



Pronominal clitics, on the other hand, are unmarked, and are thus disallowed in utterance final position. In sum, clitic pronouns are specific, unmarked and obligatorily raised (example 4.), while full pronouns are specific, marked, and either raised or un-raised. What distinguishes between raised pronominal clitics and raised full pronouns is the degree of emphasis.

4. Dete **ga** ye uzyahalo. Object pronominal clitic  
 Child.NOM him.CL AUX mounted.  
 ‘The child mounted **it**.’

The properties of the pronominal system in the adult Serbo-Croatian are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. Properties of Serbo-Croatian adult Pronominal system

	Clitic Pronouns	Full Pronouns
Specificity	+	+
Markedness (focus, emphasis, etc.)	-	+
Raised	+	+/-

In this paper we compare Schaeffer’s (1997) findings with the results of an analysis of naturalistic data collected from a 3-year old child speaking Serbo-Croatian, and argue that, at as early as 3 years of age, the child’s grammar shows a) no underspecification of the specificity feature, and b) the child is highly aware of discourse, which enables him to identify discourse-related specific object DPs. The results are presented in Table 2, which shows that: a) of the 36 object personal pronouns, 94% are appropriately raised; b) of the 34 raised object personal pronouns, 32 are correctly cliticized. The remaining 2 non-cliticized pronouns are clearly emphasized objects, and thus cliticization is not appropriate; c) of the 94 lexical DPs, 79 (84%) occur in sentence final position, the preferred position for lexical DPs; and d) of the 15 raised lexical DPs, all 15 are specific.

Table 2. Position, form and specificity in child Serbo-Croatian

	Object personal pronouns		Lexical Object DPs	
Total	36		94	
Unraised (Utterance final) Objects	*2 (6 %)		79 (84 %)	
Raised (medial or initial) objects	34 (94 %)		15 (16%)	
	cliticized 32	not cliticized 2	specific 15	non-specific 0

These data show that the Serbo Croatian child (i) appropriately raises specific objects (both lexical as well as pronominal); (ii) selects the appropriate form of pronouns (clitics or full pronouns) depending on discourse-specific factors such as focus. Thus we conclude that knowledge of specificity as well as discourse principles of focus that govern the form of pronouns is evidenced in early Serbo-Croatian

#### References

- Schaeffer, J. (1997). Object scrambling, object (-clitic) placement and nominal specificity in Dutch child language. In the Proceedings of BUCLD 21, 527-538
- Hyams, Nina (1996). ‘The underspecification of functional categories in early grammar.’ In *Generative perspectives on first language acquisition*, Harald Clahsen and Roger Hawkins, eds. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins, 1996, pp. 91-127.
- Stojanovic, D. (1997). Object shift in Serbo-Croatian. In *Clitics, Pronouns and Movement*, James R. Black and Virginia Motapanyane, eds. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins, 1997, pp. 301-319.