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Grammaticalization of the French and Bulgarian Causative Constructions. Some Diachronic and Developmental Aspects

Gramatykalizacja francuskich i bułgarskich konstrukcji kauzatywnych. Niektóre aspekty diachroniczne i rozwojowe

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have been interested in grammaticalization from a diachronic and developmental perspective for many years (Slobin, 2002; Givón, 2009; Diessel, 2012 *inter alia*). However, the abundant linguistic literature does not reveal any agreement regarding the way these two processes could be related. According to Alain Peyraube (2002), syntactic change has to be considered either from a formal (generative) or a functional-discursive (functional-cognitive) perspective. In the generative approach, the acquisition of language by children influences grammatical change that is non-progressive and independent of all functional, semantic and pragmatic considerations (Lightfoot, 1979). The proponents of the functional-cognitive approach, by contrast, consider that language evolution can be explained by the primary function of language – the communicative function. In this framework, linguistic change is related to various biological, psychological, historical, sociocultural, environmental and developmental factors that play a crucial role in characterizing linguistic structure (Langacker, 1999). Functionalists also

argue that language history and language acquisition often seem parallel because they involve similar mechanisms of change (Ziegeler, 1997) or similar adaptive behaviors (Givón, 2009).

Looking for some points of convergence between diachrony and acquisition, scholars have compared various linguistic devices, such as adpositions or English past tense forms (Clark and Carpenter, 1989; Ziegeler, 1997; Bybee and Slobin, 1982a, 1982b). These studies have provided striking results. They have revealed some similarities between the two processes, in particular at the semantic-pragmatic level and more rarely at the morphological level. Bybee and Slobin (1982a, 1982b), for example, investigated the convergence between diachrony and acquisition at the grammatical level. They noticed a tendency to regularize the past tense forms of less frequent irregular English verbs (e.g. *break – *breaked* [broke], *go – *goed* [went]) in both historical and child language data[1]. However, despite this similarity, there are differences between children's and adults' erroneous past tense forms. The former can be observed only during initial stages of language development and are never maintained in adulthood. The latter, by contrast, persist and are passed on to subsequent generations. It should also be noted that in the sociolinguistic framework, the transmission of change is determined by power and prestige (Labov, 2001). Since children do not constitute an influential group, their linguistic innovations should not have a strong effect on adult language use. The particularities of children's and adults' new productions allow Bybee and Slobin (1982a, 1982b) to conclude that adults rather than children are the instigators of morphological change.

In this paper, we propose to shed some light on the possible parallel between processes of grammatical evolution. We will attempt to do this by studying the functioning of the French and Bulgarian causative constructions in history and child language, at the grammatical and semantic levels. Our hypothesis is that there are some points of convergence between the historical change and the acquisition process of the causative constructions.

[1] The analysis of children's overgeneralizations with the English past tense forms of various irregular verbs (e.g. *come – *comed* [came], *fall – *falled* [fell], *make – *maked* [made], *eat – *eated* [ate], *sing – *singed* [sang], *put – *putted* [put], *throw – *throwed* [threw]) has received a great deal of attention in the literature (Bybee and Moder, 1983; Rumelhart and McClelland, 1986; Marcus et al., 1992; Prasada and Pinker, 1993; Plunkett and Marchman, 1993; Marchman, 1997; Albright and Hayes, 2003 *inter alia*). However, we have not enough data illustrating similar verb evolution in diachrony.

1. DIACHRONIC EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH *FAIRE* + *VINF* CONSTRUCTION

We will first present the diachronic evolution of the French *faire* + *Vinf* construction (Chamberlain, 1986; Simone and Cerbasi, 2001). The three main steps characterizing this process of language change are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Diachronic evolution of the French *faire* + *Vinf* construction[2]

STAGES	AVAILABLE CONSTRUCTIONS	EXAMPLES	ANALYTISM
Latin (from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D.) (from the 1st c.)	**Bi-predicative constructions** V_1 + ut + $V2_{subj}$ facere + NP + Vinf	***Inducere** aliquem **ut mentiatur*** 'to make someone lie/get someone to lie' ***Facio** te/tibi **venire**.* 'I make you come'	
Old and Middle French (from the 10th c. to the 16th c.)	**Fluctuation** faire + NP + Vinf faire + Vinf (CP)	*Carles **ferat** l'ost **returner**.* 'Carles will make the army come back' *Ki tant me **fist cunquere**.* 'Who made me conquer so many lands'	
Modern French (from the 17th c.)	**Complex predicate** faire + Vinf	*La maman **fait manger** la soupe à l'enfant.* 'The mother makes the child eat the soup' *Elle la **fait manger** à l'enfant.* 'She makes the child eat it' *Elle lui **fait manger** la soupe.* 'She makes him/her eat the soup' *Elle la lui **fait manger**.* 'She makes him/her eat it' **La maman **fait** la soupe **manger** à l'enfant.* **La maman **fait** à l'enfant **manger** la soupe.* **La maman **fait** la lui **manger**.* **La maman lui **fait** la **manger**.*	SYNTHETISM

In Latin, we have bi-predicative constructions including one causative verb, the complementizer 'ut' or a noun phrase (NP) and a second verb in the subjunctive or infinitive (see Table 1, row 1). In Old and Middle French, we can observe the competition between two kinds of *faire* + *Vinf* constructions: the old one that still functions like a bi-predicative construction including an NP (e.g. *Carles **ferat** l'ost **returner***.) and the new one that works as a complex predicate (e.g. *Ki tant me **fist cunquere***.) (Table 1, row 2). Finally, in Modern French, the use of the *faire* + *Vinf* complex predicate becomes the norm for expressing causativity. As a complex predicate, this construction is strongly grammaticalized and it requires a special

[2] Tables 1 and 2 are our own summary presentation of the main phases in the diachronic evolution of the French and Bulgarian causative constructions. This summary presentation is based on the literature we consulted in relation to this issue (Chamberlain, 1986; Simone and Cerbasi, 2001; Vaillant, 1966; Haralampiev, 2001).

rearrangement of the *causer* and the *causee* arguments as well as clitic raising (Gaatone, 1976). It is not possible to insert clitics or an NP between the causative verb *faire* and the infinitive. To sum up, the French causative construction evolves from analytic forms (bi-predicative constructions) to more compact, synthetic forms (complex predicate).

2. DIACHRONIC EVOLUTION OF THE BULGARIAN *KARAM NP DA + VPRES* CONSTRUCTION

In this section, we will present the historical evolution of the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* construction (Vaillant, 1966; Haralampiev, 2001). Table 2 illustrates the key steps in this process of linguistic change.

Table 2. Diachronic evolution of the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* construction

STAGES	AVAILABLE CONSTRUCTIONS	EXAMPLES	SYNTHETISM ↓ ANALYTISM
Old Slavic (from the 5th c. to the 9th c.)	**Morphological causative** (-o/ě /u/a-)+'-iti'	*piti* (drink) → ***poiti*** (to make drink) *mrěti* (die) → ***umoriti*** (to make die)	
Old and Middle Bulgarian (from the 9th c. to the 15th c.)	**Fluctuation** V1 $_{caus}$ +(NP)+V2 $_{inf}$ V1 $_{caus}$ +NP+da $_{conj}$ +V2 $_{pres}$	*Nebogu* ***trepetati sŭtvori***. Lit: He made tremble the poor man ***Sŭtvorite*** *človĕky* ***vŭzlešti***! 'Make the men lie down' ***Văzljaze da vidit'/vidjat'*** *Isusa*. 'He/She went out to see Jesus'	
Modern Bulgarian (from the 16th c.)	**Bi-predicative constructions** V1 $_{caus}$ +NP+da $_{conj}$ +V2 $_{pres}$	*Učiteljat* ***kara*** *učenicite* ***da četat*** *uroka*. Lit: The teacher makes that the students read the lesson *Toj* ***kara*** *učenicite* ***da*** *go četat*. Lit: He makes that the students read it *Toj gi* ***kara da*** *četat uroka*. Lit: He makes that they read the lesson *Toj gi* ***kara da*** *go četat*. Lit: He makes that they read it	

Table 2 shows that in Old Slavic, causativity is encoded through morphological devices in 'iti' (see examples in row 1). In Old and Middle Bulgarian, we can observe the fluctuation between several constructions. The first one functions like a complex predicate (e.g. *Nebogu* ***trepetati sŭtvori***.) or a bi-predicative construction (e.g. ***Sŭtvorite*** *človĕky* ***vŭzlešti***.) (see Table 2, row 2). The second one is a new kind of bi-predicative construction where the lexical verb is no longer used in the infinitive but in the present, and it is also part of the da-construction. In fact, between the 12th and the 15th centuries, the Bulgarian synthetic infinitive is gradually

replaced by an analytic one – the da-construction, which includes the conjunction 'da' and the main verb in the present tense. Finally, in Modern Bulgarian, the $V1_{caus} + NP + da_{conj} + V2_{pres}$ periphrastic causative becomes the conventional usage. As a bi-predicative construction, the Bulgarian causative is less grammaticalized; each verb in this structure is autonomous and followed by its own arguments (Novakova, 2010) (Table 2, row 3).

In brief, the historical evolution of the Bulgarian causative construction follows the opposite pathway to that of French: from compact, morphological devices to analytic forms (bi-predicative constructions)[3].

3. ACQUISITION OF THE FRENCH *FAIRE* + *VINF* CONSTRUCTION

The following section presents the key steps of the acquisition of the *faire* + *Vinf* complex predicate, based on Sarkar's longitudinal study (2002) with eight 1.9 to 4-year-old French-speaking children from Quebec (Canada) (see Table 3).

Table 3. Gradual emergence of the *faire* + *Vinf* construction in child language (according to Sarkar, 2002: 191)

STAGES	KEY FEATURES	EXAMPLES
1 (from 1.9 to 2.10 years of age)	*faire* is often omitted	Transitive Causatives **Je **danse** le p'tit chat.* Lit: I'm dancing the little cat
2 (from 2.1 to 3.2 years of age)	*faire* is occasionally omitted & fluctuation	Insertion of NP & Conventional usage **J'ai **fait** les **marcher**.* Lit: I made them go *Je le **fais arrêter**.* 'I'm making it stop'
3 (around 4 years)	Stabilization of the *faire* + *Vinf* construction with intransitive verbs	*Je l'ai **fait tomber**.* 'I made it fall down' **Je le **fais boire** du jus d'orange.* 'I'm making him drink orange juice'
4 (beyond the age of 4)	Stabilization of the *faire* + *Vinf* construction with transitive verbs	*Je lui **fais boire** du jus d'orange.* 'I'm making him drink orange juice'

The gradual emergence of the French causative construction in child language is marked by three main stages. The first stage is characterized by the omission of the causative verb 'faire'. These kinds of productions are known as *transitive*

[3] We point out that evolutions from analytic to synthetic forms and vice versa mentioned in this paper concern only the French and Bulgarian causative constructions. Further studies on other linguistic devices at lexical, morphological and syntactic levels are needed to generalize this result in the diachronic change of these languages.

causatives (see Table 3, row 1). During the second step, the causative verb *faire* is still occasionally omitted. In addition, Sarkar observed the coexistence of two structures. The former corresponds to the conventional use of the *faire* + *Vinf* complex predicate and the latter is agrammatical, with an inappropriate NP insertion between the causative verb *faire* and the main verb in the infinitive (Table 3, row 2). Finally, in stage 3, children become able to use causative constructions properly, but only with intransitive verbs. For this reason, Sarkar (2002) considers the existence of an additional step 4 (beyond the age of 4), where children achieve an adult-like competence in producing causatives with transitive verbs (see Table 3, rows 3 & 4).

To sum up, according to Sarkar, the developmental path of the *faire* + *Vinf* complex predicate in child language goes from synthetic forms (lexical causatives or transitive causatives) to more complex structures including several arguments (causer, causee, object). Regarding Bulgarian, the acquisition of causative constructions in child language has never been observed.

4. THE PRESENT STUDY

In this section, we present new results on the acquisition of the French and Bulgarian causative constructions, based on a large-scale study including both young children and adults who participate in a production task.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Sample

Two hundred and nine French and Bulgarian native speakers took part in this cross-linguistic study. All details concerning the sample are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Sample of subjects[4]

French speakers			Bulgarian speakers		
Levels	Mean age	No. of participants	Levels	Mean age	No. of participants
3–4 years old	3.5 years	25	3–4 years old	3.8 years	18
4–5 years old	4.4 years	21	4–5 years old	4.8 years	17
5–6 years old	5.6 years	25	5–6 years old	5.7 years	21
Adults	34 years	42	Adults	36 years	40
Total		113	Total		96

[4] Tables from 4 to 8 and Figure 1 are all related to the study we conducted. They present our sample of participants, the experimental task, the main results and the final discussion.

As shown in Table 4, in each language, the children were divided into three age groups: 3 to 4, 4 to 5 and 5 to 6 years. Adult speakers were solicited in order to allow a better assessment of children's production skills with causatives. All participants were observed during individual videotaped sessions. Interviews with the children were held in the kindergarten and those with adults at their workplace.

4.1.2. Experimental task

The production task was constructed using extracts from six cartoons including causative situations. These causative situations were based on six target verbs: *rire/smeja se* ("to laugh"), *pleurer/plača* ("to cry"), *tomber/padam* ("to fall down"), *danser/tancuvam* ("to dance"), *boire/pija* ("to drink") and *manger/jam* ("to eat"). Children and adults were asked to watch each video and then to answer three questions. Table 5 provides an overview of the organization of the experimental sessions.

Table 5. Structure of the production task

QUESTIONS & TARGET FORMS	FRENCH	BULGARIAN	TRANSLATION
Q1 (on the causer)	**Que fait la fille?**	**Kakvo pravi kakata?**	**What is the girl doing?**
Target forms	La fille **fait rire** le bébé (*causativity*). La fille tire la langue (*causer event*).	Kakata **kara** bebeto **da se smee** (*causativity*). Kakata se plezi (*causer event*).	The girl makes the baby laugh. The girl sticks her tongue out.
If the participant uses a causative construction → Next video If no causative construction is provided → Q2 and Q3			
Q2 (on the causee)	**Que fait le bébé?**	**Kakvo pravi bebeto?**	**What is the baby doing?**
Target form	Le bébé rit (*causee event*).	Bebeto se smee (*causee event*).	The baby is laughing.
Q3 (on the causative situation)	**La fille tire la langue et comme ça, que fait-elle au bébé?**	**Kakata se plezi i po tozi način, kakvo pravi tja na bebeto?**	**The girl sticks her tongue out and like that, what is she doing to the baby?**
Target form	La fille **fait rire** le bébé (*causativity*).	Kakata **kara** bebeto **da se smee** (*causativity*).	The girl makes the baby laugh.

As illustrated in Table 5, the production task was built around three graduated questions. The first one focused on the *causer* argument (e.g. *What is X doing?*). In this case, two main productions were expected: one encoding a causative situation or another one depicting only the causer event (see examples row 2). When the participant used a causative construction, we proceeded with the next video. And when he/she did not, we continued with questions 2 and 3. Question 2 focused on the *causee* argument (e.g. *What is Y doing?*) and the target form described the related event (see Table 5, row 5). The final question 3 concerned the entire causative scene

(e.g. *What is X doing to Y?*); this time, only causative mechanisms were expected at the production level (Table 5, row 7).

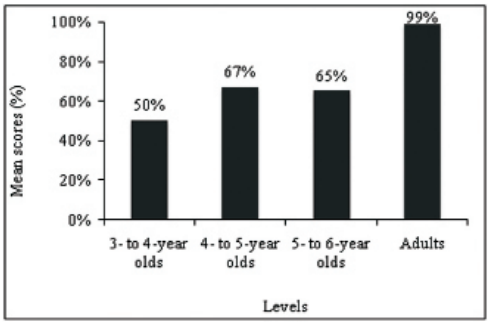
4.2. Results

First of all, we will discuss conventional uses of the French and Bulgarian causatives. Then, we will focus on the unusual productions related to these analytic devices.

4.2.1. Conventional uses of the French and Bulgarian causative constructions

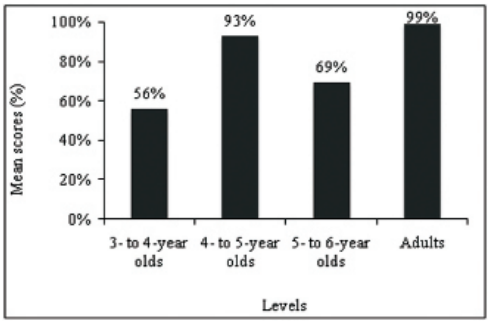
By conventional use of the French and Bulgarian causatives, we mean a correct production of the sequences *faire + Vinf* / *karam NP da + Vpres* and also proper use of the *causer* and *causee* arguments. We calculated an accuracy ratio as follows: Number of times the participant properly produces the target causative / Number of times the participant uses this linguistic construction.

a. French speakers (N = 101)



F (3.97) = 12.16; $p < .001$

b. Bulgarian speakers (N = 70)



F (3.66) = 8.84; $p < .001$

Figure 1. Conventional uses of the causative constructions

Figure 1 (a & b) indicates that between 3 and 6 years, French and Bulgarian children are able to correctly produce the causative constructions of their language; the mean scores exceed 50%. However, Bulgarian children's performances are better, in particular in 4- to 5-year-olds. At this developmental stage, French children show a mean accuracy of 67%, while Bulgarian children already demonstrate an adult-like competence (an average of 93%) in producing periphrastic causatives. These results suggest that the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* less grammaticalized causative is easier to acquire and its emergence in child language is probably earlier (before the age of six).

4.2.2. Unconventional uses of the French and Bulgarian causative constructions

The unconventional uses of the French causative construction are illustrated in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Unconventional uses of the French *faire + Vinf* construction

FORMS PRODUCED	EXAMPLES	AVERAGE (%)	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
Errors on the *causee's* syntactic function	**Il lui **fait danser**.* Lit: He him makes dance	CHI → 2-3-5% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 13.55$ $p = .004$
1 or 2 missing arguments	**Elle **fait pleurer** + Ø.* Lit: She makes cry + Ø **Ø + **fait danser** + Ø.* Lit: Ø + makes dance + Ø	CHI → 6-4-4% Adults→ 1%	$F(3.109) = 4.29$ $p = .01$
Overgeneralizations	**Il **fait casser** le robot.* Lit: He makes break the robot	CHI → 2-4-1% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 7.92$ $p = .05$
Faire + Conjugated verb	**Elle le **fait pleure**.* Lit: She him makes cries	CHI→ 0-2-0% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 13.38$ $p = .004$
Factitive ellipses	**Ø + **pleurer** le bébé.* Lit: Ø + cry the baby	CHI→ 0-0-2% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 10.75$ $p = .01$
Transitive causatives	**Elle **rit** le bébé.* Lit: She laughs the baby	CHI→ 0-1-0% Adults→ 0%	NS
NP insertions	**Elle **fait** le bébé **manger**.* Lit: She makes the baby eat	CHI→ 1-0-0% Adults→ 0%	NS

We noted three specific cases of unusual productions of the *faire + Vinf* complex predicate in our study. The first one is related to *causer* and *causee* arguments. For instance, we found errors on the *causee*'s syntactic function, and some cases of argument omission (see Table 6, rows 1 & 2). Our data also revealed some cases of overgeneralization errors. These agrammatical productions are characterized by the improper addition of the causative verb *faire* to a lexical causative, which can in itself convey causativity (Table 6, row 3). The last specific case of incorrect use observed in our French data includes productions where the entire *faire + Vinf* structure is affected. In particular, we found examples with a conjugated lexical

verb, and some factitive ellipses with missing causative verb and *causer* argument (see Table 6, rows 4 & 5). Finally, transitive causatives and NP insertions mentioned in Sarkar's (2002) experimental work also occurred in our study. However, it is worth noting that between 3 and 6 years, these errors are extremely unusual in child language and we did not obtain any significant statistical results (Table 6, rows 6 & 7).

Turning now to the unconventional uses of the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* construction, the cases observed in the study are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Unconventional uses of the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* construction

FORMS PRODUCED	EXAMPLES	AVERAGE (%)	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL
Inappropriate position of the *causee*	***Kara da plače** Tarzan.* Lit: (He) makes that cries Tarzan	CHI→ 1-0-0% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 8.76$ $p = .03$
Periphrastic ellipses	***Ø + da tancuva + Ø*** Lit: Ø + that dances + Ø	CHI→ 3-0-3% Adults→ 0%	$\chi^2 = 11.30$ $p = .01$
Less/Non conventional causative verb & Inappropriate position/Missing *causee*	***Pravi da padne** golemijat robot.* Lit: (He) makes that falls down the big robot ***Sǎzdava + Ø + da se smee.*** Lit: (She) creates that + Ø + laughs	CHI→ 1-1-1% Adults→ 0%	NS
Transitive causatives	***Usmixva** bebeto.* Lit: (She) smiles the baby	CHI→ 0-0-1% Adults→ 0%	NS

The unusual productions found in Bulgarian data can also be divided into three categories. The first one is characterised by the inappropriate position of the *causee* argument (see Table 7, row 1). The second category includes the periphrastic ellipses. In this case, the periphrastic causative is reduced to the simple da-construction; the causative verb *karam* and the *causer* and *causee* arguments are omitted (Table 7, row 2). Finally, we observed some productions that are very unusual for this developmental stage, namely constructions with a less appropriate or an inappropriate causative verb and some transitive causatives (Table 7, rows 3 & 4). This kind of errors did not reach the statistical level of significance, however.

5. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final section, we will point out the possible convergence between historical change and language evolution in children, taking into account only the French *faire + Vinf* construction. Table 8 briefly summarizes the characteristics of the two grammaticalization processes.

Table 8. Processes of grammaticalization of the French *faire + Vinf* construction

ANALYTISM	DIACHRONY	ACQUISITION	SYNTHETISM
↓	**Stage 1 :** Bi-predicative constructions V1 + ut + V2 subj Facere + NP + Vinf	**Stage 1:** Transitive causatives *Elle rit le bébé.	↓
	Stage 2: Fluctuation Faire + NP + Vinf Faire + Vinf (CP)	**Stage 2:** Fluctuation Faire + NP + Vinf Faire + Vinf (CP)	
SYNTHETISM	**Stage 3:** Stabilization Faire + Vinf (CP)	**Stage 3:** Stabilization Faire + Vinf (CP)	ANALYTISM

In diachrony, the French causative construction evolves from analytic forms (bi-predicative constructions in Latin) to more compact mechanisms (a complex predicate in Modern French). By contrast, in child language, the evolution of this construction follows the opposite pathway: from synthetic forms (lexical causatives or transitive causatives) to more analytic devices (a complex predicate). We can therefore notice two points of convergence between these grammaticalization processes. At steps 2 and 3, we can observe the competition between two alternative constructions, before the final standardization of the new usage. However, we note that this similarity between language change and language acquisition is not specific to causatives. It also can be associated with all kinds of linguistic devices, which determines its general nature.

In conclusion, we would like to highlight two points. The first one is related to the gradual emergence of the French and Bulgarian causatives in child language. As a strongly grammaticalized construction, *faire + Vinf* requires argument rearrangement and clitic raising. These particularities explain its late stabilization in child productions (at around 6 years and beyond). On the other hand, the Bulgarian *karam NP da + Vpres* is less grammaticalized by nature; it involves two autonomous predicates, each of them occurring with its own arguments. For that reason, we believe that the Bulgarian periphrastic causative is easier to acquire and its full command by children is achieved earlier (before the age of 6).

The second important point is related to the comparison between language changes in history and acquisition. As long as causatives are concerned, there is no clear evidence that the acquisition of grammatical devices repeats their diachronic evolution or that grammatical development in history originates from changes in child language. According to Slobin (2002), language changes in history and acquisition have rather to be considered as two independent processes, because children and adults are involved in different communicative tasks. Children have to discover meanings that are present in the ambient language. They create novel forms and novel meanings, but their innovations do not survive into adulthood and thus, have no effect on adult language. In contrast, adult speakers, who already have

a well-established linguistic system, sometimes extend the meaning of existing expressions to novel meanings by pragmatic inference. Their innovations persist and are transmitted from generation to generation.

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ABSTRACT

The present article deals with the processes of grammaticalization from a diachronic and developmental point of view. To compare grammatical changes in history and acquisition, we focus on the French and Bulgarian causative constructions (e.g. Fr. *faire travailler qn* vs. Blg. *karam njakogo da raboti* – 'to make someone work'). A total of 113 French speakers (71 children and 42 adults) and 96 Bulgarian speakers (56 children and 40 adults) took part in this cross-linguistic study. Children were aged 3 to 6 years at the time of the study. Results show that historically, the French causative construction evolves from analytic devices to synthetic forms. As a compact structure, the *faire + Vinf* complex predicate requires argument rearrangement and clitic raising. These specificities explain why its acquisition is difficult and occurs at a late stage in French-speaking children. The Bulgarian causative construction evolves in the opposite direction, from synthetic devices to less grammaticalized structures. As an analytic form including two predicates followed by their own arguments, the *karam NP da + Vpres* periphrastic causative seems easier to acquire and its full command by children is achieved earlier. Finally, we suggest that there are some similarities between language history and language acquisition with regard to the stages of competition between two causative mechanisms and the stabilization of the new construction.

Keywords: grammaticalization, diachronic evolution, acquisition, causative constructions

ABSTRAKT

Niniejszy artykuł zajmuje się procesami gramatykalizacji z diachronicznego i rozwojowego punktu widzenia. Aby porównać zmiany gramatyczne w historii i nabywaniu języka, koncentrujemy się na francuskich i bułgarskich strukturach kauzatywnych (np. fr. *faire travailler qn* vs błg. *karam njakogo da raboti* – 'aby ktoś pracował'). W tym międzyjęzykowym badaniu wzięło udział 113 mówiących po francusku (71 dzieci i 42 dorosłych) i 96 mówiących po bułgarsku (56 dzieci i 40 dorosłych). Dzieci były w wieku od 3 do 6 lat w momencie badania. Wyniki badań pokazują, że historycznie francuskie konstrukcje przyczynowe ewoluują od struktur analitycznych do syntetycznych form. Złożony predykat fr. *faire + Vinf* wymaga przestawienia argumentów i powstania klityk. To wyjaśnia, dlaczego jego przyswojenie jest trudne i występuje na późnym etapie u dzieci

francuskojęzycznych. Bułgarska konstrukcja kauzatywna ewoluuje w przeciwnym kierunku, od form syntetycznych do struktur mniej gramatycznych. Jako forma analityczna zawierająca dwa predykaty, którym towarzyszą ich własne argumenty, peryfrastyczna konstrukcja kauzatywna błg. *karam NP da + Vpres* wydaje się łatwiejsza do nauczenia, a jej pełne opanowanie przez dzieci osiągane jest wcześniej. Na koniec sugerujemy, że istnieją pewne podobieństwa między historią języka a nabywaniem języka w związku z okresem konkurowania między dwoma mechanizmami kauzatywnymi i stabilizacją nowej konstrukcji.

Słowa kluczowe: gramatykalizacja, diachronia, nabywanie języka, konstrukcje kauzatywne