

Children's derivation of scalar inference from or-sentences: Evidence from varying the degree of relevance



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Motivation

- It is widely argued that children's difficulty deriving scalar implicature (SI) from or-sentences stems from their difficulty accessing the scalar alternative, and (e.g. Chierchia et al. 2001; Tieu et al., 2016; Gotzner et al. 2020). However, it remains unexplored how children would perform if the alternative is available in the context.
- Some recent discussions argue that it is the constraint of relevance that limits children's pragmatic performance (e.g., Skordos and Papafragou, 2016)
- The present study investigates the role of alternative and relevance in children's derivation of SI from or-sentences.

Method

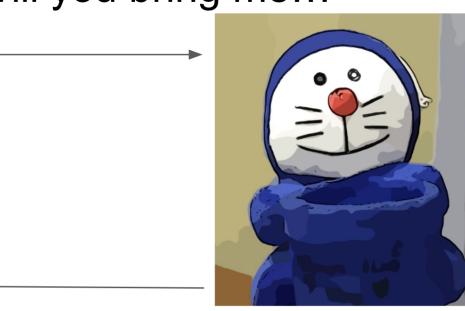
Bengali-speaking 4- to 5-year-olds (N=74), 8- to 9-year-olds (N=48), Participants: and adults (N=48) in the state of Tripura, India.

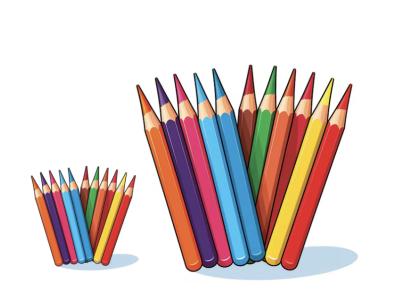
Age group	C1	C2	C3	C4
Young children	19 4;2-5;10, M=5;2	18 3;8-5;6, M=4;10	19 4;2-5;10, M=5;2	18 4;1-5;7, M=4;10
Older children	12 8;2-9;0, M=8;6	12 8;2-8;11, M=8;6	12 8;1-8;11, M=8;4	12 8;2-9;0, M=8;5
Adults	12	11	12	M = Mean Age.

Materials and procedure:

Mili asks: "Will you bring me..."







Doraemon replies: "I will bring you..."

Children give color-pencil to Doraemon

Task:

If Doraemon promises to bring two objects, give him a big color-pencil. If Doraemon promises to bring only one object, give him a small color-pencil.

Condition	Mili's question	picture card
C1	Will you bring me a doll and a boat?	
C2	Will you bring me those two things?	
C3	Will you bring me a doll and a boat and the other two things?	
C4	Will you bring me those four things?	

Trial types in each of the four conditions: Number of trials = 15

Doraemon's reply in Test [5]	Doraemon's reply in Control1 [5]	Doraemon's reply in Control2 [5]
I will bring you a doll or a boat	I will bring you only a doll	I will bring you a doll and a boat

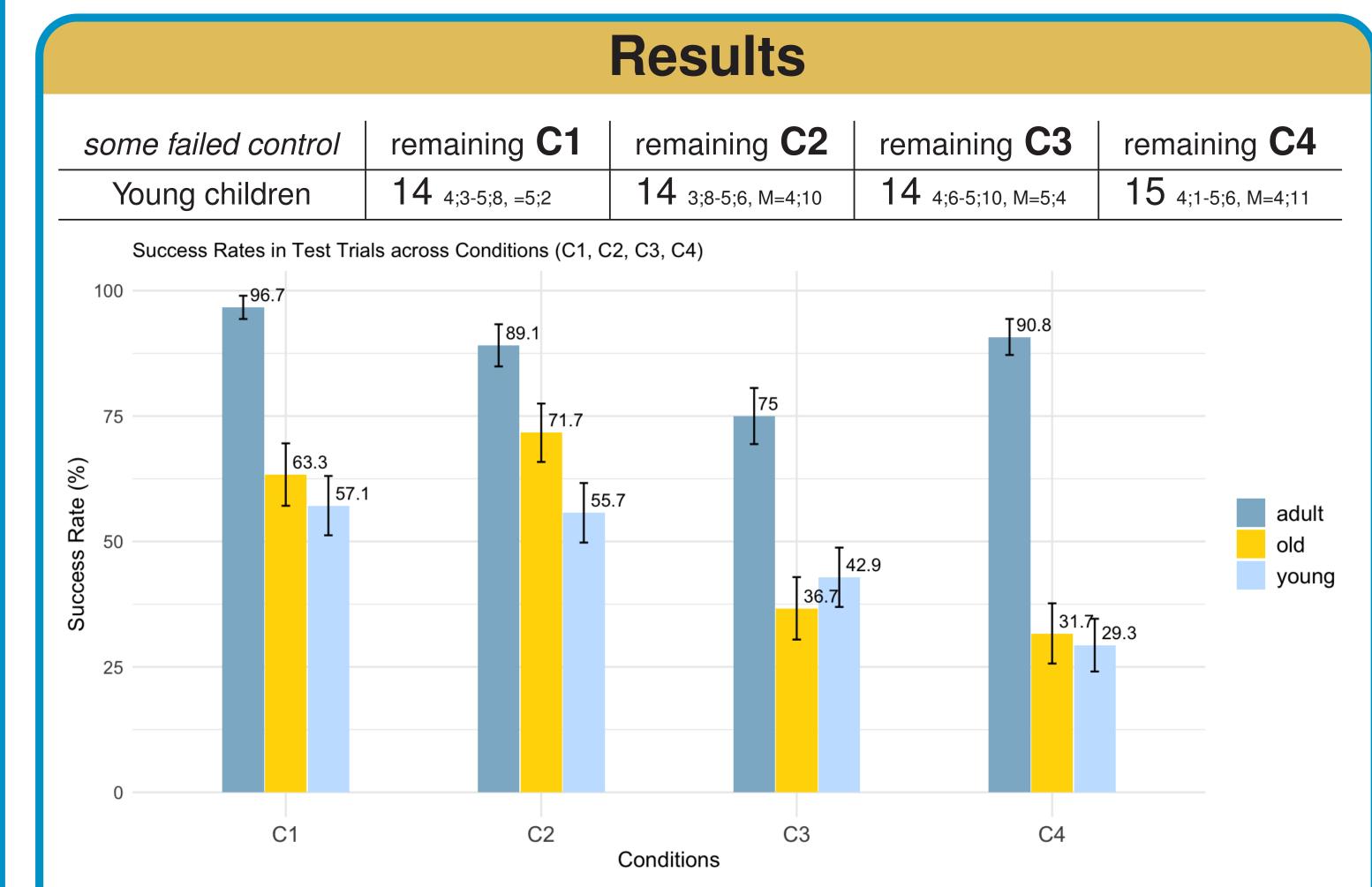
Discussion

- There were no significant differences in children's performance between the +alternative and -alternative conditions. Alternative hypothesis cannot explain this result (Barner et al. 2011; Chierchia et al. 2001; Tieu et al. 2016; Gotzner et al. 2020).
- Degree of relevance affects children's implicature derivation (Skordos & Papafragou, 2016). However, in low-relevance condition, availability of the alternative seems to improve performance. Possible explanation: utterance of the alternative helps in hypothesizing that the speaker is considering the alternative, and hence, the degree of informativeness is relevant.
- Implicature derivation in Bengali-speaking children shows a clear developmental pattern, aligning with trends seen in other widely researched languages. The explicit exclusivity in Bengali disjunction word 'naile' (if-not) does not aid in exclusive meaning derivation. [nai is NEG and -le is a conditional marker]

Design

Alternative × **Relevance**

- 4 between-subject conditions
 - Coniditon 1: [+alternative, high-relevance] aka. C1
 - Coniditon 2: [-alternative, high-relevance] aka. C2
 - Coniditon 3: [+alternative, low-relevance] aka. C3
 - Coniditon 4: [-alternative, low-relevance] aka. C4
- In +alternative conditions, alternative is primed before or-sentence. In -alternative conditions, alternative is not primed before *or*-sentence.
- In high-relevance conditions, scalar implicature is the relevant implicature. In low-relevance conditions, exhaustivity implicature is the more relevant implicature.



Success in test trials (Binomial probability test using R):

	C1	C2	direction	C3	C4	direction
Adults	< 0.0001	< 0.0001	greater	< 0.001	< 0.0001	greater
O.child	0.02	0.0005	greater	0.025	0.003	less
Y.child	0.14	0.2	greater	0.14	0.0002	less

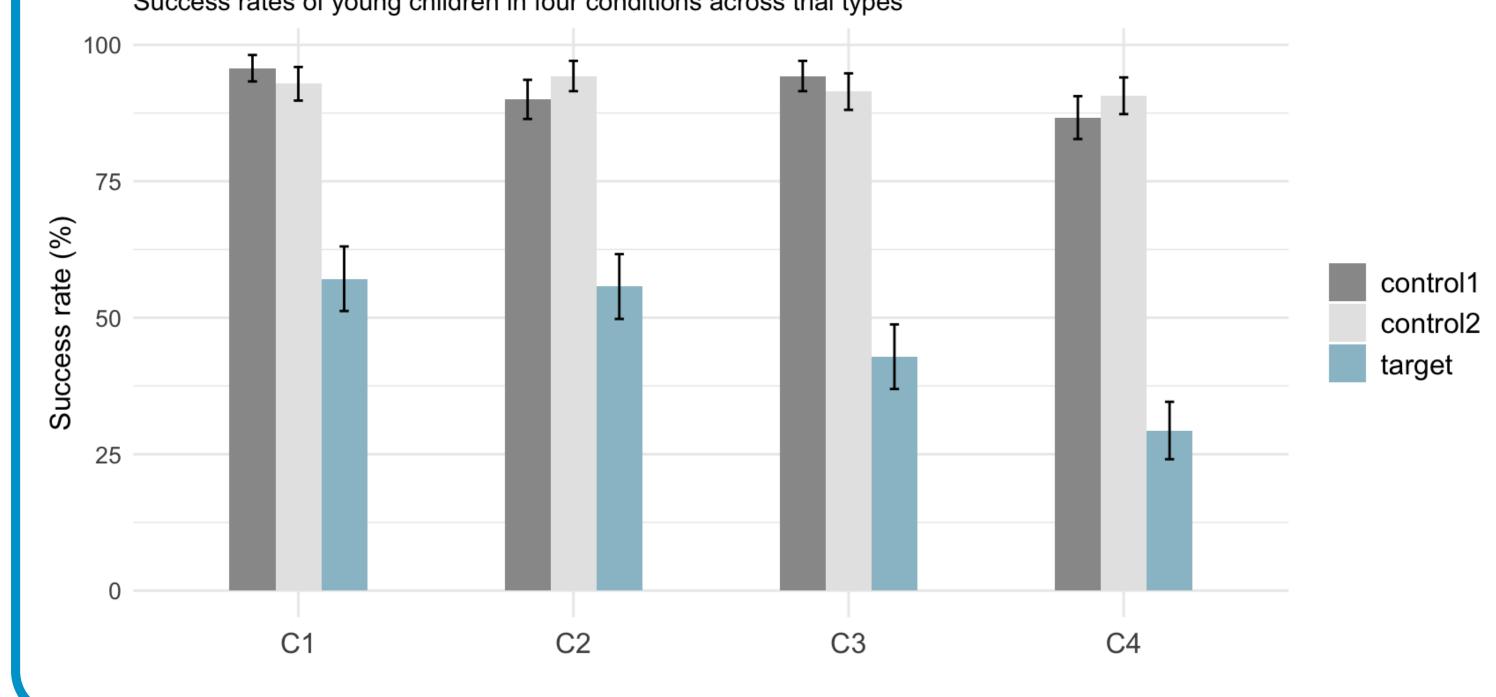
Performance across conditions (Kruskal-Wallis test on mean success rates using R):

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Adults	Older children	Young children	
$v^2 = 4.5$, p = 0.21	$v^2 = 6.99$, p = 0.072	$v^2 = 4.94$, p = 0.176	

Post-hoc comparison (Dunn's test using R):

		Adults	Older children	Young children
_	C1 vs. C2	0.4	0.277	0.442
_	C1 vs. C3	0.02	0.07	0.14
_	C1 vs. C4	0.33	0.056	0.03
_	C2 vs. C3	0.04	0.019	0.178
_	C2 vs. C4	0.42	0.014	0.04
_	C3 vs. C4	0.05	0.45	0.22

Success rates of young children in four conditions across trial types



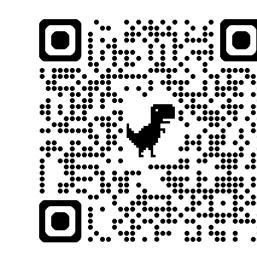
KEY REFERENCES

- [1] Barner, Brooks, & Bale, 2011. Cognition
- Chierchia & colleagues, 2001. 25th BUCLD Proceedings
- Gotzner & Colleagues, 2020. Journal of Semantics.
- Papafragou & Tantalou, 2004. Language Acquisition.
- Skordos & Papafragou, 2016. Cognition. [6] Tieu & Colleagues, 2016. Journal of Semantics.

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AUTHOR INFORMATION



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