

## **Abstract**

This study investigates potential L1-effects at the syntax-discourse interface in L2 English, specifically L1-transfer of information status properties of Left Dislocation (LD). According to the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2003), L2-learners are prone to L1-influence at interfaces between various types linguistic knowledge, even at advanced stages. LD is a syntactic construction that requires the coordination of syntactic and pragmatic knowledge, thereby representing an interface at which L2-learners may be vulnerable to influence from their L1.

English, French, and Norwegian differ with respect to the information status of discourse referents that LD can encode. While English and Norwegian LD predominantly encode new information, evoked information occurs very frequently in French LD. It was therefore anticipated that native speakers of French would exhibit a preference for evoked referents in LD in their L2 English, while native speakers of Norwegian would have the same preferences in their L2 English as L1 speakers of English regarding the information status of referents encoded in LD. Furthermore, as LD is an extremely frequent phenomenon in French compared to English, it was expected that L1 speakers of French would show an overall higher acceptance of LD in their L2 English compared to L1 speakers of English.

Two groups of L2 speakers of English were included in the study, one whose L1 was French and one whose L1 was Norwegian, in addition to a control group of native speakers of English. Participation involved completing an electronic survey in which participants were asked to judge samples of LDs encoding referents of varying degrees of newness according to how 'natural' the sentences felt to them.

The results showed that there was no significant difference between the groups regarding overall acceptance of LD. However, a significant difference within each group regarding the acceptance of different referent types in the LD was found. In the French group, there was a preference for evoked referents over new referents in LD, while the control group and the Norwegian group displayed the opposite pattern of preference. This suggests that L1-effects exist at this particular aspect of the syntax-discourse interface in speakers at relatively advanced levels of proficiency.



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## 1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the effects of the L1 at the syntax-discourse interface in L2 English. Specifically, the study examines L1-transfer of properties of the syntactic construction known as Left Dislocation (LD), the use of which requires the coordination of syntactic and pragmatic knowledge. According to the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2003), interfaces between various types of linguistic knowledge, such as the syntax-discourse interface, represent areas in which second language learners, even at levels of near-native proficiency, are likely to struggle and persistently exhibit L1-influence. As LD is a representative of one such interface (Donaldson, 2011), it seems likely that observable L1-effects can be found in second language learners at relatively advanced levels of proficiency.

LD is associated with various pragmatic uses which may differ across languages. English, French, and Norwegian differ with respect to the information status of discourse referents that can be encoded in LD. While English and Norwegian are similar in that there seems to be a preference for discourse-new information in LD, the opposite seems to be preferred in French, where evoked information frequently occurs in LD. As LD represents an interface at which L2-learners can be expected to show influence from their L1, the preferences of L2 speakers of English regarding the information status of referents encoded in LDs may differ from the preferences of native speakers.

In this study, the potential effects of the L1 regarding preferences for different referent types in LDs are investigated in French and Norwegian L2 speakers of English. Following the predictions of the Interface Hypothesis, speakers may 'carry over' preferences for LD-use from their native language to their L2. Accordingly, it seems likely that native speakers of French will exhibit a preference for evoked referents in LD in their L2 English. Native speakers of Norwegian, on the other hand, may favor new referents in LD, a preference converging on typical LD-use in English. Furthermore, as use of LD is extremely frequent in French compared to English (and possibly Norwegian), it is possible that L1 speakers of French will exhibit signs of this in their L2 English by showing an overall higher acceptance of LD than L1 speakers.

The analysis of the potential L1-effects on LD in L2 English uses Prince (1997) and Manetta's (2007) descriptions of the discourse functions of LD as its foundation.

Additionally, Prince's (1981) information status taxonomy is for the descriptions of the types of discourse referents that may be encoded in LD.

## 2 Theoretical Background

### 2.1 Left Dislocation

Left Dislocation (LD) is a syntactic construction associated with a range of pragmatic and discourse functions, most notably that of introducing or marking topic (Prince, 1997, p. 119). First to describe the construction's properties within a generative framework was Ross (1967), who is credited with a vast number of authoritative descriptions of syntactic phenomena (van Riemsdijk, 1997, p. 2), and Ross' work has paved the way for further research within the field (cf. van Riemsdijk, Rodman, Prince, Manetta). The LD-construction is described by Donaldson (2011) as involving a clause that is grammatically well-formed on its own, accompanied by a dislocated constituent on the left which appears to be redundant (p. 403). The reason for this apparent redundancy is that the left-dislocated constituent is coreferential with a personal pronoun occurring somewhere else in the clause (Manetta, 2007, p. 1029). The left-dislocated constituent can represent different functions within the clause, such as a subject or an object<sup>1</sup>, as exemplified in (1)-(3)<sup>2</sup>:

- (1) I really enjoyed watching *Stranger Things*, and I was particularly impressed with how good the kids were. There's one thing that bothers me, though: apparently, everyone likes Nancy, but **Barbi**, **she<sub>i</sub>** is just one of those disposable characters you find in every show like that, and I think that's a cliché they should have avoided.
- (2) Anyone can make tacos, really. **The meat<sub>i</sub>**, you just have to put **it<sub>i</sub>** in a frying pan and then add the spice. After that, you just add whatever greens you like.
- (3) All of Susan's pets are being neglected. She never walks her dogs, and **the cat<sub>i</sub>**, she barely gives **it<sub>i</sub>** any food that's edible.

In (1), the left-dislocated constituent *Barb* is coreferential with the personal pronoun *she* inside the clause, and represents the subject. In (2), the left-dislocated constituent *the meat* represents the direct object, and is coreferential with the pronoun *it*. And finally, in (3), the left-dislocated constituent *the cat*, coreferential with *it*, represents the indirect object. In all of the above examples, the sentences would still be syntactically felicitous without the LD. This is demonstrated in (4), which is a shortened version of (1):

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<sup>1</sup> Other constituent types may be left-dislocated as well, see Donaldson (2011, p. 403).

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, examples given in the text are my own.

(4) Apparently, everyone likes Nancy, but **Barb** is just one of those disposable characters you find in every show like that.

Similar versions without LD could be constructed for the other two examples. This demonstrates the apparent redundancy of the left-dislocated constituent.

Prince (1997) gives the following syntactic definition of the LD construction (p. 119):

(5) [        [X<sub>i</sub>]    [...[X<sub>i</sub>]...]    ]  
      CP    NP<sub>i</sub>    IP NP<sub>i-pro</sub>

Here, X represents the left-dislocated constituent, which is coreferential with a personal pronoun occurring inside the clause, here indicated as X<sub>i</sub>.

The LD construction essentially appears to have the same syntactic characteristics in English, French and Norwegian<sup>3</sup>. What significantly differs in the three languages, however, is the information status of the discourse-referents that LD can encode. It is therefore necessary to refer to Prince's (1981) information status taxonomy to establish what this entails for LD. Prince neatly organized the information status of discourse referents into three categories, which are described below.

## 2.2 Prince's (1981) Taxonomy of Given-New Information

The concept of new versus given information frequently appears in linguistic literature describing phenomena both at the level of the sentence and the level of discourse, and discussions often involve terms like 'givenness', 'old vs. new' and 'shared knowledge'. However, this notion of new versus given information has been treated very differently by linguists (Chafe, Clark, Haviland and Halliday, as cited in Prince 1981), and while there appears to be some overlap of their individual definitions, there are in fact aspects in which their differences prove to be quite large (Prince, 1981, p. 225). To clear up much of the prior confusion in this area, Prince proposes the term 'assumed familiarity' to categorize information status (p. 233). In her 1981 information status taxonomy, Prince organizes the

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<sup>3</sup> Of course, it is possible that subtle differences on the syntactic level exist between the three languages; as Faarlund et al. informs us, LD in Norwegian seems to involve a rule (or at least a preference) for fronting of the coreferential pronoun in declarative clauses (p. 905). However, no syntactic differences that appear to be of significance for the present analysis have surfaced in the literature consulted for this thesis, and I will therefore assume that LD essentially follows the same syntactic definition as given by Prince (1997) in French and Norwegian as well. Simply put, I will assume that LD is characterized by the pairing of a left-dislocated constituent and a coreferential pronoun which occurs clause-internally in all three languages.

information status of discourse referents<sup>4</sup> into categories according to two main properties: *discourse-status* and *hearer-status*. A referent's discourse-status indicates its presence/absence in prior discourse, while its hearer-status indicates its *assumed* presence/absence in the mental representation of the hearer (Prince 1981, as cited in Donaldson, 2011, p. 404).

Prince (1981) proposes three different categories of assumed familiarity: *new*, *evoked*, and *inferable*. New information is divided into the subcategories of *brand-new* and *unused*. Brand-new referents represent information that is both discourse-new and hearer-new—that is, information that has not been mentioned previously in the discourse, and is not assumed to already be in the hearer's mental representation, in which case the hearer will have to create a new entity for that unit. Prince (1981) further separates brand-new referents into the categories *anchored* and *unanchored*. If a discourse referent contains a so-called 'anchor' that links it to another—presumably known—referent, it is 'anchored' (p. 236). The referent *a bus* in (6) unanchored. The referent *a guy I work with* in (7), on the other hand, is anchored, as it contains the referent *I*. Thus the hearer will be able to link it to another discourse entity, namely their entity for the speaker (Prince, 1981, p. 233):

(6) I got on **a bus** yesterday and the driver was drunk.

(7) **A guy I work with** says he knows your sister.

In the case of unused referents, they represent information that is new to the discourse, but assumed to be familiar to the hearer. In (8), assuming that the sentence is discourse-initial, the referent *Noam Chomsky* represents unused information (Prince, 1981, p. 233):

(8) **Noam Chomsky** went to Penn.

At the other end of the scale of assumed familiarity we find evoked referents. They represent discourse-old information, which is naturally hearer-old as well. Prince (1981) distinguishes between entities that are *textually evoked* (often simply referred to as *evoked*) and entities that are *situationally evoked*. Textually evoked referents represent information that is already present in the discourse model, i.e. information that was once discourse-new. As for situationally evoked referents, they represent features of the extratextual environment, such as

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<sup>4</sup>Prince (1981) follows Karttunen's (1971) definition of discourse referent as an entity representing a (real or imaginary) individual or a group thereof, or abstract entities, such as a substance or a concept (p. 235).

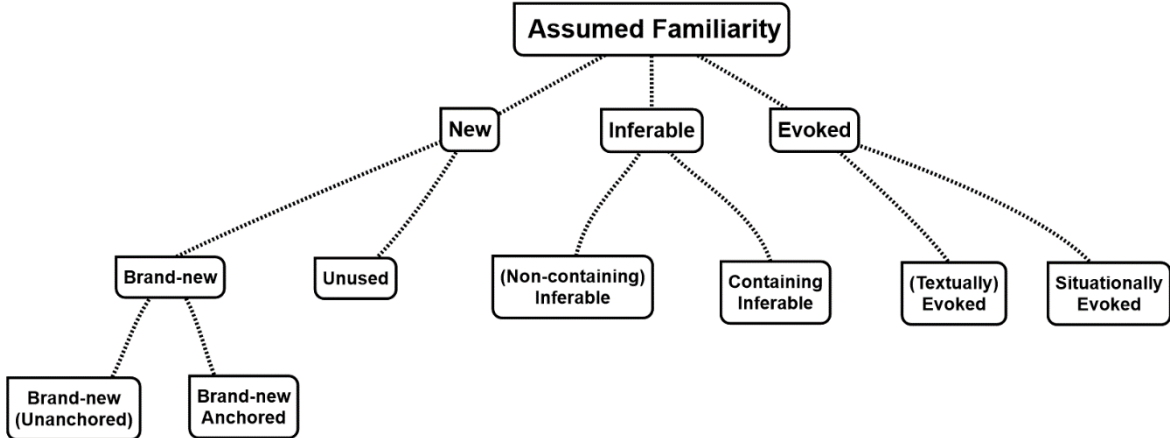
entities that are physically present (Prince 1981, p. 236). In (9), the referent *he* is textually evoked, while the referent *you* in (10) is situationally evoked (Prince, 1981, p. 233):

- (9) A guy I work with says **he** knows your sister.
- (10) Pardon, would **you** have a change of a quarter?

The category of inferables represents the middle ground on Prince’s (1981) assumed familiarity scale. In her terms, an entity is considered inferable if the speaker assumes that the hearer is able to logically infer it from other entities already in the discourse (p. 236). Prince apparently considered the classification of inferables<sup>5</sup> problematic (as cited in Donaldson 2011, p. 404), and simply places them between the categories of new and evoked. Donaldson (2011) suggests that inferables are most appropriately classified as discourse-new information, as they have not received explicit prior mention in the discourse, and as hearer-old, as the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent (p. 404). For the purpose of the present study, I will assume Donaldson’s (2011) position, and thus consider inferables as discourse-new, hearer-old information. In (6), repeated here as (11), the referent *the driver* is inferable from *a bus*, given the knowledge the speaker assumes the hearer to have of buses (namely that buses usually have drivers) (Prince, 1981, p. 233):

- (11) I got on a bus yesterday and **the driver** was drunk.

To make Prince’s (1981) classification of discourse referents clearer for the reader, the following diagram is provided for illustration (following Prince, 1981, p. 237):



<sup>5</sup> Prince (1981) divides inferables into two categories: *containing inferables* and *(non-containing) inferables*. As these are less relevant for the present study, I will not discuss them here, but see Prince (1981, p. 236) for full description.

### 2.3 LD in English

LD is primarily an oral phenomenon, and is typically understood as a conversational feature with one or several particular discourse functions (Manetta, 2007, p. 1030). As mentioned above, LD is usually associated with the notion of ‘topic’<sup>6</sup>. Indicating topichood seems to be at the core of most previous discussions of the discourse functions of LD, and the construction is often perceived as a device for either introducing a topic (cf. Gundel, 1974; Rodman, 1974; Geluykens, 1992, as cited in Prince, 1997) or marking topic (Halliday, 1967; Reinhart, 1981, and Davison 1984, cited in Prince, 1997). However, Prince (1997) has a slightly wider approach to the discourse functions of LD. Her central claim is that it is not possible to account for all occurrences of LD in English by a single discourse function—namely introducing or marking topic, and instead she asserts that English LD data in fact covers several different form-function correlations. Furthermore, she points out that the notion of ‘topic’ itself is problematic—what a topic actually *is* may not be entirely obvious, given the fact that English has no topic-marking morphology (p. 120). Since ‘topic’ to Prince seems to become a rather unclear concept, the task of accounting for all the LD data in English based on this notion alone becomes problematic. Thus, her analysis is not centered on the concept of ‘topic’.

Essentially, Prince’s approach to LD echoes the view that discourse function cannot be determined simply by looking at syntactic form, as their relation is not systematic (as cited in Manetta, 2007, p. 1030). In her 1997 paper, Prince identifies three discourse functions of LD:

1. Simplifying discourse processing – ‘Simplifying’ LDs
2. Triggering a (po)set inference – ‘Poset’ LDs
3. Amnestying an island violation – ‘Resumptive Pronoun’ LDs

The first type, so-called Simplifying LDs, are a very frequent type of LD in English. Poset LDs, although apparently somewhat less common than the Simplifying-type, also account for a significant amount of English LD data (cf. Manetta, 2007, p. 1031). As for Resumptive

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<sup>6</sup> The close association with ‘topic’ may be due to the similarities between LD and Topicalization, a construction in which a constituent is extracted from its original position in the clause and moved to the clause-initial position to mark it as topic. Topicalization may at first appear to be nearly identical with LD, the only difference being that LD leaves behind a pronominal copy of the fronted constituent at its extraction site, whereas Topicalization does not. However, Rodman (1997) concluded in his analysis that although LD and Topicalization outwardly appear very similar, they actually involve different grammatical rules, and are thus not different ‘versions’ of the same construction. Of course, Rodman’s analysis goes far beyond the scope of this thesis (but see Rodman, 1997 for full discussion). Thus, for the purpose of the present study, I will simply assume his position in that LD and Topicalization do not involve the same grammatical rules, and thereby treat them as unrelated.

Pronoun LDs, they do not seem to occur as frequently as the first two types (cf. Manetta, 2007, p. 1031). Moreover, according to Prince (1998), these LDs are in fact “Topicalization[s] in disguise” (p. 10), which occur when speakers attempt to produce a Topicalization that would be syntactically impossible. A so-called resumptive pronoun occurs inside the clause to salvage the instance of failed Topicalization, thereby making it appear as LD (Prince, 1997, p. 132)<sup>7</sup>. As Prince (1997, 1998) treats this third type as Topicalizations and not as LDs, I will assume this position as well, and thus exclude them the present analysis, as it concerns LD exclusively.

A fourth discourse function of LD was later proposed by Manetta (2007), who uses the term ‘Unexpected Subject’ LDs. These LDs, however, seem to be quite rare in English compared to the Simplifying and Poset-types (p. 1031), even to the extent that they eluded discovery by Prince. Nevertheless, they do give further support to Prince’s claim that LD serves a range of different discourse functions.

The discourse functions of LD as identified by Prince (1997) and Manetta (2007) are described below.

### 2.3.1 Simplifying LDs

The first type of LD Prince (1997) describes is termed ‘Simplifying LDs’. As the name suggests, the purpose of these LDs is to simplify discourse processing for the hearer (p. 121). The following example, in which a newsboy describes his job, shows an LD of this type (Terkel, 1974, p. 13, quoted in Prince 1997, p. 121):

- (12) It’s supposed to be such a great deal. **The guy**<sub>i</sub>, when he came over and asked me if I wanted a route, **he**<sub>i</sub> made it sound so great. Seven dollars a week for hardly any work. And then you find out the guy told you a bunch of lies.

In this example, the left-dislocated constituent *the guy* represents a discourse-new entity. According to Prince (1997), what appears to be crucial about this type of LD is the position of the left-dislocated constituent in the sentence if it had appeared in canonical form. Speakers tend to prefer to introduce new information in object position, while the subject position is

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<sup>7</sup> According to Prince (1998), Resumptive Pronoun LDs occur when “Topicalization is warranted on discourse grounds but is difficult or impossible on grammatical grounds and where a resumptive pronoun occurs in the extraction site, giving the illusion of a Left-Dislocation” (p. 15). The so-called resumptive pronoun thus occurs in place of a would-be illicit gap (Prince, 1997, p. 132), thereby ‘rescuing’ the sentence, which makes these instances of intended Topicalization appear as LD (Manetta, 2007, p. 1031).



strongly dispreferred for doing this (p. 123), presumably because this position requires more processing effort on the part of the hearer. In this example, the entity *the guy* represents a dislocated subject, i.e. were the clause in canonical order, this referent would occupy the subject position, which is, as Prince observes, associated with processing difficulties and is thus disfavored for introducing discourse-new entities. Therefore, the referent is removed from this position and placed in an isolated processing unit preceding the clause, while a coreferential pronoun occurs in its original position. Prince (1997) gives the following definition of Simplifying LDs (p. 124):

- (13) A ‘Simplifying’ Left-Dislocation serves to simplify the discourse processing of Discourse-new entities by removing them from a syntactic position disfavored for Discourse-new entities and creating a separate processing unit for them. Once that unit is processed and they have become Discourse-old, they may comfortably occur in their positions within the clause as pronouns.

Furthermore, Prince (1997) notes that it is the discourse-status of an entity and not its hearer-status that seems to be relevant for LD. That is, whether or not the entity is assumed to be familiar to the hearer does not appear to affect LD (p.123). Thus, it appears that LDs of this type may encode referents that are brand-new (discourse-new/hearer-new), unused (discourse-new/hearer-old) and inferable (discourse-new/hearer-old) (p. 123).

Simplifying LDs are, as mentioned above, a very common type of LD used in English. In fact, Manetta’s (2007) studies suggest that the majority of LDs in English belong to the Simplifying type (p. 1031)<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, what Prince (1997) classifies as ‘Simplifying LDs’ seem to correspond to the descriptions of English LD by Halliday (1967) and Geluykens (1992), who both maintain that LDs mark new information units (as cited in Prince, 1997, p. 124). It also seems likely that this is the type Keenan (1977) refers to when saying that they mainly occur in spontaneous oral discourse (as cited in Prince, 1997 p. 124). These observations suggest that Simplifying LDs are the most common type of LD in English, an assumption further supported by Manetta (2007), whose data revealed a very high frequency

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<sup>8</sup> Manetta (2007) found a total of 61 LDs in the South Philadelphia Corpus, out of which 62,9% were of the Simplifying-type. The Poset-type was markedly less frequent, accounting for only 30,6% of the data. No tokens of the Resumptive Pronoun-type were identified. This appears to be consistent with Geluykens’s (1992) corpus data, where 77% of the LDs contained discourse-new information, while the remaining 23% contained inferable referents (as cited in Donaldson (2011, p. 405)). Additionally, Gregory and Michaelis (2001) report that 62% of LD referents in their data contained discourse-new information (as cited in Donaldson, 2011, p. 405).

of this type of LD in English. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the principal function of LD in English is to introduce new referents to the discourse.

Having established that one major function of LD in English is introducing discourse-new entities, I will now briefly return to the notion of LD as a marker of topic and Prince's (1997) discussion of this matter. As previously stated, LD has chiefly been viewed as a topic-marking device among linguists. Returning to Prince's example in (12), we shall inspect this more closely. Following her assumption that "the topic of a sentence is that entity under whose entry information is stored" (p. 121), Prince introspects on how she would store information in the case of the example in (12), and proposes that the left-dislocated entity *the guy* is not a particularly good candidate for a "topic" in this case. She states that

[w]hether I would store it under my entry for this particular newsboy or newsboys in general, I cannot say, but it seems counterintuitive that I would process this proposition as being 'about' the referent of *the guy* in any relevant sense (Prince, 1997, p. 121).

Following this statement, Prince applies Gundel's (1985) and Reinhart's (1981) topic tests<sup>9</sup> to determine whether LDs of this type indicate topichood (p. 121). Gundel's so-called 'what about'-test, in which the idea is that a 'what about'-question can reveal whether or not an entity is the topic of a sentence, is demonstrated in (14). As the example shows, the test fails when applied to the left-dislocated entity *the guy*, as it leaves the dialogue sounding somewhat awkward:

(14) A: It's supposed to be such a great deal.

B: #What about the guy?

A: **The guy**<sub>i</sub>, when he came over and asked me if I wanted a route, **he**<sub>i</sub> made it sound so great. Seven dollars a week for hardly any work. And then you find out the guy told you a bunch of lies. (Prince, 1997, p. 121)

This example, however, only demonstrates that in this particular case, the LD does not seem to be marking topic; instead, it appears to be serving the sole purpose of introducing a new referent to the discourse. This does not entail that a constituent cannot be introduced as new to the discourse while simultaneously being marked as topic. According to Donaldson (2011), LD in English "serves the double function of introducing referents to the discourse and marking them as topical" (p. 405). As Prince's (1997) example shows, however, both may not apply in every case. Furthermore, since 'topic' appears to be a somewhat vague concept in

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<sup>9</sup> For Prince's full analysis, see Prince (1997, p. 121).

itself (at least according to Prince), a definitive answer may not exist. Moreover, it is not the purpose of the present study to settle the debate on whether English LD always marks topic.

In conclusion, what seems to be crucial about English LDs, according to Prince's studies, is that they predominantly introduce discourse-new entities. This is consistent with Donaldson (2011), who states that "English LDs are most compatible with discourse-new referents" (p. 405). Furthermore, while English LDs may mark topic, this issue is of less importance for the subsequent discussions in this thesis. Instead, primary focus will be given to what types of discourse referents LD can encode.

### 2.3.2 Poset LDs

Prince (1997) identifies a second type of LD which she terms 'Poset LDs'. The discourse function of LDs of this type is to trigger a so-called 'poset' inference on the part of the hearer (p. 124). 'Poset', or partially-ordered set, is used to describe a partial ordering of some set of entities, and poset relations thus include relations such as 'is-a-part-of' and 'is-a-subtype-of' (Prince, 1997, p. 126). Examples of this type of LD are given in (15)-(17):

(15) There are many groups of cacti worthy of collection. Even **opuntias, the plants which tend to give cacti a bad name, with their nasty little barbed hairs or glochids, which are used for 'itching powder', and sharp, barbed spines which go into ones' flesh much more easily than they come out<sub>i</sub>**, even **they<sub>i</sub>** have much to offer and can make an interesting—if forbidding—collection. Echinocereus is another group with marvelous, often highly colorful supination... (Glass & Foster, 1976, as quoted in Prince, 1997, p. 124).

(16) So I see my youngest brother a lot too. Actually, all my brothers are pretty close by. My oldest brother is a chef, like, downtown, and my middle brother lives in Jersey. **My youngest brother<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>'s** a freshman at Newman. (Manetta, 2007, p. 1030)

(17) "My father loves crispy rice," says Samboon, "so we must have it on the menu. And **Mee Grob, too<sub>i</sub>**, he loves **it<sub>i</sub>** just as much" Mee Grob (\$4.95) is a rice noodle... (*Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, May 19, 1991, p. 42, as quoted in Prince, 1997, p. 125).

Prince (1997) lists three main characteristics of Poset LDs that distinguishes them from LDs of the Simplifying-type. First, as can be seen in (15), their occurrence is not limited to spontaneous, oral discourse. Second, the left-dislocated entity is not necessarily discourse-

new. This can be seen in (16), where the entity *my youngest brother* has in fact already been evoked. And third, the position that would be occupied by the referent if the clause were in canonical order is not necessarily the subject position—while the LDs in (15) and (16) both represent subjects, the LD in (17) represents a direct object. As mentioned above, it is the subject position that is the usual candidate for a left dislocation should the entity found there be discourse-new. The object position, on the other hand, is not associated with any processing difficulties, even if the entity found there is new to the discourse. Based on these observations, Prince (1997) concludes that the function of these LDs must be different from that of Simplifying LDs (p. 125). She claims their function to be the following (p. 126):

- (18) A ‘Poset’ Left Dislocation serves to trigger an inference on the part of the hearer that the entity represented by the initial NP stands in a salient partially-ordered set relation to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse-model.

Poset LDs thus seem to function as indicators of set relations between discourse entities, and do not necessarily introduce new entities to the discourse. In (15), we see that a set has been evoked, specifically a set of cactus types, represented by the referent *many groups of cacti worthy of collection*. The following Poset LD evokes a member of this set, namely *opuntias* (Prince, 1997, p. 126). This LD thus indicates that the entity that has been left-dislocated, *opuntias*, stands in a partially-ordered set relation other entities evoked in the discourse, in this case a set of collectible cactus types. The set evoked in (16) consists of the speaker’s brothers, explicitly evoked by the referent *all my brothers*. Manetta (2007), referring to Prince (1997), states that the left-dislocation of the entity *my youngest brother* functions as an indicator of its relationship to other discourse entities, in this case *my oldest brother* and *my middle brother* (p. 1030). In this example, the set to which these entities belong is evoked by the referent *all my brothers*. However, a relevant set may not always be explicitly evoked in the discourse, which is the case in (17). Here, the entity *crispy rice* is evoked at the beginning of the discourse. Subsequently, a referent evoking another entity, *Mee Grob*, has been left-dislocated, which indicates that it stands in a poset relation to other discourse entities (Prince, 1997, p. 126). Since there seems to be no obvious relevant set evoked in the discourse model, the hearer will, according to Prince, infer that these two entities are members of an implicit set. Here, the most likely candidate for a relevant set seems to be the items on the menu at the speaker’s restaurant (p. 127). Thus, in cases where no appropriate set seems to be evoked in

the discourse model, an inference will have to be made on the part of the hearer to find a relevant set candidate.

Although English LDs primarily seem to encode discourse-new referents (Donaldson, 2011, p. 405), it appears that entities that are already evoked, i.e. discourse-old entities, may comfortably occur in LDs like these, as we see in (16). Furthermore, they all involve poset inferences (Prince, 1997, p. 126), and they thus encode both evoked and inferable referents.

It is clear from Prince's observations that Poset LDs serve a function in the discourse distinct from that of Simplifying LDs. Their purpose is not to simplify discourse processing; instead they indicate that the left-dislocated entity stands in some partially-ordered set relation to other entities evoked in the discourse. An appropriate set may not always be evoked in the discourse model, and may thus require an inference on the part of the hearer, which will be triggered by the LD.

### 2.3.3 Unexpected Subject LDs

Another type of LD was identified by Manetta (2007), which she terms 'Unexpected Subject' LDs. The discourse function of these LDs is very similar to that of the Simplifying type, which may be part of the reason why they are not included in Prince's (1997) list. Additionally, they appear to be much rarer in occurrence than LDs of the Simplifying and Poset-types<sup>10</sup>, so they may simply not have been present in Prince's data. As we shall see below, this fourth type of LD is perhaps the one that most closely relates to the alleged 'topic-marking'-function of LDs, and the one that most consistently indicates topichood. More precisely, these LDs mark a *change* of topic, and, as their name suggests, one that is unexpected on the part of the hearer.

The Unexpected Subject-type of LD was identified by Manetta (2007) while investigating LD data from The South Philadelphia Corpus (Manetta et al. 2001). Manetta found that there were a few instances of LD that did not appear to conform to any of the types of LD that Prince had described. Two of these are given in (19)-(20):

- (19) He didn't need the money... He said, I want you to buy it 'cause I know you'll keep it open. My dad talked to the guy. And **the guy who owned it**, **he** got a loan.

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<sup>10</sup> There were only 4 instances of it in Manetta's (2007) corpus, out of a total of 61 LDs.

- (20) I called him on the phone, to like meet him for the first time. Like, he lives in New Hampshire. He went to boarding school. **Boarding school**, **it**'s where like big rich kids – [cutoff] (Manetta, 2007, p. 1032)

We can see that the LDs in these two examples closely resemble the Simplifying type: the entities that have been left-dislocated represent the subject in both instances, and thus they may at first glance appear to be Simplifying LDs. However, neither of the dislocated NPs in these cases are discourse-new. In (19), the referent *the guy* has already been mentioned in the preceding sentence, and in (20) the same is true for *boarding school*. According to Prince's (1997) definition, the purpose of Simplifying LDs is to ease the hearer's processing of entities that are new to the discourse, and since none of the dislocated entities in the examples above fall into this category, these LDs cannot be said to be of the Simplifying type. Moreover, neither of the dislocated NPs are in a poset relation to other entities in the discourse, so these LDs cannot be of the Poset type either<sup>11</sup>. Manetta (2007) thus concludes that they must belong to another type that was not identified by Prince<sup>12</sup>.

In her analysis of these LDs, Manetta (2007) applies Centering Theory (Grosz et al., 1995), which offers insight into relations between utterances in the discourse by making reference to, among other things, topic and topic shift (p. 1033). Manetta's analysis<sup>13</sup> goes far beyond the scope of this thesis; however, her conclusion is as follows: when an entity that the hearer does not expect to be the subject of the sentence appears in subject position—which is the position most closely related to the notion of 'sentence topic'—the speaker may create a separate processing unit for them to simplify the discourse. This is indeed very similar to the function of Simplifying LDs, but in this case the dislocated entity is not new to the discourse, so the separate processing unit is created for a different reason—namely that the given referent is not expected to occur in the clause-initial position, which is associated with topichood. In other words, the LD does not occur because the entity in question is new to the discourse; it is simply unexpected to appear in subject position because of it being an unlikely candidate for a topic in the following discourse. Manetta's (2007, p. 1034) definition of Unexpected Subject LDs is given in (21):

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<sup>11</sup> Manetta also notes that neither of these LDs are of the Resumptive Pronoun type either, as they “[do not] represent environments in which Topicalization would have been appropriate but was impossible” (2007, p. 1032).

<sup>12</sup> Manetta's claim is consistent with Geluykens (1992), who assigns an “Other” category to LDs that neither seem to introduce new referents to the discourse nor indicate poset relations (as cited in Manetta, 2007, p. 1033).

<sup>13</sup> See Manetta (2007) for full analysis.

- (21) An Unexpected Subject Left Dislocation serves to simplify the discourse processing of entities which the hearer does not expect in subject position due to the structure of the preceding discourse by removing these NPs and creating a separate processing unit for them.

In summary, Manetta's (2007) Unexpected Subject LDs are very similar to Simplifying LDs. They both serve the same purpose within the discourse, namely to simplify discourse processing. However, these two types of LD are distinct in two main aspects: First, while Simplifying LDs crucially encode discourse-new referents, the dislocated referents in Unexpected Subject LDs are already evoked in the discourse—they are discourse-old. Second, Unexpected Subject LDs consistently involve indication of topichood, or more precisely, topic shift, whereas this is not always the case for Simplifying LDs. Furthermore, while the latter appears to account for the majority of LD data in English, Unexpected Subject LDs seem to occur only marginally in comparison.

In the present study, Unexpected LDs have not been included for two main reasons. First, these LDs only account for a minor fraction of English LD data. Second, they seem to depend on longer stretches of discourse than Prince's (1997) types, which makes them unsuitable for inclusion in the present study due to the selected method (see section 3.4). Therefore, Unexpected Subject LDs are not included in the present analysis.

## 2.4 LD in French

Left Dislocation is known as *détachement* ('detachment') or *dislocation à gauche* ('dislocation to the left') in French, and it seems to be generally acknowledged that LD marks topic (Helland, 2008; Donaldson, 2011; Ashby, 1988; Barnes, 1985)—as Helland states, marking the *thème* ('topic') of a sentence is the construction's primary function in French (p. 412). As is the case in English, LD mainly occurs in spoken informal discourse (Helland, 2008; Donaldson, 2011; Ashby, 1988; Barnes, 1985). However, while French LD shares these central features with English LD, the two languages reveal some fundamental differences regarding the construction's pragmatic uses. Furthermore, Barnes (1985) states that LD is an extremely frequent feature of spoken French (p. 2), and according to Donaldson (2011), LD is used significantly more often in French than in English (p. 407). Donaldson found that LD

appears to be somewhere between 8 and 23 times more frequent in French than in English<sup>14</sup>. Thus, the use of LD in English is quite rare compared to French (p. 407).

The syntactic characterizations of the LD-construction are essentially the same in French as in English: an independently well-formed clause is accompanied on the left-hand side by a seemingly redundant constituent, coreferential with a pronoun inside the clause. Like English, French allows several constituent types to be left-dislocated: in addition to subjects and objects, Donaldson (2011) mentions tensed clauses, infinitival phrases, prepositional phrases and adjectival phrases (p. 403), and Helland notes that adverbials and subject complements may also appear in LD (p. 411). However, the most frequently left-dislocated constituent-type is undoubtedly subjects (Helland, 2008, p. 411; Barnes, 1985; Ashby, 1988; Donaldson, 2011, p. 405). In (22)-(24), the constituent *Marie* represents a left-dislocated subject, a direct object, and an indirect object, coreferential with the pronouns *elle*, *la*, and *lui* respectively (Donaldson, 2011, p. 403):

- (22) **Marie<sub>i</sub>, elle<sub>i</sub>** vient cet après-midi.  
*Marie she comes this afternoon*  
'**Marie<sub>i</sub>, she<sub>i</sub>**'s coming this afternoon.'
- (23) **Marie<sub>i</sub>, je la<sub>i</sub>** vois souvent.  
*Marie I her see often*  
'**Marie<sub>i</sub>, I see her<sub>i</sub>** often.'
- (24) **Marie<sub>i</sub>, je lui<sub>i</sub>** ai envoyé une carte postale.  
*Marie I to-her have sent a card postal*  
'**Marie<sub>i</sub>, I sent her<sub>i</sub>** a postcard.'

As in English, sentences with LD are still grammatically well-formed without left-dislocation (Helland, 2008, p. 409). This is shown in (25), a version of (22) without the LD:

- (25) **Marie** vient cet après-midi.  
*Marie comes this afternoon*  
'**Marie** is coming this afternoon.'

While the syntax of LD in English and French appears to be essentially the same, the two languages diverge on the construction's pragmatic uses. This primarily concerns the types

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<sup>14</sup> Donaldson (2011) compared data from Geluykens (1992), Gregory & Michaelis (2001), and Manetta (2007) with data from the French natives in his own study. For full details, see Donaldson (2011, p. 407).



of referents that can be encoded in LD (Donaldson, 2011, p. 406). While English LDs for the most part introduce new referents to the discourse, a restriction applies to French LD with respect to new referents. That is, French LDs cannot encode referents that are, in Prince's (1981) terms, brand-new (Donaldson, 2011, p. 406; Ashby, 1988, p. 215; Barnes, 1985, p. 60). As Barnes (1985) points out, there appears to have been considerable confusion about the referent types that French LD can encode, which seems largely due to the different uses of terminology as well as non-corresponding theoretical concepts within the field of 'information status' (p. 60). Clarification on the matter seems to have come following Prince (1981), who makes a clear distinction between discourse-new and hearer-new information. Barnes (1985) notes that the left-dislocated referent must be present in the preceding discourse or in the hearer's mental representation—thus it cannot be hearer-new (as cited in Donaldson, 2011, p. 406)<sup>15</sup>. Barnes (1985) points out that this restricts indefinite noun phrases<sup>16</sup> from being left-dislocated, unless they have generic reference. This is shown in (34), which is ungrammatical (p. 60):

- (26)      \***Un garçon**, **il** travaille avec moi.  
             *A boy he works with me*  
             ‘A boy, he works with me.’<sup>17</sup>

However, French LDs may encode discourse-new referents that are not hearer-new (Ashby, 1988, p. 211; Barnes, 1985, p. 69). In Prince's (1981) terms, this corresponds to unused referents (i.e. discourse-new but hearer-old).

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<sup>15</sup> In spoken French, there is a separate construction that serves the function of introducing new referents to the discourse: the *avoir*-cleft (Lambrecht, 1981, cited in Donaldson (2011, p. 406). Donaldson illustrates this with the following example, in which he states that the referent *mon frère* ('my brother') is "unanticipated and irrecoverable": *Il y a mon frère qui vient ce soir* ('There is my brother who is coming tonight'). Thus, according to Donaldson (2011), the function of introducing brand-new referents to the discourse is mapped to the *avoir*-cleft, and not to LD (p. 406). While this may indeed be true, this example does not, at least from what I gather, illustrate this point accurately. This is because the referent *mon frère* would not be classified as brand-new, but as unused, as "all immediate family members [are] presumably easily recoverable to the interlocutor", and this referent would thus be classified as unused (B. Donaldson, personal communication, February 6, 2017). An example of a brand-new referent would be *un garçon* ('a boy'), as in *Il y a un garçon qui vient ce soir* ('There is a boy who is coming tonight'). However, as the *avoir*-cleft is not crucial to my discussion, I will not pursue the issue any further here, and I will simply assume that this construction may introduce referents of both the unused and brand-new types.

<sup>16</sup> Many syntacticians refer to these phrases as DPs (see Bernstein, 2000, among others), but since this is not a thesis on syntax, I will refer to them as NPs.

<sup>17</sup> This is a brand-new unanchored referent, which would not be acceptable in English LD either. However, English does allow brand-new anchored referents in LD (see (33)).

There appears to be a marked preference for evoked referents in French LDs. This stands in contrast to English, where LDs mainly encode new referents. Donaldson’s (2011) corpus data showed that the majority of discourse referents encoded in French LDs had already been mentioned in preceding discourse, i.e. evoked referents (p. 406). This was also the case for Ashby (1988) and Barnes (1985). We thus see a crucial difference between English and French LD: in English, LD serves the primary function of introducing new referents to the discourse, which entails that evoked referents are usually dispreferred in English LD. In French, however, evoked referents are extremely frequent in LD (Donaldson, 2011, p. 407).

### 2.4.1 Correspondence to English LD

Although the pragmatic uses of LD differ in English and French, LDs that can be said to correspond to the types described by Prince (1997) seem to occur in French as well. I emphasize that it is not the aim of the present study to determine whether the discourse function(s) of French LD fully or partly correspond(s) to those of English LD. Rather, the aim is to illuminate some aspects where French LD seems to correspond to *or* differ from English LD. This analysis concerns the types of LD described by Prince (1997)<sup>18</sup>, and the types of discourse referents LD can encode.

As for Simplifying LDs, the LD shown in (27), taken from Hergé (1949, p. 12) can be said to correspond to this type<sup>19</sup>—that is, the left-dislocated entity represents the subject, and it can be classified as unused:

- (27) “Ces messieurs dormaient! ... Quant **aux deux Dupont**<sub>i</sub>, **ils**<sub>i</sub> sont à votre  
*These gentlemen slept*                      *As to-the two Duponts they are at your*  
*recherche...*”  
*research*

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<sup>18</sup> In the case of Unexpected Subject LDs, I am going to assume that LDs of this type occur in French as well for the following two reasons. First, following Manetta’s (2007) analysis, these LDs are closely related to the notion of topic, or more specifically, topic-shift. As stated above, the primary function of French LD is marking topic, which would in all likelihood entail topic-shifts as well. Second, Unexpected Subject LDs encode evoked referents, which frequently occurs in French LDs. For these two reasons, I will assume that LDs corresponding to the Unexpected Subject-type occur in French as well. However, as this LD-type is not included in the present analysis, I will not discuss them here.

<sup>19</sup> The literature on French LD mainly concentrates on topic-marking and/or topic shift, and I have not seen it specifically stated anywhere that French LDs that contain discourse-new referents serve to simplify discourse processing. Whether the purpose of this LD is to simplify the processing of the discourse-new entity *les deux Dupont* or to mark this constituent as topical (or both), I cannot say. Nevertheless, based on Prince’s description of Simplifying LDs, I believe she would have classified this as a Simplifying LD if it were in English (see examples in Prince, 1997, p. 121).

‘These gentlemen were sleeping! ... As for **the two Duponts**<sub>i</sub>, **they**<sub>i</sub> are looking for you...’

As the example shows, French allows unused referents in subject position to be left-dislocated, which would, in Prince’s (1997) terms, correspond to a Simplifying LD. As for Poset LDs, Helland’s (2008) description of the LD in the following example (taken from Rambaud 1997, p. 46) very closely resembles this type (p. 412):

- (28) C’était un grand paysan rouquin, un duvet sous le nez, avec d’énormes  
*He was a tall farmer red-haired a fluff under the nose with enormous*  
mains qui devaient mieux tenir la charrue que les armes. **Le fusil**,  
*hands that became better taking the plow than the firearms. The shotgun*  
il ne s’**en**<sub>i</sub> était jamais servi que pour éloigner des loups.  
*he neg. himself of-it was never served but for removing wolves.*  
‘He was a tall red-haired peasant with a fluffy mustache under his nose, and  
with enormous hands that were better suited to handle the plow than firearms.  
The **shotgun**<sub>i</sub>, he had never made use of **it**<sub>i</sub> except to get rid of wolves.’

Here, the referent *les armes* (‘firearms’) evokes a set of which the left-dislocated referent *le fusil* (‘the shotgun’) is a member. As Helland (2008) states, ‘firearms’ are already activated in the hearer’s consciousness, and shotguns are a type of firearms (p. 412). This undoubtedly seems very similar to Prince’s Poset-type. Moreover, inferable referents frequently occur in French LD (Donaldson, 2011, p. 406; Helland, 2008, p. 412). It thus seems a fair assumption that LDs equivalent to the Poset-type also occur in French.

As mentioned above, English LDs mainly encode new referents. French LDs, on the other hand, cannot encode brand-new referents. In (29), which is unacceptable in French but fine in English<sup>20</sup>, the left-dislocated referent is brand-new anchored:

- (29) Trouver une voiture d’occasion qui fonctionne bien peut être difficile. \***Un**  
*Finding a car of-occasion that functions well can be difficult A*  
**mec avec lequel je travaille**<sub>i</sub>, **il**<sub>i</sub> a été persuadé par la ruse d’acheter  
*guy with whom I work he had been persuaded by the guile of-buying*  
une épave.

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<sup>20</sup> This was checked with naïve native speakers of both languages. The English speakers did not point out that anything about the sentence seemed unnatural, while the French speakers deemed it as ‘unacceptable’.

*a wreck*

‘Finding a used car that runs well can be difficult. **A guy I work with<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>** was tricked into buying a total wreck.’

On the other hand, evoked information is dispreferred in English LD, but extremely common in French LD (Donaldson, 2011, p. 407). In (30), which is fine in French but sounds rather unnatural in English<sup>21</sup>, the left-dislocated referent represents (textually) evoked information:

- (30) *Ma mère est la meilleure cuisinière de la famille. **Ma mère<sub>i</sub>, elle<sub>i</sub>** sait cuisiner n’importe quel repas à la perfection.*  
*to-cook any what meal to the perfection*  
‘My mom is the best cook in the family. <sup>3</sup>**My mom<sub>i</sub>, she<sub>i</sub>** can cook any dish to perfection.’

To generalize, LDs that appear to correspond to Simplifying and Poset LDs occur in French as well<sup>22</sup>. What differs in the two languages is the type of referents that LD can encode. This concerns brand-new referents, which are illicit in French LD but fine in English LD, and evoked referents, which are dispreferred in English LD<sup>23</sup> but common in French LD (Donaldson, 2011, p. 407).

## 2.5 LD in Norwegian

In Norwegian, Left Dislocation is usually referred to as *venstredisløking* (‘left dislocation’), or *ekstraposisjon* (‘extra position’), a term which can be used to cover all dislocations in Norwegian. Compared to English and French, very little research has been done on LD in Norwegian<sup>24</sup>, and the most authoritative description of the phenomenon appears to be the one by Faarlund et al. (1997). Following this account, Norwegian LD appears to share at least two vital features with English and French LD: it occurs mainly in spoken discourse (p. 904) and it is regarded as a marker of topic (p. 907).

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<sup>21</sup> Checked with the same native speakers of both languages. The English speakers stated that the sentence felt ‘unnatural’ due to the ‘unnecessary repetition’ of ‘my mom’, while the French speakers stated that the sentence was ‘completely fine’.

<sup>22</sup> That is, LDs that are similar in the aspects I have mentioned here.

<sup>23</sup> The example in (30) only shows that evoked referents are dispreferred if they are very recently evoked—that is, if they are currently in focus. Nonetheless, according to Donaldson (2011), who does not clarify this any further, evoked referents are as a general rule dispreferred in English LD (p. 407).

<sup>24</sup> LD has been researched to some extent in the Nordic languages (see Johannesen, 2014), but research specifically on Norwegian seems to be rather scarce (but see Eide, 2011).

Little seems to be known about the construction's frequency of use in Norwegian compared to English. While Donaldson's (2011) studies revealed the frequency of LD to be markedly higher in French than in English, no comparative empirical studies between Norwegian and English (or French) seem to exist, and thus there is no statistical evidence to build on. However, based purely on my own Norwegian native speaker intuitions, I do not perceive LD to be a particularly salient feature of Norwegian. A reasonable assumption seems to be that LD is less frequent in than it is in French, and possibly more like English LD regarding frequency (H. P. Helland, personal communication, April 26, 2017). However, given the lack of empirical evidence, there is no theoretical foundation for this statement. Therefore, no definitive statements about comparative frequency can be made.

As for the syntactic characterizations of the LD construction in Norwegian, they are essentially the same as for the other two languages: a constituent appears in a left-dislocated position preceding an independent clause, referred to as *laust forfelt* ('loose pre-field') by Faarlund et al. (1997, p. 905), and this constituent is coreferential with a pronoun<sup>25</sup> that occurs inside the clause. As is the case in English and French, multiple types of constituents may be dislocated. One peculiarity is worth noting, however: the coreferential pronoun usually occurs in the pre-field (i.e. the position preceding the verb), irrespective of the left-dislocated constituent's original position (p. 905). This entails that whenever a non-subject constituent is left-dislocated, the coreferential pronoun inside the clause is usually fronted. While it may not be obligatory, fronting of the coreferential pronoun is at least highly preferred among native speakers<sup>26</sup>. In (31)-(34), a subject, a direct object and an indirect object have been left-dislocated respectively. (34) is a version of (33) without fronting the coreferential pronoun, thus less preferred in most contexts:

(31) Jeg liker enhjørninger, men **Silje<sub>i</sub>**, **hun<sub>i</sub>** liker drager.

*I like unicorns but Silje she likes dragons*

'I like unicorns, but **Silje<sub>i</sub>**, **she<sub>i</sub>** likes dragons.'

(32) Lisbeth fant Frode i garasjen. Men **Jonas<sub>i</sub>**, **han<sub>i</sub>** hadde ingen sett.

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<sup>25</sup> Faarlund et al. (1997) actually use the somewhat broader term *pro-form*, stating that if the left-dislocated constituent is a NP, the pro-form that occurs within the clause is a pronoun, and if the constituent is a verb phrase, an adjectival phrase, or a subordinate clause, the pronoun *det* ('it') is used. If an adverbial has been left-dislocated, however, the coreferential pro-form is a proadverb (p. 905). As this is outside the scope of this thesis, I will not discuss them here.

<sup>26</sup> Checked with native speakers, who showed a clear preference for sentences where the coreferential pronoun occurred in the pre-field.

- Lisbeth found Frode in garage-the. But Jonas him had nobody seen*  
 ‘Lisbeth found Frode in the garage. But **Jonas**<sub>i</sub>, nobody had seen **him**<sub>i</sub>.’
- (33) De ga Max nye skøyter, og **Leonora**<sub>i</sub>, **henne**<sub>i</sub> ga de et piano.  
*They gave Max new ice-skates and Leonora her gave they a piano*  
 ‘They gave Max some new ice skates, and **Leonora**<sub>i</sub>, they gave **her**<sub>i</sub> a piano.’
- (34) <sup>?</sup>De ga Max nye skøyter, og **Leonora**<sub>i</sub>, de ga **henne**<sub>i</sub> et piano.  
*They gave Max new ice-skates and Leonora they gave her a piano*  
 ‘They gave Max some new ice skates, and **Leonora**<sub>i</sub>, they gave **her**<sub>i</sub> a piano.’

According to Faarlund et al. (1997), LD has a specific communicative function, which is marking topic. The left-dislocated constituent thus becomes topical—it indicates what the sentence ‘is about’ (p. 907). What typically occurs in LD, or in Faarlund et al.’s (1997) terms, the ‘loose pre-field’, is a topic that is no longer in the foreground of the listener’s consciousness, which then is put into focus again. The left-dislocated constituent may have been mentioned earlier in the discourse, or it may be partly present in the listener’s consciousness because of the situation (p. 907). In Prince’s (1981) terms, this would correspond to (textually and situationally) evoked information, i.e. discourse-old (and thus also hearer-old) entities. However, there seems to be a restraint involved: the information needs to be ‘old enough’—that is, in order for an entity to be reintroduced in LD, it needs to have been temporarily out of focus, possibly in favor of another topical element. In other words, left-dislocating an entity that is the topic of the preceding sentence would be infelicitous. Faarlund et al. (1997) demonstrate this constraint on Norwegian LD with the following narrative (p. 907):

- (35) Ola og Kari reiste begge ut av bygda for å få seg utdanning.  
*Ola and Kari travelled both out of parish-the for to get themselves education*  
 Ho tok etter kvart doktorgrad i språkvitskap og vart vide kjent for sine  
*She took after a-while Ph. D. in linguistics and was widely known for her*  
 grammatiske oppdagingar.  
*grammatical discoveries*  
 ‘Ola and Kari both left their parish to get educated. She finally got a Ph.D. in  
 linguistics and became widely known for her grammatical discoveries.’

If the narrative continues, LD would only be felicitous in (36):

- (36) **Ola<sub>i</sub>, han<sub>i</sub>** gjekk det ikkje så bra med.  
*Ola he went it not so well with*  
 ‘**Ola<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>** didn’t do so well.’
- (37) \***Kari<sub>i</sub>, ho<sub>i</sub>** reiste seinere til Amerika.  
*Kari she travelled later to America*  
 ‘**Kari<sub>i</sub>, she<sub>i</sub>** later travelled to the US.’

According to Faarlund et al. (1997), the entity *Ola* is not topical by the end of (35), and is thereby no longer in the foreground of the hearer’s consciousness, which makes it a natural candidate for LD. *Kari*, on the other hand, is the topic of the last sentence in (35) (by means of the anaphoric pronoun *hun* (‘she’)), which means that this entity is in the foreground of the hearer’s consciousness. It would thus be unnatural to continue the narrative by marking this entity as topical *again* (p. 908). As seen in (30) above, this would be just as unnatural in English LD, but unproblematic in French LD. It thus seems that Norwegian LD may be more similar to English LD regarding its pragmatic uses.

Furthermore, Faarlund et al. (1997) also state that LD would be ‘somewhat unnatural’ for an entity that has not been mentioned previously at all (p. 908), as in (38):

- (38) <sup>?</sup>**Mari<sub>i</sub>, det<sub>i</sub>** var syster til Kari.  
*Mari it was sister to Kari*  
 ‘**Mari<sub>i</sub>, that<sub>i</sub>** was Kari’s sister.’

It does not seem entirely obvious whether this suggests that discourse-new (and possibly hearer-new) information is infelicitous in Norwegian LD. Since LD appears to nearly be considered a definitive marker of topic in Norwegian, it is possible that in this case, *Mari* is simply not a very good candidate for a topic. Thus, it may be the case that an entity’s ability to become topical may be a better indicator of its ability to be left-dislocated than its discourse or hearer-status. However, this is an issue better left for further investigation.

It seems clear that that the primary function of LD in Norwegian is marking topic, and this usually entails reintroducing older referents *and* marking them as topic. It is infelicitous to left-dislocate an entity that is already topical. This stands in contrast to French, where such redundancies appear to be acceptable. In the following section, I shall demonstrate some LDs that correspond to the types identified by Prince (1997).

### 2.5.1 Correspondence to English LD

It seems that as a generalization, Norwegian LD is pragmatically more similar to English LD than to French LD. Again, I wish to emphasize that my aim is not to determine whether there is full or partial correspondence between LD in these languages; I will simply highlight some key similarities and differences regarding Prince's (1997) LD-types<sup>27</sup> and discourse status.

The LDs in (39) and (40) are constructed to correspond to Prince's Simplifying-type, containing unused and brand-new unanchored referents respectively. Although the issue of new information in Norwegian LD is not entirely clear from the literature, native speakers consulted for this thesis did not appear to show any particular dispreference for the LDs in the following two examples<sup>28</sup>.

- (39) Edderkopper er så ekle. **Søsteren mini, hun<sub>i</sub>** fikk nesten panikk her  
*Spiders are so nasty Sister-the mine she got almost panic here*  
om dagen fordi det var en på rommet hennes.  
*about day-the because it was one on room-the hers*  
'Spiders are so nasty. **My sister<sub>i</sub>, she<sub>i</sub>** almost panicked the other day because there was one in her bedroom.'
- (40) Å finne en velfungerende bruktbil kan vise seg å være vanskelig. **En fyr**  
*To find a well-functioning used-car can show itself to be difficult A guy*  
**jeg jobber medi, han<sub>i</sub>** ble lurt til å kjøpe et skikkelig vrak.  
*I work with he was tricked to to buy a proper wreck*  
'Finding a used car that runs well can be difficult. **A guy I work with<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub>** was tricked into buying a total wreck.'

In this case, it seems that Norwegian native speakers' intuitions on new information in LD converges on that of English native speakers, as the LD in (40) would be infelicitous in French (see (29) above). This suggests that LD in Norwegian is pragmatically more similar to LD in English than LD in French. As for LDs that correspond to the Poset-type, they seem to occur in Norwegian as well<sup>29</sup>, and, following Faarlund et al. (1997), inferable referents are

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<sup>27</sup> Again, I am going to assume that LDs corresponding to Manetta's Unexpected Subject LDs occur in Norwegian as well for the same reasons as noted above for French. As these LDs are not included in the present analysis, they will receive no further mention here.

<sup>28</sup> Native speakers were asked to rate tokens of this type on a scale from 1-8 according to how 'natural' they thought it sounded.

<sup>29</sup> Native speakers consulted for this thesis showed no particular dispreference for sentences with LDs of this type.



felicitous in LD (p. 908). In (41), which can be classified as a Poset-type LD, the left-dislocated referent is inferable (from the entity *familien* ('my family')):

- (41) Jeg liker å tilbringe jula sammen med familien. **Moren mini,**  
*I like to spend Christmas-the together with family-the Mother-the mine*  
**huni** lager alltid noe godt å spise til alle sammen.  
*she makes always something good to eat to all together*  
'I enjoy spending the holidays with my family. **My mom<sub>i</sub>, she<sub>i</sub>** always cooks something nice for all of us.'

A generalization thus emerges: Norwegian LD is pragmatically more similar to English LD than to French LD. While brand-new referents are illicit in French LD, they seem to occur in both English and Norwegian LD. Evoked referents, on the other hand, are strongly dispreferred in English LD, and dispreferred in Norwegian if already topical—they must be 'sufficiently old', i.e. out of focus.<sup>30</sup> This does not seem to be a requirement in French, as referents that are very recently evoked may comfortably occur in LD.

## 2.6 The Role of the Native Language in Second Language Acquisition

There seems to be a consensus that the native language (L1) plays a vital role in the acquisition of a second language (L2). Exactly what that role is has been subject to much research since the mid-twentieth century, and terms like 'transfer', 'interference' and 'cross-linguistic influence' frequently appear in literature describing how the L1 impacts L2. According to Kroll et al. (2008), there is an abundance of evidence suggesting that both languages are active in bilingual speech production when only one language is spoken, and this appears to be the case for both highly proficient bilinguals as well as for second language learners (p. 416). Based on this assumption, it is likely that effects of the L1 can be found in L2 learners at all stages of development. In this section I will review some current views of L1 transfer, namely the Full Transfer Full Access (FT/FA) position as well as the MOGUL (Modular Growth On-line and Use of Language) framework. I will also outline Sorace's (2003) Interface Hypothesis (IH), in order to specifically shed light on Left Dislocation-transfer.

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<sup>30</sup> This may hold for English as well, as evoked referents do sometimes occur in English LD, although they are much less common. Furthermore, the left-dislocation in (36) does not appear to be infelicitous in English.

### 2.6.1 L1 Transfer

There are clear indications of L1 effects on L2 in SLA-research (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 187), and the existence of L1 transfer as a phenomenon seems beyond doubt. However, the concept of L1 transfer and exactly what it entails is not fully clear (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 188).

The concept of ‘transfer’ was originally introduced within the behaviorist framework (Sharwood Smith & Truscott, 2006, p. 202), and early behaviorist views saw language and language acquisition as mimicking of behavior, from which linguistic habits are established (Gass et al., 2013, p. 75). In this perspective, the learning of a new language requires a change of habits on the part of the learner (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 188), and L2 acquisition is perceived as a process in which the learner must overcome the habits of the L1 (Sharwood Smith & Truscott, 2006, p. 202). An early approach to transfer is the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH), as developed by Lado (1957). In this approach, learning a new language is seen as a process in which the learner identifies and learns the differences and similarities between the L1 and the L2. It is assumed that similarities will facilitate the acquisition process, while differences will be more difficult to acquire successfully (Foley & Flynn, 2013, p. 98). The general idea is that there will be a tendency for learners to transfer their L1-habits to their L2, and thus transfer will play a major role for how easy or difficult it will be to learn the structure of the new language (Gass et al, 2013, p. 78). Another approach was put forth following the work of Corder (1967), which centered on the errors that L2 learners make. These errors were thought to be a possible source of knowledge of the learner’s developing grammar, as they sometimes reveal a pattern of systematicity. It was around this time that the term *interlanguage* (IL) was coined, which reflects the focus on the developing system (Foley & Flynn, 2013, p. 99).

Differences and similarities between the L1 and the L2 have also been discussed as a possible source of avoidance. The native language clearly influences the learner’s production and non-production of certain structures (Gass et al, 2013, p. 117), as evidenced in works by Schachter (1974) and Kleinmann (1977), among others. However, the cause of avoidance is not independently clear. While there exists firm evidence of L1 and L2-differences as a significant source of avoidance, there is also evidence of the opposite occurring. In the latter case, it is assumed that the learner doubts that the similarities between the L1 and the L2 are real, and thereby avoids certain constructions (Gass et al., 2013, p. 118). However, more

recent research (Laufer & Eliasson, 1993), suggests that the most reliable factor for predicting avoidance is L1/L2-differences (Gass, 2013, p. 118).

In today's generative framework, there is still question of how L1 transfer is to be understood (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 189). A central issue is whether the L2 acquisition process is still constrained by Universal Grammar (UG), and if so, to what extent (Sorace, 2003, p. 130). Another issue is the interaction between transfer and interlanguage, and determining what transfers (Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 188). Some approaches assume that UG is only accessible through the L1, and that there is no direct access to it in adult L2 acquisition (e.g. Bley-Vroman, 1989, as cited in Foley & Flynn, 2013, p. 106). Another notable approach is the Minimal Trees Hypothesis (Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 1996), which posits that only lexical categories are transferred from the L1. Functional categories, on the other hand, are not available by UG in the initial state, but are projected later based on L2 input. A widely accepted model in the area is The Full Transfer Full Access (FT/FA) model, put forth by Schwartz & Sprouse (1996). This model assumes that the L1 grammar is 'cloned' and taken as the point of departure for the developing L2 (Gass et al., 2013, p. 105). It is then proposed that the initial state grammar restructures (a process constrained by UG) when L2 input diverges from IL grammar based on the L1 (Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996, as cited in Whong-Barr, 2006, p. 189). Over the course of development, the IL will thus conform more to the target language and less to the native language (p. 189). Although much empirical research supports the central claims of the FT/FA, the theoretical foundations of the model are not, according to Sharwood Smith & Truscott (2006), entirely satisfactory, and some central problems still need to be resolved, namely its lack of elaboration of the mechanisms that enable development in real-time (p. 201). Other frameworks, such as MOGUL (Modular Growth On-line and Use of Language) focus on L1 influence on language processing in real-time, and assume a modular view of language. The MOGUL framework, as proposed by Sharwood Smith & Truscott (2006), acknowledges a language faculty, which is composed of separate modules (Sharwood Smith & Truscott, 2006, p. 206), such as a conceptual module, a lexical module (which itself is divided into submodules), a phonological module, and a syntactic module (p. 208). The general assumption is that the modules operate in a chain (p. 208), assigning interpretations on their separate levels. In this view, certain strong L1 values may dominate production for a long time in the acquisition process (p. 212); it is for instance likely for unfamiliar L2 input to be assigned L1-associated phonological representations (p.

208). According to Sharwood Smith & Truscott (2006), this model embodies the central components of a solution to the problems that the FT/FA cannot account for (p. 206), such as optionality. A modular view of language may thus provide clearer answers to the question of exactly what transfers from the L1 to the L2. Furthermore, a model of this type may be useful for predicting L1 influence in areas such as Left Dislocation.

### **2.6.2 The Interface Hypothesis (Sorace, 2003)**

The Interface Hypothesis (IH), as proposed by Sorace (2003), attempts to provide an explanation of divergent patterns and residual optionality in advanced adult L2 acquisition (Sorace, 2011, p. 1), and has been an influential account of L2 development within the generative framework (Slabakova, 2015, p. 672). The IH is based on the modular understanding of language architecture, and centers on linguistic interfaces (p. 672). According to Slabakova (2015), linguistic interfaces are to be understood as points where modules or systems interact, where one module or system's output representations necessitates the interpretation by another module or system (p. 672). The IH assumes interfaces to be of two types: internal and external. Internal interfaces constitute those between linguistic modules only (e.g. the syntax-semantics interface or the syntax-morphology interface). External interfaces, on the other hand, are interfaces between linguistic modules and other cognitive systems (p. 672). One such interface is that of syntax and discourse, which has often been subject to research (Slabakova, 2015; Donaldson, 2011, among others). The IH predicts that L2 learners, even at advanced stages, will struggle particularly in acquiring properties related to external interfaces, and exhibit persistent L1 influence in these areas (Sorace, 1993, as cited in Donaldson, 2011, p. 401). Essentially, the L2 learner may have mastered the 'narrow syntax' of the L2, but may still encounter difficulties with using certain syntactic forms felicitously in terms of discourse pragmatics (p. 401). Tsimpli & Sorace (2006) argue that the syntax-discourse interface is "a 'higher' level of language use" because it integrates properties of language and pragmatic processing simultaneously (as quoted in Sorace, 2011, p. 7), and it is thus assumed to pose more of a challenge to the L2 learner than say, the syntax-semantics interface, which is language-internal only.

Another concept central to the IH is the widely accepted idea that the languages of the bilingual are simultaneously activated (Kroll et al., 2008). The IH then builds on the concept of inhibitory control, which is assumed to be an essential factor in the bilingual's

performance, given the parallel activation of languages. The IH maintains that having multiple grammars represented in the mind entails a considerable cognitive cost, as it requires the bilingual to inhibit one grammatical system when calling upon the other (Slabakova, 2015, p. 672). Suppressing the unintended language requires the use of cognitive resources, which results in burdening other systems, such as memory systems and executive function. Because of this, it is expected that L2 performance may diverge from the target language even in nativelike learners (p. 672). This bilingual cognitive effect forms the basis for the assumptions of the IH, which predicts that residual L1 effects and optionality in performance (Sorace, 2005) will occur in L2 learners even at the most advanced level (i.e. near-native) (Slabakova, 2015, p. 672).

The IH has been tested empirically in several studies, and has been supported by a range of data (Belletti, Bennatti & Sorace, 2007; Roberts, Gullberg & Indefrey, 2008, among others). However, some studies have yielded mixed results, which have been taken as challenges to the IH. This mainly concerns studies of external interface properties, such as the syntax-discourse interface (Donaldson, 2011, among others), and according to Slabakova (2015), evidence of nativelike L2 performance has emerged from several recent studies on external interfaces (p. 674). It thus appears that the results both validate *and* challenge the IH. However, as Slabakova (2015) states, it seems fair to assume that there are at least *some properties* at the syntax-discourse interface that cause residual optionality in L2 grammars (p. 674).

It is predicted by the IH that learners will struggle to master the syntax-discourse interface, of which LD is a representative. Although empirical testing of the IH has yielded some variation in results for near-native speakers, it seems plausible that LD is an area in which influence of the L1 can be expected, at least for advanced speakers (if not for near-natives). While Donaldson's (2011) study of the production of LD in near-native speakers of French suggested that their mastery of the syntax-discourse interface converged on that of native speakers, there is a possibility that L1 influence in this area can still be detected in advanced speakers who are not necessarily near-native. This is indeed what is being tested in the present study. Furthermore, Donaldson's (2011) study was based on an 8,5 hour corpus consisting of recorded conversations between near-native and native speakers of French, which makes avoidance a possibility for the speakers. The present study, on the other hand, uses acceptability judgments. Participants are thus required to judge all the sentences they

encounter, which means that avoidance is not an option. It is possible then, that these two factors—the comparatively lower level of proficiency in speakers in the present study and the fact that they do not have the possibility to avoid certain structures of which they may be uncertain—will reveal different results than those obtained by Donaldson (2011).

### **3 Methods**

The study investigates the intuitions of French and Norwegian L2 learners of English regarding the use of LD. A control group of native English speakers was also part of the study to allow comparison to L1 intuitions. The study used acceptability judgement tasks in the form of an electronic survey, which contained sentences with English LD used both felicitously and infelicitously.

#### **3.1 Hypotheses**

The hypotheses in this study reflect predictions compatible with the Interface Hypothesis, namely that the L2 learners' mastery of LD will diverge from that of native speakers, and that the syntax-discourse interface is an area in which the L2 speakers will exhibit transfer from their L1. The study is guided by five hypotheses: one concerning the group of native English speakers, and two concerning each of the L2 groups.

##### **3.1.1 Hypothesis 1**

Since LD is primarily used to introduce new referents in English, the first hypothesis predicts that the native English speakers will tend to prefer LDs that encode new referents over LDs that encode evoked referents. The native speakers are thus expected to award higher scores to LDs containing new referents and lower scores to LDs containing evoked referents. More specifically, this prediction entails that there will be a noticeable difference in acceptance between brand-new referents and evoked referents (where the referent is evoked and repeated in its entirety), as these are the categories located at the two extremities on Prince's (1981) Assumed Familiarity scale. The native English speakers are thus predicted to give higher scores to brand-new referents and lower scores to evoked (and fully repeated) referents.

##### **3.1.2 Hypothesis 2**

Given that LD occurs so frequently in French (recall that it is used between 8 and 23 times as often as in English), it seems a likely prediction that the French participants' L2 English will reflect this. The French speakers are thus expected to show an overall higher acceptance of LD compared to the native English speakers—that is, the second hypothesis predicts that they will award higher scores to sentences with LD *in general* compared to the control group.

##### **3.1.3 Hypothesis 3**

Since evoked referents are extremely frequent in French LD, the third hypothesis predicts that the French speakers will display a pattern of acceptance opposite to that of the native English

speakers—namely that they will show a high preference for LDs that encode evoked referents, and a lower preference for newer information. Again, this difference in acceptance is expected to be most prominent between the two categories at the extremity points of Prince’s scale, namely brand-new and evoked (where the referent is fully repeated). More precisely put, the prediction entails that the French group will give higher scores to LDs containing evoked and fully repeated referents and lower scores to LDs containing brand-new referents.

#### **3.1.4 Hypothesis 4**

Although there seem to exist no comparative empirical studies between LD-frequency in Norwegian and English (see section 2.5), it does not appear that the frequency of LD is markedly higher in Norwegian than in English—that is, no indications of LD-frequency being significantly higher in Norwegian than in English have surfaced during the review of the literature for this study. However, it is possible that the Norwegian group will have a slightly higher acceptance of sentences with LD than the control group due to an L2 effect. As L2 processing has been found to be different from L1 processing and requires more processing effort (see Roberts, 2012 for an overview), it is possible that L2 speakers will show a higher preference for LD than the L1 speakers, as one of the primary functions of LD is to simplify discourse processing (see section 2.3.1). Furthermore, some studies have found L2 speakers to have a yes-bias in acceptability judgment tasks (Sabourin et al., 2006, p. 17; Tokowicz & MacWhinney, 2005, p. 198) if they are less sure of the grammaticality of a given item, which can cause them to over-accept these structures. For these reasons, it is possible that the Norwegian group will show a slightly higher acceptance of sentences with LD than the control group. However, this hypothesis is very tentative, and is included primarily to crosscheck that any potential effects in the French group are not the result of general L2-effects. Thus, the Norwegian group can be said to function as an L2 control group.

#### **3.1.5 Hypothesis 5**

The fifth hypothesis predicts that the Norwegian participants’ intuitions will converge on those of the control group; that is, they are expected to show a preference for LDs containing new referents, and a dispreference for LDs containing evoked referents. Specifically, the Norwegian participants are expected to give higher scores to LDs containing brand-new referents, and lower scores to LDs where the referent is evoked and repeated in full.



## **3.2 Participants**

Three groups of participants were recruited for the project: native speakers of French with English as their L2, native speakers of Norwegian with English as their L2, as well as a control group of native speakers of English. All of the participants were adults (i.e. 18 years or older). The participants from the Norwegian and French groups were all students of English at university/college level; this was to ensure that the degree of comparability between the groups was as high as possible. No requirements were set for the educational background of the English control group, as this group was required to have native competence. The Norwegian and French participants were recruited from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, NTNU, Trondheim, and from the University of Caen, Normandy respectively. Additional participants were recruited through personal networking. The participants in the English control group were recruited through social media via acquaintances. The majority of participants in this groups were Americans in their mid-twenties residing in the US, while some were Australians of different ages residing in Australia. A total of 98 respondents completed the research survey. Participants who reported having more than one L1 were excluded from the results. This applied to two participants; one who reported having both English and French as their L1, and one who reported having English and Spanish as their L1. Out of the 96 participants who were included in the results, 35 were native speakers of Norwegian, 25 were native speakers of French, and 36 were native speakers of English.

## **3.3 SelectSurvey**

The research survey for the project was created using SelectSurvey, a digital tool for creating simple surveys. It is suitable for acceptability judgement tasks, as it allows participants to register responses on a given scale. Surveys are accessed via an internet link, which makes distribution among participants easy and smooth.

## **3.4 Survey Design**

The survey was composed of a total of 80 items for the participants to judge, each consisting of two sentences (see Appendix A). The participants were instructed only to judge the second sentence in each item, as the first merely served to provide context. The context sentence was presented in regular font, while the sentence to be judged was presented in italics, as in (42):

- (42) Mount Ebbott is known for its lush vegetation. *Yellow tulips, they grow nearly everywhere.*

Out of the 80 survey items, 30 contained LD. Twenty-four of these were targets in the sense that they were syntactically well-formed. Six ungrammatical sentences which contained LD were also included (see below) to ensure that LD-occurrences were not limited to grammatical sentences only. The (grammatical) targets were organized into six categories, each containing four items. The categories were given the following labels:

1. *Simplifying, brand-new*, in which the LD represented the subject and contained a brand-new anchored referent
2. *Simplifying, unused*, in which the LD represented the subject and contained a new unused referent
3. *Poset, subject, inferable*, in which the LD represented the subject and contained an inferable referent
4. *Poset, object, inferable*, in which the LD represented the subject and contained an inferable referent
5. *Evoked 1*, in which an entity mentioned in the preceding sentence was partially repeated in the LD
6. *Evoked 2*, in which an entity mentioned in the preceding sentence was repeated in its entirety in the LD

Only LDs of the Simplifying and Poset-types were included in the survey. The Unexpected Subject-type was not included for two main reasons: First, they are very rare in English (see section 2.3.3). Second, they seem to depend on discourse units that are longer than the survey items—a single sentence preceding the sentence with LD does not seem to provide enough context to determine whether or not a subject is ‘unexpected’ (cf. Manetta’s Centering Theory analysis). Therefore, LDs of this type were not as suitable for inclusion in the survey as the other types.

For each of the target categories above, there was a set of corresponding fillers without LD, which were structurally identical to the targets, but the lexical items had been changed. These fillers were included to see whether participants would judge the sentences as acceptable in their canonical form. For the categories *Evoked 1* and *Evoked 2*, an additional corresponding filler category was created, in which the evoked entity was represented by an anaphoric pronoun in the second sentence. A number of independent fillers were also added to ensure

balance between more and less acceptable sentences. These items were less acceptable, i.e. they were either ungrammatical (e.g. having V2), as in (43), semantically odd, as in (44), or only acceptable in some non-standard varieties of English (e.g. with double negation), as in (45):

(43) I wasn't expecting Harry to show up at my birthday party yesterday. *Suddenly stood he just there.*

(44) I decided to read the book before seeing the movie. *The book was sometimes so thrilled.*

(45) People are looking for the missing dog everywhere. *I don't think nobody has found it yet.*

In total, 40 of the survey items (which included 24 targets and 16 fillers) were grammatical and thus assumed to be relatively acceptable, while the remaining 40 survey items (which included 6 items with LD and 34 independent fillers) were less acceptable. All of the survey items were semi-randomized (i.e. they were scrambled manually while trying to avoid making their distribution too systematic). The survey was in English in its entirety.

As concluded in Chapter 1, LD seems to be pragmatically very similar in English and Norwegian, whereas its uses in English and French differ more markedly (recall that this concerns brand-new and evoked referents). Therefore, English and Norwegian can be said to represent a pair regarding the pragmatic uses of LD, while French represents a divergence. For this reason, the Norwegian group can be considered an 'L2 English control group' to which the French group can be compared. This affected the design of the survey items in the following ways: some of the sentences were designed to render LD felicitous in English and Norwegian only. That is, the LDs in these sentences were acceptable in English, and would also be acceptable if translated directly into Norwegian, but a direct translation into French would render LD infelicitous. This applied to sentences with LDs containing brand-new referents, as in (46):

(46) I never bother to read the terms of agreement when I sign up on a website. *A girl from school, she told me that's a very risky habit.*

Other sentences were designed to render LD felicitous in French only. In these cases, the LD in the English survey item sentence would itself be infelicitous (accordingly this

would be the case for a Norwegian translation<sup>31</sup>), but a direct translation into French would render it acceptable<sup>32</sup>. This applied to sentences with LDs containing evoked referents:

- (47) My brother phoned me the other day. *My brother, he said that he had just got a new job.*

As mentioned above, two ungrammatical categories of sentences with LD were also included in the survey. These contained sentences with LDs that would be acceptable in all three languages (the Poset-type, with inferable referents), but the sentences themselves were clearly ungrammatical because they retained either Norwegian or French word order. Since the participants were not required to take a proficiency test, these two categories partly fulfilled this role, as it would reveal whether they had acquired basic word order in English. In the Norwegian-specific category, the LDs represented direct objects, and the coreferential pronoun was fronted (i.e. situated in the so-called ‘pre-field’), as is the case in Norwegian LD (see section 2.5). This word order is ungrammatical in English, as shown in (48):

- (48) Making pancakes is easy. *The dry ingredients, them you must add first.*

In the French-specific category, the LDs also represented direct objects. The sentences in this category reflected standard French word order for sentences with pronominalized direct objects (i.e. the DO is fronted, yielding the order SOV), which is ungrammatical in English:

- (49) Like dogs, domestic cats are often subject to breeding. *The Bengal cat, they it developed to look like exotic jungle cats.*

The remainder of the targets represented sentences with LD that would be felicitous in both English, Norwegian, and French, as there is some overlap of the pragmatic use of LD in all three languages. This entails LDs with unused referents, which appear to be relatively acceptable in all three languages. An example is given in (50):

- (50) Pizza is both simple and delicious. *My girlfriend’s dog, he likes to eat the leftovers.*

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<sup>31</sup> The survey items of this type were, in their translated form, checked with native speakers of Norwegian, who felt that the sentences sounded ‘strange’.

<sup>32</sup> The French translations of these survey items were checked with native speakers of French, who deemed them ‘perfectly acceptable’.

The survey was fashioned as what is commonly referred to as an Acceptability Judgement test, in which participants were asked to judge the sentences on a scale from 1-8 depending on how ‘natural’ they thought the sentence sounded in the given context. It seems likely that we can expect rather subtle differences in acceptability for a structure like LD, which makes it reasonable to use a relatively fine-grained scale. The participants were instructed to give a sentence a score of 8 if they thought it was completely acceptable, and a score of 1 if completely unacceptable. They were also informed to use the rest of the scale for sentences they felt were neither completely acceptable or unacceptable. Furthermore, the instructions told the participants to follow their intuitions about the sentences, and that the survey was not a test of their proficiency level.

After the participants had completed the acceptability judgement tasks, they were asked to provide some background information about themselves. This included information about their linguistic background (native language(s) and additional language(s)), their programme of study, and how often they used English, among other things (see Appendix D for complete details). As there was no proficiency test included in the survey, the participants were asked self-report their proficiency level. For this, a scale based on the reference levels of the CEFRL (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) was used.

The project was registered with NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data), and the survey was distributed among participants in the spring of 2017. The participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and that consent to participate was given by submitting the electronic form. Before taking the survey, the participants were instructed to judge the sentences according to how natural it would sound to them if they heard an English speaker say it in a conversation. The survey in its entirety, including its instructions and the information given to the participants, is enclosed in Appendix A, B, C, and D.

### **3.5 Methodical Challenges**

There are two clear disadvantages to using acceptability judgements for this study. First, LD is, as previously mentioned, primarily an oral phenomenon. This means that a written survey may not be a suitable method for the study, as speakers may have different intuitions about spoken and written forms, i.e. they may judge certain forms, such as LD, differently in speech and in writing, which may in turn affect the results of the study. The fact that LD is characteristic of spoken discourse calls for a method involving oral production, such as

recordings of casual conversations (as in Donaldson's (2011) study). However, due to the scope of the present study, this is not realistically possible within the given timeframe. Due to this restriction, a more time-efficient method had to be used. It is clear that this method is not ideal, and this presents a clear challenge to the study.

Second, LD is typically characterized as an informal conversational feature, mainly occurring in unplanned spoken production. Acceptability judgement tests are arguably more formal in nature, as they do not contain any elements of spontaneity like spoken production does. Therefore, it is possible that participants will reject certain instances of LD in the survey that they would otherwise have been susceptible to use naturally in conversation. In an attempt to prevent this from happening, the participants were explicitly instructed to judge the sentences *as if they were uttered in a conversation*. However, this cannot guarantee that participants will judge them the same way as in casual conversation. Therefore, it is possible that the perceived degree of formality in acceptability judgement tasks may affect the results of the study.

Despite these two obvious challenges, there might be some advantages to using acceptability judgments. As mentioned previously, Donaldson's (2011) data came from a corpus of recorded conversations between near-native and native speakers of French, and the results suggested that the mastery of the syntax-discourse interface in the near-native speakers converges on that of the native speakers. This is a method that permits avoidance—if there is a given construction that the speaker feels unsure about in the L2, they may simply avoid using it. An acceptability judgement test does not allow speakers to avoid these constructions, as participants are required to judge all survey items. Thus, a method such as this one can potentially reveal aspects of the L2 learners' competence that recordings cannot do. There is a possibility that the intuitions of the L2 learners diverge on those of native speakers for certain constructions that the L2 learners would otherwise avoid in spontaneous speech, and an acceptability judgement test can potentially expose these possible differences.

## 4 Results

The responses from the 96 participants who were included were handled in Microsoft Excel and IBM SPSS Statistics.

### 4.1 Background information

Table 1 shows the self-reported proficiency levels for the French and Norwegian groups by number and percentage who reported each level. The scale in the leftmost column corresponds to the reference levels of the CEFRL.

**Table 1.** Self-reported proficiency level

Self-reported proficiency level	French Participants	Percentage	Norwegian participants	Percentage
<i>C2</i>	1	4.0	14	41.2
<i>C1</i>	12	48.0	16	47.1
<i>B2</i>	11	44.0	3	8.8
<i>B1</i>	1	4.0	1	2.9
<i>A2</i>	0	.0	0	.0
<i>A1</i>	0	.0	0	.0
Total	25	100	34	100

As the table shows, the majority of the Norwegian group reported proficiency levels in the range of C1 and C2, while the majority of the French group placed themselves in the range of B2 and C1. Thus, the French participants generally reported lower levels of proficiency than the Norwegian participants. None of the participants reported anything lower than B1.

### 4.2 Targets

Table 2 shows the mean scores for targets (see section 3.4) in the three groups.

**Table 2.** Mean scores for targets

Categories	English participants (n = 36)		French participants (n = 25)		Norwegian participants (n = 34)	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
<i>Simplifying BNA</i>	5.22	1.42	4.77	1.28	5.24	1.52
<i>Simplifying UNU</i>	5.42	1.62	5.49	1.45	5.49	1.60
<i>Poset Subject INF</i>	5.40	1.57	5.71	1.29	5.96	1.39
<i>Poset Object INF</i>	5.27	1.46	5.72	1.11	5.38	1.47
<i>Evoked 1</i>	5.28	1.58	5.36	1.38	4.85	1.40
<i>Evoked 2</i>	4.97	1.66	5.15	1.21	4.35	1.65
Overall	5.26	1.48	5.37	1.04	5.21	1.34

Note: BNA = brand-new anchored; UNU = unused; INF = inferable. Evoked 1 = NP partially repeated, Evoked 2 = NP fully repeated.

As can be seen, the French participants showed an overall higher acceptance for LD than the other two groups. However, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the groups on overall acceptance of LD, and no significant difference was found.

Paired-samples *t*-tests were conducted for each group to compare scores for brand-new referents (from the category *Simplifying BNA*) and evoked referents (only from the category *Evoked 2*, where the referent was repeated in full in the LD) within the groups.

On average, the English participants gave significantly higher scores to LDs containing brand-new referents ( $M = 5.22$ ,  $SE = .24$ ) than to LDs containing evoked referents ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SE = .28$ ),  $t(35) = 2.00$ ,  $p$  (one-tailed) = .03.

On average, the French participants gave significantly lower scores to LDs containing brand-new referents ( $M = 4.77$ ,  $SE = .27$ ) than to LDs containing evoked referents ( $M = 5.15$ ,  $SE = .24$ ),  $t(24) = -1.90$ ,  $p$  (one-tailed) = .04.

On average, the Norwegian participants gave significantly higher scores to LDs containing brand-new referents ( $M = 5.24$ ,  $SE = .26$ ) than to LDs containing evoked referents ( $M = 4.35$ ,  $SE = .28$ ),  $t(33) = 4.22$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### 4.3 Fillers

Table 3 shows the mean scores for fillers in each group. The top section contains the grammatical filler categories, each corresponding one of the target categories (but without LD). The middle section contains the two categories of ungrammatical sentences with LD (retaining French and Norwegian word order respectively). The bottom section contains the ungrammatical and less acceptable fillers without LD.

**Table 3.** Mean scores for fillers

Categories	English participants		French Participants		Norwegian participants	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation
<i>BNA</i>	7.59	.53	6.47	1.17	7.34	.80
<i>UNU</i>	7.76	.47	7.07	1.27	7.67	.64
<i>Poset Subject INF</i>	7.74	.37	6.99	1.09	7.55	.65
<i>Poset Object INF</i>	7.81	.43	7.31	1.07	7.80	.38
<i>Evoked 1</i>	7.55	.61	6.85	.88	7.31	.80
<i>Evoked 2</i>	7.44	.52	6.88	1.10	6.75	1.17
<i>Evoked w/pronoun</i>	7.71	.34	6.62	1.04	7.42	.70
<i>Poset Nor WO</i>	3.20	1.64	2.03	1.27	2.65	1.27



<i>Poset Fr WO</i>	3.31	1.47	1.99	1.15	2.37	1.37
<i>Double Negation</i>	3.49	1.65	4.22	1.03	4.23	1.67
<i>Agreement Error</i>	3.67	1.90	3.49	1.84	4.23	1.81
<i>V2</i>	3.56	1.42	2.20	.99	2.76	1.58
<i>Semantic oddities</i>	2.42	1.53	3.00	1.29	1.84	1.16
<i>Failed fronting</i>	2.63	1.56	1.74	.85	1.74	.95
<i>Random Scramble</i>	2.40	1.30	1.48	.79	1.78	.87
<i>Noun bf. Adjective</i>	4.24	1.73	3.99	1.72	2.72	1.61

Note: WO = word order. Evoked w/pronoun = evoked entity is represented by an anaphoric pronoun in the second sentence.

Although there are slight variations between the groups (which were not tested for statistical significance), the results are generally as can be anticipated for the different filler categories: sentences that were expected to be acceptable are largely accepted, and sentences that were expected to be less acceptable are to varying degrees rejected. Furthermore, the results do not appear to give any indications of a yes-bias in any of the L2 groups, as they generally seem to give slightly lower scores than the control group.



## 5 Discussion

This study reported on two groups of L2 learners of English and a control group of L1 speakers of English. There were five hypotheses that guided the study; two of which concerned the overall acceptance of LD among participants, and three which concerned the groups' preferences regarding types of discourse referents in the LD.

### 5.1 Frequency

Hypothesis 2 and 4 predicted that the overall acceptance of LD would be higher for the two L2 learner groups than for the native speaker control group. Hypothesis 2 specifically predicted that acceptance of LD would be markedly higher for the French group due to the high frequency of LD-use in French. Hypothesis 4 (which was tentative) predicted that the acceptance of LD would be slightly higher for the Norwegian group than for the control group as the result of L2 effects. The results showed that there was no significant difference between the groups in overall acceptance of LD. Thus, neither Hypothesis 2 nor 4 are supported.

The fact that Hypothesis 2 and 4 were not supported by the results is consistent with Donaldson's (2011) findings. Donaldson predicted that the near-native speakers of French (whose L1 was English) in his study would underuse LD in their L2 French compared to the L1 speakers of French. This hypothesis was not supported by the results in his study, as no significant difference between the groups regarding frequency of LD-use was found (p. 423). Similarly, the French L2 learners of English in the present study did not exhibit any significant tendency to over-accept LD compared to the L1 speakers of English. The results from these two studies thus seem to point in the same direction. This has the following implications: it seems that frequency of LD-use may not be something that easily transfers from the L1 to the L2, at least when speakers have reached a relatively advanced level of proficiency. As neither the near-natives in Donaldson's study nor the relatively advanced speakers in the present study exhibited any clear indications of transfer in this area, this seems a reasonable assumption. It is, however, not possible to determine from the present study whether these implications regarding the lack of effect of L1 frequency on the L2 are exclusive to LD or not. As transfer of LD-frequency is not being contrasted with other elements at the syntax-discourse interface, or at other external interfaces, generalizations at this level cannot be made. However, the implications following Donaldson's study and the present study make it seem plausible that the generalization of non-effects of frequency holds for LD in speakers whose proficiency levels range from advanced to near-native.

Furthermore, no yes-bias seemed to exist for the Norwegian group, as their overall acceptance of LD was in fact lower than in the control group. This may suggest that the Norwegian group had a no-bias.

## 5.2 Information status

Hypothesis 1, 3, and 5 predicted that the groups would differ in their preference for different referent types in the LD. Hypothesis 1 and 5 respectively predicted that the control group and the Norwegian group would show a preference for new referents and a dispreference for evoked referents in the LD. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the French group would diverge from the other two groups in their pattern of acceptance, and thus show a preference for evoked referents and a dispreference for new referents. The results showed that there was a significant difference within each group regarding the acceptance of different referent types in the LD. The acceptance of sentences where the LD contained brand-new referents (the category *Simplifying BNA*) was significantly higher than the acceptance of sentences where the LD contained evoked referents (the category *Evoked 2*) in both the control group and the Norwegian group. In contrast, the acceptance sentences with LDs containing evoked referents (*Evoked 2*) was significantly higher than the acceptance of sentences with LDs containing brand-new referents (*Simplifying BNA*) in the French group. These findings support Hypothesis 1, 3, and 5.

In Donaldson's (2011) study, analyses of the near-native speakers' production of LDs suggested that their mastery of this feature at the syntax-discourse interface converges on that of native speakers (p. 399), and there was no evidence of the near-native speakers encountering difficulties in coordinating syntactic and pragmatic knowledge when producing LDs in French (p. 424). In contrast, the present study revealed a significant difference between the L1 speakers and one of the L2 groups regarding their preferences for different types of discourse referents in the LD. The French group showed a marked preference for evoked referents over new referents in the LD, while the control group displayed the opposite pattern of preference. The Norwegian group's pattern of preference converged on that of the control group. Thus, the patterns of preference in the two L2 groups seem to reflect preferences for LD-use in their L1. These results suggest that the L2 speakers' intuitions about LD are affected by their L1. The findings in the present study are thus compatible with the predictions of the Interface Hypothesis. However, it should be noted that the data in the present study does not come from near-native speakers, to whom the predictions of the IH

primarily apply. The present study must therefore not be taken as a direct test of the IH; instead, what is being tested are predictions that are *compatible* with the IH to see whether they hold for speakers whose proficiency level is below near-native. Moreover, the findings in the present study stand in contrast to Donaldson's findings, where no clear indications of L1 influence in this area were found. However, the proficiency level of the speakers in Donaldson's study was higher than that of the speakers in the present study—Donaldson's data came from near-natives, whereas the proficiency levels of the participants in the present study ranged from independent to proficient (see section 4.1). Thus, the results from the present study suggest that L2 speakers whose proficiency level is below near-native are still vulnerable to influence from their L1 in this area. This implies that native-like intuitions in this particular area are acquired very late in the acquisition process.

Although the speakers' different proficiency levels may be the reason for the deviating results in these respective studies, other factors may also be involved. Very different methods were used in the two studies, which may have played an important role for the different outcomes. Donaldson's data came from recordings of unscripted conversations between native and near-native speakers of French, while the data in the present study came from acceptability judgment tasks in the form of an electronic survey. As mentioned earlier, L2 users may avoid using constructions they feel unsure about in production (e.g. Schachter, 1974). Acceptability judgement tasks, on the other hand, do not permit avoidance, as they force the participants to judge the sentence. The possibility therefore exists that the near-natives in Donaldson's study could have avoided using LD in instances where they felt unsure about the construction's felicitousness, which would have prevented the exposure of potential divergence from the natives. In acceptability judgement tasks, such divergences cannot elude exposure. The question therefore remains whether the near-natives in Donaldson's study would have exhibited divergence from the natives if subjected to acceptability judgement tasks.

### **5.3 Summary**

To summarize, the results revealed no significant effects of LD-frequency in the L1 on the L2, as no significant difference in overall acceptance of LD between the groups was found. Furthermore, no indications of a yes-bias in the Norwegian group was found. However, significant differences were found within the groups regarding preference of referent types in the LD. The French group displayed a marked preference for evoked referents over brand-new referents in the LD, while the opposite pattern was found for the Norwegian group and

the control group. Thus, a vulnerability to L1-influence in this area still seems to exist in L2 speakers at relatively advanced levels.

## 6 Conclusion

This study investigated effects of the L1 in certain aspects of the syntax-discourse interface, specifically LD, in French and Norwegian L2 speakers of English. While no observable effects of L1 frequency were found, the results revealed a significant difference within each group regarding the information status of the referent in the LD, and participants exhibited a tendency to give higher scores to items that reflected typical uses of LD in their L1. Although there are obvious limitations to the study (see section 3.5), the results clearly indicate that LD is an area in which L2 speakers are vulnerable to L1-influence even at relatively advanced levels of proficiency. In contrast, speakers at this level do not seem to encounter difficulties to the same degree when it comes to frequency. However, the groups' overall acceptance of LD in acceptability judgment tasks may not be an accurate indicator of speakers' intuitions regarding frequency in online production, and may thus not accurately reflect how they would use a given item in speech. Naturally, this is the case for all data in this study.

The implications of the results in the present study are compatible with the predictions of the Interface Hypothesis. However, the results do not directly support the IH, as the study did not test near-native speakers. Moreover, the study does not allow generalizations beyond the level of LD to be made, as no other interface elements were investigated. Nevertheless, it seems clear that L1-effects exist at this particular aspect of the syntax-discourse interface in speakers at relatively advanced levels of proficiency.

### 6.1 Limitations and suggestions for further research

As mentioned in the Methods section, using acceptability judgments tasks to investigate a predominantly oral phenomenon presents certain challenges. Among other things, it is possible that speakers will judge items differently in spoken and in written context. This is a potential source of error in the present study. As was seen in the results, many of the sentences that rendered LD felicitously according to theory only received scores slightly above the middle of the scale, even from the control group. This tendency may have been a result of the method used. A possible alternative to the written acceptability judgment tasks could have been a task in which speakers had to judge recordings of spoken samples. However, a task of this type would naturally present other sources of error, such as mishearing or misinterpreting utterances. Moreover, spoken samples would also involve challenges with choice of intonation and dialect in the recordings, which are other factors that could impact the results. Obviously, no single failsafe method exists, and there are different

advantages and disadvantages to each method. Therefore, it seems that the investigation would benefit from employing a range of different methods. Methodical diversity can help provide a fuller picture of the nature of the phenomenon, as it is a complex feature of language, and would thus require additional methodical approaches to cover all its aspects.

Only a relatively small portion of the data from the survey was included in the analysis of preferences within the groups. The categories *Simplifying BNA* and *Evoked 2* were selected because they represented opposite extremes, and were thus considered suitable for contrastive analysis. Ideally, additional analyses would have been conducted for the other target categories, as well as for the fillers. Furthermore, the data could also have been analyzed for correlations between background factors, such as proficiency level, and how speakers judged the sentences. However, this was not possible due to time and scope restrictions. Furthermore, the situation only permitted access to a relatively limited selection of participants. None of them were controlled for dialectal differences nor for their actual proficiency level, and much depended on the accuracy of their responses. Naturally, a larger group of participants would naturally have increased the study's reliability. It is also possible that different results would have been obtained had dialectal differences been considered in the study. Thus, it seems that further research would benefit from taking these factors into account.

Many issues could not be investigated due to time and scope restrictions. Importantly, the French and Norwegian groups were not tested for acceptance of LD in their native languages, apart from some informal consultations with a few native speakers of each language. Lack of actual data on acceptance patterns in the native languages of the two L2 groups is therefore a clear limitation to the study. Naturally, it would have given more clarity to the results had the same speakers been tested for LD-acceptance in their L1, as this would have provided a basis for comparison between the groups' acceptance of LD in their L1 and their L2. Furthermore, testing L1-acceptance of LD in the French group could potentially reveal whether the high frequency of LD in French causes generally higher ratings in an acceptability judgment task.

In order to directly test IH and thereby obtain results more directly comparable to those from Donaldson (2011), the participants in the study should have been near-native speakers. However, this would have required much more thorough selection and testing of participants, and was therefore not feasible within the given time and scope restrictions of the study. Furthermore, the L2 speakers were not tested for their actual English proficiency level, and



instead they were asked to do a self-assessment of this. Naturally, this solution is less reliable, and means that much relied on the accuracy of the participants' answers.

As the predictions of the IH involve that L2-learners will struggle more to successfully acquire interface phenomena than to acquire purely syntactic phenomena, it would have been reasonable to test whether speakers had successfully acquired English syntax. This could have been done by analyzing fillers in more detail, and would have provided a basis for comparison between interface phenomena and syntactic phenomena. However, this would have required more extensive theory of phenomena that can be expected to transfer from the respective L1s of the two groups, and was therefore not possible within the scope of the present study, which only permitted analysis of LD in isolation.

Finally, as the present study used artificially constructed sentences, there is no guarantee that these were optimal representations of natural LD-use in the respective languages. Furthermore, other factors in the sample sentences may have affected the participants' judgments—for instance, one native speaker of English consulted during test development remarked that she thought the LDs in the sample sentences 'felt more natural' when the dislocated referent was animate. Naturally, there are many factors that may have influenced speakers' judgments in this type of test other than LD—some worth noting are vocabulary, proficiency level, and dialectal differences.

Clearly, there are many limitations to the present study, and it seems that further research should involve more varied methods, as well as more exhaustive analyses of other items that may transfer from the L1.



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## Appendix A: Survey Items

This appendix contains the targets and fillers from the electronic survey. Each target category has a corresponding filler category without LD. These fillers are structurally identical to the targets, while only the lexical items have been changed. Each target category contains four items, whereas the corresponding fillers contain only 3 items. The rest of the fillers (which are either ungrammatical, prescriptively less acceptable or semantically odd) contain four items each. The two categories that contain ungrammatical sentences with LD are listed under the targets.

### Targets

#### Simplifying, brand-new (anchored)

1. Finding a used car that runs well can be difficult. *A guy I work with, he was tricked into buying a total wreck.*
2. I never bother to read the terms of agreement when I sign up on a website. *A girl from school, she told me that's a very risky habit.*
3. I finally built a koi fish pond in our garden. *A book I bought, it had all the necessary instructions in it.*
4. The wildlife in Africa is so fascinating. *A documentary I saw, it showed how all these lions were trying to take down a giraffe.*

#### Simplifying, new unused

1. Spiders are so nasty. *My sister, she almost panicked the other day because there was one in her bedroom.*
2. The lecture on Tuesday was really interesting. *My friend Susan, she was taking notes very carefully.*
3. The weather was so humid last summer. *Our cat, she hardly wanted to leave the house.*
4. Pizza is both simple and delicious. *My girlfriend's dog, he likes to eat the leftovers.*

#### Poset, subject, inferable

1. Mount Ebott is known for its lush vegetation. *Yellow tulips, they grow nearly everywhere.*
2. Dogs are good company on bad days. *My adorable Pomeranian, he always makes me smile.*
3. My brothers all live here in town. *My youngest brother, he's a freshman at college.*
4. I really enjoy spending the holidays with my family. *My mom, she always cooks something nice for all of us.*

### **Poset, object, inferable**

1. Anyone can make tacos, really. *The meat, you just have to put it in a frying pan and then add the spice.*
2. I always end up watching cute animal videos on the internet instead of working. *That funny cat video, I've watched it at least ten times.*
3. The cake was super easy to make. *The recipe, I found it on the internet.*
4. The movie we saw last night was great, and I thought the visual effects were pretty cool. *The car chase scene, I really liked it.*

### **Evoked 1**

1. My neighbor across the street wants to be a graphic designer. *My neighbor, he's very talented.*
2. My oldest sister loves shopping. *My sister, she shops for all kinds of things.*
3. Our dog Bailey knows how to open the fridge door. *Bailey, he's very intelligent.*
4. My hamster Suki escaped her cage again. *Suki, she's quite mischievous.*

### **Evoked 2**

1. My mom is the best cook in the family. *My mom, she can cook any dish to perfection.*
2. My brother phoned me the other day. *My brother, he said that he had just got a new job.*
3. Steve came to my house the other day. *Steve, he told me his girlfriend had just left him.*
4. Joyce asked me if I'd seen her son. *Joyce, she seemed rather worried.*

### **Fillers**

#### **Poset, object, inferable, Norwegian word order**

1. Making pancakes is easy. *The dry ingredients, them you must add first.*
2. Whenever there's a movie that I like, I end up watching it over and over again. *"Titanic", it I've watched eight times.*
3. The soup I made last night was delicious. *The cookbook, it I found at the store.*

#### **Poset, object, inferable, French word order**

1. Like dogs, domestic cats are often subject to breeding. *The Bengal cat, they it developed to look like exotic jungle cats.*
2. I love reading good books over again. *"Harry Potter", I them have read many times.*
3. The cupcakes Susan made yesterday were delicious. *The frosting, she it makes with real lemon juice.*

#### **Brand-new (anchored)**

1. Driving safely is extremely important. *A guy I know was severely injured in a car accident recently.*



2. I like to order junk food when I'm too tired to make dinner myself. *A guy in my class told me that's a very unhealthy habit.*
3. I made some really delicious lemon macarons this weekend. *A website I found had video instructions for how to do it.*

### **New unused**

1. Some people are terrified of bugs. *My neighbor completely freaked out because there was a cockroach in her kitchen.*
2. The king's speech was really eye-opening. *My dad was actually taking notes while listening to it.*
3. The weather was really cold in the mountains. *Our dog just wanted to stay in the cabin.*

### **Poset, subject, inferable**

1. The Canary Islands are known for their rich plant life. *Palm trees grow nearly everywhere.*
2. My siblings are good company on boring days. *My little brother always makes me laugh.*
3. My sisters all live here in town. *My youngest sister is a pediatrician at the local hospital.*

### **Poset, object, inferable**

1. Anyone can make cupcakes, really. *You just have to put the frosting on top and then add some sprinkles.*
2. I always end up watching baking tutorials on YouTube instead of working. *I've watched that cupcake video at least five times.*
3. The cupcakes were really easy to make. *I found the recipe on the internet.*

### **Evoked 1**

1. My cousin Grace wants to be a stand-up comedian. *Grace is very funny.*
2. My neighbor Hannah loves singing. *Hannah sings opera all the time.*
3. Our cat Sheila loves getting belly rubs. *Sheila is so soft.*

### **Evoked 2**

1. My dad is the best mechanic in the family. *My dad can fix any car.*
2. My grandpa called me yesterday. *My grandpa said that he had just got a new TV.*
3. Jonathan came to my house last night. *Jonathan told me that his brother was missing.*

### **Evoked, with pronoun**

1. My friend Jack wants to be a professional skier. *He is very athletic.*
2. My uncle Charlie likes hunting. *He hunts for rabbits and pheasants.*
3. My classmate Carla loves sewing her own clothes. *She's very skilled.*
4. Martha came to my place the other night. *She said that she had just got a new dog.*

### Double negation

1. People are looking for the missing dog everywhere. *I don't think nobody has found it yet.*
2. The cake Charlie makes is delicious. *I've asked him for the recipe at least a dozen times, but he won't never give it to me.*
3. My friend Susan dyed her hair the other day. *I don't think nobody else has noticed.*
4. Milk is rather expensive these days. *I hardly never buy it anymore.*

### Agreement error

1. That grey hair actually suits George very well. *It don't make him look older, just more handsome.*
2. I met Dan and Phil at the mall yesterday. *They was standing next to the entrance when I saw them.*
3. It was really cold outside today. *Everyone were wearing big scarves.*
4. It seems that nearly all of my friends decided to get married this summer. *John and Lucy is getting married in the first week of June.*

### V2

1. I wasn't expecting Harry to show up at my birthday party yesterday. *Suddenly stood he just there.*
2. Barbara told her mother she was sleeping at Nancy's place. *Instead went she to a party.*
3. Barbara's family didn't even notice that she was missing. *In reality was she in great danger.*
4. Joyce seemed very troubled when she told the officer her son was missing. *At first thought he she was just exaggerating.*

### Semantic oddities

1. I regret spending money on those movie tickets. *The movie was constantly so bored.*
2. I decided to read the book before seeing the movie. *The book was sometimes so thrilled.*
3. We had dinner at the new restaurant yesterday. *The food was actually often kind of disappointed.*
4. We decided to try the roller coaster instead of the haunted house. *The ride was actually always pretty scared.*

### Failed fronting

1. My dog ran away the other day, and it took us hours to find her. *Hiding she was under someone's porch.*
2. I met Nancy in the park yesterday. *Walking she was her dog.*
3. We need to find new homes for these kittens. *Keep all of them there's no way we can.*
4. My cousins all live far away. *See them I don't get to very often.*

### **Random Scramble**

1. The weather was really nice yesterday, so I decided to go outside for a walk. *I go usually don't by outside myself.*
2. The painting in Phil's room looks like it was made by a child. *He himself probably it painted.*
3. Dan's new haircut looks great. *I it think suits well personality his.*
4. People spend so much time on their phones these days. *There's an basically for app everything.*

### **Noun preceding adjective**

1. There's nothing like a nice cup of coffee and a piece of chocolate. *My favorite is chocolate dark.*
2. I always like to have a cup of tea in the morning. *I usually brew it in the big teapot blue.*
3. My family had dinner at my grandma's yesterday. *We ate lamb roasted.*
4. Carrie owns lots of stuffed animals. *The panda red is her favorite.*



## **Appendix B: Consent form**

### **Research project on English as a second language**

This is an invitation to participate in a research project on English as a second language. Participation involves completing a survey which contains 80 English sentences that you will be asked to rank on a scale from 1-8 depending on how well-formed and natural you think they sound in English. Additionally, you will be asked to provide some information about your language background, such as your native language and your second language. I hope you are willing to participate!

### **Background and purpose**

The project is part of a Master's degree at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), and will examine how native Norwegian and French speakers with English as their second language evaluate various English sentences. A control group of native English speakers is thus needed for comparison.

### **What happens with your information?**

All information will be treated confidentially. No personally identifiable information will be collected, and only the student and supervisor for the Master's thesis will have access to the questionnaire responses. Participants in the project will therefore not be identifiable in the publication or the project in general. Through the electronic questionnaire, responses will be indirectly traceable to IP addresses, but individual responses will be handled only by the student and supervisor for the project. No information which can track individual responses back to the participants will be published.

The project has been reported to NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata/Norwegian Center for Research Data), and is scheduled to end on January 15, 2018. All data material will be anonymized by the project's scheduled end by deleting logs/IP-addresses.

### **Voluntary participation**

Participation in the study is voluntary, and you may at any time withdraw your consent without giving any reason – by simply not completing the questionnaire. Your consent to participate is given by answering and submitting the sentence assessments and background information. It will not be possible to withdraw your consent after the form has been submitted, as individual responses cannot be tracked by the researchers after submission.

Associate professor Anne Dahl ([anne.j.dahl@ntnu.no](mailto:anne.j.dahl@ntnu.no)) is responsible for the project.

If you have any questions about the form or the project in general, please contact me by email: [sunnivbs@stud.ntnu.no](mailto:sunnivbs@stud.ntnu.no)

Regards,

Sunniva B. Strætkeværn

Master student



## Appendix C: Survey instructions

In this survey you will be presented with 80 statements in English. Each statement consists of two sentences, the latter of which is presented in italics. You will be asked to rank this italicized sentence on a scale from 1-8 depending on how well-formed and natural you think it is in spoken English - that is, how acceptable it would sound to you if you heard an English speaker say it in a conversation, given the context of the preceding sentence. Note that you are not meant to judge the entire statement - only the sentence in italics. The scale goes from 8 to 1, where 8 means that the sentence is completely acceptable and 1 is completely unacceptable, while the scores in between indicate various degrees of acceptability:

completely unacceptable

completely acceptable

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8

For example:

**Statement:** A student of linguistics asked me to do this survey. *I love surveys, so of course I'll help her out.*

Most people would agree that this is a perfectly acceptable sentence in English, so a score of 8 would probably be suitable.

**Statement:** Taking surveys is so much fun. *I wish I could them often take the all sometimes time.*

Most people would probably agree that this sentence is not acceptable in English if they heard someone say it, and would even have trouble understanding what it means. In this case, an appropriate score might be 1.

**Statement:** It's a perfect day for taking a survey. *What is shining is the sun, and it's the clouds that aren't in the sky.*

Although most people would still find this sentence to be understandable, many would agree that there is something odd or unnatural about it. Maybe a score somewhere around the middle of the scale would be appropriate in this case.

The survey takes approximately 15 minutes, and your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Click "Next" to begin the survey!





## Appendix D: Background information

### French participants

1. What is your native language(s)?
  - French
  - Norwegian
  - English
  - Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What other language(s) do you speak in addition to your native language(s)? Please specify language(s) and competence (high – medium – low): \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Do you have a diagnosis that could potentially affect your language learning (e.g. Asperger's syndrome, dyslexia, impaired hearing, etc.)? If yes, please specify.
  - No
  - Yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Have you lived outside of France for more than 6 weeks? If so, where and for how long?
  - No
  - Yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Do you have close friends/family that you speak to in other languages than French?
  - No
  - Yes – specify relationship and language \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. How often do you speak English with friends and/or family?
  - Never
  - 1-2 times a year
  - 3-4 times a year
  - 1-2 times a month
  - 1-2 times a week
  - Several times a week
  - Every day
  
7. What study programme are you enrolled in? Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

8. For how long have you been studying English?

- 1 semester
- 2 semesters
- More than 2 semesters

9. When do you use English in everyday life?

- On TV/movies with subtitles
- On TV/movies without subtitles
- Talking to friends/family
- At work
- English blogs/webpages/articles
- English books (not including course literature)
- Writing English texts (not including assignments for school)

10. Are you involved in one or more activities on your free time that involves use of English? (E.g. theater/role playing, gaming, activities with other people who do not speak French, etc.)

- No
- Yes – please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

11. How would you rate your own English competence?

- 1:** I have basic competence – I can understand and use simple phrases
- 2:** I have basic competence – I can understand and use sentences and expressions and communicate with others in a simple way
- 3:** I am independent – I can understand the main points of standard input and produce texts on familiar topics
- 4:** I am independent – I can interact with a degree of fluency and produce clear, detailed texts on a wide range of subjects
- 5:** I am proficient – I can express myself fluently and spontaneously, and I can use language effectively for social, academic and professional purposes
- 6:** I am proficient – I understand virtually everything heard or read, and I can express myself spontaneously, fluently and precisely

## Norwegian participants

1. What is your native language(s)?
  - French
  - Norwegian
  - English
  - Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What other language(s) do you speak in addition to your native language(s)? Please specify language(s) and competence (high – medium – low): \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Do you have a diagnosis that could potentially affect your language learning (e.g. Asperger's syndrome, dyslexia, impaired hearing, etc.)? If yes, please specify.
  - No
  - Yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Have you lived outside of Norway for more than 6 weeks? If so, where and for how long?
  - No
  - Yes, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. Do you have close friends/family that you speak to in other languages than Norwegian?
  - No
  - Yes – specify relationship and language \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. How often do you speak English with friends and/or family?
  - Never
  - 1-2 times a year
  - 3-4 times a year
  - 1-2 times a month
  - 1-2 times a week
  - Several times a week
  - Every day
  
7. What study programme are you enrolled in? Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

8. For how long have you been studying English?
- 1 semester
  - 2 semesters
  - More than 2 semesters
9. When do you use English in everyday life?
- On TV/movies with subtitles
  - On TV/movies without subtitles
  - Talking to friends/family
  - At work
  - English blogs/webpages/articles
  - English books (not including course literature)
  - Writing English texts (not including assignments for school)
10. Are you involved in one or more activities on your free time that involves use of English? (E.g. theater/role playing, gaming, activities with other people who do not speak French, etc.)
- No
  - Yes – please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
11. How would you rate your own English competence?
- 1:** I have basic competence – I can understand and use simple phrases
  - 2:** I have basic competence – I can understand and use sentences and expressions and communicate with others in a simple way
  - 3:** I am independent – I can understand the main points of standard input and produce texts on familiar topics
  - 4:** I am independent – I can interact with a degree of fluency and produce clear, detailed texts on a wide range of subjects
  - 5:** I am proficient – I can express myself fluently and spontaneously, and I can use language effectively for social, academic and professional purposes
  - 6:** I am proficient – I understand virtually everything heard or read, and I can express myself spontaneously, fluently and precisely

## Control group participants

1. What is your native language(s)?
  - French
  - Norwegian
  - English
  - Other, please specify:\_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What other language(s) do you speak in addition to your native language(s)? Please specify language(s) and competence (high – medium – low):\_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Do you have a diagnosis that could potentially affect your language learning (e.g. Asperger's syndrome, dyslexia, impaired hearing, etc.)? If yes, please specify.
  - No
  - Yes, please specify:\_\_\_\_\_



## **Appendix E: Relevance for the teaching profession**

Writing this thesis has given me a deeper understanding of certain aspects of second language acquisition. By investigating the specific construction known as Left Dislocation (LD), I have gained insight into how the intuitions of second languages learners are affected by their native language. I have also become more aware of linguistic areas in which mastery may be more difficult for second language learners. Additionally, I have learned to use certain digital tools that are useful for classroom purposes.

The inclusion of three languages in this thesis has given me the opportunity to investigate grammatical aspects of both the languages in which I have teaching competence, as well as with my native language. Naturally, this has been beneficial for my competence in both English and French. Furthermore, insight into how certain grammatical aspects in these languages relate to my native language has increased my overall understanding of second language acquisition and the challenges second language learners face in the process. Consequently, this gives me a better understand of how I can adjust my classroom practices to facilitate second (and third) language acquisition in my students.

During the work on this thesis, I have also acquired important skills in Microsoft Office by handling data in Excel and Word. Furthermore, creating the research survey required using HTML-code, another important digital skill. The curriculum emphasizes the importance of acquiring digital competence, which naturally means that it is just as important for teachers to keep up with current technology.

To summarize, while this thesis addresses few topics that are directly applicable in the ESL classroom, the examination of very detailed aspects of language, namely LD, has given me an overall deeper understanding of how second language acquisition works. This can in turn enhance my practice as a teacher, and help me develop suitable learning tasks for students.