



Potsdam Linguistic Investigations

Potsdamer Linguistische Untersuchungen

Recherches Linguistiques à Potsdam

Edited by
Herausgegeben von
Edité par

Peter Kosta
Gerda Haßler
Teodora Radeva-Bork
Lilia Schürcks
Nadine Thielemann

Teodora Radeva-Bork

SINGLE AND DOUBLE CLITICS IN ADULT AND CHILD GRAMMAR



PETER LANG

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Teodora Radeva-Bork

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Editorial

The series *Potsdam Linguistic Investigations – Potsdamer linguistische Untersuchungen – Recherches linguistiques à Potsdam* presents cutting-edge fundamental linguistics research carried out at the University of Potsdam. Its major goal is to publish collection of articles, conference proceedings and monographs on contemporary issues in the fields of Slavic languages and literature, Romance studies, English and American studies, German studies and general linguistics. A special focus of study is the formal, functional and cognitive description of language. The following areas of linguistics will seek to develop their own profile: phonology, morphology, syntax (with special attention to generative syntax), semantics, pragmatics (discourse analysis, speech act theory), sociolinguistics and language contact.

We do not set any theoretical, methodological or geographical boundaries. The series will serve greatly as a forum for young scholars as well as other researchers working in various linguistic fields and frameworks in Potsdam or elsewhere. The indication of Potsdam stands for the crucial importance and outstanding quality of linguistics research at the University of Potsdam. On the other hand, researchers from other Universities with proven excellence of their work are most welcome to publish their doctoral dissertations, habilitation monographs or conference proceedings in this series. The languages of publication are German, English and French.

Editorial

Die Reihe *Potsdam Linguistic Investigations – Potsdamer linguistische Untersuchungen – Recherches linguistiques à Potsdam* ist eine Plattform für linguistische Forschungen an der Universität Potsdam. Sie publiziert Sammelbände und Monographien zu aktuellen Fragen der zeitgenössischen internationalen Linguistik aus den Disziplinen Slavistik, Romanistik, Anglistik/Amerikanistik, Germanistik und Allgemeine Linguistik. Ein besonderer Schwerpunkt liegt in der formalen, funktionalen und kognitiven Sprachbeschreibung. Darin bilden vor allem die Bereiche Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der generativen Syntax), Semantik, Pragmatik (Diskursanalyse, Sprechhandlungstheorie, Geschlechterforschung), Soziolinguistik und Sprachkontakt ihre eigenen Profile.

Wir wollen keine theoretischen, methodischen oder lokalen Grenzen setzen. Deshalb richtet sich die Reihe sowohl an Nachwuchswissenschaftler als auch an Kollegen in Potsdam und außerhalb Potsdams, die in verschiedenen Richtungen, Modellen und theoretischen Ansätzen der modernen Linguistik arbeiten. Der Hinweis auf den Standort Potsdam soll zum einen die herausragende Bedeutung der linguistischen Forschung an dieser Universität signalisieren. Andererseits bedeutet die Nennung nicht, dass ausschließlich Forschungsergebnisse (einschließlich Dissertationen, Habilitationen und Konferenzsammelbände) veröffentlicht werden, die von Linguistinnen und Linguisten an der Universität Potsdam stammen. Die drei Publikationssprachen sind Deutsch, Englisch und Französisch.

Editorial

La série « *Potsdam Linguistic Investigations – Potsdamer linguistische Untersuchungen – Recherches linguistiques à Potsdam* » représente une plate-forme d'études linguistiques à l'université de Potsdam. Elle publie des recueils et des monographies sur les questions actuelles de la linguistique contemporaine internationale dans les domaines des études des langues slaves et romanes, anglaise et américaine, des langues germaniques et de la linguistique générale. Un point principal de recherche est posé sur la description formelle, fonctionnelle et cognitive des ces langues. Dans ces domaines, on met l'accent sur les profils de la phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe (en tenant compte de la syntaxe générative), sémantique, pragmatique (l'analyse du discours, la théorie des actes de la parole, la recherche sur le genre), la sociolinguistique où la linguistique de contact.

Nous ne voulons pas poser des limites dans la théorie, la méthode et le lieu de recherche. C'est pourquoi la série invite les jeunes chercheurs ainsi que les collègues de Potsdam et des autres universités qui travaillent dans les secteurs de la linguistique moderne. Le titre de la série veut démontrer d'un côté l'excellente qualité de la recherche linguistique à Potsdam sans toutefois exclure les autres. Cela veut dire que nous acceptons et nous invitons les linguistes de Potsdam et de l'extérieur (inclus les thèses de doctorat et d'habilitation et les actes de colloques). Les trois langues de publication sont : l'allemand, l'anglais et le français.

For my sunshine Leonie

Preface

This book is a slightly edited version of my dissertation *Single and Double Cliticization in Bulgarian: Perspectives from Adult and Child Grammar* defended at the University of Vienna in May 2012 and funded by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) with a DOC dissertation grant.

The reported research combines interdisciplinary work in two major linguistic fields – theoretical syntax and first language acquisition. Whereas the general tendency to keep a balance between the presentations from both fields prevails, the main contribution of the monograph lies in the exhaustive empirical study of the L1-acquisition of direct object clitics and clitic doubling in Bulgarian and some other languages. The novel and partly unprecedented experimental L1-data from Bulgarian can fill in a research gap in the cross-linguistic study of the emergence of single and double cliticization in the early stages. Since the scope of the present work also encompasses some important theoretical considerations about the nature of clitics and the conditions on clitic doubling, the book is best suited for both syntax- and first language acquisition-oriented readerships.

The book is thematically structured into chapters that can be also read individually. Two chapters, one theoretical and one empirical, are devoted to each of the main research topics: single clitics, on the one hand, and double cliticization, on the other. The first chapter always provides a theoretical overview and the second presents the empirical research from L1-acquisition. A summary of the entire research and its implications is presented in chapter 6.

Here is the place to express my gratitude to the people and institutions that have been supportive to my research and scientific endeavours, but also to me personally in the last three years.

I have been accompanied, supported and inspired by many people on the wonderful journey the outcome of which is this book:

To begin with, I thankfully acknowledge the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) for the generous funding of my dissertation project as well as for the kind support provided there by Barbara Haberl in all matters. I am deeply indebted to my dissertation supervisor Chris Schaner-Wolles as well as to Martin Prinzhorn from the University of Vienna for their invariably inspiring feedback and comments. I have learned a lot from Chris Schaner-Wolles about conducting experiments and analysing child data, and about staying objective. Martin Prinzhorn kept my interest in syntax from my very first encounter with generative syntax. I am thankful for their full support throughout my years at the Department of Linguistics in Vienna. I am also sincerely indebted to Peter Kosta from the University of Potsdam, who has been a wonderful mentor and teacher, for

his support and interest in my research and for his willingness to act as the second examiner at my dissertation defense. I am very happy and grateful to be part of his interdisciplinary team at the University of Potsdam now and I look forward to further fruitful work and new perspectives of research. Further on, I thank Nik Gisborne from the University of Edinburgh for supporting my research project, Elena Anagnostopoulou from the University of Crete for commenting on the first draft of chapter 4. A very warm thank you to Bryan Jenner from the University of Vienna, who was my first linguistics teacher and who opened the gates of the field to me in the most inspiring and stimulating way. He has believed in me from the very beginning and I would not be where I am now was it not for his belief. I also thank Peter Kosta, Steven Franks, Catherine Rudin and John Leafgren for the scientific exchange. Generally, I am thankful to Steven Franks and Catherine Rudin for their very inspiring work on Bulgarian clitics, which, in my view, captures some of the most subtle features of Bulgarian grammar. Many thanks also to Monika Kruschinski for the technical support in the preparation of the camera-ready version of this monograph. All remaining shortcomings are my own. For the experimental part of the research, I need to express my special thanks to Rada Nikolova, the director of the child-care centre “Gălăbče” in Varna, Bulgaria where most of the elicitation tests took place. I also thank all the lovely children from the child-care centre, who made my work such an enjoyable experience.

Coming to the personal part of my big *thank you*,

I sincerely thank my parents Rosica and Dimităr, whose precious gifts of love, belief and understanding I could always carry with me in walking the path I mostly wanted. Without the warm caring hand of my mum as a grandmother, many practical things would not have been possible. I also thank my husband Wojtek for flying in the clouds with me, but at the same time for walking the stony way with me. For letting me not think about so many other important things in the last months but my work, for helping me in all possible ways...and just for being here. I also value his support in our decision to change homes and countries, and to find new chances together.

Leonie, I thank *you* most of all and from the depth of my loving heart. About 4 years ago I was blessed to become a mother and at the very same time to launch a scientific journey, the outcome of which is this book. Growing and developing in both aspects has been an exciting, challenging and rewarding experience. *Most of all, thank you for giving me Another perspective, the one that showed me what matters most.*

Table of Contents

List of Tables	XV
List of Figures	XVII
List of Abbreviations	XIX

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1 Research scope and goals.....	1
1.2 Roadmap.....	2
1.3 The investigated language.....	6

CHAPTER 2. SINGLE CLITICS..... **9**

2.1 Nature	9
2.2 The Slavic clitic inventory	12
2.3 Typology of clitic positions.....	14
2.4 An excursus into Romance clitics	19
2.5 Bulgarian accusative clitics	20
2.5.1 Paradigm	21
2.5.2 Distribution	22
2.5.3 Nature and derivation.....	27
2.6 Summary and outlook	32

CHAPTER 3. ACQUISITION OF SINGLE CLITICS..... **35**

3.1 The machinery of language acquisition: some theoretical considerations.....	35
3.2 Previous studies on L1 clitic acquisition.....	38
3.2.1 A crosslinguistic puzzle: clitic omission vs. emergence at the onset	39
3.2.2 Clitic acquisition across individual languages.....	40
3.2.2.1 French	40
3.2.2.2 Spanish	42
3.2.2.3 Catalan	44
3.2.2.4 Italian	45
3.2.2.5 European and Brazilian Portuguese	47
3.2.2.6 Romanian.....	48
3.2.2.7 Albanian	50
3.2.2.8 Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek	50
3.2.2.9 Croatian	52

3.2.2.10	Bulgarian	52
3.2.3	Summary	54
3.3	How to account for the crosslinguistic puzzle?	58
3.3.1	Impoverished clausal structure	59
3.3.2	Interface-driven approaches.....	59
3.3.3	Processing limitations	61
3.3.4	The Unique Checking Constraint (UCC)	62
3.4	The UCC as a robust explanation of the crosslinguistic variation in clitic acquisition	65
3.4.1	Problem cases for the UCC?	66
3.4.2	Predictions of the UCC for the L1 clitic acquisition in Bulgarian.....	69
3.5	The present study.....	70
3.5.1	Research questions.....	70
3.6	Experiment I: Clitic production	73
3.6.1	Participants.....	73
3.6.2	Method	77
3.6.3	Results.....	81
3.6.4	Discussion	97
3.7	Experiment II: Clitic placement	101
3.7.1	Participants.....	101
3.7.2	Method	103
3.7.3	Results.....	105
3.7.4	Discussion	106
3.8	Experiment I and Experiment II: summary.....	107
3.9	Summary and general implications	108
CHAPTER 4. CLITIC DOUBLING		113
4.1	Nature and spread.....	114
4.2	Clitic doubling and its relatives – the “genuineness” problem	121
4.2.1	The Romance influence	122
4.2.2	The present analysis.....	124
4.3	Bulgarian clitic doubling: between optionality and obligatoriness.....	130
4.3.1	Syntactic conditions: constituent order or/and predicate types	131
4.3.2	Information structure	137
4.3.2.1	Clitic doubling and topic	139
4.3.2.2	Clitic doubling and focus	145
4.3.3	Semantic licensing	149

4.3.3.1	Indefiniteness and Macedonian clitic doubling.....	151
4.3.3.2	Indefiniteness, unspecificity and Bulgarian clitic doubling.....	153
4.4	Trigger-based types of clitic doubling	160
4.4.1	Object marking.....	161
4.4.2	Topic marking.....	162
4.4.3	Accusative/Dative Experiencers conditioned on word order ...	163
4.5	Summary and outlook	164
CHAPTER 5. ACQUISITION OF CLITIC DOUBLING		167
5.1	Previous studies	167
5.1.1	Spanish	168
5.1.2	Standard Modern Greek.....	169
5.1.3	Albanian	169
5.1.4	Summary	170
5.2	The present study.....	172
5.2.1	Research questions.....	172
5.2.2	Participants.....	173
5.2.3	Method	174
5.2.4	Results.....	179
5.2.4.1	Group results	179
5.2.4.2	Individual results	182
5.2.5	Summary	192
5.3	Discussion	193
CHAPTER 6. CHILD AND ADULT CLITIC GRAMMAR IN COMPARISON		195
6.1	Single clitics	196
6.1.1	Properties and principles of single clitics in child grammar	196
6.1.2	Placement principles	197
6.1.3	Production principles	199
6.2.	Clitic doubling.....	201
6.2.1	Pronominal clitics as object agreement markers and one type of clitic doubling.....	201
6.2.2	Single and double cliticization: successive processes with distinct structures	203
6.3	Single and multiple interface phenomena	204
6.3.1	Interfaces and computations	204

6.3.2	A possible learning scenario	208
6.3.3	Computations and accessibility	210
6.3.4	Conclusion	211
6.4	Main conclusions.....	211
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION		215
References		219
Appendix A		239
Appendix B.....		247
Appendix C		253

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Clitic inventories (non-exhaustive) and positions in some Slavic languages.....	13
Table 2.2	Positions of clausal clitics in Slavic.....	15
Table 2.3	Paradigm of Bulgarian object clitics.....	21
Table 3.1	Clitic frequencies in child Spanish (based on Wexler <i>et al.</i> 2004)	43
Table 3.2	Acquisition of object clitics in Italian based on experimental data from Schaeffer (2000)	46
Table 3.3	Acquisition of accusative clitics in Romanian based on results from Babyonyshev & Marin (2006)	49
Table 3.4	Clitic omission in Ivanov (2008)	53
Table 3.5	Substitution of the feminine <i>ja</i> and plural <i>gi</i> by <i>go</i> (Ivanov 2008).....	54
Table 3.6	Cross-linguistic findings of the L1 acquisition of object clitics.....	55
Table 3.7	Allowed and disallowed null objects according to contexts in EP (based on Silva 2010).....	67
Table 3.8	Clitic omission in Ivanov (2008)	69
Table 3.9	Description of participants (n=46).....	73
Table 3.10	Description of participants across the age groups	74
Table 3.11	Target vs. produced items within the age groups	82
Table 3.12	Overall results from the clitic elicitation study.....	83
Table 3.13	Clitic omission in Bulgarian, Spanish, Croatian, Italian and French.....	84
Table 3.14	Overall results divided for girls and boys.....	85
Table 3.15	Individual scores of all children (n=46).....	86
Table 3.16	Score comparison of two children at 2;6	88
Table 3.17	Score comparison of 3 young children: 2 with similar scores and 1 underperformer (Dimana 2;6)	88
Table 3.18	Steljan's data (2;11) as compared to the data of the younger children in his age group.....	89
Table 3.19	Production of four children at 3;0.....	89
Table 3.20	Individual scores for Age group II (3;1-3;7)	91
Table 3.21	Scores of 8 underperformers in the clitic production study.....	92
Table 3.22	Children with low MLU.....	93
Table 3.23	Wrong vs. correct clitic forms across the age groups.....	95
Table 3.24	Present results of the elicited clitic production study	98

Table 3.25	Results in Ivanov (2008).....	98
Table 3.26	Information on individual participants (n=17)	102
Table 3.27	Individual results in the elicitation study of proclitics	105
Table 3.28	The nature of early (direct object) clitic development in Bulgarian.....	108
Table 4.1	Typology of Romance languages: distribution of CD, CLLD and CLRD	124
Table 4.2	Some distinguishing characteristics of CD vs. CLLD.....	130
Table 5.1	A summary of existing studies on the L1 acquisition of CD.....	170
Table 5.2	Description of participants (n=16).....	173
Table 5.3	Description of participants across the age groups	174
Table 5.4	Overall results in the CD experiment	180
Table 5.5	Distribution of correct answers across sexes	180
Table 5.6	Distribution of correct answers across sexes within the age groups	181
Table 5.7	Individual results.....	182
Table 5.8	Individual results (correct answers) per used verb and individual overall results.....	183
Table 5.9	Correct answers per used verb within the age groups	184
Table 5.10	Correct answers for all 16 children per used verb	185
Table 5.11	Individual scores for correct and wrong answers depending on the picture item.....	186
Table 5.12	Wrong answers per item picture	187
Table 5.13	Overall distribution of correct answers for the three clitic forms	191

List of Figures

Chart 3.1	Overall results from the clitic elicitation study.....	83
Chart 3.2	Wrong vs. correct clitic forms across the age groups.....	96
Figure 3.1	An illustration of the predictions made by the UCC (Wexler 1998, 2003)	71
Chart 5.1	Overall results in the CD experiment	180

List of Abbreviations

1SG	1st person singular	JAP	Japanese
2SG	2nd person singular	KP	Kase Phrase
3SG	3rd person singular	MAC	Macedonian
2P	second position	MASC	Masculine
ACC	Accusative	MG	Modern Greek
AGRIOP	Agreement Indirect Object Phrase	NEG	Negation
AGROP	Agreement Object Phrase	NEU	Neuter
ALB	Albanian	NOM	Nominative
AUX	Auxiliary	NON-CLO	Non-Clitic Omission
BG	Bulgarian	PL	Plural
BP	Brazilian Portuguese	POSS	Possessor/possessive
CAT	Catalan	PRES	Present
CD	Clitic doubling	PRT	Particle
CL	Clitic	Q	Question particle
CLLD	Clitic Left Dislocation	REFL	Reflexive
CLO	Clitic-Omission	SC	Serbo-Croatian
CLP	Clitic Phrase	SG	Singular
CLRD	Clitic Right Dislocation	SPEC	Specific
DAT	Dative	TD	Typically- developing
DEF	Definite	TM	Tobler-Mussafia
DIM	Diminutive	TOP	Topic
DO	Direct object	UCC	Unique Checking Constraint
EP	European Portuguese	UG	Universal Grammar
EXP	Experiencer	VA	Verb-adjacent
F	Focus		
FEM	Feminine		
FL	Faculty of Language		
FP	Full pronoun		
FR	French		
FUT	Future tense clitic		
GEN	Generic		
GER	German		
HUN	Hungarian		
INDEF	Indefinite		
IO	Indirect object		
IT	Italian		

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Research scope and goals

This book combines research from two fields of linguistics, syntax and first language acquisition, with the aim to provide an investigation of the nature and properties of single and double cliticization in both adult and child grammar. The specific objects of inquiry are direct (or accusative) object clitics and clitic doubling of direct objects. Whereas the main study language is Bulgarian, the present research pursues cross-linguistic validity and therefore integrates comparisons to other languages such as some of the Balkan Sprachbund, Slavic and Romance languages. Particularly in relation to the acquisition analysis, data from another 11 languages are surveyed and compared to the new data from three original experiments in Bulgarian. The present study provides data of 79 typically-developing monolingual children and is the first to test the placement principles of object clitics and the manifestation of clitic doubling in the child grammar of Bulgarian.

The two grammatical phenomena under investigation are exemplified for Bulgarian below. (1a) shows the use of direct object clitics in post-verbal and pre-verbal position and (1b) is an instance of clitic doubling of a direct object.

- (1) a. Pozdravi *gi* i posle *gi* pokani da vljazat.
 greeted_{2/3.SG} them_{CL.ACC} and then them_{CL.ACC} invited to enter
 ‘You/(s)he greeted them and then invited them to enter.’
- b. *Lingvistikata ja običaxa vsički studenti ot*
 linguistics_{3.SG.FEM.DEF} it_{CL.ACC.3.SG.FEM} loved all students from
 fakulteta.
 faculty_{DEF}
 ‘All students from the faculty loved linguistics.’

The analysis of the way single clitics and clitic doubling are manifested in adult and child grammar can offer new insights about the nature and the intrinsic properties of the two grammatical phenomena. At the same time, the comparative inquiry of the way these two phenomena are represented in adult and child grammar can enable a deeper understanding of language and the mechanisms regulating language. This, in turn, can contribute to the understanding of the principles of language, and particularly of the principles of structural architecture, developmental constraints and efficient computation in relation to the third

factor on the growth of language, i.e. principles not specific to the faculty of language (cf. Chomsky 2005: 6). This is why the choice of the present study objects is not incidental. Since single and double cliticization can be regarded to be associated with distinct computational processes at the interfaces, they present a perfect test ground for the way interface conditions are presented in language.

1.2 Roadmap

The research presented in the book is based on two main “building blocks”: the theoretical discussion of the syntax of single clitics and clitic doubling in chapters 2 and 4, on the one hand, and the empirical investigation of the first language (L1) acquisition of the two phenomena in chapters 3 and 5, on the other hand. Each theoretically-based chapter devoted on one phenomenon is immediately followed by a chapter on the acquisition of the phenomenon. This provides a thorough analysis of the properties of single accusative clitics and clitic doubling in both adult and child grammar. Finally, chapter 6 derives some main conclusions on the basis of the investigation of both grammars and offers insights about the nature of child and adult language, as well as of language in general. Below is a detailed roadmap for the individual chapters of the book.

Chapter 2 and chapter 3 provide an examination of the first study object, single direct object clitics, first from the point of view of adult Bulgarian grammar in chapter 2, and second, in view of the manifestation of the phenomenon in child grammar in chapter 3.

Chapter 2 presents an examination of the syntactic properties of single clitics. It opens with a general discussion providing a glimpse into the nature of clitics *per se*, outlining their main distinguishing properties and explaining the delimitation between simple and special clitics. Limiting the discussion to special clitics, I proceed to a brief investigation into Slavic in terms of available clitic inventories and clitic positions. Taking a brief excursus into Romance, I present some important syntactic approaches to the syntax of clitics such as Kayne’s (1975) and Sportiche’s (1996) influential analyses.

The main scope of the chapter is the discussion of Bulgarian pronominal clitics, and more specifically direct object clitics. After the presentation of the paradigm of available object clitics in Bulgarian, I examine the distribution of direct object clitics in terms of placement properties, also in comparison to Macedonian clitics, and in relation to cluster ordering features. Further on, the questions of the status of Bulgarian object clitics as arguments or agreement, and their position in the clause are discussed. I adopt an approach from Rudin (1997) and especially Franks & Rudin (2005a), according to which pronominal clitics in Bulgarian are first, object agreement and second, instantiate K heads of

K(ase) Phrases. This analysis is best compatible with the clitic doubling facts from Bulgarian. I agree with Franks (2009a) concerning the difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian clitics that Bulgarian clitics are K^0 that move to Agr, while Macedonian clitics are Agr⁰. It seems that whereas Macedonian pronominal clitics are more advanced diachronically to being complete agreement markers, their Bulgarian counterparts are further back. I suggest that Bulgarian clitics may be seen as possessing a kind of a transitional character, exhibiting agreement properties but at a weaker level than the object clitics in Macedonian.

Chapter 3 continues the line of inquiry of single clitics this time from the perspective of L1 acquisition. The theoretical basis is laid by explaining the machinery of L1 acquisition from the perspective of generative grammar, the theory of Universal Grammar (UG) and the view of the faculty of language (FL) as “an organ of the body” (Chomsky 2005: 1). Some models explaining the acquisition process from the initial to the steady state of linguistic competence are presented with special emphasis on the Maturation Hypothesis (Borer & Wexler 1987, 1992 a.o.) and on the UG constrained maturation postulating that different principles of UG are genetically programmed to come into operation at different biologically determined stages of maturation. The view of language as an innate knowledge that can be compared to other biological processes is linked to the biolinguistic perspective on language. Here I discuss the prominent three factors related to the growth of language as proposed in Chomsky (2005).

Next, I provide a detailed review of some previous studies of the acquisition of clitics in a variety of 11 languages and Bulgarian. A cross-linguistic puzzle emerges in terms of the established optional clitic omission across languages in the early stages. Whereas in some languages clitics appear late and generally productive use is associated with the time after 3;0, in other languages both naturalistic and experimental data provide evidence for an early production of object clitics, around the age of 2. On the basis of this variation it is possible to distinguish two distinct types of languages with view of clitic development: Clitic Omission Languages (CLO Languages) and Non-Clitic Omission Languages (Non-CLO Languages).

From here on, especially in the context of the theory of UG, the issue under investigation is the source of this cross-linguistic variation in child languages. Some accounts, which either look for the source of clitic omission in children’s impoverished clausal structure, or in their processing limitations (limited working memory), or also in an underdeveloped pragmatic component in children, are surveyed. Whereas these approaches are interesting in explaining the presence of clitic omission in child language, none of them addresses the question of the optionality of clitic omission. Clitic omission as subject to a cross-linguistic variation is predicted under the theory of the Unique Checking Constraint

(UCC) (Wexler 1998), which makes a relation between the specific properties of a certain language and the presence or lack of clitic omission in the early stages of this language.

Sections 3.5 to 3.8 are important as they report on an original empirical study carried out in order to investigate the L1 acquisition of accusative clitics by Bulgarian children between the ages of 2;2 to 4;3. Two elicited production experiments investigated the production and placement developmental properties of early clitics in Bulgarian. Two main contributions are made here. First, the new results derived on the basis of the data of 63 typically-developing, monolingual children fill in a gap in the cross-linguistic acquisition research of clitics, also in terms of the predicted pattern of CIO and non-CIO languages in terms of the UCC. Second, the study provides unprecedented data on the placement of Bulgarian accusative clitics testing the availability of both enclitic and proclitic positions in child grammar. In the summarising **section 3.8** I provide a complete overview of the nature of early (direct object) clitic development in Bulgarian.

Chapter 4 and chapter 5 proceed with the examination of the second study object in the dissertation, clitic doubling of direct objects, first from the point of view of adult Bulgarian grammar in chapter 4 and second, in view of the manifestation of the phenomenon in child grammar in chapter 5.

Chapter 4 begins with the introduction of the nature and spread of clitic doubling (CD) in the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund. The grammatical constraints and the discourse-oriented conditioning on CD in the single languages of the area of spread are discussed. Next, the “genuineness” problem, related to the distinction between proper CD and clitic (left and right) dislocation structures, i.e. CLLD and CLRD, is discussed in an attempt to show that CD in Bulgarian cannot be equated to dislocation structures in Romance. My definition of CD, mainly based on facts from constituent order and the appearance of a doubling clitic irrespective of the placement of the doubled object, suggests that Bulgarian CD needs to be seen as distinct from Romance CLLD and CLRD.

Next I investigate the three-way conditioning on CD in Bulgarian on the basis of syntactic conditions, information structure and semantic constraints, and conclude that in modern colloquial Bulgarian there is a tendency for the syntactic and information structure conditions on CD environments to grow in strength and for the semantic factors to weaken. The contribution made here is connected with the idea that there are three distinct trigger-based types of CD in Bulgarian. I show that conditions such as predicate choice and obligatoriness of the doubling clitic (cf. Krapova & Cinque 2008), are relevant but not sufficient factors for the occurrence of CD, and that the interaction of clitic doubling with constituent order and information structure needs to be highlighted.

Chapter 5 presents an unprecedented study of the L1 acquisition of clitic doubling in Bulgarian. The few existing studies of CD in languages such as Spanish, Standard Modern Greek and Albanian are surveyed. **Section 5.2** reports on an elicited comprehension experiment on Bulgarian CD which was conducted with 16 children aged 2;5 to 4;2. The data provide evidence for first, the existence of one of the types of CD, assumed for Bulgarian in chapter 4, and second, for the analysis of direct object clitics as object agreement in the early stages, which in turn supports the view taken in chapter 2.

Chapter 6 integrates all results derived from the examination of single and double cliticization in both adult and child grammar as well as in view of the existing cross-linguistic data. This approach provides valuable insights into the nature of single clitics and clitic doubling. In view of the cross-linguistic clitic data, the study shows that the difference between languages in terms of the positional restrictions on their clitics, i.e. second-position or verb-adjacent clitics, is only a surface difference.

The comparison of the acquisition data on single accusative clitics and clitic doubling indicates that the two phenomena are not simultaneous processes in acquisition. Whereas the acquisition of single clitics is characterised by an early emergence and very early productive use, from about 2;3 onwards, the full acquisition of CD is late and does not reach a full mastery stage even by the age of 4;2. The source of this difference is not sought in a grammatical deficit in children but is rather correlated to the difference between single cliticization and double cliticization as two distinct types of interface phenomena. Double cliticization is a case of a multiple interface phenomenon and requires computations at the syntax-discourse interface, which is typically related to incomplete acquisition by studies on various languages. The syntax-discourse interface is associated with high working resources for the integration of information coming from different interfaces (meaning discourse, on the one hand and syntax, on the other hand) which may be responsible for the observation that multiple interface phenomena such as clitic doubling, scrambling, scope ambiguation and so on are more “difficult” and not fully acquired even at a later stage in the development. A novel contribution here is the proposal of a 2-steps acquisition model for multiple interface phenomena, which expects simultaneous processing of competing interpretations of structures such as CD. Under this model children’s non-adult linguistic performance, i.e. optional retrieval of knowledge in the case of CD, is traceable to the load of computations at the levels of the interfaces of syntax and discourse, and to the inconstant error-free accessibility to an adult-like interpretation.

Chapter 7 is the concluding part of the book and offers a summary of the most significant findings as well as an outlook of future areas of research. Ap-

pendix A and B present the test items used in the two elicited production experiments on single clitics and Appendix C lists the test sentences from the items used in the elicited comprehension experiment on CD.

Some conventions used in this book need to be clarified. Glosses to examples from other, cited sources have been adapted to the style used in the book. All clitics as well as clitic-doubled objects appear in italics in the examples. In the child data, the elicited clitics appear in bold. Terminology such as “accusative clitics” and “direct object clitics”, on the one hand, and “clitic doubling” and “clitic/object reduplication”, on the other hand, are used interchangeably.

1.3 The investigated language

Before proceeding to chapter 2, in this section I briefly introduce the main facts about the target language grammar under investigation, i.e. Bulgarian.

Bulgarian is a South Slavic language, which is often seen as exotic in the Slavic family due to a mixture of interesting features – rich conjugation system, impoverished declension system, and at the same time a high degree of flexible word order. Bulgarian is a pro-drop and a multiple fronting language. Object drop is disallowed with the exception of cases such as indefinite noun objects. Although the basic and most neutral word order is SVO, theoretically all possible word order combinations are permitted, i.e. SVO, OVS, VSO, etc. The constituent order is to great extent marked by information structure. Object clitic doubling is compatible with different constituent orders and the clitic-doubled object can appear in the left or in the right periphery, pre- or post-verbally.

Bulgarian pronouns appear in two forms – as full pronominal forms (strong pronouns) with forms for nominative and accusative, or as clitic forms with forms for accusative and dative. All forms are marked for person, number and gender. Since Bulgarian nouns have lost morphological case marking, the use of prepositions as syntactic case markers is very extensive in the language. Therefore dative strong pronouns differ from their accusative counterparts only by the addition of the preposition *na*. At the same time, clitics have preserved their case marking and exhibit different forms apart for 1st and 2nd person plural, dative and accusative clitics. The standard language lacks subject clitics. There is no agreement between the clitic and the VP.

Additionally, Bulgarian is a member of the group of the Balkan Sprachbund languages, which includes both Slavic and non-Slavic languages, i.e. apart from Bulgarian also Macedonian, Romanian, Greek and Albanian, and shares a number of properties with them. Since the Sprachbund languages are relevant in the discussion of clitic doubling in chapter 4, a brief description of the nature of the Balkan language group is in place here.

The term “Balkan Sprachbund (features)” can be traced back to Trubetzkoy (1928) discussing the fact that the languages of the Balkan share certain areal features of structural similarity in grammar, syntax, vocabulary and phonology. There is no consensus on the origin and amount of these shared features or on the precise membership of languages in the group. Yet, most linguists identify the following features as most prominent (from Tomić 2011): presence of schwa, prepositional phrases in the place of oblique cases, postpositive definite articles, dative/genitive merger, location/direction merger, vocative case markers, clitic doubling of direct and indirect objects, loss of the infinitive and its substitution by subjunctive clauses, a periphrastic future tense with a *will* auxiliary, analytic perfect with a *have*-auxiliary, evidentials. There is a degree difference in terms of how much “Balkanisation” the separate languages exhibit. Bulgarian is concerned to be one of the core members of the Balkan Sprachbund, exhibiting most of the above features.

