

## Children struggle with conditional disjunction but not with explicit conditionals

**Background:** This study investigates how monolingual Romanian-speaking 5-year-olds interpret *conditional disjunction*, a structure where disjunction receives a conditional meaning, as in *Go to bed early or you'll be tired tomorrow*, in comparison to explicit *if* conditionals, such as *If you don't go to bed early you'll be tired tomorrow*. Conditional disjunction is typically interpreted by adults as logically equivalent to  $(\neg p \rightarrow q)$  (*If you don't go to bed early, you'll be tired*),<sup>[1]</sup> though on the surface it resembles  $(p \vee q)$ . Conditional disjunction has been little explored in acquisition,<sup>[2]</sup> despite evidence of such structures in CHILDES corpora (e.g., *Don't go too fast or you'll fall down*, Eve, 2;11). Previous acquisition research on disjunction<sup>[2-6]</sup> has focused on logical uses (e.g., *The mouse carried a banana or an orange*), highlighting children's inclusivity and conjunctivity in contrast to adults' exclusivity. Similarly, studies on conditionals have focused on *if*-clauses, revealing that children comprehend simple conditional statements from as early as age two or three,<sup>[7-9]</sup> though mastery of more complex/implicit conditionals (involving *unless* 'if not') may be delayed.<sup>[10-13]</sup> How children handle conditional disjunction remains largely unknown.

**Current study:** We examine how Romanian 5-year-olds interpret conditional disjunctions (*Go to bed early or you'll feel tired*) and conditional conjunctions (*Go to bed early and you'll feel fresh*), in comparison to explicit conditionals (such as *If you do not go to bed early, you'll feel tired* and *If you go to bed early you'll feel fresh*). Conditional disjunctions should pose greater difficulty than *if not* conditionals, given the implicitness of the conditional and the negation. Conditional conjunctions should pose more challenges than *if* conditionals, given the implicit conditional, though less so than conditional disjunctions, where both the conditional and negation are implicit.

**Experiment:** Participants had to help Maria master Romanian as a non-native speaker. In the Implicit Conditional Condition, they heard critical items involving disjunction (*sau* 'or') or conjunction (*și* 'and') in conditional contexts and rewarded her with a happy Earth icon if the statement made sense and a sad alien icon otherwise. Participants were also asked to provide justifications for their choices. In the Explicit Conditional Condition, they heard critical items involving *dacă nu* 'if not' and *dacă* 'if'. The task involved 4 warm up items and 32 experimental items: 16 fillers (8 plausible, 8 implausible statements) and 16 critical sentences. In the Implicit Conditional Condition, the critical sentences consisted of 8 critical sentences employing *sau* 'or' (4 plausible, 4 implausible) and 8 control sentences employing *și* 'or' (4 plausible, 4 implausible), while in the Explicit Conditional Condition, the critical sentences consisted of 8 critical sentences employing *dacă nu* 'if not' (4 plausible, 4 implausible) and 8 control sentences employing *dacă* 'if' (4 plausible, 4 implausible) (see Table 1). The Implicit and Explicit Conditional Conditions were run between subjects. For the *Implicit Conditional Condition*, we tested 59 Romanian L1 adults and 30 5-year-old Romanian L1 children (mean age: 5;04); for the *Explicit Conditional Condition*, we tested 30 adults, and 34 5-year-olds (mean age: 5;03). Within each condition, items were presented in two pseudo-randomized lists: AND block followed by OR block and the reverse order, vs. IF NOT block followed by IF block and the reverse. In the Explicit Conditional Condition, both adults and children were highly accurate with *if not* (children 92.6%, adults 96.7%) and with *if* (children 96.3%, adults 97.8%). In the Implicit Conditional Condition, adults were highly accurate on both sentence types (95.8% on conditional *and* 85.1% on conditional *or*). Children, however, showed high accuracy with conditional *and* sentences (90.1%) but significantly lower accuracy on conditional *or* sentences (41.3%). Many children's justifications nonetheless reflected a conditional interpretation, even in case of a wrong answer—e.g., interpreting *Drink water or you'll be thirsty* as *If you drink water, you won't be thirsty*. This suggests a developmental awareness of a conditional semantic structure, despite the incorrect mapping between surface structure and logical form. Mixed-effects logistic regressions and post-hoc tests revealed that children were overall less accurate than adults. Moreover, conditional disjunctions proved significantly harder than *if not* conditionals and conditional conjunctions.

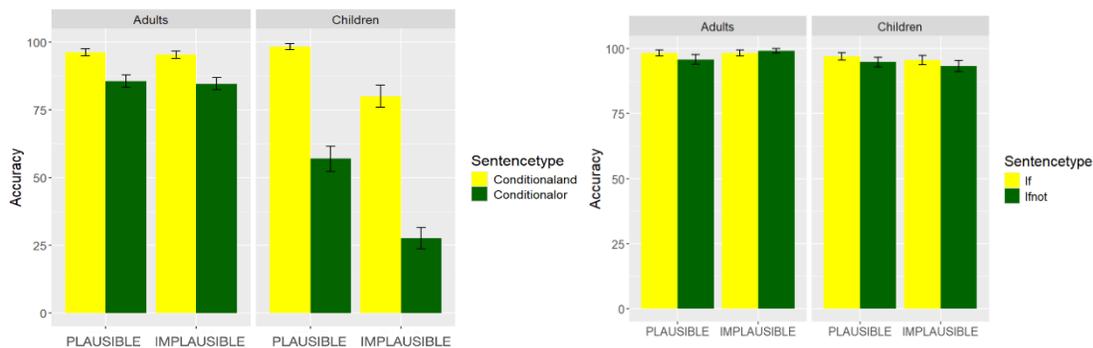
**Discussions** Children generally handle conditional conjunction well; although they are not fully adult-like,<sup>[14]</sup> they nevertheless display ease in detecting the cause-effect relationship between  $p$  and  $q$ .<sup>[15]</sup> In contrast, children exhibit difficulties with conditional disjunction. While a few children

grasp the more complex inference ( $\neg p \rightarrow q$ ), most children rely on simpler interpretations (understanding  $(p \vee q)$  as  $(p \rightarrow q)$ ). Moreover, importantly, children interpret explicit conditionals (both *if not* and *if* conditionals) with high accuracy. This suggests that, in line with the Meaning First Approach,<sup>[18]</sup> children initially opt for simpler, more direct mappings between surface structure and meaning, facing difficulties when meaning is implicit rather than explicit,<sup>[16-18]</sup> i.e., when both the conditional and the negation are not expressed linguistically. We propose that (i) children initially interpret *or* as *and*, (ii) they then reason that in conditional disjunction and conjunction there is a causal link between  $p$  and  $q$  (i.e.  $p \rightarrow q$ ). Then (iii) they recognize that  $p$  and  $q$  are incompatible in the case of conditional disjunction, ruling out the direct causal link *if p, then q*, ultimately arriving at the adult-like meaning *if not p, then q*. Future research with 7-, 9- and 11-year-olds will further clarify the developmental path of conditional disjunction.

Table 1: Examples of experimental items

Plausibility	Implicit Conditional Condition	Explicit Conditional Condition
	<b>Conditional OR</b>	<b>If not Conditionals</b>
Plausible	<i>Culcă-te devreme sau te vei trezi obosit.</i> 'Go to bed early or you will wake up tired.'	<i>Dacă nu te culci devreme, te vei trezi obosit.</i> 'If you don't go to bed early, you will wake up tired.'
Implausible	<i>Spală-te pe mâini sau te vei simți curat.</i> 'Wash your hands or you will feel clean.'	<i>Dacă nu te speli pe mâini, te vei simți curat.</i> 'If you don't wash your hands, you will feel clean.'
	<b>Conditional AND</b>	<b>If Conditionals</b>
Plausible	<i>Bea apă și te vei simți proaspăt.</i> 'Drink water, and you will feel refreshed.'	<i>Dacă bei apă, te vei simți proaspăt.</i> 'If you drink water, you will feel refreshed.'
Implausible	<i>Termină-ți cina și îți va fi foame.</i> 'Finish your dinner, and you will be hungry.'	<i>Dacă termini cina, îți va fi foame.</i> 'If you finish your dinner, you will be hungry.'
	<b>Fillers</b>	
Plausible	<i>Vacile dau lapte, oile dau lână.</i> 'Cows give milk, sheep give wool.'	
Implausible	<i>Lămâile sunt albastre, piersicile sunt violet.</i> 'Lemons are blue, peaches are purple.'	
	<b>Instructions</b>	
	Does what Mary said make sense or not? If it makes sense, give Mary a happy Planet Earth. If it does not make sense, give Mary a sad alien. What would you like to give Mary? Can you explain why?	

Figure 1: Accuracy in the Implicit and the Explicit Conditional Tasks vs. Explicit Conditional



**References:** [1] Russell & Whitehead 1910-1913 [2] Singh et al. 2016 [3] Tieu et al. 2017 [4] Sauerland & Yatsushiro 2018 [5] Huang & Crain 2020 [6] Skordos et al. 2020 [7] Harris & Núntez 1996 [8] Aktepe 2022 [9] Aktepe & Sarisoy 2024 [10] Inhelder and Piaget 1958 [11] Amidon 1976 [12] Aripa & Scholnick 1981 [13] van Rooij & Franke 2013 [14] Noveck & Chevaux 2013 [15] Schulz, Kushnir & Gopnik 2007 [16] Slobin 1973 [17] Sauerland & Alexiadou 2020 [18] Guasti, Alexiadou & Sauerland 2023