

clitics were elicited via a controlled oral structural priming task where clitics had to be produced in clitic left-dislocated structures. Crucially, in both studies, the heritage speakers were born and raised outside the homeland, namely in Flanders (Belgium), Sweden, and Spain, by one or both first generation Italian parents, thus controlling for intervening effects of the input and variety of Italian that they were raised in. We report results in the table for omission, lexical NP overuse, and incorrect form which were identically tallied in both studies (i.e., following the same coding criteria). Both omission and lexical NP were high in groups where the dominant language was cliticless. Thus, high omission rates are attributable to cross-linguistic effects from dominant languages that do not posit clitics, in line with conclusions drawn for child L2 and heritage speakers. However, absence of clitics in the dominant language could not account for the high number of clitic form errors found in the Belgian-Dutch group. We place the findings back within the context of other forms of acquisition populations, arguing that omission is linked to maturational constraints in the case of monolingual children but cross-linguistic effects in L2 and heritage populations. While lexical NP overuse can be seen as associated to cross-linguistic influence, incorrect forms may be linked to lower cumulative exposure to Italian and/or task type.

Table: Non-target-like use in the production of object clitics by heritage speakers of Italian

Group	Correct %	Omission %	Lexical NP %	Incorrect form % (gender, number, case)
Belgian-Dutch	22	30	28	20
Swedish	57	15	19	9
Spanish	88	5	2	5

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