Possessives in Russian as a foreign and a heritage language: comprehension-production (a)symmetry?

Tatiana Perevozchikova

University of Tübingen, Slavic Department

tatiana.perevozchikova@uni-tuebingen.de

The Principle B of Chomsky's Government and Binding Theory (1981) that describes the distribution of anaphors and pronouns has been widely researched in first (e.g., Conroy et al., 2009) and second (e.g., White, 1998; Kim et al., 2015) language acquisition. However, most research so far has focused on comprehension, production data (but see Ruigendijk et al., 2010) and data from heritage speakers as a special case of acquisition with features of both L1 and L2 (Kim et al., 2009) have rarely been considered. In our study, we want to address these gaps by investigating the comprehension and production of Russian reflexive and non-reflexive possessive pronouns by heritage speakers with German as a dominant language in comparison to foreign language learners.

Russian is one of the few European languages that distinguish between anaphors / reflexives and pronouns not only for personal but also for possessive pronouns. In 1st and 2nd person, they are considered to be in free variation. In the 3^d person as in (1), they are in complimentary distribution as captured by Principle B: the reflexive possessive refers to the subject of the same clause, whereas the non-reflexive normally has its antecedent in the preceding clauses.

(1) Oleg₁ uechal v otpusk.

'Oleg₁ has gone for vacation.'

 $Mark_2$ nakormil ego_1 / $svoju_2$ sobaku. Mark feed-PST.SG.M NONREFL-3SG.M / REFL-ACC.SG.F dog-ACC.SG.F. 'Mark₂ fed his₁ / his₂ dog.'

Using a two-alternative forced-choice design, we tested how heritage speakers and foreign language learners interpret the two Russian possessives in the 3^d person. The production of possessives was studied in written essays from the Russian Learner Corpus.

Our results confirm that pronouns are more difficult to interpret that reflexives. Both learners and heritage speakers allowed reflexive interpretation of non-reflexive possessives but not the other way around. This tendency was also evident in production: both learners and heritage speakers used the non-reflexive possessive in contexts where the reflexive possessive was required in monolingual Russian. With regard to the production of the reflexive possessive, however, heritage speakers were crucially different from learners. First, heritage speakers never used reflexive in syntactically inappropriate contexts. Second, heritage speakers produced more reflexives in the 1st person than learners did. Finally, heritage speakers made an extensive use of idiomatic expressions with reflexive possessives. We will try to explain these findings based on usage-based accounts of language and language acquisition.

References

Chomsky, N. (1981). Lectures on government and binding. Dordrecht.

Conroy, A., Takahashi, E., Lidz, J., & Phillips, C. (2009). Equal treatment for all antecedents: How children succeed with Principle B. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 40, 446–486.

Kim, E., Montrul, S. & Yoon, J. (2009). Binding Interpretations of Anaphors by Korean Heritage Speakers. *Language Acquisition*, 16(1), 3-35.

- Kim, E., Montrul, S. & Yoon, J. (2015). The on-line processing of binding principles in second language acquisition: Evidence from eye tracking. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *36(6)*, 1317-1374.
- Ruigendijk, E., Friedmann, N., Novogrodsky, R. & Balaban, N. (2010). Symmetry in comprehension and production of pronouns: A comparison of German and Hebrew. *Lingua*, 120, 1991–2005.
- White, L. (1998). Second language acquisition of Binding Principle B: Child/adult differences. *Second Language Research*, 14, 425–439.