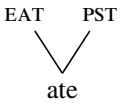
Errors of Multiple Exponence in Child Language

Johannes Hein, Imke Driemel, Fabienne Martin, Yining Nie, and Artemis Alexiadou

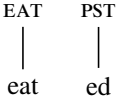
1. Commission errors

During language acquisition, children produce errors of omission by which they do not externalize linguistic material required to be present in the adult language. They also produce another type of error by which they overtly pronounce material that is (usually) not realized in the standard adult language. This type is referred to as 'commissive' in Alexiadou et al. (2021).[1] We can distinguish at least two types of commission errors (Martin et al. 2022b). In a *distributive* commission error, the child uses several forms distinct from the adult target form, each expressing a proper subpart of the meaning expressed by the latter. A *redundant* commission error consists of the target form plus some additional form, redundantly realizing a subpart of the meaning realized by the adult form. Consider for instance the commissive errors produced in the course of acquisition of English irregular past tenses (Kuczaj 1977, 1978; more familiar under the term 'overregularizations', see also Stemberger 1982 on full vs. partial regularizations). Besides the correct past tense portmanteau form *ate* (1a), we find the erroneous forms *eated* (1b) and *ated* (1c).

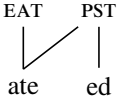
(1) a. *Target form*



b. *Distributive error*



c. *Redundant error*



The form *eated* instantiates a distributive commissive error as it consists of several parts, each of which expresses a subpart of the meaning realized by the target form *ate*: the stem *eat* realizes the root $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$, and the regular suffix *-ed* realizes past tense. The form *ated*, in contrast, is a redundant commissive error. It contains the adult target form *ate*, which already realize both the root $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ and past tense, but shows an additional realization of past tense in the regular tense inflection *-ed*. By virtue of redundantly marking the same underlying feature, redundant commission errors fit the definition of multiple or extended exponence as "the occurrence of multiple realizations of a single feature, bundle of features, or derivational category in more than one position in a domain" (Caballero & Harris 2012: 165; see also Matthews 1974).

In this paper, we focus on errors of multiple exponence in two other domains, causative verbs in French (Bezinska et al. 2008, Martin et al. 2022a) and comparatives in French and English (Corver 2005, Graziano-King & Smith Cairns 2005, Otaki 2010), introduced in section 2. In section 3, we ask what exactly children are getting wrong when they produce these errors, that is, which components of their learned grammar are not adult-like or not put to use in an adult-like manner. We compare analyses in two current morphological models, Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994) and Nanosyntax (Caha 2009, Starke 2009, et seq.). Section 4 concludes the paper.

* Johannes Hein, Humboldt University of Berlin, johannes.hein@hu-berlin.de. Imke Driemel, Humboldt University of Berlin. Fabienne Martin, Humboldt University of Berlin. Yining Nie, San José State University. Artemis Alexiadou, Humboldt University of Berlin. Thanks to audiences at WCCFL 40, MultEx@ZAS workshop, and the IGRA colloquium Leipzig. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (LeibnizDream, grant agreement No 856421).

[1] Our use of the term 'commissive' specifically refers to errors that involve the production of additional overt material, rather than the broader use of the term which refers to any non-omission error (e.g. Snyder 2007, 2011).

2. Case studies

2.1. Causative verbs in French

Lexical causative verbs inherently encode a causative meaning component CAUSE, e.g. French *fermer* 'close' or *montrer* 'show' (2a). Double causatives can be formed in French by embedding a lexical causative under the verb *faire* 'make', which encodes an additional CAUSE component (2b). French children, however, occasionally produce *faire* superfluously, to express the same meaning as the embedded lexical causative (Bezinska et al. 2008). Martin et al. (2022a) report that 10% of *faire*-causatives produced by children aged 2;6 to 4;0 in French CHILDES corpora (MacWhinney 2000) involve a redundant use of *faire* (3a/b); that is, *faire* in these utterances provides no additional semantic contribution not already found in the lexical causative. French children thus seem to be spelling out a single CAUSE head twice.

(2) a. **Ferme** les yeux.
close.IMP the eyes
'Close the eyes.'

b. J'ai **fait** **fermer** les yeux aux enfants.
1SG:have made close.INF the eyes to.the children
'I made the children close the eyes.'

(3) a. **faire** **fermer** les yeux (LSN 4;02, Palasis 2009)
make.INF close.INF the eyes
Target meaning: 'Making [someone] close the eyes.'
Intended meaning: 'Closing the eyes.'

b. va[is] le **faire** **couper** (Marilyn 2;09, Demuth & Tremblay 2008)
1SG:go it make.INF cut.INF
Target meaning: 'Going to make [someone] cut it.'
Intended meaning: 'Going to cut it.'

Martin et al. (2022a) show that children, like Matteo (Palasis 2009) in (4) and Madeleine (Morgenstern 2009) in (5), correctly use the portmanteau lexical causative form before or alongside the redundant form. This indicates that they are aware of the inherent causative meaning of these verbs.

(4) a. Elle a **fait** **tomber** ma petite cabane (Matteo 2;11)
she has made fall.INF my little shed
'She made my little shed fall.'

b. J'ai **montré** ça (Matteo 3;02)
1SG:have shown that
'I showed that.'

c. Eh **fais** **montrer** le camion de pompiers! (Matteo 3;03)
INJ make.IMP show.INF the truck of firemen
Intended: 'Hey show the firetruck!'

(5) (a)près on va le **cacher** ... on va le **cacher** ... va le **faire** **cacher**
after one goes it hide.INF one goes it hide.INF goes it make.INF hide.INF
Lit.: 'Then we'll hide it … we'll hide it … we'll make hide it.' (Madeleine 2;02)

Similar superfluous uses of CAUSE are also attested in the production or comprehension of several child languages other than French, including child Turkish (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1985), child Japanese (Yamakoshi et al. 2018), and child English (Lord 1979).

2.2. Comparatives in French and English

Regular comparatives in French are formed with *plus* 'more' and the positive form of the adjective. There are some irregular forms such as *mieux* 'better' which block the regular comparative, e.g., *plus bon* 'more good'. French children, however, frequently produce forms like *mieux* with a redundant *plus* that has no additional meaning contribution, as in (6b) (cf. Corver 2005: 184). French children therefore seem to spell out a single comparative meaning component COMP twice.

(6) a. C'est **plus mieux** comme ça
It:is more better like this
'It's more better like this.'

b. on va i donner un petit peu d'eau (...) pour qu'i soit **plus mieux**
one goes him give.INF a little few of:water for that:he is.SUBJ more better
'We'll give him a little bit of water (...) so that he feels more better.'
(VET, Feider & Saint-Pierre 1987)

Redundant comparatives have also been observed in child English (Graziano-King & Smith Cairns 2005, Otaki 2010). We examined US and UK CHILDES corpora and found that both irregular comparative forms such as *better* (7a) and regular *-er* suffixed comparative forms such as *bigger* can appear with redundant *more* in child English (7b-7c).

(7) a. I like toasts **more better** (Abe 4;03, Kuczaj 1977)

b. I make it **more bigger** (Roman 3;09, Weist & Zevenbergen 2008)

c. they run **more** [*] **faster** than us (Helen, 4;09, Lieven et al. 2009)

Much like causatives in French, English-speaking children produce target comparative form before and alongside the redundant form. Table (1) reports data from 7 children in various English CHILDES corpora, which show that they generally began producing redundant comparative forms 1–2 years after producing their first correct *-er* comparatives.

Table 1: Corpus data on English comparatives.

		Target *-er*		**Redundant**		**Other**	**Total**
Child	**Corpus**	*N*	First attested	*N*	First attested	*N*	*N*
Abe	Kuczaj	164	2;05	5	4;02	11	180
Adam	Brown	128	2;08	2	4;07	0	130
Helen	MPI-EVA	301	3;00	9	4;01	2	312
Mark	MacWhinney	90	3;01	8	3;09	2	100
Roman	Weist	22	2;05	7	3;09	0	29
Ross	MacWhinney	234	2;06	7	4;09	2	243
Thomas	Thomas	332	2;02	4	3;08	4	336
		1267		42		21	1330

Like with other phenomena, children appear to ignore adult exemplars during conversation and produce redundant comparative forms immediately after hearing a target form, as demonstrated by the exchanges in (8–9). This indicates that *more* does not express any additional semantic content in these redundant uses. Rather, children are spelling out the same COMP concept twice.

(8) MAR: a little bit **more drier**
FAT: yeah (.) that's true (.) and cleaner (.) right
MAR: and **more drier** and **more cleaner** (Mark 3;09, MacWhinney 2000)

(9) URS: I think this needs to be one higher
CHI: one **more higher** (.) right ? (Adam, 4;10.02, Brown 1973)

What sets the English comparatives apart from the previous cases discussed is that redundant comparatives receive double overt marking, with both *more* and *-er*.[2] There is furthermore no correlation between irregular formation of the comparative and likelihood of redundant *more* in child English; that is, redundant *more* is no more likely to occur with *better* than with *bigger*. All of this evidence indicates that children use comparative marking redundantly.

3. Deriving the errors

As we have seen in previous sections, redundant commission errors are produced by children in a variety of domains, such as past tense, causation and comparison. However, the form of the errors is not unconstrained. In all of our examples, the element redundantly realized is higher in the projection than the element realized only once. It is also only the functional elements, and not roots, that are multiply exponed. Hence, there is an asymmetry between the two logically possible forms a redundant error can take, since one of them is virtually unattested, as confirmed by punctual searches in CHILDES corpora (Table 2).

Table 2: Attested vs. unattested redundant commission errors.

	Redundant commission error	
Target form	**Frequent**	**Unattested/rare**
donner	*faire donner*	**donner avoir*
CAUSE HAVE	CAUSE CAUSE.HAVE	CAUSE.HAVE HAVE
mieux	*plus mieux*	**mieux bon*
COMP GOOD	COMP COMP.GOOD	COMP.GOOD GOOD

Any analysis proposed for redundant commission errors should account for this asymmetry. As we will show in this section, Distributed Morphology organically excludes erroneous multiple exponence of low elements/roots, whereas this type of error is not as naturally barred from Nanosyntax, despite the fact that they both realize hierarchical syntactic structures.

3.1. Distributed Morphology

In DM, a Vocabulary Item (VI)—a pairing of phonological form and morphosyntactic features—is inserted into a terminal node, i.e. a (possibly complex) syntactic head, if it satisfies the following conditions: (i) its morphosyntactic features constitute a subset of the morphosyntactic features of that terminal and (ii) it is the most specific VI that fulfills (i) (Subset Principle, see e.g. Halle 1997). VIs are more specific if they have more features. Features on a VI can furthermore be classified as *primary* features, which must be present on the terminal node currently targeted for insertion, and *secondary* or *contextual* features, which must be present on a terminal node in some local environment of the terminal node currently targeted for insertion (Carstairs 1987, Noyer 1997).[3] Importantly, both types of features increase the specificity of a VI. That is, if two VIs are specified for one primary feature each, but one of them is specified for an additional secondary feature, then the latter one is more specific. This is the common way in DM to derive allomorphy. The VI of a contextual allomorph comes with additional secondary features specifying the context where it appears. By virtue of these features, it is more specific than the default allomorph which lacks any secondary features and therefore takes precedence in the relevant environments. We follow this strategy here, taking portmanteaux (i.e. root-derived lexical causative verbs and suppletive comparatives) to be specific allomorphs. The absence of any regular marking (i.e. causative *faire* and comparative *more/-er*) with these in the adult language is derived by the presence of a zero-exponent whose secondary features

[2] Double *-er* suffixed forms were also occasionally found in child corpora; for example, Helen (Lieven et al. 2009) produced *betterer* (4;01) and *lighterer* (4;02).
[3] See Stump (2001) and Müller (2020) for criticism of secondary features.

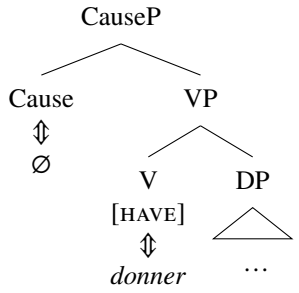
consist of a list of roots (Embick 2003). Given that, as we have seen above, children correctly use the portmanteaux alongside or even before their redundant errors, they can be taken to have acquired complete vocabulary entries for them, including secondary features. What we then claim is (10).

(10) Children's (redundant and distributive) commission errors result from disregarding specificity, in particular when secondary features are involved.

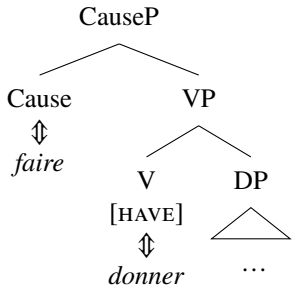
To see how this derives the errors, consider first a derivation of the target adult form. For French causatives, taking the lexical causative *donner* 'give' as an example here, we adopt the underlying structure in (12), where a causative head selects a VP headed by some non-causative verb, i.e. HAVE. The relevant VIs are given in (11). Note in particular that *donner* and *avoir* are equally specified for [HAVE], but *donner* bears an additional secondary feature '__Cause'. This makes *donner* more specific than *avoir*, and restricts it to structures where there is a Cause-head in the vicinity of [HAVE]. Much the same difference obtains between ∅ and *faire*: both primarily realize [CAUSE], but the former comes with a secondary feature list of roots making it more specific than the latter.

(11) a. /avoir/ ⇔ [HAVE]
b. /faire/ ⇔ [Cause]
c. /donner/ ⇔ [HAVE] / __ Cause
d. /∅/ ⇔ [Cause] / __ {HAVE, …}

(12) *Realization as* donner *'give'*



(13) *Realization as* faire donner *'make give'*



As Vocabulary Insertion proceeds root-outwards (Bobaljik 2000, Kalin & Weisser 2021), the first head targeted for insertion in (12) is V. Among the two VIs that fulfill the subset requirement, *avoir* and *donner*, the latter is more specific by virtue of its secondary feature, and therefore inserted into V (depicted by ⇳). When the next-higher head Cause is spelled out, both *faire* and ∅ fit. As the secondary feature on ∅ makes it more specific, Cause is realized by ∅, resulting in the target portmanteau form *donner*.

According to our claim in (10), children sometimes fail to respect specificity distinctions, particularly when those involve secondary features. A redundant commission error like *faire donner* (13) is then the result of correctly determining *donner* to spell out V but failing to prefer the more specific ∅ over the less specific *faire* when targeting the Cause-head for insertion.[4] This results in the form *faire donner*.

Crucially, under no pattern of specificity violations would the VIs in (11) and the structure in (12/13) derive the unattested redundant error **donner avoir*/**avoir donner*. This is because both VIs (11a, c) primarily expone [HAVE], and therefore stand in a disjunctive blocking relation. This precludes them from cooccurring in a structure that only contains one instance of V[HAVE]. Of course, a different set of VIs, such as e.g. the one in (14), is not a priori inconceivable. Here, *avoir* and *donner* do not primarily realize the same feature and, hence, an error like **avoir donner* would be derivable. However, as *faire* and *donner* now share the same primary feature and thus stand in the abovementioned blocking relation, we would preclude the well-attested *faire donner* error type. Thus independently of the exact specifications of the VIs, the allomorphy analysis, by its inner mechanics, necessarily excludes one type of redundant error.

[4] This implies that within one derivation children can variably respect specificity for some heads but not for others. Given this, different types of (c)ommission errors can be argued to follow depending on where the specificity error occurs. If the child fails to choose *donner* over less specific *avoir* for realization of V, but correctly realizes Cause by ∅, an omission error results. If she makes a specificity error on both terminals, V and Cause, a distributive commission error of the form *faire avoir* 'make have' surfaces.

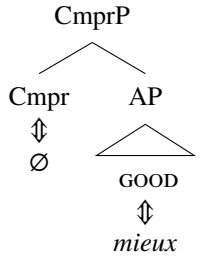
(14) a. /avoir/ ↔ [HAVE]
b. /faire/ ↔ [Cause]
c. /donner/ ↔ [Cause] / __ HAVE
d. /∅/ ↔ [{HAVE, …}] / __ Cause

This analysis directly carries over to French comparatives and redundant errors like *plus mieux* 'more better'. We assume the structure in (16) following Bobaljik (2012) and the VIs in (15), which are parallel to the VIs of the causatives (11).

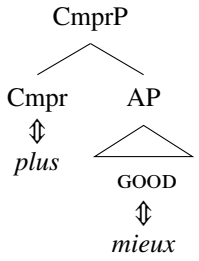
(15) a. /bon/ ⇔ [GOOD]
b. /plus/ ⇔ [Cmpr]
c. /mieux/ ⇔ [GOOD] / __ Cmpr
d. /∅/ ⇔ [Cmpr] / __ {GOOD, BAD, …}

The adult target form *mieux* is obtained as shown in (16) by selecting *mieux* over the less specific *bon* for insertion into GOOD. The Cmpr-head is subsequently realized by ∅ by virtue of being more specific than default *plus*. Similar to the causatives, a redundant error such as *plus mieux* results from failing to determine ∅ as the most specific marker for Cmpr and instead inserting the default *plus* as shown in (17).

(16) *Realization as* mieux *'better'*



(17) *Realization as* plus mieux *'more better'*



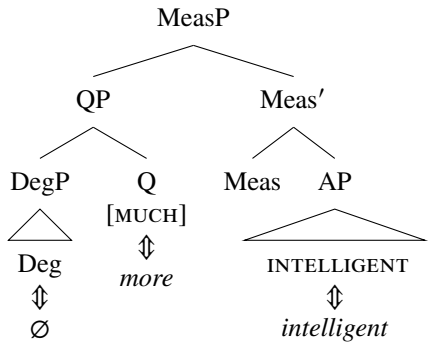
In contrast to French, comparatives in English can occur in analytic form (*more intelligent*) and in synthetic form (*smart-er*). In line with the extensive literature on *much*-support in English analytic comparatives (Bresnan 1973, Corver 1997, Wellwood 2019, among many others), we adopt the structures in (19) and (20), which largely follow from Solt (2015). The synthetic form is derived by the addition of the degree modifier *-er* in (20), while the analytic form is the result of a degree quantifier QP combined with the AP via Meas(ure)P, as shown in (19).[5] We model the conflation of the Q-adjective *much* and the degree morpheme *-er* into *more* as allomorphy, derived with the vocabulary entries in (18). If the Q-adjective MUCH occurs in the local context of DegP, it will be spelled out as *more* (18c), while DegP will receive zero output (18d) in the configuration in (19), as it is more specific than the overt exponent *-er* (18b). MUCH is absent in (20), thus (18d) is incompatible and (18b) is chosen instead, deriving the synthetic comparative. A redundant error such as *more bigg-er* occurs if specificity is not respected, and (18b) is inserted over (18d) in the context of MUCH, as shown in (21).[6]

(18) a. /big/ ⇔ [BIG]
b. /-er/ ⇔ [Deg]
c. /more/ ⇔ [MUCH] / __ DegP
d. ∅ ⇔ [Deg] / __ MUCH

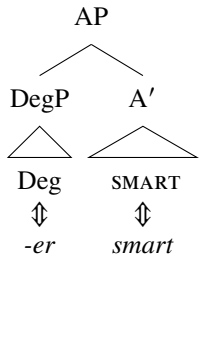
[5] Meas introduces a degree argument and links it to the individual argument in AP, see Kayne (2005) for more evidence in favour of MeasP. Furthermore, DegP is composed of Deg and its complement *than*-XP, which commonly occurs in comparatives, e.g. as in *more intelligent than Bill*. We simplify the structure of DegP for expository purposes, as it has no impact on our analysis.

[6] Note that the children's errors reveal that they make use of the more complex structure (19) over the simpler structure (20), indicating that they have the full set of functional primitives at their disposal, while the input of the target language leads them to acquire the right distribution, see Wellwood (2019: 470).

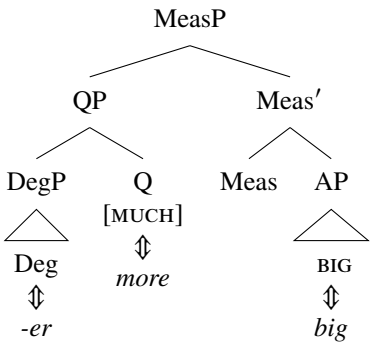
(19) *more intelligent*



(20) *smart-er*



(21) *Realization as* more bigg-er



3.2. Nanosyntax

One of the defining features of Nanosyntax which sets it apart from DM is that it embraces non-terminal spell-out. A syntactic structure (S-tree) is matched against lexical entries, which pair phonological features with a lexically stored syntactic tree (L-tree). A lexical entry is able to lexicalize an S-tree if its L-tree contains the S-tree as a subtree (Superset Principle). One consequence of this is that only whole constituents may be lexicalized and various movements (known as spell-out driven movements) are necessary to turn any non-constituent into a constituent to be able to lexicalize it. Among the compatible lexical entries, the one whose L-tree has the least superfluous structure is chosen for lexicalization (Specificity Principle). The S-tree is subject to lexicalization after each application of Merge, and each cycle of lexicalization can override the result of the previous one. Nanosyntax additionally admits another spell-out mechanism, called spanning, that allows the lexicalization of a non-constituent span (Williams 2003, Abels & Muriungi 2008, Taraldsen 2010, Svenonius 2012). A span is defined as "a contiguous sequence of heads in a head-complement relation" (Svenonius 2016: 205). Given that adults apply these two lexicalization mechanisms – non-terminal C(onstituent)-lexicalization and terminal S(panning)-lexicalization – disjunctively, we put forward the claim in (22) for children's redundant errors.[7]

(22) Children's commission errors result from erroneous overlapping application of spanning lexicalization (S-lexicalization) and constituent lexicalization (C-lexicalization) to the same structure.

Consider first how Nanosyntax derives the target lexical causatives in French. We adopt the lexical entries in (23) and take it that the complement of HAVE has already been lexicalized and moved away (indicated for expository purposes only by a trace *t*) such that HAVE now forms a constituent.

(23) a. $\left\langle \diagup_{\text{HAVE}} \Leftrightarrow \text{/avoir/} \right\rangle$ b. $\left\langle \diagup_{\text{CAUSE}} \Leftrightarrow \text{/faire/} \right\rangle$ c. $\left\langle \begin{smallmatrix} \text{CAUSE} & \diagup \\ & \text{HAVE} \end{smallmatrix} \Leftrightarrow \text{/donner/} \right\rangle$

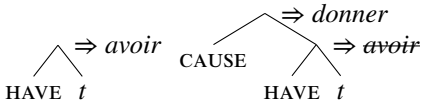
First, before CAUSE is merged, HAVE is targeted for lexicalization. By the Superset Principle, both (23a) and (23c) match the structure. As (23a) has less (i.e. no) superfluous structure, it is selected to lexicalize [HAVE *t*]. Then CAUSE is merged and the resulting structure is subjected to spell-out. Now, taking a trivial span to consist of a single head, either (23b) could S-lexicalize just the CAUSE terminal or (23c) could C-lexicalize the whole structure, overriding the previous lexicalization by (23a). Assuming that C-lexicalization takes precedence, the latter is what happens, giving rise to *donner* (24). According to (22), the child applies both lexicalization options simultaneously in Step 2 in (25), resulting in redundant *faire donner*.[8]

[7] Throughout this paper, S-lexicalization will be indicated by a leftward arrow (⇐) and C-lexicalization by a rightward arrow (⇒).

[8] Assuming that although the child respects disjunctivity of lexicalizations, she may still flout the precedence of C-

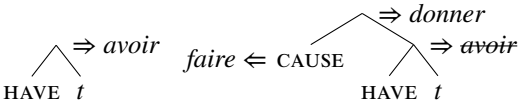
(24) *Lexicalization as* donner

Step 1: **Step 2:**



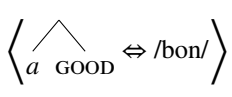
(25) *Lexicalization as* faire donner

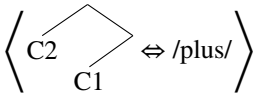
Step 1: **Step 2:**

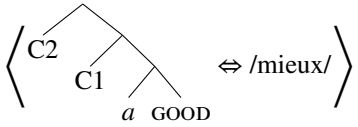


In contrast to DM, however, it is not impossible to derive the unattested errors **donner avoir/*avoir donner* in Nanosyntax once we grant that children may make errors during the process of lexicalization. Suppose that as in (24), they correctly select *avoir* in Step 1 and *donner* in Step 2, but then fail to actually overwrite *avoir* in Step 2. This would give rise to the unattested surface form **donner avoir*.

In the domain of comparatives, we can apply a similar analysis modelled over the structure of the comparative phrase argued for in Caha et al. (2019), where the adjective is embedded under two distinct comparative heads C1 and C2. Adopting the lexical entries in (26), the target form *mieux* as shown in (27) would result from first C-lexicalizing [*a* GOOD] with (26a) which contains less superfluous structure than the likewise compatible (26c). After merging of the comparative heads, C-lexicalization of the whole structure using (26c) and overriding previous (26a) takes precedence over S-lexicalization of just C1 and C2 with (26b). The redundant form *plus mieux* again results from a failure to respect the disjunctivity between C- and S-lexicalization at Step 2, therefore applying both simultaneously (28).

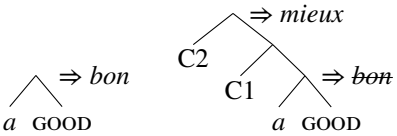
(26) a. 

b. 

c. 

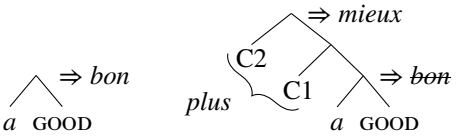
(27) *Lexicalization as* mieux

Step 1: **Step 2:**

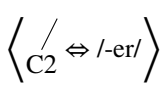


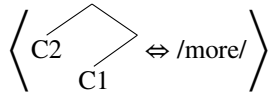
(28) *Lexicalization as* plus mieux

Step 1: **Step 2:**



In contrast to DM, the English redundant error type instantiated by *more bigger* can be derived from the same structure as French *plus mieux*. Take the lexical entries for English in (29). When generating the target form *bigger*, the first lexicalization takes place after merging the root and the *a* head. The structure is a subtree of (29c). As there is no other lexical entry with less superfluous structure, it is lexicalized by it (not shown here). After merging C1, (29b) could S-lexicalize C1, or (29c) could C-lexicalize the whole structure, overriding the previous lexicalization in the process. By precedence of C-lexicalization, the latter happens (30, Step 2). Next, C2 is merged. The only way to lexicalize the resulting structure is to match C2 with (29a). This is achieved by moving the subtree [C1 [*a* BIG]] to a position above C2. The constituent C2 can subsequently undergo C-lexicalization (30, Step 3). The child overlappingly applies S-lexicalization with (29b) and C-lexicalization with (29c) in Step 2 and, after Merge of C2, fails to S-lexicalize the C1-C2 sequence with (29b) in Step 3. Instead, the structure up to C1 is moved and residual C2 is C-lexicalized with (29a), as shown in (31).

(29) a. 

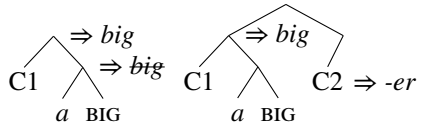
b. 

c. 

lexicalization and only S-lexicalize CAUSE with *faire*. In that case, a distributive commission error occurs. However, we do not see an organic way for Nanosyntax to derive omission errors (*avoir* with the meaning 'give') in a similar way, since not lexicalizing syntactic material (i.e. CAUSE) is impossible, and flouting the Superset Principle (by selecting *avoir* again in Step 2) seems unnatural in light of the fact that the equivalent Subset Principle in DM is never violated by children at this stage.

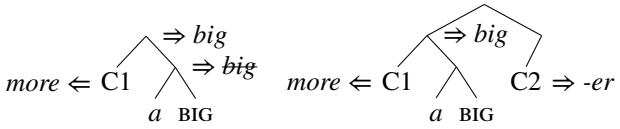
(30) *Lexicalization as* bigger

Step 2: **Step 3:**



(31) *Lexicalization as* more bigger

Step 2: **Step 3:**



4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown how to capture children's redundant (and possibly also distributive) commission errors by means of a single principle of the adult grammar that children occasionally flout or disregard. Based on case studies of redundant commission errors in the domains of causation and comparison, we argue that, within DM, children's errors can be derived naturally by assuming that children occasionally fail to respect specificity of markers upon Vocabulary Insertion. In Nanosyntax, children similarly could be taken to haphazardly ignore the disjunctivity of application between Constituent-lexicalization and Spanning-lexicalization, instead applying both overlappingly to the same underlying structure. Comparing DM and Nanosyntax in this regard, we find that the former inherently and inevitably precludes one of the two logically possible types of redundant commission error. Thereby DM provides a straightforward way to account for the absence of errors like **donner avoir* or **mieux bon*. Nanosyntax, however, requires the additional assumption that children never erroneously fail to override a previous lexicalization – possibly (though by no means necessarily) an implausible assumption, given that the failure to override seems to be on a par with the failure to apply the two types of lexicalization disjunctively.

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