

An A' bar dependency between a constituent that internally merges in the left periphery and its copy has been shown to be sensitive to intervention effects in child language. For instance, object relative clauses, OBJ RCs, which involve movement across a subject were found to be harder for children than subject relative clauses, SUBJ RCs, (Friedman *et al.*, 2009 a.o.). This asymmetry has been addressed as an intervention effect in terms of Featural Relativized Minimality, RM, (Rizzi, 2004). Under this version of RM, the morphosyntactic features that play a role in computing similarity in immature grammars are the syntactically active ones. Belletti *et al.* (2012) argue that Hebrew, contrary to Italian, has an active gender feature, evidenced by the fact that it is morphologically expressed on the verb. This accounts for the difficulty in the comprehension of Hebrew OBJ RCs in which the subject and the object have the same gender value. In Greek, gender is not morphologically encoded on the verb, leading to the prediction that gender similarity should be innocuous for intervention in RCs. In this study, we contribute to the existing literature by bringing into light results from Greek-speaking children. Moreover, we compare these children to Greek-speaking Broca's aphasics/agrammatics.

METHODOLOGY 18 typically developing Greek-speaking children, aged 4;1 to 5;2, were assessed on SUBJ and OBJ RCs (and their corresponding passive and transitive active sentences). There were 24 sentences in each category, half of which with DPs of the same gender value (SG) and the other half with DPs of different gender (DG). This was a picture selection task administered on a computer screen with each slide containing three pictures: one was the target picture and the other one its reverse (i.e. SUBJ RC when the target was OBJ RC, and vice versa). The third picture had the same first character/DP as in the target picture while the other was new. RCs were assessed twice within a period of 10 days. In the first task sentences were introduced as in (1), and in the second as in (2). We compare the results of SUBJ RCs from Task 1, (1a), with OBJ RCs from Task 2, (2b), to avoid potential confounds due to conflict between case and *th*-role (i.e. objects/patients with nominative and subjects/agents with accusative), or potential intervention effect of same (nominative) case of OBJ RCs in (1). The same tasks were administered to 6 Greek-speaking Broca's aphasics/agrammatics in Terzi & Nanousi (2016).

RESULTS The results appear in the following page. Three children were excluded as they had more than 2 errors on actives. Figure 1 shows that OBJ RCs are significantly more difficult than SUBJ RCs (4,72% vs. 20,55% error rate respectively), but there is no difference between OBJ RCs with DPs of SG vs. DG value (21,1% vs. 20% error rate). In order to exclude the possibility that this was related to the relatively good performance on OBJ RCs (79,45% target), we divided the children into two groups: below and above age 4;6. Hence, there is a group of 10 children of mean age 4;10 and 5 children of mean age 4;4. Figures 2 and 3 demonstrate a significant difference between SUBJ and OBJ RCs in both groups. Nevertheless, even the younger children, who have an error rate of 40% on OBJ RCs, do not demonstrate a split between the two types of OBJ RCs (42,67% vs. 38,33% error rate). The picture of Greek-speaking agrammatics is different. Figure 4 shows that their SUBJ and OBJ RCs differed significantly (11,11% vs. 46,52% errors). However, unlike with the children of any of the two groups, there is also a sharp difference between OBJ RCs with SG vs. DG values (error rate: 59,72% vs. 33,33%).

CONCLUSIONS We have reported a subject/object asymmetry towards the expected direction for Greek-speaking children's RCs (see also Varlokosta *et al.*, 2014), which we found mitigated by age 4;6. Gender similarity does not induce intervention effects in Greek children's OBJ RCs, which is a novel finding, albeit predicted by current accounts. However, given that gender should not be considered an active syntactic feature in Greek, the results from agrammatics, which report gender dissimilarity alleviating difficulties in OBJ RCs, are surprising for Featural RM in agrammatism (Grillo 2009). We are led to conclude that, at least for gender features, the culprit for intervention effects may not necessarily be associated with active syntactic features in agrammatism. Time permitting, we also will discuss what the two experiments we have conducted can tell about the intervention effects of case in early language.

EXAMPLES

1st task

(1) a. *Subject relative – SUBJ RC*

Edo ine o kirios pu fotografizi ton magira.
 here is the-nom man-nom that photographs the-acc cook-acc
 ‘Here is the man that photographs the cook.’

b. *Object relative – OBJ RC*

Edo ine i jaja pu fotografizi o gabros.
 here is the-nom grandma-nom that photographs the-nom groom-nom
 ‘Here is the grandmother that the groom photographs.’

2nd task

(2) a. *Subject relative – SUBJ RC*

Dikse mu ton papu pu chirokroti ti nifi.
 show me the-acc grandpa-acc that applauds the-acc bride-acc
 ‘Show me the grandfather that applauds the bride.’

b. *Object relative – OBJ RC*

Dikse mu tin vasilisa pu akoluthi i kiria
 show me the-acc queen-acc that follows the-nom lady-nom
 ‘Show me the queen that the lady follows.’

Figure 1
All children (n=15)

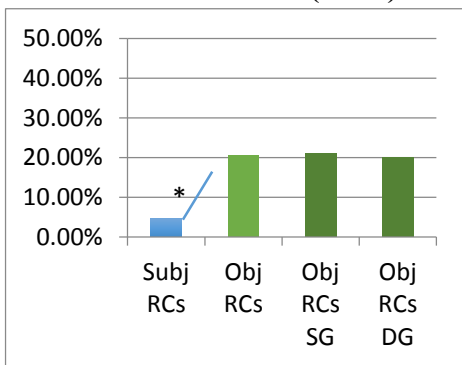


Figure 2
Older children (n=10)

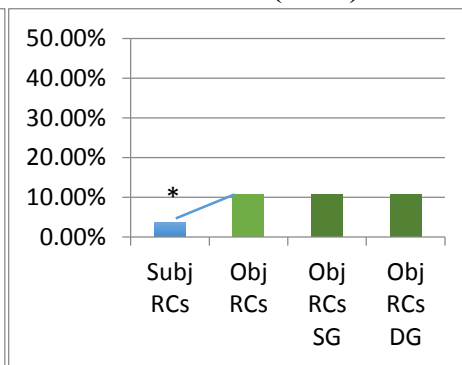


Figure 3
Younger children (n=5)

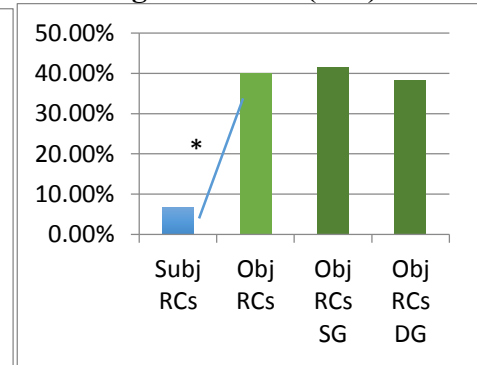
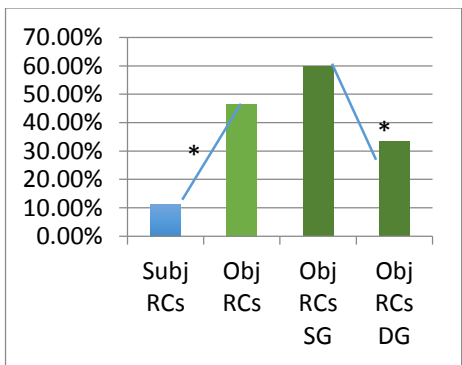


Figure 4
Broca’s aphasics (n=6)



Selected References

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