## What do Children's Errors in Object Relative Clauses in Turkish Reveal about Language Acquisition?

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Recently, Özcan, 2000; Kornfilt, Hermon, and Öztürk (2009); and Özge, Marinis, and Zeyrek (2009) reported data from different production tasks eliciting RCs in Turkish children. In these studies, while children presented significantly better performance in subject-RCs they used a greater number of avoidance strategies and made more errors in object-RCs (see also Ekmekçi, 1990 and Slobin, 1986).

In the present study, we present a detailed qualitative analysis of children's errors derived from these studies to provide insights about the difficulty in the acquisition of object-RCs. We illustrate that erroneous responses involve consistent changes, reflecting children's attempts to avoid difficult structures and to approximate towards adult-grammar.

In their ungrammatical responses, children adapt -YAN as an object-relativizer and assign nominative-case rather than genitive-case to the subject NP (1). This pattern shows -YAN is a better choice as a relativizer and nominative-case is a better choice as a subject-marker, so they avoid -DIK and genitive-case in line with Özge et al. (2009). We will show this is not simply a processing effect since children actually hear "NP1-NOM verb-YAN NP2-NOM" in adult-grammar with different meanings (2).

Another modification they make is to insert a pronoun or full NP-ACC in the extraction-site in addition to changing the participle and the case-marking (3). In adult-grammar, one finds object-RCs with -YAN rather than -DIK and with a resumptive-pronoun "kendisi" (4a and 5a) but not the ones in 4b-4c and 5b. Children wrongly replace the resumptive-pronoun 'kendisi' with a personal-pronoun 'o' and change the word-order into SOV. Thus, their utterances are mirroring, albeit incorrectly, classical resumption in adult Turkish.

We argue children's errors reflect the process of sorting out a very complex input (i.e., utterances for which there is positive evidence in the environment) and matching which lexical/morphological items can be used to express which meanings.

## **Appendix**

(1)

Target:

Köpeğ-in kovala-dığ-ı kedi

dog-gen chase-DIK-Poss3sg cat-null

"The cat that the dog was chasing"

Response:

Köpek kovala-yan kedi

dog-NOM chase-YAN cat-NOM

(2)

a.

Arı sok-an kız hastane-de.

bee-NOM sting-YAN girl-NOM hospital-LOC

'The girl whom a bee stung is in the hospital.'

b.

Kedi kovala-yan köpeğ-i hiç sev-me-m.

Cat chase-YAN dog-ACC at all lile-NEG-1sg

'I do not like dogs that chase cats at all.'

(3)

Target:

Köpeğ-in kovala-dığ-ı kedi

dog-gen chase-DIK-Poss3sg cat-null

"The cat that the dog was chasing"

Response:

\*Köpek o-nu/kedi-yi kovala-yan kedi

\*dog-NOM 3sgpron-ACC/cat-ACC chase-YAN cat-NOM

"The cat that the dog is chasing the cat/him"

(4)

a.

Kendisi-ni köpek ısır-an adam

Himself-ACC dog-NOM bite-YAN man-NOM

"The man<sub>i</sub> whom the dog bit him<sub>i</sub>"

b.

\*O-nu köpek ısır-an adam

\*3sgPron-ACC dog-NOM bite-YAN man-NOM

"The man<sub>i</sub> whom the dog bit him<sub>i</sub>"

(5)

a.

Köpeğ-in kendi-si-ni<sub>i</sub> kovala-dığ-ı adam<sub>i</sub>

dog-gen kendi-3sg-ACC chase-DIK-Poss3sg man-NOM

"The cat that the dog was chasing him"

b.

\*köpek kendi-si-ni<sub>i</sub> ısır-an adam<sub>i</sub>

\*dog-NOM kendi-3sg-ACC<sub>i</sub> bite-YAN man-NOM<sub>i</sub>

\*"The man<sub>i</sub> whom the dog him<sub>i</sub> bit"

c.

\*Köpeğ-in o-nu<sub>i</sub> kovala-dığ-ı adam<sub>i</sub>

\*dog-gen Pron3sg-ACC<sub>i</sub> chase-DIK-Poss3sg man-NOM<sub>i</sub>

"The cat that the dog was chasing him"

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