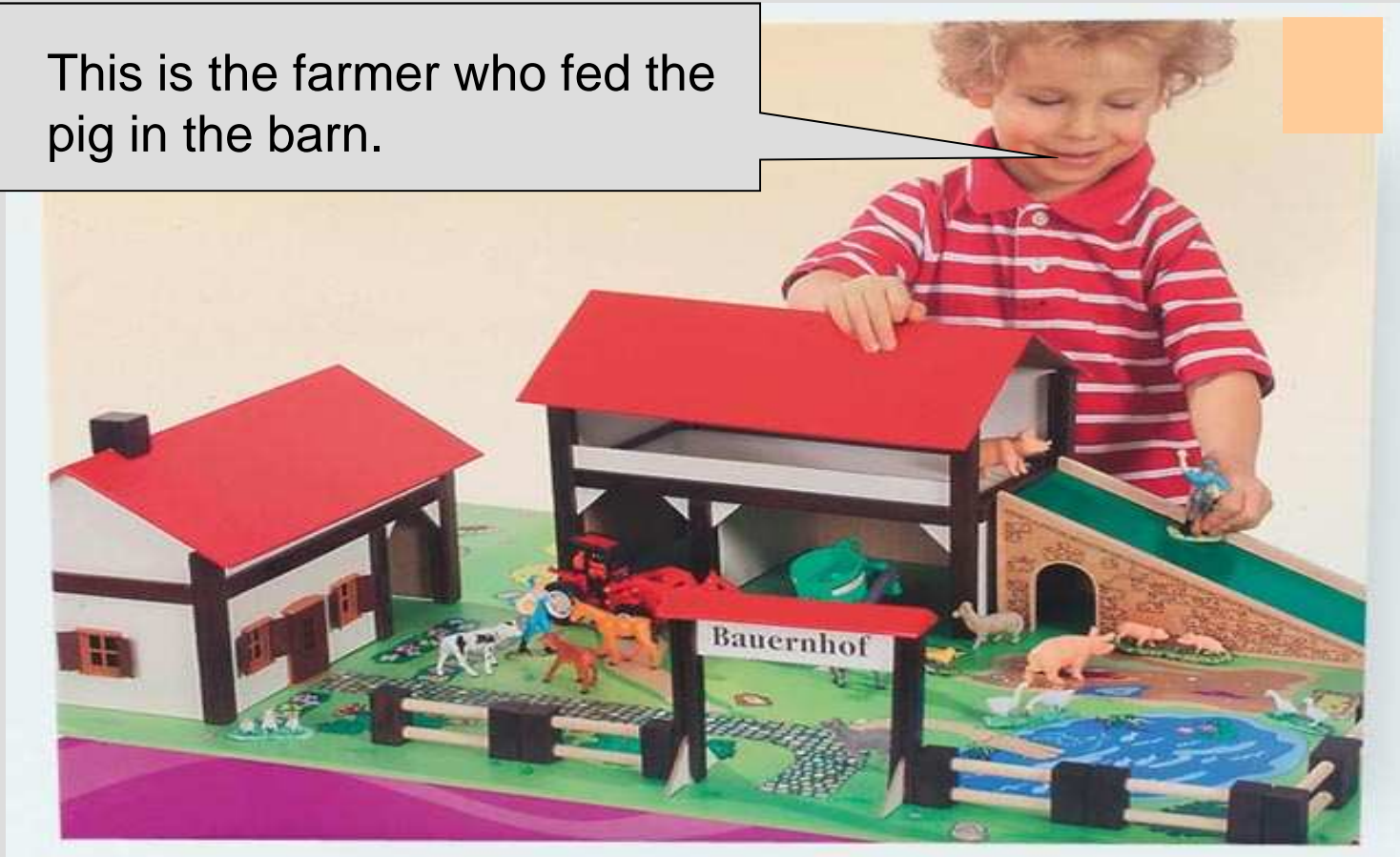
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- |      |   |               |
|------|---|---------------|
| (1)  | Der Mann, <i>der</i> mich gesehen hat.          | SUBJ-relative |
| (2)  | Der Mann, <i>den</i> ich gesehen habe.          | OBJ-relative  |
| (3)  | Der Mann, <i>dem</i> ich das Buch gegeben habe. | IO-relative   |
| (4)  | Der Mann, <i>zu dem</i> ich gegangen bin.       | ADV-relative  |
| (5)  | Der Mann, <i>dessen</i> Hund mich gebissen hat. | GEN-relative  |
|      |   |               |
| (6)  | The man who ___ met the woman.                  | SUBJ-relative |
| (7)  | The woman who the man met ___ .                 | OBJ-relative  |
| (8)  | The boy who the girl gave the ball to ___.      | IO-relative   |
| (9)  | The girl who the boy played with ___.           | ADV-relative  |
| (10) | The man whose cat caught a mouse.               | GEN-relative  |

# Method

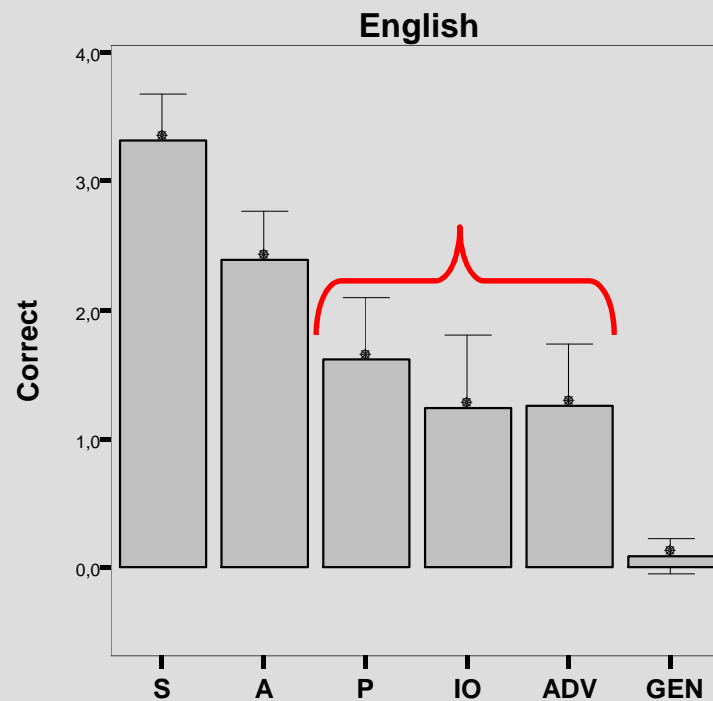
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This is the farmer who fed the pig in the barn.

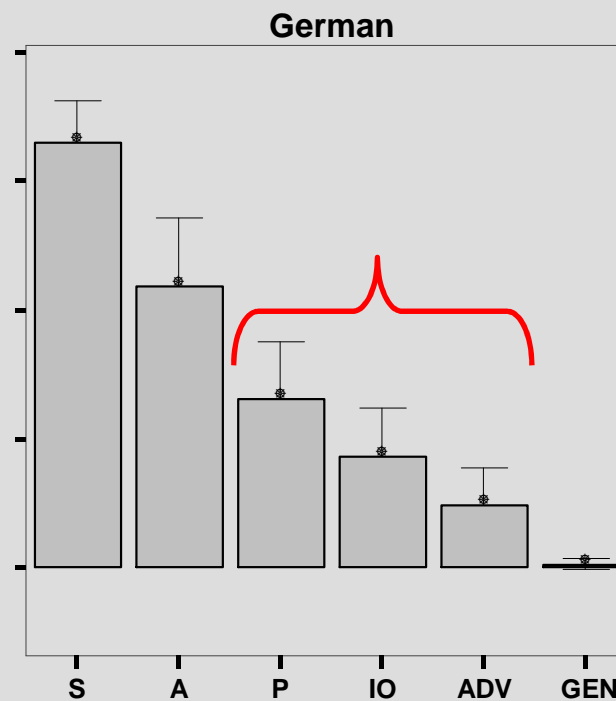


Subjects: 4-5 year-old English- and German-speaking children

# Results



P vs. IO  $p > 0.173$   
P vs. ADV  $p > 0.169$



P vs. IO  $p > 0.061$   
P vs. ADV  $p < 0.001$

S	intrans. subj.
A	trans. subj.
P	direct obj.
IO	indirect obj.
ADV	adverbial
GEN	genitive

# Error analysis

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- (1) Test item: This is the girl who the boy teased at school this morning.  
CHILD: This is the girl who teased ... the boy ... at school this morning.
- (2) Test item: Da ist der Mann, den das Mädchen im Stall gesehen hat.  
CHILD: Da ist der Mann, der das Mädchen im Stall gesehen hat.
- (3) This is the girl who bor/ Peter borrowed a football from.
- (4) Da ist der Junge, der/ dem Paul ... die Mütze weggenommen hat.

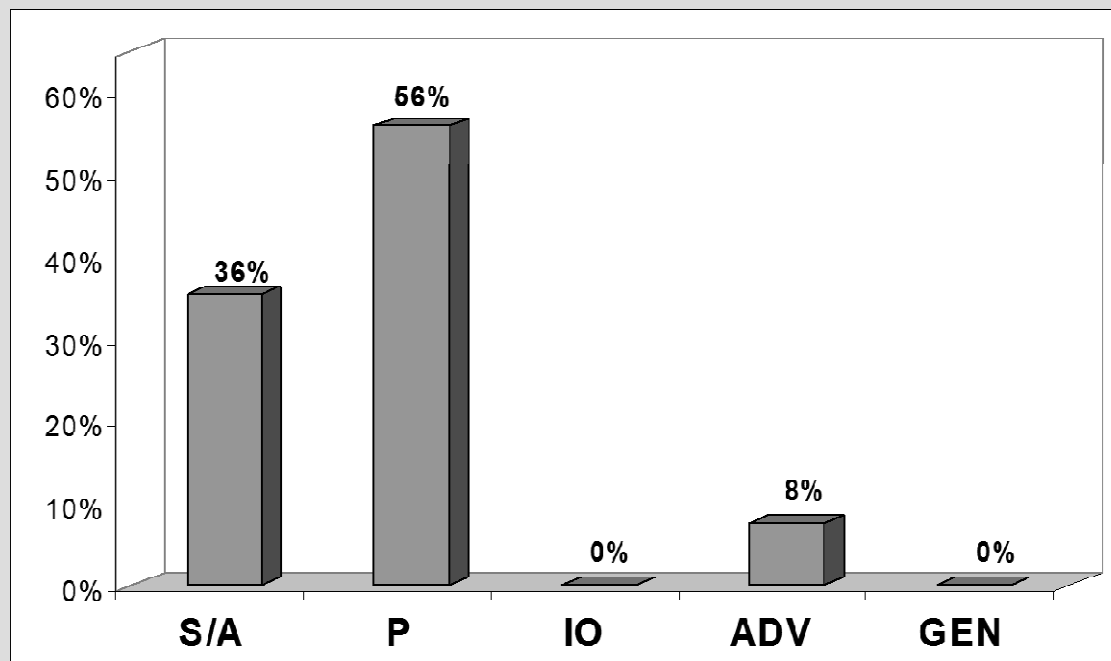
The conversion errors do not arise from lack of grammatical knowledge.

Hypothesis: Subject relatives are easier to activate than other types of relative clauses.

# Subject relatives

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One factor that determines the ease of activation is frequency (Bybee 2006; Elman 2004).



Proportion of different structural types of relative clauses in the ambient language (Diessel 2004)

# Subject relatives

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Hypothesis: Subject relatives are easy to activate because they are similar to ordinary main clauses (Diessel & Tomasello 2005).

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|---|------|
| (1) The man [agent] who opened the door [patient].              | SUBJ |
| (2) The cat [patient] the dog [agent] chased around the garden. | OBJ  |
| (3) The doctor [goal] the patient [agent] went to last night.   | ADV  |

# Object- and adverbial REL

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the N [ <b>who</b> saw NP]	subject
the N [ <b>who NP</b> saw]	direct object
the N [ <b>who NP</b> gave NP to]	indirect object
the N [ <b>who NP</b> played with]	adverbial
the N [[ <b>whose N</b> ] chased NP]	genitive


der Mann, <b>der</b> ...	subject
der Mann, <b>den</b> ...	direct object
der Mann, <b>dem</b>	indirect object
der Mann, <b>mit/von dem</b> ....	adverbial
der Mann, <b>dessen</b> N ...	genitive

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# Genitive REL

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(1) This is the man whose dog bit me.

Genitive relatives are rare (or even absent) in the ambient language.

Indirect object relatives are also rare.

Genitive relatives caused more problems than indirect object relatives because they are very different from all other types of relative clauses, whereas indirect object relatives can easily be formed in analogy to subject and direct object relatives.

# Summary

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- ❑ Subject relatives caused few problems because they are frequent and similar to simple sentences.
- ❑ English direct object, indirect object, and adverbial relatives caused basically the same amount of errors because they have the same word order.
- ❑ Indirect object relatives caused relatively few problems because they are similar to direct object relatives.
- ❑ Genitive relatives and German adverbial relatives caused great problems because they are dissimilar from other relative clauses.

# Summary

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Why is similarity so important?

Similarity is important because relative clauses are grammatical constructions (i.e. form-function pairings) that are related to each other in an associative network like lexical expressions.

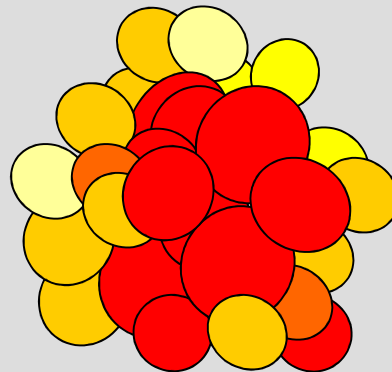
# Network of relative clauses

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SVO sentences

# Network of relative clauses

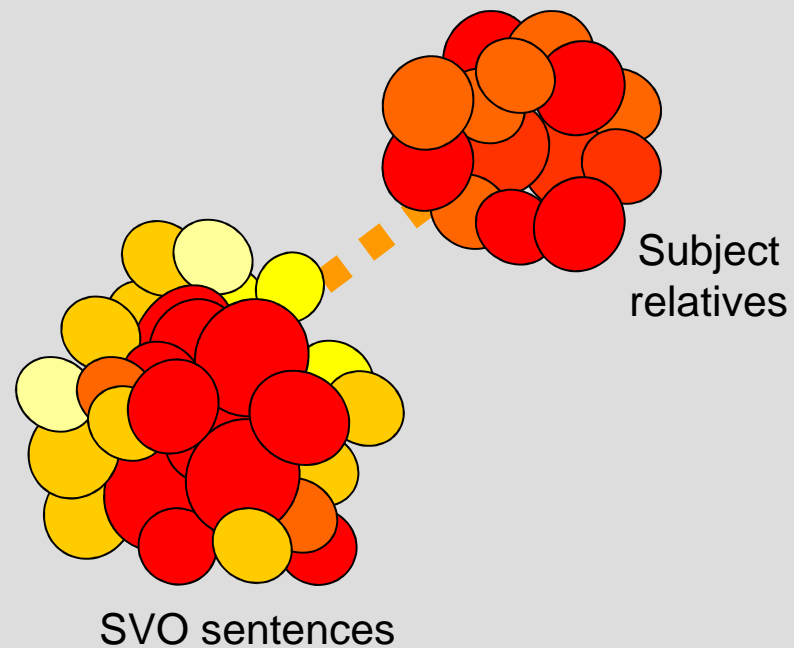
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SVO sentences

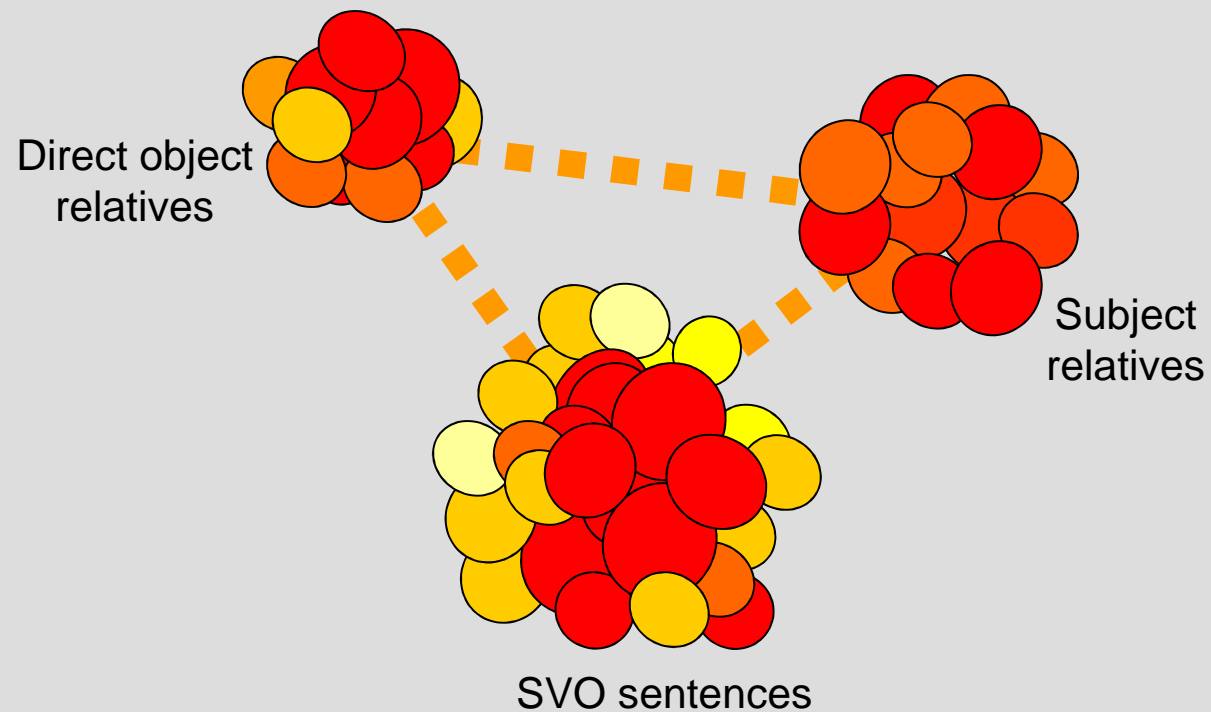
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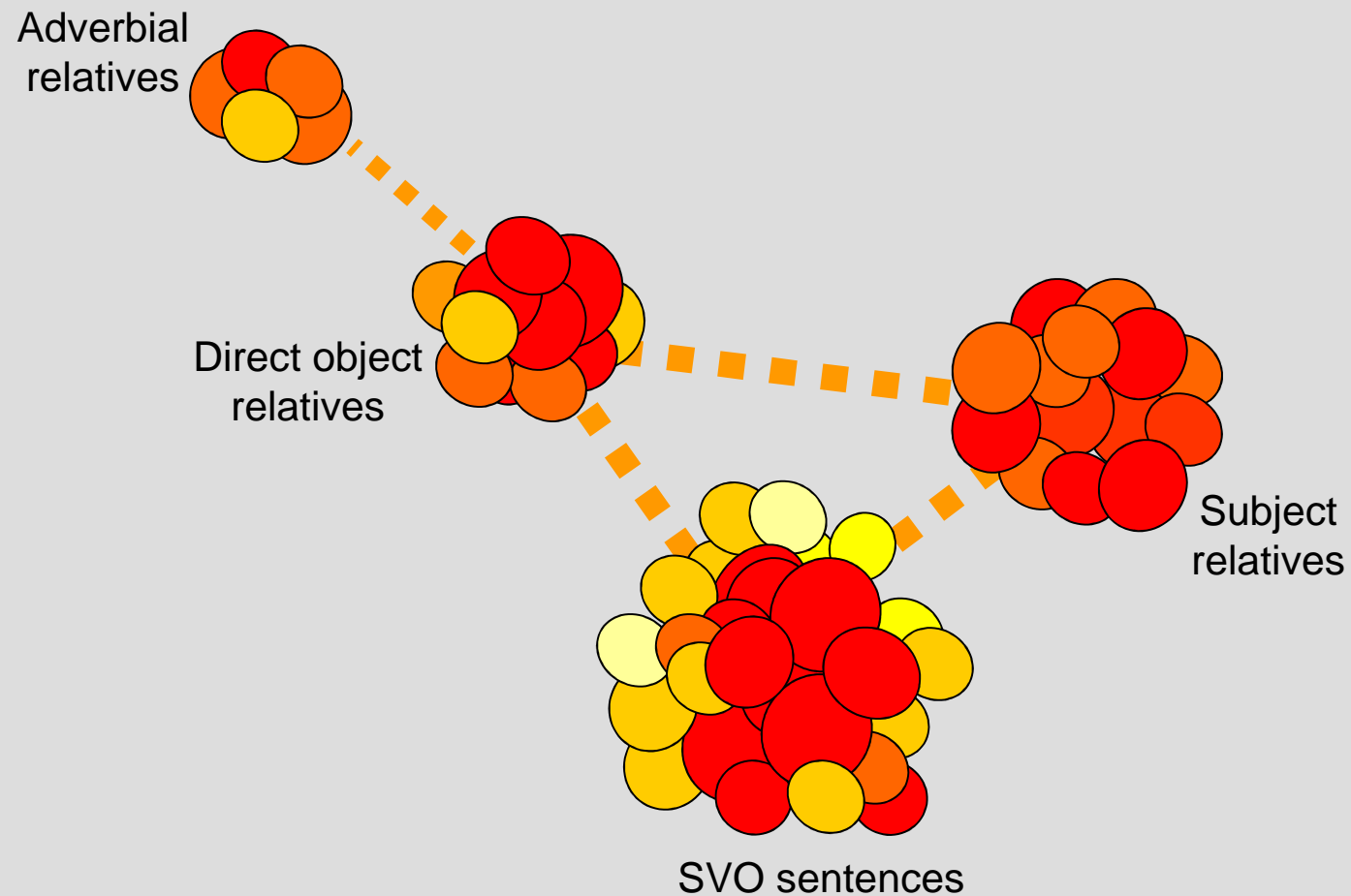
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# Network of relative clauses

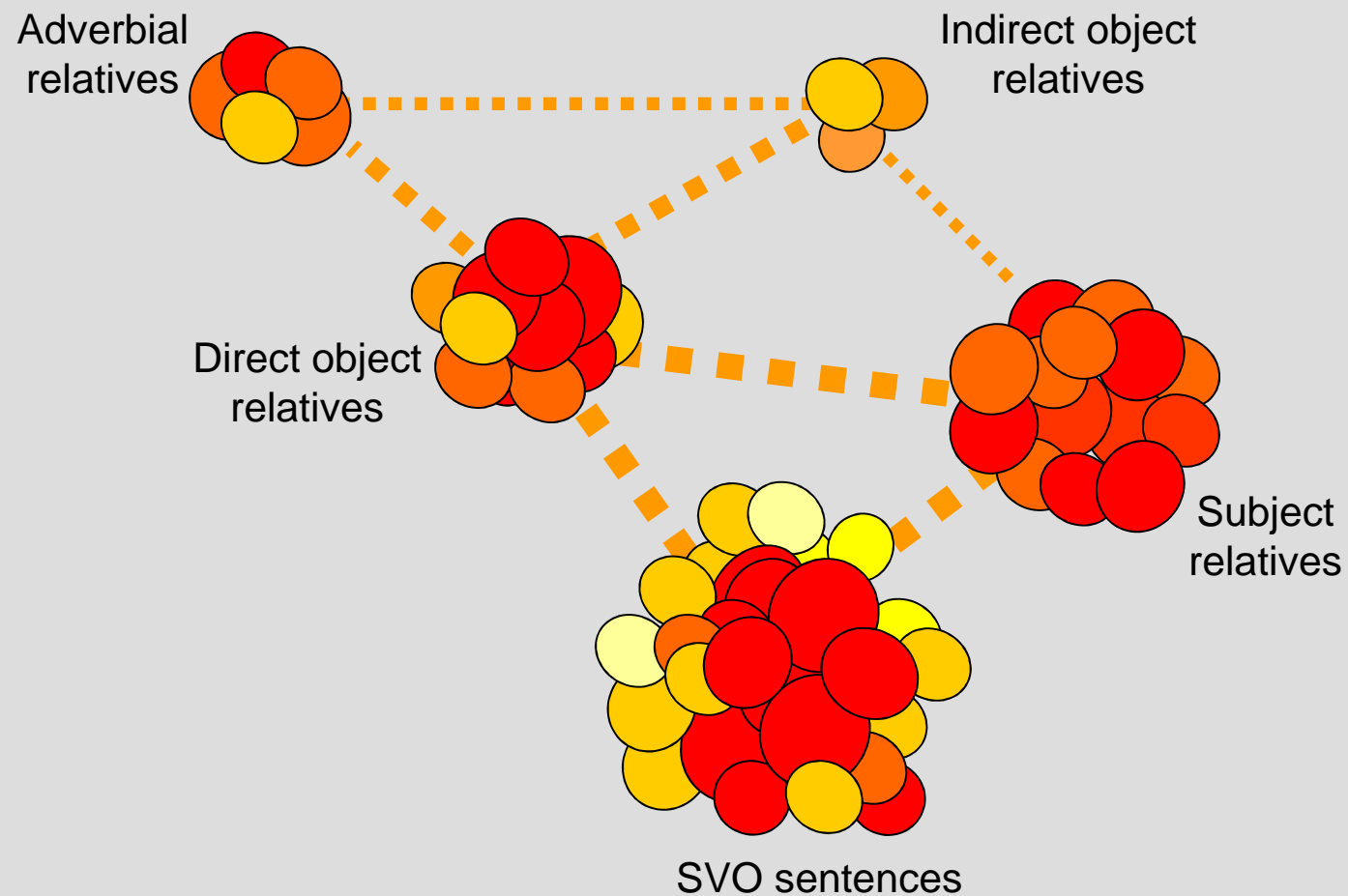
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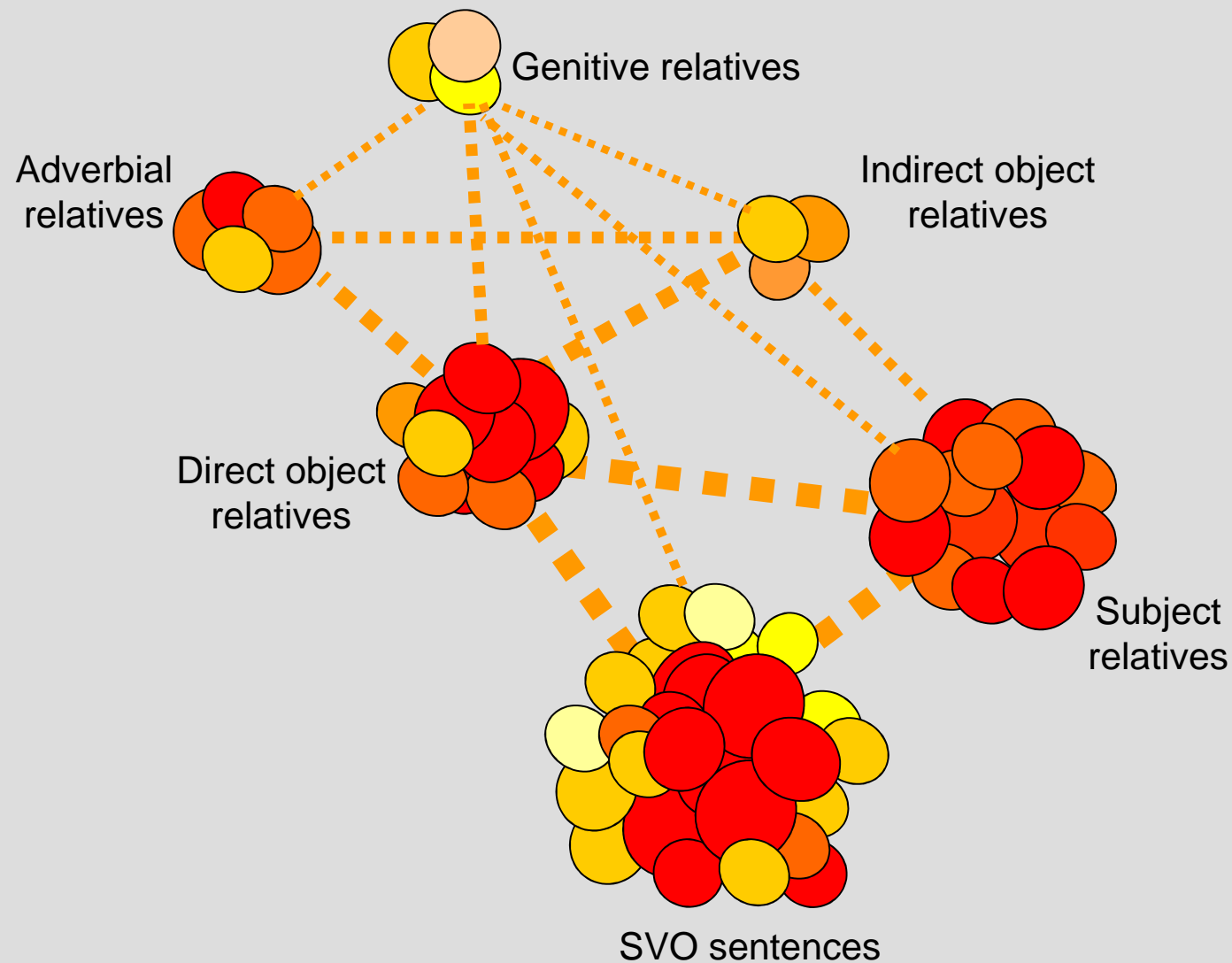
# Network of relative clauses

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# Network of relative clauses

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# Connectionist simulation

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Fitz, H. & Chang, F. 2008. The role of the input in a connectionist model of the accessibility hierarchy in development. *Proceedings of the 32nd Boston University Conference on Language Development*, 120-131. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

# Conclusion

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In traditional grammar, linguistic productivity is based on rules that are similar to mathematical equations.

But research on the acquisition of inflectional morphology suggests that linguistic productivity is based on associations that are shaped by frequency and similarity.

The current study has shown that the approach can be extended to syntax.

Grammar consists of a network of constructions that is shaped by the frequency and similarity of its components.

**Merry Christmas**