Conditions on L1 transfer in L2 discourse-syntax mappings

The case of Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian and Romanian

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December 4, 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

family in Utrecht. During a spring evening approaching my graduation, I told her I was interested in doing an internship abroad to gain more research experience before possibly starting a Masters degree. Luisa and Andrea endorsed me at **Kris Onishi's** McGill Infant Development Centre where I went to work as a visiting research assistant. It was a great time where, thanks to Kris and **Amélie Bernard**, I learned a lot about various experimental methods on infant child development. It was at this lab where I also learned about the North American style PhD program (You can start a PhD program without having a Master's degree?!) and Kris encouraged me to apply to several programs and provided helpful feedback on several versions of my cover letters.

This thesis would also not have been possible without the help of my dear friends **Carlotta Lega**, who helped me tremendously with the Italian part of the experiment, and **Ileana Grama**, who was the best Romanian consultant I can imagine. So much love to my friends in Montreal and my friends on the other side of the Atlantic, who always remained very close to me despite the geographical distance. You guys are the sunshines of my life. Another big shout-out to my friends and teachers at **Luna Yoga**, who, after a day of office work, fuelled me with pure happiness, self-love and helped me maintain a strong and balanced body and mind. I regularly got the question from other graduate students how I managed to publish, teach and do work on my thesis while spending hours at the yoga studio. I truly believe I managed *because* of them.

I wouldn't be who and where I was now without my **parents** and **grandparents**, who always placed importance on my education and personal development and supported me in any decision I've made in life. I also want to thank **my brother Bas**, for always being there for my family, a task he always took on with love and without blaming me for not being there enough due to my decision to live on the other side of the world.

Finally, I want to express an immense amount of love and appreciation to the three most important men in my life: **my father**, **my husband Ahmed** and **the little boy in my belly**. Ahmed came in my life around the same time we had to let go of my father, and I would not have been able to continue the PhD program far away from family without the love and support he provided since the first day we met in August 2014. Each in their own way, Ahmed and papa are my greatest examples of dedication and perseverance. I want to thank my son for pushing me to complete this thesis in a timely manner, for giving me a relatively easy pregnancy and for never making me feel alone in the writing process.

ABSTRACT

One of the aims of second language (L2) acquisition research is to establish circumstances in which L2 learners converge or fail to converge on native speaker linguistic competence. A general picture that emerges is that while there is convergence with target language syntax, protracted problems are often attested at the interface of syntax with discourse. However, not all studies investigating the acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax report unsuccessful acquisition, suggesting a need for more detailed investigation to determine the specific conditions that result in non-convergence. This thesis examines whether learners can acquire L2 discourse-syntax mappings, particularly when the L1 and L2 differ in this domain.

The approach to syntax-discourse mappings implemented here is based on the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH) (Lardiere, 2008, 2009). According to the FRH, when L2 grammars diverge from L1 grammars, the acquisition task involves the mapping or reassembling of features into new formal configurations. The current thesis extends this approach to the reconfiguration of discourse features. Specifically, the project investigates the L2 acquisition of Italian Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) by native speakers of English or Romanian. While English does not instantiate CLLD, Romanian does allow it, but its use differs from Italian. The study compares object fronting of contrastive topics and contrastive foci, the only two forms of object fronting permitted in Italian and Romanian. In Italian the insertion of a clitic after dislocating a direct object is restricted to contrastive topics, which are discourse anaphoric, and is disallowed when fronting a contrastive focus. In Romanian, both topics and foci are allowed in CLLD constructions, but only when the left dislocated object is specific. Thus, in Italian CLLD is constrained by [± anaphoric] and in Romanian by [± specific]. The learning task differs between the two L1 groups. English learners of Italian have to acquire the syntax and the appropriate discourse feature from scratch, in other words acquire the fact that the relevant feature is [± anaphoric]. Romanian learners, on the other hand, have to reconfigure the mapping of the relevant features, from [± specific] to [± anaphoric].

The latter task is hypothesized to be more difficult.

Results from an acceptability judgment task and an elicited written production task show that intermediate/advanced learners from both L1 groups had not yet acquired the discourse constraints on Italian CLLD. At near-native proficiency levels, only the English group shows target language convergence. Romanian near-native speakers of Italian successfully acquired the conditions on discourse contexts in which CLLD is used in the L2 but not the L1, namely [± anaphoric]. At the same time, persistent L1 effects were attested, with effects of [± specific] still evident. It is concluded that reconfiguration of discourse features is not inherently more complicated than acquiring new discourse-syntax mappings. Rather, feature reconfiguration is difficult when the learner must unlearn the use of CLLD in discourse contexts in which the construction is used in the L1 but not in the L2, suggesting the need for negative evidence. To further examine the role of input, a pilot study was conducted reversing the L1 and the L2. Preliminary results from L2 Romanian by native speakers of Italian and English are in line with earlier results; unlearning the use of clitics with object left dislocation in the absence of positive evidence leads to non-convergence.

ABRÉGÉ

L'un des objectifs de la recherche sur l'acquisition d'une langue seconde (L2) est d'établir des circonstances dans lesquelles les apprenants de la L2 convergent ou ne convergent pas sur la compétence linguistique des locuteurs natifs. Une tendance qui se dégage est qu'un locuteur ou une locutrice peut témoigner de problèmes persistants ayant rapport à l'interface entre la syntaxe et le discours même après qu'il y a eu une convergence au niveau de la syntaxe. Cependant, toutes les études examinant l'acquisition de contraintes de discours sur la syntaxe ne signalent pas une acquisition infructueuse, ce qui suggère le besoin d'étudier les conditions précises qui entraînent la non-convergence. Cette thèse examine si les apprenants peuvent acquérir des correspondances entre la syntaxe et le discours dans leur L2, plus précisément lorsque les L1 et L2 diffèrent dans ce domaine.

L'approche des correspondances syntaxe-discours mis en œuvre ici est fondée sur l'hypothèse du réassemblage des traits (Feature Reassembly Hypothesis ou FRH; Lardiere, 2008, 2009). Selon la FRH, la tâche d'acquisition implique apprendre les correspondances entre les traits ou le réassemblage de traits dans de nouvelles configurations formelles lorsque la grammaire de la L2 diverge de celle de la L1. La thèse actuelle étend cette approche à la reconfiguration des traits du discours. Le projet étudie l'acquisition L2 de la dislocation clitique à gauche (DCG) en italien par des locuteurs natifs l'anglais ou du roumain. D'un côté, l'anglais n'offre pas la possibilité de la DCG; de l'autre côté, le roumain le permet, mais son utilisation diffère de l'italien. Cette étude compare l'antériorisation de l'objet dans le contexte des thèmes et des rhèmes contrastifs, les deux seules formes d'antériorisation de l'objet possibles en italien et en roumain. En italien, l'insertion des clitiques après la dislocation d'un objet direct est limitée aux thèmes contrastifs qui sont anaphoriques du discours et est interdite dans le cas des rhèmes contrastifs. En roumain, les thèmes et les rhèmes peuvent tous les deux être ciblés par la dislocation, mais uniquement lorsque l'objet disloqué à gauche est spécifique. Ainsi, en italien, la DCG est limitée par [± anaphorique] et en roumain par [± spécifique].

L'apprentissage du système de DCG diffère d'un groupe à l'autre. Chez les locuteurs natifs de l'anglais, l'acquisition du phénomène en italien consiste à apprendre de zéro la construction syntaxique et les traits discursifs qui permettent cette construction - c'est-à-dire que ces locuteurs ont à acquérir que le trait impliqué est [± anaphorique]. Chez les locuteurs natifs du roumain, par contre, il faut reconfigurer leur système de sorte que la correspondance se fait avec [± anaphorique] plutôt que [± spécifique], comme serait le cas dans leur langue maternelle. Il est prédit que cette deuxième tâche d'apprentissage soit plus difficile.

Selon les résultats d'une tâche de jugement d'acceptabilité et d'une tâche d'écriture, les apprenants intermédiaires et avancés des deux L1s n'avaient pas encore acquis les contraintes discursives sur la DCG en italien. Rendus quasi-natifs en italien, uniquement les locuteurs natifs de l'anglais témoignent de convergence vers le système de contraintes discursives de l'italien. Les locuteurs quasi-natifs dont la L1 est le roumain ont acquis la contrainte que la DCG a lieu en contexte [± anaphorique] - c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont acquis le conditionnement où la DCG est possible en italien et non en roumain. Cependant, ces locuteurs font preuve d'effets persistantes de la L1 car [± spécifique] pouvait encore conditionner la DCG chez les locuteurs du roumain. Il est ainsi conclu que la reconfiguration des traits discursifs n'est pas plus compliquée que l'acquisition de nouvelles correspondances entre la syntaxe et le discours de façon intrinsèque. Il est toutefois plus difficile d'effectuer une reconfiguration là où un locuteur doit désapprendre que la DCG est permise là où ce n'est le cas que dans leur langue maternelle, ce qui suggère le besoin de preuves négatives. Pour examiner le rôle de l'input davantage, une étude pilote a été menée pour inverser les L1s et les L2s. Les résultats préliminaires provenant de l'acquisition en L2 du roumain chez les locuteurs natifs de l'italien et de l'anglais sont conformes aux résultats précédents: désapprendre que la DCG est permise n'a pas lieu quand il n'y a pas de preuve directe pour motiver cette convergence.

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CHAPTER 1
Introduction

One of the important issues in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) concerns the question of whether native-like ultimate attainment in the L2 is possible and, if not, which factors contribute to persistent difficulty or even impossibility of successful L2 acquisition. One important factor which distinguishes L2 acquisition from L1 acquisition is that L2 learning is influenced, either positively or negatively, by the L1. The current study focuses on L1 transfer and investigates whether L2 learners can associate Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), a syntactic construction that requires the integration of discourse information into the syntax, with different discourse contexts in the L2 (Italian) than those in which CLLD is used in the L1 (Romanian). The Romanian learners of Italian will be compared to English learners of Italian, as English is a language which lacks CLLD and L1 transfer is unlikely to occur.

In the past 15 years the syntax-discourse interface has received considerable attention in the field of SLA as one of those areas of the grammar that is particularly prone to non-convergence (Sorace, 2011). The proposed reason for this, as will be elaborated on in Chapter 2, is that linguistic tasks that involve the integration of discourse information into the syntactic structure are difficult for L2 learners due to high demands on processing resources. However, evidence for a generalized interface-related deficit is not reported, as not all syntax-discourse phenomena are problematic. Other factors should be studied to gain further insights into the specific conditions that facilitate or hinder L2 acquisition of discourse-syntax phenomena, such as the role of the L1.

Transfer of properties of the native language contributes to the relative ease or difficulty in acquiring native-like L2 competence; while positive transfer is helpful, negative L1 trans-fer can impede L2 learning. While there exists ample evidence from other domains of the

grammar that systematic errors that L2 learners make are often attributable to L1 transfer, studies that systematically study this factor relating to discourse dependent syntactic constructions are more limited (with the exception of, for example, Hopp (2009) who reports convergence with the target language (TL) for speakers whose L1 realizes grammatical features related to discourse driven word order optionality in the same way as the TL and Bohnacker and Rosen (2008), Valenzuela (2005) and Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) who report L1 transfer effects in L2 performance). Specifically, this thesis is concerned with the question of whether and how L2 learners reconfigure discourse contexts when the L2 differs from the L1 in the discourse contexts i n which that syntactic construction is used. This thesis attempts to answer this question by investigating the discourse constraints on Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) in Italian and Romanian, as these languages differ in the discourse contexts that permit CLLD. The sentences in (1-a) and (1-b) show an example of CLLD in Italian and Romanian respectively, embedded in a context that renders this construction felicitous.

(1)   Cristian and Lara invited Mario for dinner. The dinner is served on the terrace and everything is delicious. Mario would like to compliment Lara and says:

Who prepared the fish and who made the soup?

a.   Il   pesce **l'**   ho   preparato io e   Cristiano ha fatto la   zuppa.
The fish   cl.m.3sg have prepared   I and Cristiano has made the soup.
'I made the fish and Cristian made the soup.'   **Italian**

b.   Peştele **l-**   am   pregătit eu iar Cristi a   făcut supa.
Fish-the cl.m.3sg- have prepared I   and Cristi has made soup.
'I made the fish and Cristian made the soup.'   **Romanian**

In the particular context shown here, the clitic is obligatory in both languages. Importantly, however, the presence of an overt clitic is motivated by different discourse factors in Italian and Romanian. In Italian, a resumptive clitic after left dislocation of a direct object is obligatory when this object is discourse anaphoric (the object is the discourse topic of the sentence). In Romanian, the presence of a clitic is determined by specificity; left dislocated

specific objects, which have a specific referent in the discourse, require a clitic and non-specific objects disallow a clitic. Italian is insensitive as to whether the fronted object is specific and in Romanian it is irrelevant whether the fronted object is a discourse anaphor or not.

This thesis compares the L2 acquisition of speakers with different native languages to examine the role of (persistent) L1 transfer effects. Data will be presented from the L2 acquisition of Italian CLLD, comparing the performance of L1 Romanian L2 learners of Italian to that of L1 English L2 learners of Italian. The two native languages were chosen with L1 transfer in mind: while Romanian uses CLLD, this construction is not part of the English grammar. The learning task of L2 Italian speakers involves restricting the use of CLLD to left dislocated topics. Assuming that the L1 instantiates the starting point of L2 acquisition (following Schwartz and Sprouse's (1996) Full Transfer, Full Access model), the precise L2 acquisition process is predicted to differ for the two L1 groups due to differences between Romanian and English. While the L1 English group has to acquire the syntactic mechanisms involved with CLLD and restrict its use to left dislocation of discourse topics, the L1 Romanian group already has knowledge of the constraints and factors that license the use of CLLD in their L1. Their task involves removing the specificity requirement on CLLD and replacing it with an anaphoricity requirement.

In order to make precise predictions about the learning task of L2 learners and the differences between Italian and Romanian, I will follow the assumption that *specificity* and *anaphoricity* are features assigned to the clitic and shared with the associated left dislocated object (elaborating on López (2009)). The view on L1 transfer in this thesis is based on Lardiere's (2009) Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH) which proposes that L2 learners transfer formal linguistic features (represented within words and morphemes) of the L1 to the L2. In cases where the one-to-one initial mapping of form to meaning (the features) is unsuccessful, as is the case for the Romanian-Italian combination, L2 learners will have to reorganize the grammatical system, i.e. reassemble the features involved.

In addition, the differences between Italian and Romanian allow for testing the effects of the L2 input in circumstances in which overcoming L1 transfer effects may be hindered. Namely, the task of the Romanian learners of Italian involves learning that Italian uses a clitic in a context which is not allowed in the L1 and also unlearning use of clitics in a context where their L1 would use a clitic. It will be hypothesized that, if unlearning an L1 syntactic option cannot be achieved on the basis of positive evidence, L1 transfer effects may not be overcome. In consequence, feature reconfiguration is not successful. The data from the Romanian learners of Italian turn out to be in line with this hypothesis. To further test this hypothesis, the thesis also presents results from a pilot study on the L2 acquisition of Romanian CLLD by native speakers of Italian and English. By reversing the L1 and the L2 we hope to gain more refined insights into feature remapping and the role of the input.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 lays out the relevant Second Language Acquisition theories on which the predictions of the current study are based. A particular focus is placed on the reconfiguration of discourse properties associated with CLLD, extending the general ideas developed in the FRH to the syntax-discourse interface. Chapter 3 presents in detail the distribution of overt resumptive clitics in sentences with non-canonical object fronted word orders in Romanian and Italian. In addition, the chapter presents a syntax of information structure developed by López (2009), which provides an analysis of how [± anaphoric] and [± specific] are features that can be assigned to clitics and their agreeing left dislocated objects in Romance languages. López's (2009) analysis correctly captures the data from Italian, but a modification will be presented to capture the features associated with Romanian CLLD. Chapter 4 provides a background on earlier related studies testing the L2 acquisition of semantic and discourse constraints on constructions with object fronting as well as the role of the L2 input in overcoming L1 transfer effects. In Chapter 5, I present the results of two experiments (an Acceptability Judgment task and a Written Elicitation task) on the L2 acquisition of the *anaphoricity* constraint in Italian by native speakers of

Romanian and English. Two different proficiency levels (high intermediate/advanced versus near-native) will be compared to examine any developmental pattern: Do Romanian L2 learners of Italian first map their L1 features to the CLLD construction before reconfiguring the discourse properties associated with Italian CLLD? Chapter 6 presents data from a pilot study on L2 Romanian by speakers of Italian and English. The results of this pilot experiment help to establish a more conclusive interpretation of the results from the L2 Italian experiments with respect to the role of input. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the main findings of the thesis in light of the predictions made for feature reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface. The chapter furthermore presents ideas for future research.

CHAPTER 2
Second Language Acquisition at the Syntax-Discourse Interface

2.1 Introduction

The current study is concerned with the role of L1 transfer in the acquisition of discourse constraints on Italian Clitic Left Dislocation. The role of the L1 is a core factor studied in second language acquisition research, but it has been relatively understudied with phenomena at the discourse-syntax interface. Section 2.2 elaborates on L1 transfer and discusses theories that are concerned with the question under which circumstances transfer of L1 properties can hinder successful L2 acquisition. In the section thereafter, one of these theories, the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH) (Lardiere, 2008, 2009) will be discussed in more detail. In the current thesis, the general reasoning from the FRH will be adopted to investigate whether and how L2 learners transfer and reconfigure the discourse features that are associated with a particular discourse dependent syntactic construction such as Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian and Romanian.

In addition, Section 2.4 will provide an overview of studies conducted within the Interface Hypothesis (IH) as put forward by Sorace and colleagues (Sorace and Filiaci, 2006; Sorace and Serratrice, 2009; Sorace, 2011). The reason for doing so is because L2 acquisition of syntax-discourse interface properties, and in particular ultimate attainment in this domain, has been studied mainly in light of the IH. Although this thesis does not present a test case for the Interface Hypothesis, a brief introduction is provided in order to understand the context of the research questions of this thesis. Specifically, the IH states that external interfaces, such as syntax-discourse, which require the integration of grammar external information onto the syntax, are more problematic than internal interfaces, such as syntax-semantics, and suggests that discourse constraints on syntax are never fully acquired. In

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performance, divergence from the target language is reflected in higher error rates, optionality, and indeterminate knowledge. However, research on ultimate attainment of phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface has provided evidence both in favour and against this claim. Taking the results from a large variety of different studies together, it seems clear that the full picture is not this simple and the generalizations drawn from the IH are too broad (see also Rothman and Slabakova (2011)). That is, not all phenomena pertaining to the syntax-discourse interface are (equally) problematic. In fact, whether target language convergence is possible depends on various (interacting) factors, including specific properties of the phenomenon under consideration, structural complexity affecting the required processing demands to compute the syntactic construction and the effects of the first language. Moving away from a general deficit involving all phenomena that involve the integration of discourse with syntax, Section 2.4 emphasizes the need for investigating the different (interacting) factors that implicate relative ease or difficulty of acquisition. This thesis looks at the role of the L1 and Section 2.5 discusses some earlier studies providing insights into the role of the L1 in persistent difficulties with L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax.

2.2   L1 transfer and unsuccessful L2 acquisition

A core factor addressed within generative second language acquisition research (GenSLA) concerns the influence of the native language; systematic errors made by L2 learners can often be attributed to properties of their L1. Two important questions regarding the effects of L1 transfer on L2 acquisition are the following:

1. Does the L1 constitute the initial state of the L2 acquisition process?
2. Can ultimate attainment be permanently delimited by properties of the L1?

With respect to the initial state, there exists ample support for full transfer of the native language (see Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996; Hawkins and Chan, 1997, as well as White

(2003) for an overview). In this thesis it will be assumed that the L1 mappings between a linguistic form and its meaning indeed form the point of departure for L2 acquisition. The second question is of interest to the current research project: we will be examining whether L1 effects can be overcome at the discourse-syntax interface or whether L1 influence may be permanent, leading to fossilization. Assuming that the native tongue forms the initial basis for L2 acquisition, a crucial aspect is that the learning task can differ depending on the L1 of the learner. In consequence, whether or not an L2er will attain native-like proficiency may differ across speakers from different L1 backgrounds.

An important question posed in the GenSLA literature is whether there are certain grammatical phenomena that are more vulnerable to non-convergence and whether this vulnerability is tied to the L1. Various theories attribute an important role to the L1 in predicting whether native like end-state grammars are possible. To just name a few, within the domain of morphosyntax, the Representational Deficit Hypothesis (Hawkins, 2003; Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou, 2007) states that uninterpretable morphosyntactic features are not acquirable if those features weren't already part of the learner's native language. The Prosodic Transfer Hypothesis (Goad et al., 2003; Goad and White, 2004, 2006, 2008) predicts that functional morphology in the L2 may remain non-native like if the prosodic representation for attaching morphemes required in the L2 does not exist in the L1. Earlier versions of the Interface Hypothesis (e.g. Sorace, 2003) assumed L1 effects to play a role as well, arguing that a syntactic construction that involves the integration of discourse information onto the syntax may not be fully acquirable if this mapping does not exist in the L1. This is contrary to the later versions discussed in Section 2.4, where optionality at the syntax-discourse interface is predicted regardless of the L1-L2 combinations involved.[1]   The studies on the

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[1] The claim that transfer is not involved was based on Serratrice et al. (2011) who showed that Spanish learners of Italian (= speakers of two pro-drop languages) differed from the Italian native speakers on the interpretation of overt subject pronouns. However, Filiaci (2010) and Filiaci et al. (2013) compared the performance of native Italian and native Spanish

L2 acquisition of CLLD discussed in Chapter 4 once more illustrate that the L1 plays an important role, as (persistent) performance errors from L2 learners can be attributed to properties of the L1. Finally, the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (FRH), which Section 2.3 elaborates on, predicts that successful acquisition may be hindered or delayed if the L2 feature is realized in a different way to the L1 feature. Under this view, a potential deficit is not due to the impossibility of selecting new L2 features, but is located at the reorganization of L2 features onto linguistic forms.

The next section describes the core ideas of the FRH and discusses how this framework can be applied to situations where the L2 learner's task involves establishing the discourse contexts in which a particular syntactic construction is used, which is the case for the Italian-Romanian combination regarding Clitic Left Dislocation.

2.3   Feature reassembly Hypothesis

The FRH (Lardiere, 2008, 2009) builds upon the Minimalist idea (Chomsky, 1998, 2000, 2001) that lexical items are constructed from matrices of features (phonological, formal and semantic features). Features represent properties of human languages, which are argued to be universal. A semantic feature is often described as "a minimal contrastive element of a word's meaning" (Crystal, 2008, p.427). "A morphosyntactic feature is a property of words

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speakers and found that native Spanish speakers allow an overt pronoun in some contexts where Italian native speakers prefer a null pronoun. Specifically, Spanish overt pronouns co-refer with both topic and non-topic antecedents, while in Italian overt pronouns are more strongly biased towards the non-topic antecedent. The results in Serratrice et al. (2011) are thus better analyzed as effects of L1 transfer. Furthermore, learners for whom the L1 and L2 behave alike can benefit from the similarities. Evidence for this comes from object over subject scrambling for L1 Russian L2 learners of German in Hopp (2009), object scrambling across adverbs and object fronting for L1 German learners of Dutch in Smeets (2017) and from findings on the interpretation of null and overt pronouns in Croatian L2 learners of Italian in Kraš (2008). These results suggest that the difficulties with integrating discourse information into the syntax are not necessarily due to a general decreased L2 ability in processing interface phenomena. Rather, the L1 can be beneficial.

that the syntax is sensitive to and which may determine the particular shape that a word has" (Adger, 2003, p.24). Cross-linguistic variation can be understood as differences in the lexical encoding of features and their "bundling" into lexical items and functional categories (Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997).

Lardiere's (2009) Feature Reassembly Hypothesis relies on this bundling of features and focuses on the differences between languages in how they assemble features onto particular lexical items or morphemes. In fact, the FRH offered a new direction for research surrounding the second language acquisition of morphology. Specifically, the FRH assumes that the L2 acquisition process occurs in two stages. There is a mapping stage where L2 learners apply their L1 feature specifications onto the L2 grammar and a reassembly stage where L2 learners reconfigure their feature organizations. In the mapping stage, L2ers "look for morpholexical correspondences in the L2 to those in their L1, presumably on the basis of semantic meaning or grammatical function (the phonetic matrices will obviously differ)" (Lardiere, 2009, p:91). In the reassembly stage, L2 learners can modify their L1 feature representations by adding or deleting features on the basis of the L2 input. This reassembly stage, which is required if the L1 specifications differ from those of the L2, is predicted to be hard for L2 learners.

As will be explained below, the FRH has mainly been concerned with morphological competence in the L2. In particular, the focus has been on acquisition contexts where certain features do not have the same morpholexical expressions in the L1 and the L2, investigating how L2 learners consequently change configurations of functional categories from the way they are in the L1 to L2 configurations and map those on L2 morphemes. To test the FRH, the aim is to find situations where universal meanings (represented as features) are expressed differently in the L1 and the L2. It is important to note that form-meaning mappings and the way features are expressed cross-linguistically can differ between languages in various ways. A few different cases will be discussed below with the intention of showing that "feature reassembly" can occur in several different ways, allowing a broad interpretation of the FRH.

To illustrate one type of Feature Reassembly, languages can differ in that the same set of features is expressed in one language with 2 morphemes and the other with 1 morpheme. For example, testing semantic features, Choi (2009) and Choi and Lardiere (2006) study English learners of L2 Korean as these languages differ in the features that are associated with WH-words: while fronted WH-words in English are inherently [+Q], in Korean this property needs to be expressed with an overt affix on the verb. Without the affix, the WH-word has the interpretation of the quantifier expression *something*. Thus, Korean WH-words are [+WH] and [+Q] in Korean is expressed with a different morpheme, while English WH-words are [+WH, +Q]. L2 learners of Korean overgeneralized the [+Q] feature to structures that lacked the verbal affix. In other words, they applied an L1 feature to the L2 WH-word. Similarly, testing pragmatic features, Mortazavinia (2018) studied how Persian and English differ in the features associated with *Even*. While the English word *Even* has both a scalar and an additive presupposition (when placed in prenominal position), the additive component needs to be expressed in Persian with a separate overt lexical item. She showed that L2 learners indeed initially mapped their L1 feature specifications onto the L2 grammar.

A different approach to the FRH is presented by Cho and Slabakova (2014). Instead of taking translation equivalents that have slightly different meanings because of the associated features in the languages under consideration, they investigate a type of Feature Reassembly involving the acquisition of different expressions of the same semantic feature. Specifically, they look at how the feature [± definite] is expressed differently in Russian, Korean and English and investigate the L2 acquisition of two expressions of definiteness in Russian by native speakers of English and Korean. Namely, Russian expresses definiteness covertly (with word order) as well as overtly (as morphological markers on possessor-modifiers). The main goal of this study was to gain further insights into what kind of features are easier to acquire than others; the authors developed a scale of predictions representing different levels of difficulty depending on whether the L1 and the L2 features were presented overtly

or covertly. One of their findings was that it was more challenging to reassemble features that are expressed overtly in the L1 and covertly in the L2 than the other way around.

Lardiere (2013) discusses another situation to which the reasoning of the FRH approach can be applied, namely one where the L2 employs different co-occurring features under different conditioning environments. Yuan (2010) examines the acquisition of *shenme* by English and Japanese L2 learners of Korean. *Shenme* can either mean "what" (a wh-word) or "thing" (a quantifier expression) depending on how it is licensed in the sentence. Yuan (2010) shows that, among other things, even the very advanced L2 learners did not acquire certain particles as licensers that affect the meaning of *shenme*. Lardiere (2013, p.8) argues that the results fit the Feature Reassembly Approach "because the pertinent L2 features are realized in different ways for different types of lexical items, with different co-occurring features under different conditioning environments."

In this study I aim to take the general ideas of the FRH and explore its applicability to other domains of the grammar. As Cho and Slabakova (2014) write, 'Feature Reassembly' stands for figuring out different conditioning environments for the expressions of grammatical meanings. The Feature Reassembly framework can be extended beyond the mapping of features to individual lexical items or morphemes. As will be explained in detail in Chapter 3, we will be looking at a situation where the L1 and the L2 map different discourse features to a syntactic configuration, namely Clitic Left Dislocation. Even though Italian and Romanian CLLD constructions are similar on the surface, they are felicitous in different discourse contexts. This situation is to some extent different from morphological issues to which the FRH has typically been applied. Namely, discourse related features, such as topic, focus and contrastiveness, are not features realized on lexical items. Instead, they are encoded in the syntax (under cartographic approaches), at the interface between syntax and information structure (as in Neeleman et al. (2007)) or feature driven, as in López (1994). The latter will be assumed here and explained in detail in Chapter 3. In other words, discourse features are licensed in specific word orders. Note that this view is similar to some other studies

where word order also affects interpretation, for example Cho and Slabakova (2014), discussed earlier in this section, on the interpretation of definiteness on the basis of word order in L2 Russian. To further explain the idea of feature reconfiguration at the discourse-syntax interface, two previously studied cases will be discussed in section 2.5 where the L1 and L2 differ in the discourse contexts in which a particular syntactic construction is used. However, we will first take a step back and discuss earlier studies on the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax in the next section, which have been studied in light of the Interface Hypothesis.

2.4 Interface Hypothesis - An overview

Most studies testing the Interface Hypothesis (IH) have examined the mappings between syntax and discourse, as the latter is the domain typically associated with the external interfaces (White, 2009). The Interface Hypothesis (Sorace and Filiaci, 2006; Sorace and Serratrice, 2009; Sorace, 2011) has been proposed to capture the results of several studies suggesting incomplete mastery of discourse-to-syntax mappings as opposed to mappings of internal interfaces such as the syntax-semantics interface, in near-native L2 learners and other groups such as bilingual child acquirers and heritage speakers.

Initially, the IH was put forward to explain the asymmetric overuse of overt pronouns by English near-native speakers of Italian, a pro-drop language, in contexts where native speakers prefer the use of a null pronoun. It was found that while formal features relating to narrow syntax are acquired successfully, difficulties related to establishing the morphosyntactic mechanisms that are involved in expressing discourse factors. That is, studies on the acquisition of the pro-drop parameter showed that L2 learners (L1 English) acquired the formal features that license null pronouns in Spanish and Italian (e.g. Liceras (1989); Lozano (2002b)), but persistent deficits were attested when L2 learners were required to decide between null and overt pronouns based on discourse factors (e.g Lozano, 2002a; Montrul and Rodriguez-Louro, 2006; Sorace and Filiaci, 2006; Sorace and Serratrice, 2009). Another

study by Belletti et al. (2007) on subject-verb inversion, a construction which in Italian is only felicitous in subject focus contexts, revealed insensitivity to discourse even in advanced L2 learners. The attested difficulties were generalized to "the Syntax-Discourse Interface" as a whole.

The proponents of the IH attribute the performance differences between native speakers and L2 learners to processing factors. Specifically, the most recent version of the IH states that the knowledge representation of L2 learners is not in question. Sorace (2011) argues that both syntactic and pragmatic conditions are acquirable, but the integration of syntactic and discourse information remains less than optimally efficient and gives rise to optionality. The reason for this, she explains, is that L2ers need to inhibit their other language(s), which takes attentional resources away from linguistic tasks. Performance differences surface in particular when the integration between discourse and syntax is involved because "structures requiring the integration of syntactic knowledge and knowledge from other domains [external discourse information in particular] require more processing resources than structures requiring only syntactic knowledge." Sorace and Serratrice (2009, :199). There is convincing evidence that discourse phenomena are associated with greater processing costs than phenomena involving logical form (LF) dependencies (Reuland, 2011). Additionally, multiple studies support the claim that L2 sentence comprehension is different from that of native speakers as a result of difficulty with integrating multiple sources of information (e.g. Hahne, 2001; Hopp, 2006; McDonald, 2006). The hypothesis, however, does not consider other factors contributing to the relative ease or difficulty of acquiring discourse-syntax interface phenomena, such as effects of L1 transfer. In fact, as already stated in Section 2.2, the IH predicts a very limited role for the L1 as the processing effects discussed above are argued to be the consequence of bilingualism and thus, even when L1 and L2 strategies are the same, positive transfer is not predicted to be helpful.

A great deal of fruitful research followed from the Interface Hypothesis. A generalized conclusion that can be drawn is that although the constructions involved are complex, successful convergence with the target language is possible for some phenomena and for some learner groups. This means that performance differences between native and L2 speakers cannot be attributed to processing factors alone. Let us briefly consider the conflicting findings reported in the literature.

Research on the L2 acquisition of the null versus overt subject pronoun distribution in pro-drop languages shows that only a subset of studies support the IH. The IH predicts that syntactic properties are less problematic than discourse properties and thus that L2 learners acquire the syntax of null subjects but show a persistent overuse of overt pronouns in contexts where native speakers would use a null pronoun. In accordance with the IH, Sorace and Filiaci (2006), Belletti et al. (2007) testing English learners of Italian, Madeira et al. (2009) on L2 Portuguese (by native speakers of German or English) and Tsimpli and Sorace (2006) testing Russian learners of Greek all reported an overuse of overt subject pronouns in L2 pro-drop languages even in the advanced or near-native stages. Similar results were found in other bilingual populations, such as Tsimpli et al. (2004) on L1 attrition (L1 Greek/Italian, L2 English) and Serratrice et al. (2004), Sorace and Serratrice (2009) and Sorace et al. (2009) on English-Italian simultaneous bilingual acquisition. To the contrary, however, both Montrul and Rodriguez-Louro (2006) and Rothman (2009) (for his intermediate L2ers of Spanish) found an overuse of overt pronouns in contexts where a null pronoun should be used (as expected by the IH), as well as an overuse of null pronouns in contexts in which native speakers would use an overt pronoun (which is not expected by the IH). Furthermore, using an acceptability judgment task, Rothman (2009) reported that the advanced learners in his study did not differ from the native speakers in their acceptance rates of sentences with null and overt pronouns depending on the discourse context. Similarly, several studies by Zhao (2011, 2012, 2014) report successful acquisition of the distribution of null and overt arguments driven by [± topic] in L2 Mandarin by native speakers of English.

Studies on the acquisition of discourse driven non-canonical word orders also report findings supporting and rejecting the IH. Studies on L2 Spanish and L2 Italian investigating discourse constraints on subject-verb inversion, which is felicitous in Italian and Spanish only in contexts with subject focus, showed that while native speakers strongly prefer verb-subject word orders in subject focus contexts, the L2 learners did not differentiate between subject-verb and verb-subject word orders (Belletti and Leonini (2004), Belletti et al. (2007) testing English learners of Italian and Lozano (2006) testing Greek learners of Spanish). Hopp (2004) showed that English learners of German scrambling do not correctly restrict scrambling to specific discourse contexts, but Hopp (2009) shows that English learners of German are sensitive to discourse constraints on subject-object inversion in the German middlefield. Furthermore, Bohnacker (2007) and Bohnacker and Rosen (2008) found that Swedish advanced learners of German did not fully acquire the discourse constraints on movement into the German prefield. On the other hand, studies investigating discourse constraints on Clitic Left Dislocation show full convergence with the target language (but see Valenzuela (2005) on unsuccessful acquisition of semantic constraints on CLLD). Namely, convergence with the target language is found in studies testing different L2's (where the L1 is always English), including Donaldson (2011) for L2 French, Ivanov (2009a, 2012) on L2 Bulgarian and Slabakova et al. (2012) on L2 Spanish. Leal et al. (2017) showed that, using a self-paced reading task, with increased proficiency English L2 learners of Spanish processed CLLD constructions similarly to native speakers; in contexts with fronted topics, L2ers expected a clitic in the preverbal position following the left dislocated object. Additional evidence against the IH comes from successful acquisition of discourse constraints on clefts and focus constructions in L2 French (Donaldson, 2012), Focus fronting in L2 English (Slabakova, 2015) as well as L2 Dutch (Smeets, 2018) and L2 German (Hopp et al., 2018) and Focus Fronting, Clitic Left Dislocation and Clitic Right Dislocation in L2 Spanish (Domínguez and Arche, 2014; Slabakova et al., 2011, 2012).

In addition, studies comparing the performance of the same learners with different constructions show that (un)successful acquisition follows from an interaction of different (unrelated) effects. Laleko and Polinsky (2016), for example, show that although interface phenomena pose greater challenges than phenomena within narrow syntax, L2 learners' deficits also follow from the structural complexity involved as well as the memory demands needed for interpretation of a sentence in a particular discourse context. This suggests that not all discourse related tasks are equally difficult. Additionally, Hopp (2004) reports failure to acquire German scrambling of objects over subjects by English native speakers, while they behave like native speakers on topicalization. Similarly, in Smeets (2018) I show that English L2 learners of Dutch acquire the discourse constraints on focus fronting to the Dutch prefield, but not those on scrambling across adverbs. In addition, frequency of a construction in the input as well as detectability of the relevant discourse cue are important factors that contribute to acquisition complexity (Slabakova, 2015). Chapter 4 further discusses effects of the available input on (un)succesful acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax.

In summary, the Interface Hypothesis has proven to be a fruitful starting point for explaining the unsuccessful acquisition associated with phenomena at the interface between syntax and discourse. As has previously been pointed out in the generative SLA literature, however, the generalizations drawn within the Interface Hypothesis are too broad. White (2009), for example, already questioned whether there are principled reasons to believe that linguistic phenomena at the same interface are necessarily equally difficult.[2]   The large quantity and variety of studies conducted in relation to the IH allow us to develop and examine more fine grained analyses. The next section focuses on two studies on the acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax whose findings suggest persistent L1 effects even in the

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[2] An additional issue is that some phenomena may not clearly fall within a particularly defined interface (Montrul, 2011), making it hard to form predictions about interface specific deficits.

advanced stages.

2.5 Feature reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface

Studies on the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax have tested L1-L2 pairings where the L1 (often English) does not allow the discourse dependent syntactic construction that needs to be acquired in the L2. The learning task then involves acquiring the syntactic mechanism that drives a discourse marked word order and restricts its use to the right discourse contexts. In other words, they need to select the correct L2 discourse features. L1 effects are attested with these studies as well, but note that the focus of the current thesis is different. In earlier studies it has been found, for example, that L2 learners (especially at lower proficiency levels) at times prefer constructions that resemble L1 syntactic options. For example, Leal et al. (2018) showed that English L2 learners of Spanish in a speeded production task use focus movement with Object Focus (=moving the focused constituent to sentence final position) less frequently than native speakers. Instead, the learners chose an in-situ word order, possibly because this is the only possible word order in English (and also used in Spanish). A different example involves transfer of properties of the L1 onto a functionally equivalent construction in the L2. As will be elaborated on in Chapter 4, for example, it has been found that Spanish learners of English transfer properties of Spanish CLLD, namely the use of a resumptive element, to English Topicalization.

The Romanian-Italian L1-L2 pairing tested in this thesis allows for investigation of a different type of L1 transfer. Specifically, two languages are compared which allow the same syntactic configuration, but this construction is felicitous in different discourse contexts. In this learning situation, L2 learners have to associate the relevant syntactic option with different discourse contexts. In other words, they have to map different discourse features onto the syntax. Although, to my knowledge, no study has explicitly investigated whether L2

learners can reconfigure discourse features associated with a particular syntactic construction, the results of the following two studies provide useful insights.

Hopp (2009). The first example of a study which systematically compared three groups of learners with different L1s on the acquisition of a property that involves discourse driven movement is Hopp (2009) on the acquisition of object scrambling in German. L2 learners of German were asked to judge the acceptability of sentences with object over subject scrambling in the middle field, which is constrained by the discourse. In German, although marginally accepted, objects can be placed above a subject when the scrambled object is the topic of the clause and the preverbal subject is focused, as shown in (1). However, object scrambling is not possible in structures with object focus, as the infelicity of (2) shows.

(1)   a.   Wer hat den Vater geschlagen?/ Who hit the father?

   b.   Ich glaube, dass [den   Vater]$_i$ der   ONKEL t_i geschlagen hat.
        I   believe, that the.acc father the.nom uncle t_i hit   has.
        'I believe the uncle hit the father.

(2)   a.   Wen hat der Onkel geschlagen?/ Who did the uncle hit?

   b. #Ich glaube, dass [den   VATER]$_i$ der   Onkel t_i geschlagen hat.
        I   believe, that the.acc father   the.nom uncle t_i hit   has.
        'I believe the uncle hit the father.

Hopp (2009) compared three groups of learners with different L1s: English, Russian and Dutch. While Russian and Dutch both allow scrambling, Dutch does not allow scrambling of the type in (1) in the same discourse contexts; Russian behaves the same as German on this construction. English does not allow this syntactic construction at all. Dutch differs from German because Dutch only marginally allows object scrambling in a particular set of contexts, namely those with focus scrambling (here a contrastive topic configuration) as in (3). Crucially, this word order is infelicitous when the object is a (non-contrastive) discourse topic and the subject is in focus, the context under investigation in Hopp (2009).

(3)   dat [ZULke boeken]$_i$ zelfs JAN t_i niet koopt.
       that [such   books]$_i$ even Jan t_i not buys
       that not even Jan buys SUCH books.

Reported in Hopp (2009), from Neeleman (1994) p.84

Results from an Acceptability Judgment task showed that both the Russian and the English near-native speakers, but not the participants in the Dutch group, performed like the native German speakers. A possible explanation the author presents for the non-native performance of the L1 Dutch group is that the available L1 mappings (i.e. focus scrambling) remain present in the L2. This relates to the observation that the learning task of the L1 English learner is notably different from the L1 Dutch learner. The L1 English learner of German first has to acquire the availability of object movement and additionally the discourse contexts in which this movement is felicitous. Importantly, it is logically impossible for this learner to experience L1 transfer in the discourse properties associated with this syntactic construction because the syntactic word order is not allowed in the L1 to begin with. However, if the L1 allows a non-canonical word order that is grammatical in a specific discourse context, but the conditions of Information Structure in the first language are different than those of the target language, then the available L1 mappings may remain in the Interlanguage Grammar. It is thus possible that for the L1 Dutch group the association of scrambled object-subject orders with a contrastive topic information structure persists during the L2 acquisition process, as a result of transfer from the L1.

If we then look into the differences between German and Dutch in terms of features, the learning task of a Dutch L2 learner of German would be as follows: Dutch and German both allow object over subject scrambling in the middle field when the object is a contrastive topic and the subject in focus, as shown in (3) for Dutch. German apparently does not require the object to be both [+topic] and [+contrastive], as shown in (1). For the Dutch learner to reconfigure the discourse conditions that allow this non-canonical word order, they have to change the requirement for the object from [+topic, +contrastive] to [+topic]. The English learner of German does not have to reconfigure any discourse features/constraints, but

simply has to acquire from the input the discourse features needed to make subject-object inversion felicitous.

Bohnacker and Rosen (2008). We can extend this line of reasoning to the findings reported in Bohnacker and Rosen (2008), who examined the use of the verb-second (V2) construction in German by native speakers of Swedish. This study focused on the different constituents that are allowed in the first position of a V2 clause in German and Swedish. Although both German and Swedish are V2 languages, the authors found that the frequency of prefield constituent types differs between the two languages: whereas Swedish prefers to place topics and constituents with low informational value such as expletives in the first position, German more frequently occupies this position with constituents that carry new information. This means that in both languages a declarative sentence with a canonical word order would place the subject in first position and in both languages the subject is most often the topic of the sentence. Yet subject-initial clauses are more frequent in Swedish than in German and object initial clauses are more frequent in German than in Swedish. For example, the object is fronted more often in German when this constituent is the focus. Bohnacker and Rosen (2008) collected both written data (compositions written in language classes) and oral data (a monologue on a given topic, as described in Bohnacker (2005, 2007)) from second language learners of German in Sweden varying in level from beginner to advanced. The authors find evidence for L1-transfer of information structure, even in the advanced stages. This leads to a non-idiomatic word order as the learners apply the word order patterns from Swedish in their German constructions. The two languages differ only in the information structural constraints that are associated with non-canonical constituents in the prefield position of a V2 language. The hypothesis discussed in Section 2.3 then would predict that speakers of an L1 that doesn't have prefield fronting would experience less difficulty in figuring out the associated discourse constraints. No study has been conducted comparing Swedish to English learners of German, for example, but other studies suggest

target language convergence for English learners of German (as reported in Hopp et al., 2018) and English learners of the V2 language Dutch (as reported in Smeets, 2018). Although the methodologies used differ from those in Bohnacker and Rosen (2008), Hopp et al. (2018) show that English learners of German acquire discourse constraints and frequency distributions associated with fronting of locative and temporal adverbs and objects; similarly, English learners of Dutch in Smeets (2018) acquire discourse constraints on fronting of object to the prefield.

These findings suggest that what may be difficult for L2 learners is not per se acquiring from the input the discourse constraints on syntax, but rather reconfiguring the relevant properties of the grammar that allow a certain discourse dependent non-canonical syntactic configuration.

2.6   Summary

This chapter provided a general overview of L2 acquisition research related to discourse effects on the felicitous use of syntactic constructions. It was argued that although discourse dependent syntactic constructions are often challenging for L2 learners, as argued by the Interface Hypothesis, various other factors need to be studied in order to gain more knowledge about the relative contribution of factors that explain why only some phenomena are acquired to native-like levels and only by some learner groups. This study takes as its basis the well-supported observation that the speaker's knowledge is initially constrained by the native tongue and the interlanguage grammar gradually develops into an L2-like grammar on the basis of positive evidence in the input. The current study is inspired by the ideas from the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis, which is based around the observation that the need of feature reconfiguration from L1 type properties to L2 type properties delays the L2 acquisition process or even leads to fossilization.

Based on earlier studies which found L1 effects in acquiring discourse constraints on syntax, I hypothesized that influence from the native tongue may be difficult to overcome if

the discourse contexts in which a particular syntactic construction is used in the L1 differ from those in the L2. To further test this hypothesis one has to compare languages where the target language (Language A) allows for a certain syntactic operation in specific discourse contexts. Language B allows the same syntactic movement but diverges from the target language in the circumstances/ conditions that trigger the syntactic configuration. Language C doesn't allow the syntactic configuration at all. The prediction is that complete acquisition of the syntax-discourse pattern of Language A is delayed or even impossible to acquire for speakers of Language B but not Language C. The proposed reason for this is that speakers of Language B experience L1 transfer effects on the L2 discourse-syntax mapping configurations that are very difficult to overcome while such transfer effects are not possible for speakers of Language C.

This thesis examines the L2 acquisition of Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian, comparing the L2 knowledge of native speakers of Romanian to native speakers of English. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Italian and Romanian differ in interesting ways in the discourse contexts in which CLLD is allowed. English, on the other hand, does not allow CLLD and therefore the need for feature reconfiguration does not apply to speakers of this group.

CHAPTER 3
Properties of CLLD in Italian and Romanian

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the distribution of overt resumptive clitics in sentences with object initial word orders in Romanian and Italian. As illustrated in (1-a) for Italian and (1-b) for Romanian, both languages allow Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). However, as will be made clear in this chapter, the contexts in which CLLD occurs differ between the two languages in interesting ways.

(1) a. [Il   divano]$_i$ *(l')ho   messo t_i in soggiorno,   ma il   tavolo si
         The couch   *(cl.acc.m.sg')have put t_i in living room, but the table   REFL
         è rotto   durante il   trasporto.
         is broken during   the transportation
         'The couch I put in the living room, but the table broke during transportation.'
         Italian

     b. [Canapeaua]$_i$ am   pus-*(o) t_i în sufragerie,   dar masa   s-a
         couch.def   have put-*(cl.acc.f.sg) t_i in living room, but table.def REFL-has
         rupt   în timpul transportului.
         broken in time   transportation
         'The couch I put in the living room, but the table broke during transportation.'
         Romanian

In Italian, an overt clitic is used when the fronted object is a *discourse anaphor*, also referred to as an anaphor or discourse topic. In Romanian, the discourse status of the fronted constituent is irrelevant. Instead, the construction is associated with specificity, as CLLD is only used with fronting of *specific objects*.

Section 3.2 focuses on the features associated with CLLD in Italian and in Romanian, providing evidence for the above mentioned differences between the two languages. Furthermore, in order to make clear predictions about the acquisition task of second language

learners relating to the Italian-Romanian comparison, it is important to analyze whether the relevant features are associated with clitics more generally or specific to CLLD constructions. It will be shown that while the ban on overt clitics with a non-specific referent is more generally applied to Romanian clitics, the anaphoricity requirement on Italian overt clitics is a property specific to Italian CLLD. In order to provide a complete picture of properties of resumptive clitics, this section also discusses clitics used with differential object marking in Romanian (a construction which is not used in Italian).

Section 3.3 presents the theoretical framework regarding the grammaticalization of discourse features as developed by López (2009). Specifically, López (2009) developed a derivational approach to information structure where left dislocated objects carry features like [± anaphoric], [± contrast] and/or [± specific]. In line with Slabakova et al. (2012), we adopt López's (2009) grammaticalization of features. Section 3.4 therefore discusses the exact definitions of *specificity* and *anaphoricity* as used in López (2009) and paraphrases how and where these features are assigned in the syntactic derivation. Because López's (2009) account does not completely capture the Romanian data, a modification will be discussed in section 3.4.2.

3.2 Clitics in Left Dislocation constructions

This section describes the distribution of clitics in object left dislocation constructions in Romanian and Italian. The main conclusions that will be drawn are that (1) Italian CLLD is linked to discourse anaphoricity and (2) that Romanian CLLD is linked to specificity. In order to present a complete picture that allows us to make specific predictions for L2 acquisition, the syntactic distinction between Focus fronting and Topic fronting will be discussed as well as the question of whether the specificity requirement in Romanian is a property of the clitic in this language or specific to CLLD constructions.

3.2.1 The role of *anaphoricity*

Dislocations are a syntactic means to express the pragmatic function of the dislocated constituent. Clitic Left Dislocation in most Romance languages, such as Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, but also other languages such as Greek and Bulgarian, is typically associated with left dislocation of contrastive topics.[1] The dislocated object is the topic of conversation that the rest of the sentence provides new information about. According to López (2009), the dislocate in CLLD constructions is associated with the discourse feature [+anaphoric], as the dislocate is anaphorically related to an antecedent in the discourse. Consider the sentences in (2-a) for Italian and (2-b) for Romanian, where *the ring* is introduced as a topic of conversation. Section 3.3.2 will discuss in more detail what is understood under an anaphoric relation, but for now it suffices to see that the dislocate, *the ring*, has been introduced as the topic of conversation in the immediate preceding context.

Let us first look at an example of CLLD in a context where the fronted object is a contrastive topic. The sentences in (2-a) for Italian and (2-b) for Romanian show examples of contrastive topic fronting where *the ring* is used anaphorically and is contrasted to *the bracelet*. The examples show that, in this particular context, the use of a resumptive clitic is obligatory, both in Romanian and in Italian.

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[1] CLLD constructions in Italian are contrastive topic constructions, which typically invoke additional questions ((Buring, 1997), see also Wagner (2012)). Felicitous use of CLLD involves multiple contrastive topics, where each of the contrastive topics is a partial answer to a broader question introduced in the context, which in (2) is *Who bought what?*. A complete analysis of the syntax of contrastive topics is outside the scope of the current thesis. However, it should be mentioned that in order to use CLLD felicitously, all examples and experimental stimuli in this thesis involve answers to a set of contrasting questions (in (2), the set of questions contains *Who bought the ring?* and *Who bought the bracelet*), to avoid any questions being left unanswered. If the question under discussion in (2) were only *Who bought the ring?* and the answer *L'anello l'ha comprato Gianni/ Gianni bought the ring*, the question is answered, but the semantic import of CLLD also invokes a set of additional questions of the type *Who bought what?*, that remain unanswered.

(2)   Context: A group of friends are talking about new jewellery they just bought. One friend asks: Who bought the ring and who bought the bracelet?

   a.   L'anello *(l')ha   comprato Gianni e   il   braccialetto è di Carlotta
        The-ring cl.m.3sg-has bought   John   and the bracelet   is of Carlotta.
        'Ion bought the ring and the bracelet is Carlotta's.'   **Italian**

   b.   Inelul   *(l-)a   cumpărat Ion.....
        ring-the cl.m.3sg-has bought   Ion....
        'Ion bought the ring.....'   **Romanian**

The first important difference between Italian and Romanian, however, is that while Romanian allows CLLD with contrastive topics, as shown in (2-b), its use is not constrained by anaphoricity, unlike Italian. Namely, an important difference between Romanian and Italian is that Romanian CLLD is not restricted to topics. Romanian also requires a clitic when the left dislocated object is a contrastive focus. A typical contexts which requires a contrastive focus is corrective focus, as shown in (3) for Italian and in (4) for Romanian, where the sentence in B asserts that the proposition in A is false. By stating that the ring was bought, it is understood that the bracelet was not bought. The use of a clitic is required in Romanian, but disallowed in Italian (see also Cornilescu (2003) and Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) for similar observations).

(3)   A: Ho   sentito che hai   comprato un braccialetto.
           have.1sg heard   that have.2sg bought   a   bracelet
           'I heard you bought a bracelet.'

      B: Un ANELLO (*l')ho   comprato.
           A   ring   cl.m.sg'have.1sg bought
           'I bought a ring.'   **Italian**

(4)   A: Am   auzit ca ai   cumparat o bratara.
           Have.1sg heard that have.2sg bought   a bracelet
           'I heard you bought a bracelet.'

      B: Un INEL (*l)-am   cumparat.
           A   ring   cl.m.sg-have.1sg bought
           'I bought a ring.'   **Romanian**

Note, however, that the fact that Romanian CLLD is allowed both with topics and foci does not mean that Romanian CLLD is not a discourse restricted word order, unlike what is claimed by Cornilescu (2003). As will be elaborated on in Section 3.3, object initial word orders in the relevant languages Romanian, Italian and English are discourse marked word orders, typically associated with a contrastive interpretation of the fronted object. This means that object fronted constructions as in(5-b) are infelicitous in out of the blue contexts or sentence wide focus contexts as in (5-a) (judgment from Daniela Isac and Ileana Grama, p.c.).

(5)   a.   Ce   s-a întiîmplat?
              What has happened?
              'What happened?'

        b.   #Pe Ion l-a   arestat   politia.
              PE   Ion cl.m.sg-has arrested police.DEF.
              'The police arrested Ion.'

              Cornilescu (2003, example 27, question is my own)

In sum, while CLLD in Italian and Romanian are both discourse marked word orders, only in Italian is the use of a resumptive clitic restricted to anaphoric objects. Romanian CLLD on the other hand is not sensitive to anaphoricity and can be used both with fronting of contrastive topics and contrastive foci. As will be illustrated in section 3.2.3, Romanian CLLD is sensitive to a different distinction. Namely, the presence versus absence of clitics in object fronting constructions is sensitive to whether the fronted object is specific. Before we discuss the role of *specificity*, it is first important to look at some well-known syntactic differences between Topic Fronting and Focus Fronting, the two constructions under consideration in this thesis.

3.2.2 Syntactic differences between topic and focus fronting

Focus Fronting and Topic Fronting differ syntactically on several aspects. These observations are well-known from research on Italian and it will be shown in this section that these restrictions can be extended to Romanian.

Firstly, as illustrated in (6), fronted foci are used in complementary distribution with WH-phrases.[2] As shown in (6) for Italian, WH-movement is not allowed in sentences with Focus Fronting. The same observation holds for Romanian, both with fronted non-specific objects as in (7) and with fronted specific objects which require a resumptive clitic as in (8).

(6)   *(Ieri)   DEI LIBRI   chi   ha comprato?
       (Yesterday) OF BOOKS (who) has bought.
       Intended: 'Who bought BOOKS yesterday.'   **Italian**

(7)   *(Ieri)   CĂRŢI cine   a   cumpărat? Nu dosare.
       (yesterday) books   (who) has bought?   Not binders
       Intended: 'Who bought BOOKS yesterday? Not binders.'   **Romanian**

(8)   *(Ieri)   CĂRŢILE cine   le-a   cumpărat? Nu dosarele.
       yesterday books-the (who) cl.f.3pl-has bought?   Not binders-the.
       Intended: 'Who bought the BOOKS yesterday? Not the binders.' **Romanian**

Topic fronting, on the other hand, allows multiple fronted objects and contrastive topics co-occur in the same sentence with WH-phrases, as the examples in (9-a) and (9-b) show for Italian and those in (10-a) and (10-b) for Romanian. The examples in (9-a) and (10-a) show one fronted topic and a WH-phrase and (9-b) and (10-b) show two fronted objects and a WH-phrase.

(9)   a.   Le mele, chi le   ha dimenticato?
            The apples, who cl.f.3pl has forgotten
            'Who forgot the apples?'

---

[2] Focus fronted constituents are shown in capital letters as they receive focal stress in pronunciation.

b. Il regalo, a Gianni, chi gliel'ha   dato?
The present to John,   who cl.m.dat.3sg-cl.m.acc.3sg'has given
'Who gave the present to John?'   **Italian**

(10)   a.   Merele   cine le-a   uitat?
Apples.the who CL-has.3sg forgotten
'Who forgot the apples?'

b.   Cadoul   pentru Ion, cine i   l-a   dat?
Present.the for   John, who cl.m.dat.3sg cl.m.acc.3sg-has given
'Who gave the present to John?'   **Romanian**

Secondly, there is a verb adjacency requirement for Fronted Foci in both Italian and Romanian which forces the subject to follow rather than precede the verb. As the comparisons between (11-a) and (11-b) for Italian and (12-a) and (12-b) for Romanian show, when a contrastive focus is fronted, the subject cannot move into the preverbal position and obligatorily remains in-situ, surfacing in post-verbal position.[3]

(11)   a.   Una MACCHINA vuole   Victor t_i, non una casa
a car_i want.3sg Victor t_i not a   house

b.   *Una MACCHINA Victor vuole t_j t_i, non una casa
a car_i $Victor_j$ want.3sg t_j t_i not a   house
'Its a car that Victor wants, not a house.'   **Italian**

(12)   a.   MAŞINĂ$_i$ vrea   Victor t_i, nu casă.
car_i want.3SG Victor t_i not house

b. *MAŞINĂ$_i$ Victor$_j$ vrea t_j t_i, nu casă.
car_i $Victor_j$ want.3SG t_j t_i not house
'Its a car that Victor wants, not a house.'   **Romanian**

Alboiu (2002, examples 25a and 26a)

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[3] Following the argument that Romanian is VSO and Italian SVO, the fact that no constituent can intervene between the Fronted Focus and the verb requires an explanation for Italian for how the subject surfaces in a postverbal position in Focus Fronted sentences. Cardinaletti (2001, 2002) argues that subjects can remain in their base generated position in Italian.

Thirdly, the intonation patterns commonly associated with Topic Fronting and Focus fronting are clearly distinct. The focus construction considered throughout this thesis, namely corrective focus, carries a high tone (H*) on the fronted constituent, followed by a default low tone (Jackendoff, 1972; Pierrehumbert, 1980). Contrastive topic configurations are associated with a 'rise-fall-rise' intonation, where the fronted contrastive topic is realized as H or L+H followed by a LH% boundary sequence.

The syntactic differences between Focus Fronting and Topic Fronting are important to keep in mind when discussing the exact learning task in L1 Romanian L2 learners of Italian, which will be elaborated on in Chapter 4. In particular, it is interesting to examine whether the reconfiguration of the relevant features for CLLD occurs for both Topic Fronting and Focus Fronting at the same time, possibly due to surface similarities, or whether the two constructions are analyzed separately by the learner.

3.2.3   The role of *specificity*

This section focuses on the second important difference between Italian and Romanian, namely, the role of specificity on CLLD. Romanian left dislocated object DPs are doubled by a clitic when they are strong (specific or partitive) and the clitic is not allowed when they are weak (non-specific/non-partitive); see also Cornilescu and Dobrovie-Sorin (2008) and Avram and Coene (1999). The distribution of resumptive clitics is therefore subject to a specificity requirement; to use a clitic, the object in CLLD constructions has to be referentially anchored to one particular antecedent. This restriction does not hold for Italian. To illustrate this, consider the examples in (13-a) and (13-b). The fronted object *a mistake* in (13-a) is naturally interpreted as 'any mistake', since the speaker does not have a specific mistake in mind. In this context, the clitic is obligatory in Italian (see (13-a)) but disallowed in Romanian (see (13-b).

(13)   Context: Smart people like John never make mistakes.

a. Un errore,   di   tanto in   tanto, *(lo)   fa   anche Gianni
   a   mistake, every now   and then, cl.m.3sg makes also   John
   'Even John makes a mistake every now and then.'   **Italian**

b. O greseala, din   cand in   cand, (*o)   face   pana si Ion.
   A mistake, every now and then, cl.f.3sg makes even   John
   'Even John makes a mistake every now and then.''   **Romanian**

From a cross-linguistic perspective, specificity is a common requirement on the use of clitics, as the same patterns have been observed for Greek (Alexopoulou and Folli, 2011) and Spanish (Valenzuela, 2005), among others. Italian (and Catalan, see López (2009)) differs from Romanian, Greek and Spanish in this respect, as Italian does not have a specificity restriction on overt clitics and therefore clitics occur with both specific and non-specific objects.

Related examples to illustrate the cross-linguistic difference regarding the specificity requirement are shown below, using evidence from Italian and Greek. The sentence in (14-b) is felicitous as a continuation of (14-a) in Italian, but this does not hold for Greek, as shown in (15-b). In Greek, like in Romanian, the use of the clitic in (15-a) implies that the speaker has a specific skirt in mind, which is infelicitous in this context.

(14)   a.   una gonna rossa la   cerco   da un   po'
              a   red   skirt cl.f.3sg look-for-1sg a   while
              'I have been looking for a red skirt for a few days.'   **Italian**

        b.   ma non ne ho trovata nessuna che mi piaccia

              ... but have not found any that I like

        c.   ma non riesco a ricordarmi dove l'ho messa ... but I cannot remember where

              I've put it

              Example from Alexopoulou and Folli (2011).

(15)   a.   mia kokini fusta tin   psahno   edho ke   meres
              a   red   skirt cl.f.3sg look-for-1sg here and days
              I've been looking for a red skirt for a few days.   **Greek**

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b. #ke de boro na vro kamiapu na m'aresi

...and I cannot find anywhere one that I like.

c. ke de boro na thimitho pu tin eho vali

... and cannot remember where I put it.

Example from Alexopoulou and Kolliakou (2002)

It should furthermore be mentioned that in the literature on Romanian, definiteness instead of specificity has been claimed to be the relevant factor that determines the use of overt clitics. There is, however, evidence against this claim. My native Romanian consultants judge the sentence in (16) as grammatical. This sentence contains an overt clitic presented in a context where the exact referent of the DP is identifiable to the speaker but is indefinite.

(16) O intrebare   anume   toata lumea a   gresit-o   (si   anume
     A question.fem in-particular every one   has.3sg mistaken-cl.f.3sg (and namely
     intrebarea 3b).
     question   3b).
     'Everyone got a question wrong (namely question 3b).'   **Romanian**

Further evidence for this generalization comes from left dislocated indefinites with a strong partitive reading, which require a clitic as well, as is shown in (17) for Romanian. Therefore, it can be concluded that specificity is the property relevant for overt clitics in Romanian.

(17)   What did you do with the books?

        Una dintre cărţi am   pus-o   pe raft şi   altă pe birou.
        One of   book have.1SG put-cl.f.3sg on shelf and other on desk
        'One book I put on the shelf and the other on the desk.'   **Romanian**

As expected, the same construction requires a clitic in Italian because the fronted object is also anaphoric, as shown in (18).

(18)   Uno dei   libri   l'ho   messo sulla mensola e   l'altro   sulla
         One of the books cl.m.3sg-have.1sg put   on-the shelf   and the-other on-the
         scrivania.
         desk.
         'One book I put on the shelf and the other on the desk.'   **Italian**

To conclude, while Italian resumptive clitics in object fronted constructions are insensitive to whether that object has a specific referent or not, Romanian only allows clitics when the fronted object is interpreted specifically. The next section elaborates on the specificity requirement of Romanian clitics and discusses whether they are an intrinsic property of Romanian clitics or whether their behaviour differs depending on the constructions in which they appear.

3.2.4   Specificity: a property of clitics or CLLD?

The fact that the clitic in CLLD constructions does not need to have a specific referent in languages like Italian and Catalan suggests that specificity is not an intrinsic property of CLLD in all languages. An interesting question left unanswered is whether the specificity requirement attested for Romanian is a characteristic of movement constructions with clitics, such as Clitic Left Dislocation, or an internal property of clitics. This distinction is important for making precise predictions about the learning task for second language learners. In this section it will be shown that the specificity requirement in Romanian and the lack of this requirement in Italian extends beyond object fronting constructions. In addition, it will be shown that pronouns in English are restricted by specificity similarly to Romanian clitics. This will become relevant when discussing the experimental results from the second language learners of Italian who are native speakers of English.

A commonly accepted analysis relating to clitics contains the idea that a clitic and the doubled DP have matching features. The most commonly discussed are ϕ-features, but Suñer (1988), for example, argues that clitics are also inherently specified as [+specific] and that, because of a matching of features, only specific referents are allowed to enter an

agreement relation with the clitic. Most studies investigating the specificity requirement on direct object clitics investigate this property in structures with a clear sentence internal dependency between the clitic and the doubled DP, such as constructions with DOM markers, clitic doubling and left or right dislocation. For example, in (19-a), a construction with the Romanian DOM-marker *PE*, the indefinite can be doubled by a clitic only when *a secretary* is interpreted with a specific reading (see also Farkas (1978); Cornilescu (2000); Tigău (2011)). In (19-a), where the speaker has no specific student in mind, the presence of the clitic (requiring a specific reading) makes the sentence ungrammatical.

(19)　　a.　O　caut　　　　pe o secreteră.
　　　　　　her look-for.1sg to a secretary
　　　　　　'I look for a certain secretary.'

　　　　b.*　Îl　caut　　　　pe un elev　care　să　ştie　　englezeşte.
　　　　　　him look-for.1sg to a　student which subj speaks English
　　　　　　'I look for a student who can speak English.'

　　　　Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, examples 52b, 58a)

Under this approach, cross-linguistic differences such as the ones attested between Italian and Romanian could be due to differences in the lexical specification of clitics, where Romanian clitics themselves are specific while Italian clitics are not. In order to gain more insights into whether clitics are indeed inherently specific in languages like Romanian, we can compare CLLD constructions to constructions where a clitic co-refers to a DP mentioned in a previous sentence. With CLLD, there is a sentence internal dependency (e.g. that of anaphoric binding) between the left dislocated object and the clitic. In the latter construction there is a simple co-reference relation between a DP and a clitic.

In fact, if we look at some constructions where we aim to get a co-reference relation between the clitic in the second clause and a DP in the first clause, as shown in (20)-(22),

we see that clitics cannot be used freely in Romanian when the DP is non-specific[4] . In the constructions in (20)-(22), the use of a clitic in the (a) sentences is judged as ungrammatical as these clitics do not have a specific referent.[5]   Note that in the examples in (20)-(22), as is also the case for most of the experimental items discussed in Chapter 5, intensional predicates are used whose argument typically excludes a co-referential or E-type construal of the pronoun. That is, with intensional predicates, pronouns or clitics typically cannot act as a variable that is bound by an antecedent. This also holds for English pronouns, as can be observed from the ungrammaticality of the English translations. This suggests that Romanian clitics and English pronouns behave similarly with respect to specificity. This is important to keep in mind for the discussion of the experimental results of the English learners of Italian and the English learners of Romanian in Chapter 5.[6]

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[4] Thanks to Michael Wagner for suggesting this test.

[5] The sentence in (22-a) is slightly more acceptable (rated as 2 or a 3 on a 5 point scale where "1" =ungrammatical and "5" = grammatical) than (20-a) and (21-a), which were rated as 1. This may be related to the fact that in comparison to the other sentences there is a higher possibility of the speaker having a specific skirt in mind e.g. a skirt that the speakers owns, assuming s/he only owns one.

[6] The idea that specificity is a requirement inherent to clitics is not uncontroversial. Leonetti (2007), for example, noted that in Argentinian Spanish, a language where the use of clitics in CLLD is also constrained by specificity similar to Romanian, clitics can denote an abstract semantic object in sentences like (i-a). A similar judgment was provided by three native speakers for the Romanian equivalent in (i-b). In both sentences, the clitic is obligatory.

(i)   a.   Aquí podemos coger un taxi sin   tener que llamarlo.
             Here can.1pl   take a taxi without have to   call.cl.m.1sg
        b.   Aici putem lua   un taxi fără   trebuiască să   îl   chemăm.
             Here can.1.pl take.INF a   taxi without SUBJ   have-to cl.m.3sg call.1pl.
             'Here we can take a taxi without having to call it.'

It is not clear why clitics are allowed here and not in (20)-(22). One difference is that in (i-b) the clitic and the co-referring object are in the same clause and the clitic can be a bound variable bound by *a taxi*. We will leave this observation aside for now. The

(20)   Ma duc sa iau o cafea.

'I am going to get a coffee.'

a.   *O vrei si tu?

*Do you want it too?

b.   Vrei si tu una?

'Do you want one too?'

(21)   Mi-e pofta de o salata.

'I am craving a salad.'

a.   *Cred ca o voi pregati pentru cina.

'*I think I'll prepare it for dinner.'

b.   Cred ca voi pregati una pentru cina.

'I think I'll prepare one for dinner.'

(22)   Caut o fusta rosie de cateva luni.

'I've been looking for a red skirt for months.'

a.   *Stii cumva unde o pot gasi?

*'Do you know by any chance where I can find it?'

b.   Stii cumva unde pot gasi una

'Do you know by any chance where I can find one?'

Crucial for the comparison between Romanian and Italian is the fact that in Italian a clitic can felicitously be used in all the contexts in (20)-(22), as shown in (23)-(25). Three native speakers of Italian judge the (a) sentences as acceptable as the (b) sentence.

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important conclusion is that the specificity constraint on Romanian clitics extends beyond CLLD constructions.

(23)   Vado a prendere un caffe.

'I am going to get a coffee.'

a.   Lo vuoi anche tu?

*Do you want it too?

b.   Ne vuoi uno anche tu?

'Do you want one too?'

(24)   Ho voglia di un'insalata.

'I am craving a salad.'

a.   mi sa che me la preparo stasera

*'I think I'll prepare it for dinner.'

b.   mi sa che me ne preparo una stasera

'I think I'll prepare one for dinner.'

(25)   Sto cercando una gonna rossa da mesi.

'I've been looking for a red skirt for months.'

a.   lo sai per caso dove la posso trovare?

*'Do you know by any chance where I can find it?'

b.   lo sai per caso dove ne posso trovare una?

'Do you know by any chance where I can find one?'

Additional evidence for the fact that in Romanian the clitic must be referentially anchored to one particular antecedent comes from the observation that null objects (and not clitics) have to be used when the antecedent is a clausal constituent, while clitics are obligatory in those contexts in Italian, as shown in the comparison between (26-a) and (26-b).

(26)   a.   Ştiai   că   e   plecat în Belgia?   Nu, nu [ ] ştiam
                 Knew.2sg that is.3sg gone   in Belgium? Nu, not [ ] knew.1sg.
                 Did you know he was in Belgium? No I did not know.

Avram and Coene (1999, Ex.25a)   **Romanian**

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b.   **Lo** sapevi che era in Belgio? No, non **lo** sapevo

cl.m.3sg you-know that was.3sg in Belgium? No, not cl.m.3sg know.1sg

Did you know he was in Belgium? No I did not know that.   **Italian**

We therefore observe a difference between Romanian and Italian relating to specificity that extends beyond CLLD constructions. That is, while Romanian clitics have to be specific, Italian clitics do not. This suggests that the input second language learners are exposed to provides evidence for the specificity requirement in Romanian in contexts beyond those found in CLLD constructions. At the same time, the Italian input provides evidence that clitics can be used with specific and non-specific interpretations in other constructions than CLLD.

The anaphoricity requirement in Italian, on the other hand, is restricted to CLLD constructions and thus does not hold for clitics more generally. As shown in (27), Italian clitics can refer back to objects that are contrastive foci. In (27) *IL TAVOLO* is a contrastive focus which co-refers with the clitic *L'* in the second part of the sentence. This means that the anaphoricity restriction in Italian can only be acquired from CLLD constructions.

(27)   Q: Did you put the television in the kitchen?   **Italian**

A: Il   TAVOLO ho   messo in cucina, non la   televisione. L'ho
     THE TABLE   have.1sg put   in kitchen, not the television. cl.m.3sg.
     anche apparecchiato.
     also   set.
     I put the TABLE in the kitchen, not the television. I also set it.

Before discussing the assignment of the features [± anaphoric] and [± specific] onto the syntax, it is first important to look at some other contexts in which resumptive clitics are used. The focus will only be on Romanian, as this language uses Differential Object marking and Clitic Doubling in addition to CLLD while these constructions are not used in Italian. The goal is to ensure that those constructions can be syntactically distinguished from Romanian CLLD.

3.2.5 Differential object marking and Clitic Doubling in Romanian

In Romanian, direct object clitics are used in a broader set of contexts than in Italian. For example, Romanian uses object clitics in Differential Object Marking (DOM) and Clitic Doubling (CD) constructions as well as with D-linked WH-phrases and relative clauses. Here, I will focus exclusively on the difference between Romanian CLLD and CD with DOM marking, leaving D-linked WH-phrases and relative clauses aside.

Romanian Clitic Doubling constructions are typically associated with the Differential Object Marker *Pe* (in accordance with Kayne (1991)). In constructions with clitic doubling, a pronominal clitic co-refers with the direct object, as shown in (28-a).

(28)   a.   l-am   invitat pe Ion
            CL-3sg-have.1sg invited PE Ion
            'I invited Ion.'

       b.   pe Ion$_i$ l-am   invitat t_i
            PE ion   CL-3sg-have.1sg invited t_i
            'I invited Ion.'

The *pe*-marker is required in constructions with human direct objects; all nouns denoting persons, proper names and definite pronouns require clitic doubling. The relevant question here is whether the clitic from a clitic doubling construction as in (28-a), can be distinguished from the one used in CLLD, as in (28-b), which is not clear from the comparison between (28-a) and (28-b) alone. That is, it is not clear from the object initial word order in (28-b) whether the clitic is the result of differential object marking (and the object has simply fronted) or a CLLD construction where the resumptive object is inserted after left dislocation of the object.

Importantly, a clear distinction can be observed between clitic doubling and CLLD when examining accusative object fronted constructions with non-human objects, which do not allow *Pe*-marking. As the A-example in (29) shows, object fronted word orders with non-human objects require a clitic as well, while the clitic is not allowed when the object is not fronted, as in the A'-example in (29).

(29) Q: Who bought the ring?

   A: Inelul   l-a   cumparat Ion
      Ring-the cl.m.sg-has.3sg bought   Ion
      'Ion bought the ring.'

   A': Ion (*l-)a   cumparat Inelul
      Ion cl.m.sg-has.3sg bought   ring-the
      'Ion bought the ring.'

We can conclude that clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation are two distinct syntactic constructions in Romanian.[7] To avoid possible effects from DOM-marking, however, only inanimate objects will be used in the experimental design. Let us now discuss the discourse properties of CLLD in Italian and Romanian.

3.2.6   Interim summary

This section focused on the use of direct object clitics in Romanian and Italian. The main conclusion to be drawn is that in Italian CLLD the fronted object must be a discourse anaphoric DP while in Romanian the fronted object must be a specific DP. It was furthermore shown that the specificity requirement on Romanian CLLD and the lack of this requirement in Italian CLLD is a property more generally associated with clitic pronouns in these languages while the anaphoricity requirement on Italian CLLD is not. The next section focuses on the discourse features associated with object fronting constructions as developed by López (2009).

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[7] Cinque (1990); Iatridou (1995) and Anagnostopoulou (1994, 2006) discuss additional differences between Clitic Doubling and CLLD. The fact that only a subset of the languages with CLLD also have Clitic Doubling provides evidence for the idea that CLLD is not the movement counterpart of Clitic Doubling. In addition, while Clitic Doubling is exclusively used with DPs, other constituents such as APs, PPs and CPs can dislocate in CLLD constructions.

3.3   A derivational approach to information structure

This section will explain how the relevant features [±anaphoric] and [±specific] can be assigned to the syntax, following a derivational approach to information structure proposed by López (2009). In a nutshell, López (2009) argues that the [±anaphoric] feature associated with CLLD in languages like Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Greek, among others, is assigned to the clitic and a local dependency is created between the clitic and the verbal argument (the object), which has moved to Spec vP. It is in this position where the clitic shares the feature [+a] with the left dislocated object. After discussing his analysis in more detail, this idea will be extended (with some modification) to the assignment of [±specific], which is the relevant feature for Romanian.

Linguistic phenomena that fall under the syntax-discourse interface affect interpretation. Syntactic configurations that are the result of discourse driven movement are therefore only felicitous in certain discourse contexts. In this thesis we adopt the conceptualization of the syntax-discourse interface as proposed in López (2009) who argues that the combination of the pragmatic features [±anaphoric] and [±contrast] accounts for properties of different dislocation and fronting constructions, which are summarized in Table 3–1.

	+contrast	-contrast
+anaphor	clitic left dislocation (CLLD)/Topic fronting	clitic right dislocation (CLRD)
-anaphor	Focus Fronting (FF)	rheme

Table 3–1: Feature bundles and their corresponding constructions.

This thesis focuses exclusively on object initial word orders which, following López (2009), are all [+contrast]. That is, it is the [+contrast] feature associated with a fronted object which makes object fronting felicitous. López (2009) concludes that the object in CLLD constructions has the properties [+anaphoric, +contrastive], which differs from Focus Fronting which is [-anaphoric, +contrastive]. Although CLLD is typically associated with dislocation of discourse anaphoric objects in most languages that allow CLLD, as already illustrated for Italian, the term is inappropriate when considering data from Romanian. In

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light of the scope of this thesis I will therefore continue to use the terms Topic Fronting and Focus Fronting to remain neutral as to whether a resumptive clitic is used.

Prominent in the Romance literature is the cartographic approach to topic and focus developed mainly by Cinque (1997, 1999) and Rizzi (1997). The cartographic approach represents a hierarchical system where topics move to the specifier position of a topic phrase and foci to the specifier of the focus phrase. In this thesis we will continue to use the words topic and focus in descriptive terms, but follow López (2009) where *topic* and *focus* are not features of the grammar or syntactic categories; instead we will use the term [±anaphoric].

One reason to favour López's (2009) framework over typical cartographic approaches is that there do not exist reliable tests for topic-hood. In addition, while the tests proposed by Reinhart (1981) are most typically used in the literature to define a topic, they do not seem to capture the data from Italian and Romanian correctly. Specifically, Reinhart (1981) argues that a topic has to be referential and carries an existential presupposition. As is made clear from the Italian and Romanian data discussed in Section 3.2.1 and 3.2.3, not all topics/[+anaphoric] constituents are referential/specific. Referentiality is not part of the definition of a discourse anaphor as proposed by López (2009). Furthermore, López (2009) argues that the discourse notions *topic* and *focus* do not predict syntactic behaviour. For example, if the topic is understood as the constituent that provides old information, then not all topics dislocate as an in-situ constituent can provide old information as well. In consequence, a hypothetical feature like [+topic] cannot be associated with a particular syntactic construction such as CLLD. As will be elaborated on in Section 3.3.2, [+anaphoric] is exclusively assigned to movement constructions such as CLLD.

In addition, Erteschik-Shir (1997) already observed that in some constructions a constituent can be argued to be both a topic and a focus. Consider the example in (30). The term *the cake* is made salient in the previous sentence, and therefore topical, but it is also a focus, given that is the answer to a wh-question.

(30)   A: What did John eat, the cake or the ice-cream?

B: He ate the cake.

   López (2009, Example 2.117)

López (2009) argues that *the cake* in (30) is not a strong anaphor under his definitions and therefore [-anaphoric]. To understand this, we first have to look at the definition of contrast and anaphor. Note that only [±anaphoric] is relevant for the purpose of L2 acquisition, as [+contrast] is associated with all object fronted constructions, at least in the languages relevant here (Italian, Romanian and English).

3.3.1   [±contrast]

As shown in table 3–1, [±contrast] is a notion that can combine with focus or topic, thus with [-anaphoric] and [+anaphoric] constituents. In fact, it has been argued that contrastive topics and contrastive foci are analyzed as composites of the features [topic] and [contrast] and [focus] and [contrast], respectively (see among others Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998); Giusti (2006); Neeleman and Titov (2009)). Based on data from Romance languages, López (2009) argues that [+contrast] is a property of all objects which have moved to the left periphery. Similar claims have been made for other languages, for example by Frey (2006) for German or Kiss (1998) for Hungarian.

A contrastive focus needs to be distinguished from a regular information focus, the rheme in Table 3–1, which is not allowed in object initial word orders precisely because it is not interpreted constrastively. López uses Vallduví and Vilkuna's (1998) and Jackendoff's (1972) interpretation of focus and argues that an information focus resolves a variable that is left open in the previous question. In the answer in (31), *furniture* is an example of an information focus, the answer to a WH-question which solves the variable x in {x | Andrea bought x}.

(31)   A: What did Andrea buy?

   B: Andrea ha   comprato i   mobili
        Andrea has bought   the furniture

'Andrea bought furniture.'

The sentence in (32) shows an example where *The carpet* is a contrastive focus. There is no variable left open in the context as the context is an assertion, not a question. Instead, focus fronting opens up a variable {x | Andrea bought x} and resolves it at the same time (x=furniture).

(32)   A: Andrea bought the furniture

         B: Il   TAPPETTO ha comprato, non i   mobili
             the carpet   has bought,   not the furniture
             'He bought the carpet, not the furniture.'

             López (2009, translated example Ex.1.31)

All examples of contrastive focus used in this chapter and in the experimental design are instances of corrective focus, the contexts in which contrastive focus is most felicitous (based on experimental evidence from Bianchi et al. (2013) on Italian).[8]

One piece of evidence for the connection between fronting and contrast is that regular information foci, for example answers to WH-questions, do not allow object fronting, as shown with the infelicity of (33).

(33)   A: What did Carlotta buy?

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[8] Whether or not object fronting is restricted to contrastive constituents is controversial in the literature (cf. Brunetti (2004); Cruschina (2012)). Fronted objects occasionally occur in Italian, for example, in so called mirative contexts, as shown in (i) where the fronted object expresses surprise or unexpectedness. There is no clear contrast set available in the discourse. We will leave such instances aside for now.

(i)   Anna tells about a customer who complained for no reason
      a.   Pensa te! Col direttore voleva   parlare!
          think you! with the   manager wanted speak.INF
          Guess what! He wanted to speak with the manager!
          Bianchi et al. (2013, Example 3)

B: #Il   tappetto ha   comprato Carlotta
   The carpet   has bought   Carlotta
   'Carlotta bought the carpet.'

For the purpose of this study, the feature [±contrast] is not relevant, as it does not have to be acquired by second language learners. In all languages under consideration, Italian, Romanian and English, object initial word orders are associated with a contrastive interpretation of the fronted object. The relevant features with respect to cross-linguistic differences in the use of CLLD are [±anaphor] and [±specific]. In this thesis, we will therefore not discuss the assignment of [+c] as proposed by López (2009). The reader can consult section 3.4 of his book for more information. Before we elaborate on López's (2009) definition of an anaphor, let us first briefly look at how a contrastive topic minimally differs from a contrastive focus with respect to the contrastive property of both constructions.

Consider the discourse in (34). The answer shown in B is similar to the one in (32); the fronted object *the chairs* stands in a contrastive relation to a constituent made salient in the context. The crucial difference is that the object *the chairs* has an anaphoric relation to *the furniture* mentioned in the context, in this case a subset relation, chairs being a subset of furniture. According to López (2009), the only difference between (32) and (34) is that the variable is linked to an antecedent (here *the furniture*). The anaphor is associated with the feature [+anaphoric], as will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(34)   A: John bought the furniture.

        B: le   sedie si che le   ha comprato, pero i   tavoli...
             The chairs yes that cl.f.3pl has bought,   but   the tables
             'The chair he did indeed buy, but the table...'

             {x |x R{furniture} & John bought x}.

             López (2009, translated from example 1.32)

The following example illustrates the need for a left dislocated topic to be anaphorically connected; while focus fronting is grammatical in contexts like (35-a), fronting of *milk* in

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(35-b) is ungrammatical precisely because *milk* is not anaphorically related to *furniture* while *chairs* in (35-c) is.

(35)   Context: Gianni brought the furniture

  a. Il LATTE ha portato, nient' altro
    The milk has.3sg brought, nothing else
    he brought milk, nothing else.

  b. #Il latte, lo   ha portato....
    The milk, cl.m.3sg. has brought...
    He brought the milk

  c. Le sedie le ha portate Gianni, però i tavoli...
    The chairs cl.f.3pl has brought Gianni, but the tables
    Gianni brought the chairs, but the tables....

  López (2009, translated from examples 2.53)

Thus, contrastive focus fronting opens up the predicate [x | John brought x] while contrastive topic fronting opens up the more restricted [x | xR{furniture} & Joan brought x], where R stands for relations such as set/subset, set/member between the fronted constituent and an antecedent in the discourse. López (2009) argues that opening up a variable provides the contrastive feature that is associated with dislocated objects in sentences like (32) and (34).

The next section discusses [±anaphor], which is the relevant feature assigned to objects in Italian CLLD.

3.3.2 [±anaphor]

López (2009) posits the following three requirements for a constituent to be a true discourse anaphor:

1. There is obligatory dependency with respect to an antecedent.

2. The antecedent is local with respect to the anaphor.

3. The anaphor needs to be structurally subordinate to the sentence that contains the antecedent.

Let us first consider the claim that true anaphors have an obligatory dependency, and can therefore be dislocated, by looking at the sentence pairs in (36-a) - (36-c). Note that these are the Catalan examples from López (2009), but the same judgments can be observed for the English translations as well as the Italian and Romanian counterparts. In (36-a), both *Maria* and *Joan* are mentioned earlier in the discourse and therefore could in principle be described as discourse anaphoric. López (2009) argues, however, that the dislocated *Maria* is a true anaphor, while the in-situ *Joan* happens to be an accidental co-referent. This is illustrated with the comparison between (36-a) and (36-b). The continuation in (36-b), which contains left dislocation, is infelicitous because for *Susanna* there is no dependency in the discourse. No anaphor is required for in-situ constituents, and therefore the continuation in (36-c) where *Pere* is newly introduced is perfectly natural.

(36)   a.   Ahir vaig conèixer el Joan i la Maria. La Maria crec que és la nòvia del Joan.

                Yesterday I met Joan and Maria. Maria I think is Joan's new girlfriend.

        b.   Ahir vaig conèixer el Joan i la Maria. #La Susanna crec que és la nòvia del Pere.

                Yesterday I met Joan and Maria. #Susanna I think is Peres new girlfriend.

        c.   Ahir vaig conèixer el Joan i la Maria. La Maria crec que és la nòvia del Pere.

                Yesterday I met Joan and Maria. Maria I think is Peres new girlfriend

                López (2009, examples 2.24, 2.26, 2.25)

In addition, López (2009) argues that this anaphor needs to be local. The locality constraint implies that only the anaphor that has the most accessible antecedent can be dislocated. To illustrate, the comparison between (37-a) and (37-b) shows that only the antecedent most recently introduced in the discourse can be dislocated (showing here an example of right dislocation). In (37) both *the Mass* and *John* are previously introduced in the discourse, but only the latter can be dislocated.

(37)   Context: So then, yesterday you went to the Mass, right? Did you see John?

a. #Si, l'hi   vaig veure, a missa.
   Yes, cl.Acc'there past see.inf at Mass
   'Yes, I saw him there, at the mass.'

b. Si, l'hi   vaig veure, el Joan.
   Yes, cl.Acc'there past see.inf, the Joan
   'Yes, I saw him there, Joan.'

The third condition is based on Asher and Lascarides (2003) Segmented Discourse Representation Theory. Discourse anaphoric constituents (in CLLD and CLRD) are only felicitous in sentences that are discourse subordinated to the sentences that contain their antecedents. With this requirement, López (2009) excludes the definition of discourse anaphor being applied to contexts where the sentence containing the anaphor expands, elaborates or reports on the previous discourse, which are categorized as coordinating rather than subordinating discourse relations. A detailed explanation is not relevant for the current purposes. I refer the reader to section 2.3.4. of López (2009) for more information on the difference between subordinating and coordinating discourse structures.

To conclude, we follow López (2009) in the assumption that all fronted objects are contrastive. When the fronted object is an anaphor following the definition discussed in this section we call it a contrastive topic and carries an [+anaphoric] feature. When the fronted object is [-anaphoric], the fronted object is contrastive but not anaphoric, i.e. a contrastive focus.

3.4   Syntactic mechanism of López (2009)

Although the technical aspects of this theory will not be further tested I believe that a short description of how [±anaphoric]/[±a] can be assigned is relevant, especially regarding

the discussion as to how the [+a] feature can potentially be disconnected from CLLD to capture the Romanian data.[9]

López (2009) develops a derivational analysis for information structure. In his system, discourse is a computational module, similar to syntax, which assembles words into structures by means of combinatorial operations. This means that syntactic objects that are inserted into the discourse structures are constrained by features that are assigned to those constituents. These features are assigned by the pragmatic system in specific positions in the derivation. Thus, a syntactic object Σ can have additional features that are assigned by the information structure/pragmatics Σ [p]. A syntactic object equipped with these pragmatic features is ready to be mapped to the discourse structure.

Following Chomsky (2000), López (2009) assumes that the syntax interfaces with the interpretative systems at the phase level and the head of each phase bears features that drive the derivation. Movement to phase edges leads to obligatory assignment of an interpretative feature. Syntactic objects move because they have an unvalued feature that needs to be satisfied. Optional Edge features trigger movement and have interpretative effects (Chomsky,

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[9] The syntactic details of this theory are not of primary importance for the purpose of this thesis and López's (2009) theory is only adopted in order to make predictions for L2 acquisition. I acknowledge that some of the claims that follow from this account are controversial from a syntactic point of view and some details may need further development (e.g. the idea that the clitic is base generated adjoined to the v or that XP, a maximal projection, functions as a probe, as discussed in Section 3.4.1).

López's (2009) account is desirable for the purpose of testing theories of L2 acquisition for several reasons. The idea of [±anaphoric] as a discourse feature has been the starting point of earlier studies on L2 acquisition (e.g. Slabakova et al., 2012). Using this account for the current thesis allows for direct comparison of the current work to earlier studies on L2 acquisition of CLLD. Furthermore, to my knowledge, it is the only study that discusses discourse properties as features that are assigned to the syntactic derivation. This approach allows us to analyze the discourse properties associated with CLLD in light of the FRH.

The main aspect I adopt from López (2009) is that the assignment of [+anaphoric] is (i) dependent on the presence of a clitic and (ii) movement of the agreeing object. This feature is not associated with Romanian CLLD.

2008). The syntactic object moves to the specifier of each new phase until it reaches a specifier position where a probe that has the relevant features can create an Agree relationship and terminate movement.

3.4.1 Assignment of [+anaphor]

This section focuses on the idea that, according to López (2009), discourse relations are determined by their syntactic configuration. Rather than assigning the feature [±anaphoric] and [±contrast] to lexical items, these features are assigned derivationally at specific phase edges when the pragmatic module reads the output from the syntactic module.

Let us elaborate on the assignment of [+a]. Lopez assumes that in the CLLD construction, both the clitic and the v have particular featural characteristics such that the clitic triggers displacement of the object. How does this occur? He uses the following mechanism to define a dependency between the clitic and the verbal complement, which both get assigned [+a] by the pragmatic module at the vP phase edge.

Consider the left hand tree in Figure 3–1, which represents a typical internal VP structure. A common assumption is that v has unvalued ϕ features and therefore serves as a probe to get its ϕ features checked by the internal argument. Consider now the right hand tree, which is a modification of the tree on the left. A crucial element in López's (2009) analysis is that v in the CLLD construction has an extra syntactic feature called [f], akin to case. He furthermore suggests that the feature composition of this v is more complex. Namely, as shown in the right hand tree in 3–1, there is a feature matrix called X, which is the spell out of the clitic.[10] Both X (the clitic) and the internal object (XP) have [uf]. X merges first with $v$before v can merge with its own VP.

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[10] This tree is taken directly from López (2009). Note that the X represents the clitic and is not related to the XP via movement.

v'

$v_{[f][u\phi]}$ VP

XP$_{[uf]}$ V'

Agree

v'

v VP

X$_{[uf]}$ $v_{[f][u\phi]}$ XP$_{[uf]}$ V'

Agree
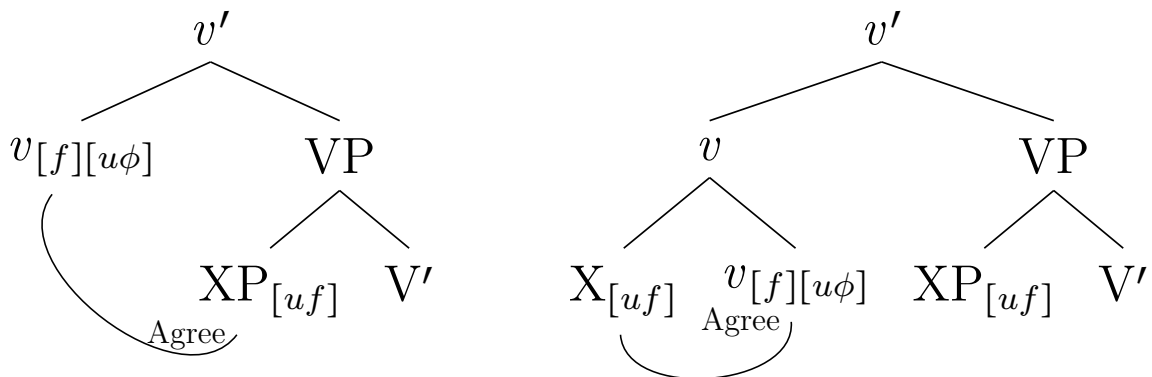
Figure 3–1: Trees 3.32 (a) and (b) from López (2009)

The second step is for v to merge with the VP containing the object XP. A crucial assumption López (2009) makes for motivating movement of XP, is that feature checking may only occur within the (immediate) c-command domain of the probe at specific phase edges. This causes XP$_{[uf]}$ (the probe) to move to Spec, v to find the [f] feature of v and that of the clitic. Here XP forms a dependency with v and agrees with X, as illustrated in 3–2. The crucial question now relates to the conditions that drive the assignment of [+a] to the left dislocated object in Spec,v. Note that [+a] is assigned at the phase edge by the pragmatic module, not the syntactic module.

vP

XP$_{[uf]}$ v'

Subj v'

v VP

X$_{[f]}$ $v_{[f]}$ t (V)... t(XP)
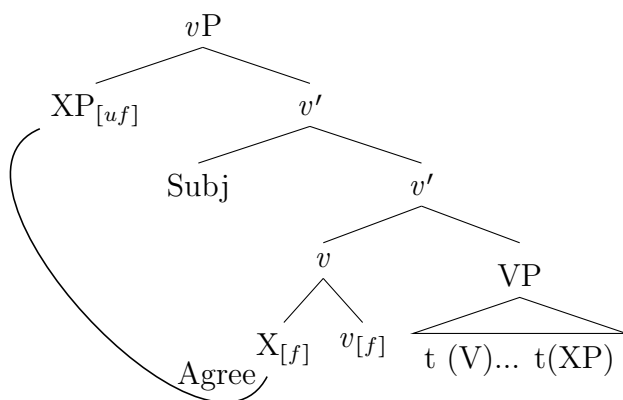
Agree

Figure 3–2: Adapted from tree 3.33 in López (2009)

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López (2009) posits two necessary conditions for the assignment of [+a] at the vP phase edge as shown in (38) and (39). When only one of the two conditions is met, there is no assignment of [+a].

(38)   Agree (p,g) relationship with Y

(39)   The constituent has raised to Spec, v

This means that when a constituent is in Spec,v and enters a dependency with a feature of v, it obligatorily receives [+a] assigned by the pragmatic module, otherwise not. In other words, it cannot be assigned at any other phase edge. López (2009) furthermore argues that the complement of v is assigned [-a]. When the conditions in (38) and (39) are not met, [-a] is also automatically assigned.

The conditions proposed in (38) and (39) correctly capture the observation that, in the languages with CLLD discussed in López (2009), the dislocated object is a strong anaphor. This could, however, create a problem for Romanian where the use of clitics with left dislocated objects is not associated with anaphoric constituents. The next section elaborates on this issue.

3.4.2   Accounting for Romanian

In light of the cross-linguistic differences between Italian and Romanian with respect to the discourse contexts in which CLLD is felicitous, it is interesting to briefly think about how the data from Romanian can potentially be incorporated in López's (2009) analysis. What we essentially aim to account for is how a Romanian dislocated object with an agreeing clitic escapes from being assigned [+a] in contexts with fronted contrastive foci. One option could be that the feature [±anaphoric] is absent in the Romanian grammar, precisely because the language does not syntactically distinguish between anaphoric and non-anaphoric object fronted constructions, at least with respect to resumptive clitics. Another option is that fronted foci in Romanian do not move through Spec, v, and therefore avoid the assignment

of [+a]. Note however, that this would be in disagreement with general locality conditions on syntactic movement. We will use the Floating Quantifier test which López (2009) used to show that Fronted Foci in Catalan may move through Spec v on data from Romanian.[11] It will be shown, however, that we do not have the empirical evidence to support the same conclusion for Romanian Focus Fronting, where fronted specific foci are resumed by a clitic. It will be concluded that [±anaphoric] is not assigned in Romanian CLLD constructions.

Recall that for López (2009) the assignment of [+a] is dependent on the presence of the clitic *and* movement to Spec, *v*. This implies that constructions with clitics but without movement automatically are [-a]. Agreement with a clitic is thus not a sufficient condition for the XP to receive the [+a] feature. In fact, López (2009) argues that this is why clitic doubling is possible in languages like Spanish without the assignment of [+a], as there is no movement of the object. In sentences with clitic doubling, there is agreement between the complement and the clitic, yet there is no movement to Spec v, because the object doesn't move. Hence, no [+a] is assigned. [+a] can only be assigned as an X feature on v, but it does not have to be if there is no movement. López's (2009) theory therefore does not prevent clitics from agreeing with DPs in the absence of an anaphoric relation. Following this line of reasoning, Focus Fronting constructions do not move through Spec, *v* in order not to be assigned [+a]. López (2009) uses tests from floating quantifiers to see if a quantifier can be stranded in Spec, *v*.

Recall that anaphoric objects move through Spec,v where they get assigned [+a] when they are in an agree relation with X (the clitic). López (2009) provides one piece of evidence in favour of this claim, using floating quantifiers, where he shows that in Catalan only CLLD

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[11] Note that López (2009) also discusses other tests which suggest that a focus fronted constituent actually does move through Spec, *v*. This does not pose a problem for his analysis simply because there is no clitic in Focus Fronted constructions and therefore no Agree relation between the fronted object and the phrasal head. In consequence, [+a] is not assigned. In Romanian there is a clitic with fronted specific foci. Hence, it is not clear how this account works for Romanian.

constructions (which have clitics) can leave floating quantifiers while fronted foci (which do not have clitics) cannot. This observation holds for Italian as well. As shown in (40), the quantifier *all* can strand in (40) where the object is a contrastive topic, but this is ungrammatical in constructions with Focus Fronting (compare (41-a) to (41-b)).

(40)   Have you guys sold the Japanese and Korean cars?

     a.   Le macchine giapponesi le   abbiamo vendute tutte, ma ci rimangano
         the cars   Japanese   cl.f.3pl have.1pl sold   all,   but us leave
         alcune coreane
         some   Korean
         'We sold all the Japanese cars but we still have some Korean cars left.'

(41)   We sold all Japanese cars last week, right?

     a.   *le macchine COREANE abbiamo vendute tutte, non quelle giapponesi
         the cars   Korean   have.1pl sold   all,   not ones Japanese

     b.   Tutte le   macchine COREANE abbiamo vendute, non quelle giapponesi
         All   the cars   Korean   have.1pl sold,   not ones Japanese
         'We sold all Korean cars, not the Japanese ones.'

If Romanian Focus Fronting, like Italian, does not allow a quantifier to remain in a VP internal position, even in the presence of an overt clitic, then this could indicate that there is no movement to Spec, v. However, in Romanian, the same construction as (41-a), shown in (42-a), is judged to be grammatical (judgment from Ileana Grama, p.c.), suggesting that Romanian focus fronting with clitics does have a VP internal position.

(42)   a.   Maşinile COREENE le-am   vândut toate, nu cele japoneze
         cars-the Korean   CL.pl.fem-have sold   all,   not ones Japanese

     b.   Toate maşinile COREENE le-am   vândut, nu cele japoneze.
         all   cars-the Korean   CL.pl.fem-have sold,   not ones Japanese
         'We sold all Korean cars, not the Japanese ones.'

Therefore, I believe it is most plausible to assume that [+a] is not a feature assigned to clitics in Romanian CLLD constructions. In other words, this is not a feature shared between the

clitic (X) and the left dislocated object in Romanian CLLD constructions.

3.4.3   Assignment of [+specific]

Most studies that have looked at the properties of CLLD have mainly focused on languages like Spanish, Greek and Italian where CLLD is strongly associated with topichood (Tsimpli, 1990; Cinque, 1990; Anagnostopoulou, 1997; de Cat, 2007). In addition, the CLLD construction in most of these languages is also constrained by specificity (Zubizarreta (1998); cf.Dobrovie-Sorin (1990)), Italian (and Catalan) being an outlier. López (2009), among others, argues that specificity is an inherent property of clitics in languages where clitics necessarily have a specific referent. In other words, unlike [±anaphoric], [±specific] is not assigned onto the syntax by the pragmatic module. In fact, the inherent status of specificity is in line with the observation discussed in Section 3.2.3 that the specificity requirement on the felicitous use of clitics is not restricted to CLLD constructions. To accommodate the difference between languages like Spanish and Greek on one side and Italian (and Catalan) on the other side with respect to specificity, López (2009) argues, following Casielles-Suárez (2004), that the clitic in CLLD constructions with non-specific topics is phonetically null. This assumption implies that the overt versus covert status of the clitic depends on language specific differences with respect to properties of the clitic. Some languages, like Italian (and Catalan) allow overt clitics with non-specific objects while others, like Spanish, use a phonetically null clitic.

If we extend the idea that clitics with non-specific objects are covert, we would have to complicate López's (2009) account. As illustrated in Table 3–2, we would have to assume that Romanian object fronted constructions always require a clitic, since CLLD can be used both with Topic Fronting and with Focus Fronting. We will then have to assume that in both constructions the clitic is phonetically null when the fronted object is non-specific. The consequence is that, depending on the language, sometimes the absence of a clitic implies a covert clitic, while sometimes a clitic is completely absent (as shown with "n.a." in Table

3–2). Furthermore, a covert clitic as is the case with Focus Fronting (-anaphoric) of non-specific object, implies that X (the clitic) is generated. Following the conditions in (38) and (39), it is not clear how the objects escapes from being assigned [+a].

	+anaphoric		-anaphoric	
	+specific	-specific	+specific	-specific
Italian/Catalan	overt	overt	n.a.	n.a.
Spanish/Greek	overt	covert	n.a.	n.a.
Romanian	overt	covert	overt	covert

Table 3–2: Cross-linguistic differences with respect to overt and covert clitics.

To avoid having to assume the presence of clitics that are not visible in the overt syntax, I will exclude the possibility of having phonetically null clitics. Since Romanian CLLD is dependent on specificity similar to how Italian CLLD is dependent on anaphoricity, I will instead assume a feature sharing strategy that is analogous to what is discussed in 3.4.1 for anaphoricity in Italian CLLD. One crucial difference between [+specific] and [+anaphoric], however, is that [+specific] is not assigned by the pragmatic module to the clitic, but is a property of the clitic itself. In CLLD constructions, there needs to be a dependency between the clitic, which is assigned [+specific], and the verbal complement with which the [+specific] feature can be shared.

As with [+anaphoric] for Italian, I will follow the necessary condition stated in (38) that in Romanian the left dislocated object is assigned [+specific] when there is an Agree relationship with X (the clitic). In addition, I will assume (following López (2009)) that constructions with [+specific] objects differ from [+anaphoric] constructions in that while the latter involves movement to Spec v, a phase edge, the former does not. In fact, movement to Spec,v is not a necessary condition for the object to be [+specific], as we have seen that the specificity requirement in Romanian also holds in constructions where the associated object does not move (e.g. with clitic doubling). López (2009) argues that specific objects move to Spec V where they can be bound by sentential operators and become [+specific].

Elaborating on the idea of movement to Spec V, I will assume that for Romanian CLLD the left dislocated object received the [+specific] feature from the clitic in this position.

In sum, both [+anaphoric] and [+specific] are assigned inside the VP shell. [+anaphoric] is assigned by the pragmatic module at the Spec, v phase edge and [+specific] through agreement with the clitic in Spec V.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has focused on the differences between Romanian and Italian regarding the distribution of resumptive clitics with respect to object fronting constructions. As summarized in Table 3–3, a speaker of Italian needs to associate an overt clitic to the anaphoric status of the dislocated object. A speaker of Romanian, on the other hand, also acquires the syntactic differences between topic and focus movement, but the discourse status does not determine the use of a clitic. Instead, the speaker has to pay attention to whether the object is specific or not.

	+anaphoric		-anaphoric	
	+specific	-specific	+specific	-specific
Italian	✓	✓	✗	✗
Romanian	✓	✗	✓	✗

Table 3–3: Distribution of direct object clitics with left dislocated objects.

In this thesis I follow López (2009) in the assumption that all focus fronted word orders, at least in Italian, Romanian and English, are assigned [+contrast]. I furthermore assume that, following the mechanisms developed in López (2009), [+anaphoric] is assigned to the fronted object in CLLD constructions in Italian, but not in Romanian. In Romanian on the other hand, the feature [+specific] is assigned to the dislocated object when it creates a dependency with the clitic, independent of whether the object has fronted, while this is not the case for Italian.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed background on earlier studies conducted on the acquisition of semantic and discourse aspects of CLLD. Elaborating on these earlier studies in

combination with the predictions made for reconfiguration of discourse features associated with CLLD as discussed in Chapter 2, the exact contribution of this thesis will be laid out and the exact research questions will be presented.

CHAPTER 4
The Acquisition of CLLD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses previous studies that have investigated the L2 acquisition of CLLD and related object fronting constructions. The goal of this chapter is to review these papers and discuss how the current study can provide new insights into the acquisition of Clitic Left Dislocation. In addition to illustrating that English native speakers learning an L2 with CLLD do acquire the discourse constraints on CLLD constructions, emphasis is also placed on the role of the input in overcoming L1 transfer effects. It will be shown that acquiring a new property in the L2 may be easier than letting go of an L1 property. That is, acquiring the obligatory status of the clitic may be easier than losing the clitic.

4.2 Studies testing L2 acquisition of CLLD

4.2.1 Valenzuela 2005/2006

Valenzuela (2005) was the first to report on the acquisition of semantic and syntactic effects of Clitic Left Dislocation in Spanish and Topicalization in English. As in Romanian, specificity is a crucial property of the object in Spanish CLLD constructions because resumptive object clitics are restricted to specific nouns. As shown in (1-a), a resumptive clitic is required when the object is specific. Non-specific nouns, bare plurals or mass nouns cannot occur with clitic left dislocation, as shown in (1-b) with the bare plural *books*.

(1) a.   El libro, lo   leí
          the book CL I-read
          'The book, I read.'

     b.   Libros, leí
          books   I-read

'Book, I read.'

Valenzuela (2006, Examples 5 and 8)

An additional property of Spanish is that CLLD is restricted to contexts where the object is anaphoric, as is the case in Italian. Valenzuela compares object fronting of contrastive topics in Spanish to Topicalization in English (also referred to as Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD)), which are functional equivalents. In (2) the object has moved to the beginning of the clause to reintroduce it as a discourse topic, following the definition of anaphoricity discussed in Section 3.3.2. For example, (2) can be felicitously uttered in a context where several items were bought in different places and the discussion is about which item is bought where.

(2)   These shoes, I bought in Madrid

        Valenzuela (2006, Example 3)

On the surface, (2) looks the same as (1-b); no resumptive clitic/pronoun that stands in an agreement relation with the dislocated object is allowed in either construction.

L1 English, L2 Spanish: Methods and Results.   Let us now turn to the results of Valenzuela (2005). In addition to testing the specificity constraint, she tested syntactic differences between left dislocation in root clauses and embedded clauses. In this section we will discuss only the detailed results of the root clauses, given their relevance to the present study.

In total, 15 near-native speakers of Spanish participated in three different tasks to test whether L1 English learners of Spanish are sensitive to the specificity requirement on clitics after left dislocation of topics from the object position. All experimental tasks consisted of specific definites or names in the specific condition and bare plurals or mass nouns in the

non-specific condition.[1]   The examples in (3-a) and (3-b) show fronting of a specific object and a non-specific/generic object, respectively.

(3)   a.   A Rafael, le   voy   a pedir la   receta.
             To Rafael, cl.m.3sg.dat I-going to ask   the recipe
             'Rafael, I am going to ask him for the recipe.'

       b.   Agua, toma   por la   mañana.
             Water, s/he-drinks in   the morning
             'Water, s/he drinks in the morning.'

In the oral grammaticality judgment task, participants were asked to judge the acceptability of sentences with left dislocated objects as (3-a) and (3-b) on a preference scale. The left dislocated objects were either specific or generic and the clitic either present or absent. The results revealed that near-native speakers of Spanish rated orally presented sentences with a clitic significantly higher than sentences without a clitic when the object was specific, as did the native speaker control group. The learners differed from the native speakers in that they also preferred the sentences with a clitic when the object was generic, while the native speakers preferred the sentences without the clitic in this condition.

In the oral sentence selection task, participants where asked to select which sentences they considered grammatical, the sentence with a clitic, without the clitic, neither or both. Native speakers selected the target sentence with a clitic in contexts that forced a specific interpretation 100% of the time and near-native speakers did so 94% of the time. For contexts that forced a generic topic, near-native speakers behaved differently from native speakers: while native speakers chose the sentence with a clitic only 14% of the time, near-native speakers did so in 37% of the trials. These results support the results from the oral grammaticality judgment task, as L2ers overuse the clitic with non-specific objects.

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[1] Note that the non-specific status of bare plurals and mass nouns can be derived from the morphology of those noun phrases. As discussed in Chapter 5, in this thesis indefinite DPs will be used in the non-specific conditions for which integration of the discourse context is necessary in determining whether the noun is specific or non-specific.

The third test was a sentence completion task. The results lead to the same conclusion as the other two tasks: L1 English learners of L2 Spanish over-generalize the use of the clitic in topic left dislocation constructions to non-specific objects, using a pronoun 53% of the time and thus showing a lack of sensitivity to the specificity distinction. Note that these results cannot be attributed to L1 effects, as English does not allow clitics or weak pronouns in object left dislocation at all, independently of the specific or non-specific status of the object. L1 English learners of Spanish thus did learn that Spanish uses clitics in left dislocation of topics, but did not restrict this requirement to specific objects (although clitics were accepted and used more with specific objects than with generic objects).

L1 Spanish, L2 English: Methods and Results. Valenzuela (2005) also tested L1 Spanish learners of L2 English on sentences as shown in (4-a) and (4-b), using the same tasks as discussed above.

(4)   a.   Peter, she could not talk to (him)

      b.   Water, he never drinks (it)

        Adapted from Valenzuela (2004), example 20 and 21.

The results reported for this group show strong L1 effects from Spanish CLLD to English Topicalization: the L2ers accepted a weak pronoun in constructions with left dislocated specific objects, but not with non-specific objects. For instance, in the sentence selection task, L2'ers chose a pronoun in 30% of the cases when the object was specific, but did so only in 7% of the cases in the non-specific condition. The native controls chose the sentences with a pronoun only 8% and 4% of the time in the specific and non-specific conditions, respectively.

With respect to the syntactic differences between the two languages, L1 Spanish learners of English were able to restrict the use of object left dislocation to root contexts. That is, like the control group, the near-natives rejected sentences like those in (5-a) and (5-b) where

the fronted object appeared within an embedded clause, independently of whether there was a pronoun and independently of specificity.

(5)   a.   *I think that, Ralph, I will ask (him) for the recipe.

        b.   *I think that, comedies, Mary and Tom prefer to see (them).

It is interesting that L1 Spanish learners of English transfer properties of their L1 to the L2 in a construction which is functionally equivalent in the two languages but shows syntactic dissimilarities. These learners do not seem to treat English Topicalization like Spanish CLLD, otherwise they would not behave like native speakers on the syntactic restrictions on Topicalization. Instead, they transfer the presence of an overt resumptive element to the L2. In section 4.4 we will elaborate on this.

Valenzuela (2005) concludes that because the L2 English group showed a higher level of L1 influence, it is easier to acquire a new property in the L2 than to let go of an L1 property. In other words, acquiring the obligatory status of the clitic may be easier than losing the clitic, a claim consistent with the approach adopted in this thesis. Let us now turn to two studies which investigated whether L2 learners can acquire discourse constraints on CLLD.

4.2.2   Ivanov, 2009

Ivanov (2009a) investigates the discourse constraints on CLLD in Bulgarian by second language learners with English as a native tongue. The author also tested several syntactic properties of CLLD in Bulgarian, but we will focus here only on the experiment that tested whether learners can distinguish between felicitous and infelicitous options in a pragmatic task. As in Italian and Spanish, Bulgarian CLLD is restricted to contexts where the dislocate

is a topic. As shown in (6) and (7) respectively, the clitic is obligatory when the object is anaphoric, but not allowed when the object is the answer to a WH-question.[2]

(6)   Context: Where did you buy these shoes?

        Answer: Tezi obuvki gi kupix   v Madrid.
               these shoes, Cl I-bought in Madrid
             'These shoes, I bought in Madrid'

(7)   Context: What did you buy in Madrid?

        Answer: Tezi obuvki (#gi) kupix.
               these shoes, (#Cl) bought.1sg
             'I bought these shoes.'

Comparing topic and focus constructions, the thesis investigates whether L2 learners can acquire CLLD and if so whether they can restrict this syntactic configuration to topic contexts. Ivanov tested 24 native speakers of English who were either intermediate or advanced learners of Bulgarian. Participants were asked to judge the acceptability of sentences with and without clitics.

The dialogues used in the experiment consisted of a question and four answers, as shown in (8) for a context with an anaphoric object. The answers varied by the presence or absence of a clitic and whether the object was fronted or not. Participants had to rate the naturalness of each answer individually.

(8)   Poluči   li koleta   ot   Peter?
        receive-2.sg.past Q package from Peter
        Did you receive the package from Peter?

        a.   Koleta go polučix minalata sedmica.
             package CL received last   week

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² Constructions like the one shown in (7) are not grammatical in the Romance languages, simply because non-contrastive foci cannot be fronted (see Section 3.3.1). Relevant to the purpose of this study is that in Bulgarian, like in the Romance languages, clitics are only used with fronted topics, as shown in (6).

‘I received that package last week’   [+Object fronting] [+Clitic doubling]

b. Minalata sedmica go polučix koleta.   [-Object fronting] [+Clitic doubling]

c. #Koleta polučix minalata sedmica.   [+Object fronting] [-Clitic doubling]

d. #Minalata sedmica polučix koleta.   [-Object fronting] [-Clitic doubling]

The results revealed that the participants in the intermediate levels of proficiency did not show sensitivity to the discourse function of the object in rating sentences with and without clitics. The native speaker control group and the advanced L1 English L2 Bulgarian group did show sensitivity to the discourse context. In sentences with topical objects, both the advanced and the native control group gave a significantly higher rating to sentences with clitics than sentences without clitics. In sentences where the object is interpreted as a focus, the reverse pattern was observed: sentences without clitics were rated significantly more acceptable than sentences with clitics, although the learners accepted focused fronted objects with clitics more than the native controls. The author concludes that the learners displayed target-like convergence. The next section discusses a similar study on the acquisition of discourse constraints on CLLD in Spanish.

4.2.3 Slabakova, Kempchinsky and Rothman, 2012

The work by Slabakova et al. (2012) is most closely related to the current project. This study investigates discourse, semantic and purely syntactic constraints on CLLD in Spanish by L1 English learners of L2 Spanish. Similar to Ivanov (2009a), the authors examined participants' judgments of sentences with left dislocated objects, where the object was either a topic or a focus and the clitic either present or absent.

Recall that in Spanish, like in Bulgarian and Italian, resumptive clitics are used only when the left dislocated object is a topic. An example of the topic and focus condition is shown in (9) and (10), respectively.

(9)   Mónica decided to stay at home making dinner while her husband Juan went to the

        supermarket. When he was on the way home, Juan received a call from Mónica, who

        wanted to make sure that Juan had bought everything she needed.

        Mónica: Entonces ¿compraste el aceite de oliva y el vinagre?

        Mónica: So, did you buy the olive oil and the vinegar?

        a.   Juan: El vinagre lo compré. Tenemos aceite en la casa.

              Juan: The vinegar it I bought. I know we have oil at home.

        b.   Juan: *El vinagre compré. Tenemos aceite en la casa.

              Juan: The vinegar I bought. I know we have oil at home.

(10)   Juan and Mónica invited Maria for dinner. Dinner was served on the terrace and

        everything was very tasty. Maria complimented Juan on the soup he cooked. When

        Monica hears this, she responds:

        a.   LA   CARNE preparó Juan, no la   sopa.
              THE MEAT   prepared Juan, not the soup.

        b. *LA   CARNE la preparó Juan, no la   sopa.
              THE MEAT   it prepared Juan, not the soup.
              'Juan prepared the MEAT, not the soup.'

As the example in (10) illustrates, the object in the focus condition is a contrastive focus,

a corrective focus to be specific. All experimental items in the focus condition were of this

type. In addition to testing the knowledge of discourse constraints on CLLD, the authors also

examined knowledge of a semantic property, namely the relationship between the discourse

anaphor and the antecedent. Specifically, CLLD is not only allowed when the dislocate is

identical to the antecedent, but also when the dislocate is a subset, a superset or is in a

part/whole relationship with the antecedent (López, 2009). The example in (11) shows a

set-subset relationship between the dislocate (the chairs) and the dislocate (the furniture).

(11)   Q: What did the movers do with the furniture?

A: Las sillas las dejaron en el pasillo, pero no sé dónde están las
   the chairs CL left.3pl in the hallway, but NEG know.1sg where are the
   mesas.
   tables.
   'The chairs they left them in the hallway, but I dont know what they did with

   the tables.'

Slabakova et al. (2012, Example 2)

The participants in this study were divided into three groups: intermediate, advanced and near-native. All near-native speakers showed convergence with the target language and thus correctly accepted the clitic in the topic condition and rejected it in the focus condition. All groups accepted the clitic in left dislocation constructions where the dislocate was a topic, independent of whether this was identical to the antecedent or in a subset relationship with it. With respect to the focus condition, all groups except the advanced group, showed a significant preference for the no-clitic sentences compared to the clitic sentences when the dislocate was a contrastive focus. To conclude, English learners of L2 Spanish can acquire the discourse appropriateness of CLLD as well as the semantic constraints. Since the discourse constraints on CLLD are the same in Spanish and Italian, we expect that the results from the English learners of Italian in the current study will replicate these findings.

4.2.4   Slabakova & García Mayo, 2015

Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) consider the acquisition of three English non-canonical constructions by Basque-Spanish bilinguals who were L3 learners of English and native Spanish L2 learners of English. The main goal of the paper is to test theories of third language (L3) acquisition in light of the Interface Hypothesis. In addition to L3 learners of English, the authors included a group of second language learners of English with Spanish as a mother tongue. We will focus here on the results of the L2 learners of English exclusively. It is important to observe that although English does not have Clitic Left Dislocation of the Romance

type, English allows object fronting strategies which show strong functional similarities to Romance CLLD, as we have seen.

Concretely, the paper discusses three constructions that are present in the English language: Topicalization, Focus Fronting (FF) and Left Dislocation (LD).[3] It should be mentioned that object initial constructions are infrequent in English, in particular in comparison to CLLD in Romance languages. Section 4.3 elaborates on the effect of construction frequency. An example of English Topicalization is shown in (12) and one with Focus fronting in (13). In sentences with Left Dislocation a constituent is fronted to the beginning of the clause and a resumptive element is inserted in the main clause, as shown in (14).

(12)　　A:　Do you watch football?

　　　　B:　Yeah. Baseball I like a lot BETTER.

　　　　　　(G. McKenna to E. Perkins in conversation, cited in Ward and Birner (2005), p. 161, capitals signal emphatic stress, example (1-b) in Slabakova and García Mayo (2015))

(13)　　M:　Did I take my jacket to be cleaned? I think I need to wear it today.

　　　　B:　The SHIRTS you took to the cleaners, not the jacket. Here it is in the closet.

　　　　　　Slabakova and García Mayo (2015, Example 2-c)

(14)　　One of the guys I work with, **he** said he bought over $100 in Powerball tickets.

　　　　Slabakova and García Mayo (2015, Example 3-a)

The main syntactic difference between Topicalization and Focus Fronting on one hand and Left Dislocation on the other hand is that only the first two form an A-bar dependency with an argument position. Evidence for this comes from the lack of connectivity with the

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[3] Left dislocation is often referred to as Hanging Topic Left Dislocation, a term typically used in the Romance literature. This construction is syntactically and prosodically different from CLLD.

rest of the sentence in Left Dislocation constructions. For example, syntactic islands effects are absent with LD, but present with Topicalization and Focus fronting (see a.o. Cinque, 1997).

Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) assume that the resumptive pronoun as in (14) is the functional equivalent of the clitic in Romance languages. One of the aspects Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) aim to examine is whether L2 or L3 learners of English with Spanish as a mother tongue can acquire the fact that pronouns of the type in (14) are used in English in LD constructions, but not in sentences with Topicalization or Focus Fronting. Recall that, in Spanish, resumptive clitics are obligatory in CLLD. Spanish also uses clitics or strong pronouns in the LD construction, but not with FF. Testing intermediate and advanced learners, the authors could test whether transfer effects from the L1 remain present even in grammars of speakers in the higher proficiency levels.

The L1 Spanish L2 English group comprised of 39 individuals. Each of the three dislocated constructions, Topicalization, Focus Fronting and Left Dislocation, was presented in an appropriate context. The target sentences in the constructions with Topicalization and Focus Fronting were presented as an answer to a question. At each trial, participants were asked to rate the naturalness of two sentences, one with a resumptive pronoun and the same sentence without the pronoun. Participants' attention was thus directly drawn to the presence versus absence of the clitic, a methodology also used in Ivanov (2009a) and Slabakova et al. (2012). The example in (15) shows a target sentence with a topicalized object. Crucially, the resumptive *it*, which picks up the dislocated object, is not acceptable in this context in English.

(15)   Last week I had the sole. It was delicious. The salmon I haven't tried (*it) yet.

The results show that L2 learners of English gave a significantly higher rating for sentences without a resumptive pronoun than sentences with a pronoun in constructions with Focus Fronting and correctly showed the opposite pattern in constructions with Left Dislocation.

Importantly, however, the learners did not show a significant preference for sentences without a pronoun in constructions with Topicalization, unlike the native speakers. The authors conclude that native language transfer is of great help, as the learner groups were target-like in judging the sentences with Focus Fronting and Left Dislocation. However, L1 transfer effects remain present in the construction where the use of pronouns/clitics differs between the two languages, namely with Topicalization. The result that Spanish native speakers accept resumptive clitics in English Topicalization is line with the findings reported in Valenzuela (2005).

4.2.5 Interim Summary

We can summarize the results from the four studies discussed so far as follows: native speakers of English, a language without clitics, can acquire the obligatory status of clitics in languages such as Spanish and Bulgarian. In Valenzuela (2005), L1 English learners of Spanish correctly used clitics and rated sentences with clitics as more acceptable than sentences without clitics in Spanish topicalization constructions. However, even speakers in the advanced group incorrectly extended the use of clitics to sentences with generic objects (which may result from the fact that [±specific] is not discussed in the L2 Spanish classroom and students are over instructed to add a clitic to fronted objects Valenzuela and McCormack (2013)). The findings from Ivanov (2009b) and Slabakova et al. (2012) show that the most advanced groups correctly restrict clitics to discourse contexts where the fronted object is discourse anaphoric. As discussed in Slabakova and Ivanov (2011), it is the specificity requirement attested in Valenzuela (2005) that seems to be harder to acquire than the discourse requirement on CLLD. In addition, Spanish learners of English incorrectly allow sentences with resumptive pronouns in English Topicalization constructions, which seems to be a persistent L1 effect from Spanish CLLD, a construction which has a similar function to English Topicalization.

The next section elaborates on the role of the input in explaining why the use of resumptive clitics is more difficult for some L1-L2 combinations and for some directions of L2 acquisition. It will be shown that unlearning that a clitic is not allowed in the L2 in a particular syntactic construction may be more difficult than learning the use of a clitic in a construction where this is not used in the L1, presumably because negative evidence is required for unlearning. However, the L1-L2 pairings studied to date cannot provide conclusive answers to this question due to the fact that acquisition situations of unlearning happen to coincide with low frequency of that construction in the input. The design of the current study teases apart effects of learning versus unlearning and construction frequency within a construction that is syntactically equivalent in the L1 and the L2.

4.3 Input effects in the acquisition of CLLD

The input learners are exposed to in part determines the relative difficulty of acquiring L2 properties. It is not surprising that properties of the grammar that are supported by sufficient and unambiguous evidence in the input, will be easier to acquire than properties for which the evidence is less reliable (see for example Yang's (2002) Variational Learning Model). This section discusses two papers that have considered the role of input on the acquisition of discourse-conditioned left dislocations in the interlanguage competence of L2 learners. Specifically, we question what the role of the input is in explaining why some learners are able to overcome L1 effects but others are not.

4.3.1 Slabakova, 2015 - effects of construction frequency

Slabakova (2015) examines the effects of construction frequency in overcoming L1 transfer effects at the syntax-discourse interface using aspects of two studies on the acquisition of CLLD, namely Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) and Slabakova et al. (2012). As discussed in sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4, L1 English L2 learners of Spanish perform closer to the native control group than L1 Spanish L2 learners of English. In particular, the L2 English

learners incorrectly accept sentences with a resumptive pronoun in English Topicalization constructions, at the near-native level. Slabakova (2015) suggests that this difference may be attributed to the fact that Topicalization in English is much less frequent than CLLD in Spanish, providing the L2 learner with insufficient input to overcome L1 transfer effects. The L2 learners of Spanish, on the other hand, successfully acquire the obligatory status of clitics in CLLD because they sufficiently encounter this particular form-meaning mapping in the input.

To get an estimate of the frequency levels of Topicalization in English and CLLD in Spanish, Slabakova (2015) reviews the results of a number of studies which examined corpus data focusing in particular on information structure. These corpora provide information about the proportion of object fronted word orders and the kind of discourse contexts in which they appear most frequently. For example, the NOCANDO corpus (Brunetti et al., 2011) was created specifically for studying non-canonical word orders driven by Information Structure and contains elicitation data from participants narrating books by Mercer Meyer. Data from 13 native Spanish speakers provided 25,000 words and 3,800 segments and showed that 1.35% of all finite clauses were instances of CLLD or LD. Based on the two oral corpora reported in Brunetti (2009), Slabakova (2015) estimates that Focus fronting is around half as frequent as CLLD in Spanish.[4] The Switchboard telephone Speech Corpus from Gregory and Michaelis (2001) on English shows that Topicalization occurred only in 44 of 32,805 finite sentences, which is in around 0.0013% of the sentences. Postolache (2015) found 24

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[4] Leal and Slabakova (2019) also counted instances of dislocation constructions in the L2 input by examining recorded sessions from the L2 Spanish classroom. The authors find that in the input directed to L2 learners, object fronted word orders are even less frequent than the numbers reported in Brunetti (2009). Most of the participants in the current study live in Italy and thus we can safely assume that they are exposed to naturalistic data outside the L2 classroom. Nevertheless, the low frequency of dislocation constructions, and Focus Fronting in particular, can hinder successful acquisition. In future studies it would be interesting to compare proficiency matched L2 classroom learners to learners who acquired the L2 in naturalistic settings to further examine the role of construction frequency.

instances of non canonical left dislocations in the Wall Street Journal corpus (containing 1,107,392 words) and 68 in the novel *1984.* In each of these sources, around half of the dislocations were Topicalization and half Focus Fronting. Although the different studies are only marginally comparable, since they differ in size and mode (written versus spontaneous speech data), as Slabakova (2015) acknowledges, these data suggest that CLLD in Spanish is around 1000 times more frequent than Topicalization in English. Furthermore, CLLD is twice as frequent as Focus Fronting in Spanish and Topicalization and Focus Fronting are about equally infrequent in English.

The data from the two studies discussed in Slabakova (2015) are directly comparable in terms of the methodologies used and learners' experience with the L2. Both studies used a felicity judgment task where sentences were embedded in a context and where learners had to rate the acceptability of two sentences, one with a clitic/pronoun and one without. Both participant groups had an average onset of acquisition in their early teens and their age at testing was in their mid twenties to thirties. Slabakova (2015) argues that the main difference between the two situations is the relative frequency of the relevant construction in the L2.

4.3.2 Slabakova and García Mayo, 2017 - unlearning in the absence of negative evidence

In a paper that tests models of L3 acquisition, Slabakova and García Mayo (2017) entertain another possibility for why it seems to be impossible to overcome Spanish transfer in English Topicalization. In this paper, the authors discuss the results from two studies on L2 English by native speakers of Spanish, Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) on object fronting and García Mayo and Slabakova (2015) on object drop. The two papers discuss data from the same subjects. These papers contain two groups of L3 learners of English, and one group of L2 learners of English. The L3 learners were Spanish/Basque bilinguals and the L2 learners were Spanish monolinguals. The results of the L2 learners are of interest to us,

but the results did not differ for the L2 and L3 learners of English. Let us first discuss the phenomenon of null objects in Spanish as reported in García Mayo and Slabakova (2015).

In Spanish, simple clauses allow pronominal objects which refer to a previously mentioned entity to be null (Campos, 1986; Clements, 1994). There is, however, a specificity restriction: null objects are only allowed with generic objects. As shown in (16-b), when the object is specific, a null object cannot be used to refer to 'the book'. However, when the referent is generic, as is the case in (17-b), a null object can optionally be used.

(16) a. Compró   Inés el   libro para su hija
          buy.3SG.PAST Inés the book for   her daughter
          'Did Inés buy the book for her daughter?

      b. Sí, lo/   #Ø compró
          Yes cl.acc.m.3sg/ Ø   buy.3SG.PAST
          'Yes, she bought it.'

(17) a. Traj-erion   café   para la cena?
          bring-3PL.PAST coffee for   the dinner
          'Did they bring coffee for dinner?'

      b. Sí, lo/   Ø traj-eron
          Yes cl.acc.m.3sg/ Ø bring-3PL.PAST
          'Yes, they bought some.'

      Slabakova and García Mayo (adapted examples 4 and 5 from 2017)

The experimental setting was similar to Slabakova and García Mayo (2015) on Topicalization as discussed in section 4.2.4: participants were presented with a context followed by a question answer-pair. The target sentences either contained a pronoun or not and participants were asked to rate the naturalness of the answer.

The results revealed that all learner groups behaved like the native speaker control group in accepting sentences with specific and generic overt pronouns and in rejecting unacceptable sentences without a pronoun, as the mean rating of sentences with overt pronouns was much higher than the ratings for null pronouns. However, when comparing the rejection rates of ungrammatical generic and specific null objects, all non-native English groups gave the

sentences with a generic null object a higher score than sentences with a specific null object, suggesting some remaining influence from Spanish.

The paper concludes that L2 and L3 learners of English who are multilingual with Spanish L1/L2 are much more accurate in the task on null objects compared to Topicalization. They correctly dispreferred null pronouns with generic objects, but incorrectly allowed overt pronouns in sentences with topicalized objects. Why is this the case? One of the factors Slabakova and García Mayo (2017) entertain to explain this discrepancy relates to how the input informs the learner that the L2 grammar is different from the L1 grammar. Under the generative approach to SLA it is commonly understood that positive evidence is needed to alter or inform a grammar. Note, however, that for the Spanish learner of English to restructure the L1 grammar to the L2 grammar, they need to retreat from the use of a clitic. To do this, negative evidence is required, but it seems reasonable to assume that most speakers of L2 English have never been explicitly told that one cannot use a resumptive pronoun in English Topicalization constructions. Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that learners often do not attend to overt corrections and since most learners never hear such correction, we cannot rely on negative evidence (White, 1989). Learners would have to infer from the absence of the pronoun that pronouns are not used in English Topicalization. A reasonable hypothesis the L2 learner of English may consider, as Slabakova and García Mayo (2017) discuss, is that pronouns are optional, as there is no evidence in the input that informs the learner that pronouns may not be used. With respect to Null Objects on the other hand, the learner is presented with consistent positive evidence that English expresses pronouns overtly and therefore the L2ers performance is more accurate than with Topicalization. Thus, when positive evidence is available in the input for the obligatory presence of a linguistic form, as is the case for overt objects, acquisition is facilitated. Slabakova and García Mayo (2017) acknowledge that '*absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, when positive linguistic evidence is concerned, and the learner may still harbor "doubts about null objects.*' (p.80). That is, consistent exposure to overt pronouns may not take away the possibility that overt

pronouns are optional. The authors argue that this doubt is reflected in the L2ers per-formance; although Spanish learners of English correctly reject null objects, the L2ers still accept them at a higher rate in generic than in specific contexts.

4.4 Reconfiguring Discourse-Syntax mappings - Research questions

In this section the exact research questions of this thesis are presented, examining whether L2 learners are capable of overcoming L1 transfer effects when this involves re-configuration of the discourse features associated with CLLD.

4.4.1 L1 transfer

This thesis examines whether and how L2 learners reconfigure features related to the syntax-discourse interface. As discussed in Chapter 2, research on the acquisition of discourse constraints on syntax has not yet systematically studied the role of the L1 in facilitating or hindering the acquisition of discourse dependent syntactic structures. To explain how this question will be addressed in this thesis, it is necessary to consider how the learning task for Romanian learners of Italian differs from English learners of Italian. Let us return to how the three languages differ.

All three languages under consideration (English, Italian and Romanian) allow fronting of contrastive topics and contrastive foci, but only Italian and Romanian use resumptive clitics in left dislocation constructions.[5] The Romanian learner of Italian encounters CLLD

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[5] Note that English does allow a topic marking construction called Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD). Based on surface similarities between HTLD and Italian CLLD, one may wonder whether English learners of Italian transfer their knowledge of the discourse use of HTLD when acquiring Italian CLLD. Note, however, that literature comparing the two constructions revealed clear syntactic differences between the two constructions. To just name a few, left dislocated objects in CLLD originate inside the clause and raise to the left periphery, while for HTLD, the constituent in sentence initial position is base-generated there (Cinque, 1997; Shaer and Frey, 2005). Furthermore, HTLD allows doubling by a strong pronoun or epithet, while CLLD does not. In terms of prosody, there is a pause between

constructions in the L2 and due to morpho-syntactic correspondence of the construction in the L1 and the L2, they may associate Italian CLLD constructions with [+specific] left dislocated objects. English learners of Italian do not encounter such a correspondence. Therefore, L1 transfer in the use of clitics is only predicted for the L1 Romanian group. Table 4–1 summarizes the discourse features associated with CLLD in the relevant languages.

	+anaphoric		-anaphoric		Relevant property
	+specific	-specific	+specific	-specific	
Italian	✓	✓	✗	✗	[+anaphoric]
Romanian	✓	✗	✓	✗	[+specific]
English	✗	✗	✗	✗	N.A.

Table 4–1: Distribution of resumptive clitics in left dislocation

As discussed in Chapter 3, Italian clitics and the agreeing left dislocated object receive a [+anaphoric] feature in object left dislocation constructions, while in Romanian [± anaphoric] is irrelevant. Instead Romanian left dislocated objects and their corresponding clitic are [+specific]. To acquire the L2 Italian discourse constraint on CLLD, Romanian learners of Italian have to lose the [+specific] requirement and acquire the [+anaphoric] restriction.

The studies on L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on CLLD tested native speakers for whom CLLD was not part of their native language. The reported findings provide evidence in favour of the idea that English L2 learners of a language with CLLD such as Spanish or Bulgarian can acquire this syntactic construction and restrict its use to the right discourse contexts (Ivanov, 2009b; Slabakova et al., 2012). In this study we investigate whether L2 learners can acquire discourse constraints on syntax when both languages use CLLD but the

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the 'hanging topic' phrase and the rest of the clause in HTLD, while such a pause is not necessary for CLLD. Note furthermore that studies testing English learners of an L2 with CLLD (Ivanov, 2009a; Slabakova et al., 2012, e.g.) find that learners in the lower levels of L2 proficiency do not show target-like acquisition of the topic requirement on CLLD, suggesting no (positive) transfer occurred from HTLD.

discourse constraints allowing this syntactic construction differ between the L1 and the L2.

Research question 1. Following the idea that reconfiguration of features that are associated with linguistic forms increases acquisition difficulty and therefore can cause developmental delays (following the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis) or target language divergence in end-state grammars, the following research question will be investigated:

Is reconfiguring discourse features associated with CLLD (L1 Romanian, L2 Italian) more difficult than acquiring discourse features associated with CLLD without prior L1 knowledge of this construction (L1 English, L2 Italian)?

4.4.2 The role of L2 input

Section 4.3.2 already touched on the observation that the input plays an important role in overcoming potential L1 transfer effects. The Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (Lardiere, 2008) predicts that with sufficient L2 experience, feature reassembly is possible and L1 transfer effects can be overcome, although sometimes with considerable difficulty. How can the available evidence in the input contribute to predicting in more detail the relative ease or difficulty in the reconfiguration of L1 to L2 form-meaning mappings?

Recall that Section 4.3, discussing the arguments presented in Slabakova (2015) and Slabakova and García Mayo (2017) on L2 acquisition of English Topicalization and null object pronouns, suggested that some L1 transfer effects may be very difficult to overcome if the construction is insufficiently frequent in the L2 and learners resort to L1 strategies. However, it was impossible to determine whether non-convergence with the target language was because Topicalization was insufficiently used in English or because negative evidence is needed to unlearn the L1 configuration.

Including two languages that differ on two levels as Italian and Romanian do with respect to CLLD allows us to investigate the relative contribution of input frequency and

persistent L1 effects in advanced L2 grammars in a more controlled setting, using the same linguistic construction, participants and methodology.

As can be seen in Table 4–1, there are two contexts where the use of a clitic differs between Italian and Romanian, namely when the dislocated object is [+anaphoric, -specific], a non-specific topic, and when the object is [-anaphoric, +specific], a specific focus. In the former, Italian uses a clitic but Romanian does not while the reverse holds for contexts with [-anaphoric, +specific] objects. In other words, Romanian learners of Italian have to learn to use a clitic in the [+anaphoric, -specific] context and unlearn the use of a clitic in the [-anaphoric, +specific] context. Learners are provided with positive evidence in the input from the presence of clitics in constructions with left dislocated non-specific topics. It is expected that the misleading transfer from Romanian can be overcome because the input provides the learner with positive evidence that left dislocation of non-specific objects uses a clitic. L1 Romanian learners of Italian also have to acquire the fact that CLLD cannot be used when the object is a focus. This task is predicted to be more complicated as negative evidence is required to unlearn the use of a clitic in this construction. Note that this approach assumes that the use of clitics is acquired for Topic Fronting and Focus Fronting constructions separately. This is motivated by the fact that Topic Fronting and Focus Fronting show syntactic and prosodic differences that are independent of the use of clitics (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2). English learners of Italian, on the other hand, have to acquire the fact that CLLD is associated with Topic Fronting. In particular, they do not have any unlearn any L1 features associated with CLLD.

Research question 2. *Is it harder to unlearn that CLLD cannot be used in a particular discourse context ([+specific, -anaphoric]) than learning a new discourse context in which CLLD is used ([-specific, +anaphoric]), because only the latter can be acquired from positive evidence while negative evidence is needed for unlearning?*

4.5 Summary

In this chapter several studies on the acquisition of discourse constraints on object fronting constructions were discussed. It was concluded that L2 learners whose L1 does not allow CLLD (English) can acquire the discourse constraints on CLLD, although succesful acquisition is typically achieved only in the more advanced stages. For this reason, the current study will also only include high intermediate/advanced to near-native speakers of Italian. By investigating the performance of Romanian learners of Italian, and comparing them to English learners of Italian, we hope to gain more specific insights into the possibility and process of feature reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface.

CHAPTER 5
Experiment on L2 Italian

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the experiments conducted in this study. The main goal is to explore feature reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface, testing the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on Italian CLLD. Two different experimental methods are used, an Acceptability Judgment task and a Written Elicitation task.

As discussed in Chapter 3, object fronted constructions are discourse sensitive and Romanian and Italian felicitously use CLLD in different discourse contexts. In the theoretical literature it is argued that Italian CLLD is a Contrastive Topic configuration, where the fronted object is [+anaphoric]. In Romanian, CLLD is not associated with Topic Fronting; rather, the presence of a clitic depends on whether the fronted object has a specific referent in the discourse. To my knowledge, no study has investigated experimentally both the anaphoricity constraint on Italian CLLD and the specificity constraint on Romanian CLLD. Therefore, the experiments were first run with native speakers of Italian and native speakers of Romanian, aimed at testing the acceptability of clitics in object fronted constructions in controlled discourse contexts. The judgments from native speakers form the baseline for testing the research questions for the L2 acquisition of Italian CLLD as spelled out in the next section. I will first discuss the experimental design and procedures used. The methodology section will be followed by the results from the native speakers and the results from two groups of second language learners of Italian.

5.2 Methodology and Procedure

The experiments were conducted with native speakers of Italian, native speakers of Romanian and two groups of second language learners with either English or Romanian as

a native language. Information about the participants and the results of the tests will be discussed for the native speakers and the second language learners seperately. Section 5.3 focuses on the native speakers and Section 5.4 on the second language learners. This section explains the experimental design and procedures used.

The experimental session consisted of two tasks, an Acceptability Judgment task and a Written Elicitation task. The results will be analyzed using mixed-effect models in R, examining the effects of anaphoricity and specificity on the acceptance and use of clitics. In addition, native speakers of Italian and the second language learners completed a proficiency task and a background questionnaire. To categorize participants in groups based on proficiency level, three measurements were used: a self-rating, a proficiency test adapted from the Italian placement test from the Oxford University Language Centre and a C-test. On average, participants completed all parts of the study within 80 minutes.

5.2.1 Acceptability Judgment task

The acceptability judgment task consisted of 84 trials, involving sentences with object initial word orders embedded in different contexts. As shown in Table 5–1, there were 64 experimental trials and 20 control trials. The experimental trials consisted of 16 different items. Specificity was a between-item factor and discourse status and use of clitic were within item factors. In other words, for half of the items the fronted object was specific and in the other half the fronted object was non-specific. Within each item, there were two varying factors: discourse status (either anaphoric or not anaphoric) and the clitic, which was either present or absent. In sum, 8 responses were collected per condition for each participant.

The experimental design consisted of four different conditions, varying the factors *specificity* (specific versus non-specific) and *anaphoricity* (anaphoric versus non-anaphoric). Examples of trials with specific objects are shown in (1) and (2) and trials with a non-specific object are shown in (3) and (4). In examples (1) and (3) the object is anaphoric and in examples (2) and (4) the object is not anaphoric. In particular, in (1), the fronted object *the*

	Anaphoric		Not Anaphoric	
Experimental Items	Clitic	No-Clitic	Clitic	No-Clitic
8 Specific	8	8	8	8
8 Non-Specific	8	8	8	8
Control	Clitic	No-Clitic	Clitic	No-Clitic
2 Generic Indefinites	2	2	2	2
6 Partitive Indefinites	6	6	N.A.	N.A.

Table 5–1: Number of trials per group

couch refers to a specific unique couch and it has a discourse antecedent in the immediate preceding question, therefore being [+specific,+anaphoric]. The fronted object in the target sentence in (2) differs from the one in (1) because it is does not have a discourse antecedent and is therefore analyzed as [+specific, -anaphoric]. In (3) and (4), the fronted object *a wine* does not refer to a specific (glass of) wine. The object in (3) has a discourse antecedent in the preceding context as it is one of the alternatives presented in the question and it therefore [+anaphoric]. The question in (4) does not introduce *a wine* and is therefore [-anaphoric].

The context is the same for all conditions within each item and the exact same contexts are used for the Italian and the Romanian versions of the experiment. In the examples below, all contexts, questions and answers are provided in Italian for the Italian native speakers and in Romanian for the Romanian native speakers. In the examples below, the contexts and questions are given in Italian and the target answers both in Italian (A) and in Romanian (A').

(1)   **[+specific,+anaphoric]**
       Luca e Michaela si sono appena sposati e si sono trasferiti nella loro nuova casa. Luca ha lavorato tutto il giorno mentre Michaela è rimasta a casa per sistemare i mobili. Luca la chiama per chiedere com'è andata e dice:
       Luca and Michaela recently got married and they moved into their new house. Luca worked all day while Michaela stayed home to organize the furniture. Luca calls her to ask how it went and says:

       Q: Cosa hai   fatto con il   divano e   il   tavolo?
           What have.2sg done with the couch and the table?
           What did you do with the couch and what with the table?

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A: Il   divano *(l')ho   messo in soggiorno,   ma il   tavolo si   è
The couch cl.m.3sg'have.1sg put   in living room, but the table REFL is
rotto   durante il   trasporto.
broken during   the transportation.

A': Canapeaua am   pus-*(o)   în sufragerie, dar masa   s-a
couch-the   have.1sg put-cl.f.3sg in living room but table-the REFL-has.3sg
rupt   în timpul transportului.
broken in time   transportation
The couch I put in the living room, but the table broke during the transportation.

(2) **[+specific, -anaphoric]**

Q: Hai   messo il   tavolo in soggiorno, vero?
have.2sg put   the table in living   room, right?
You put the table in the living room, right?

A: Il   DIVANO (*l')ho   messo in soggiorno,   non il   tavolo. Il
The couch   cl.m.3sg'have.1sg put   in living room, not the table. The
tavolo si   è rotto   durante il   trasporto.
table REFL is broken during   the transportation.

A': CANAPEAUA am   pus-*(o)   în sufragerie, nu masa.   Masa
couch-the   have.1sg put-cl.f.3sg in living room, not table-the. Table-the
s-a   rupt   în timpul transportului.
REFL-has.3sg broken in time   transportation
The couch I put in the living room, not the table. The table broke during the
transportation.

(3) **[-specific, +anaphoric]**
Emma ed Elio sono al ristorante con Nicolò e Susanna, il fratello e la sorella di Elio.
Nicolò e Susanna si scusano e vanno in bagno chiedendo ad Elio di ordinare per loro.
Quando il cameriere arriva, Elio non è sicuro di quello che hanno chiesto Nicolò e
Susanna e chiede ad Emma:
Emma and Elio are at a restaurant with Nicolò and Susanna, Elio's brother and sister.
Nicolò and Susanna excuse themselves to go to the bathroom and ask Elio to order
for them. When the waiter arrives, Elio isn't sure what Nicolò and Susanna requested
and he asks Emma:

Q: Chi voleva un vino e chi una birra?
Who wanted a wine and who a beer?
'Who wanted a wine and who a beer?'

A: Un vino (*lo)   ha ordinato tuo fratello e   tua sorella vorrebbe
A   wine cl.m.3sg has ordered your brother and your sister want.cond.3sg
una birra.
a   beer

A': Un vin　　*(l-)a　　　comandat fratele　tău　iar sora　ta　　ar　　vrea o
A　wine cl.m.3sg-has ordered　　brother your and sister your would want a
bere.
beer
Your brother ordered a wine and your sister would like a beer.

(4)　　**[-specific, -anaphoric]**
Q:　Nicolò ha　ordinato una birra, vero?
Nicolò has ordered　a　　beer, right?
Nicolò ordered a beer, right?
A:　UN VINO (*lo)　　ha ordinato tuo　fratello, non una birra. È tua　sorella
A　wine　cl.m.3sg has ordered　your brother, not a　　beer. Is your sister
che　vorrebbe　　una birra.
who want.cond.3sg a　　beer.
A':　Un VIN (*l-)a　　　comandat fratele　tău,　nu o bere. Sora　ta　　e cea
A　wine cl.m.3sg-has ordered　　brother your, not a beer. Sister your is one
care ar　　vrea o bere.
who would want a beer.
Your brother ordered a wine, not a beer. Its your sister who would like a beer.

Comparing the target answers within each item, it can be seen that [+anaphoric] and [-anaphoric] target sentences differ minimally. These two conditions differ with respect to the preceding question, which introduces the object in the answer either as a Contrastive Topic or a Contrastive Focus.[1]　Additionally, in all target sentences, the fronted object is contrasted to another salient DP, which is mentioned later in the second part of the sentence.

The stimuli in Italian and Romanian were identical; language specific characteristics were taken into account in the development of the stimuli. For example, no human DPs were used in object position because human objects are marked with the differential object marker *Pe* in Romanian and therefore these DPs also require a clitic in non-object-fronting constructions (see Chapter 3, Section 2.1). Furthermore, in items that contained a past

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[1] Based on the results of a pilot study with native speakers of Italian it was decided to include the *not the table* or *not a beer* shown in the examples for sentences with Focus Fronting to emphasize the corrective focus interpretation of these sentences.

participle (*Passato Prossimo* in Italian), it was ensured that all objects were masculine. This is important because Italian requires gender and number agreement between the past participle and the clitic attached to the verbal complex. There is no gender and number agreement when there is no clitic, instead the default masculine singular ending '-o' is used. In addition, Italian names mentioned in the stories were adapted to Romanian names. Finally, in the Romanian experiment, the number of Romanian proclitics and enclitics were balanced across specific and non-specific items, as the Romanian female clitic *o* is attached after the verb when the verbal complex starts with a vowel. To illustrate, (1)/(2) above show the feminine singular clitic after the verbal complex and (3)/(4) show the masculine singular clitic prefixed to the verbal complex. A full list of the experimental items in Italian and Romanian can be found in Appendix C and E, respectively.

In addition to the experimental trials, control items were included to ensure that the differences between specific and non-specific objects could not be attributed to a definiteness distinction (see Table 5–1). 12 trials were included (6 items, half with and half without a clitic) with partitive indefinites, an example of which is shown in (5). Another category of control items concerned Generic Indefinites, where the indefinite represents all members of a class. Cornilescu and Dobrovie-Sorin (2008) argue that in Romanian the clitic is optional with dislocated generic indefinites. Out of curiosity, 2 items (8 trials, varying discourse and presence of a clitic) were included to test native speakers' behaviour with respect to these sentences. Observing the results in a plot, there indeed did not seem to be a clear preference for the Romanian native speakers for sentences with or without clitics. Although interesting, these findings do not contribute to answering our research questions and therefore will not be further discussed.

(5)   Giorgia racconta che l'anno scorso dei vandali hanno danneggiato due palazzi nel centro di Roma. Riccardo chiede:
       Giorgia tells that last year some vandals damaged two buildings in the centre of Rome. Riccardo asks:

A: Sono   stati in grado di ricostruirli?
    Are.3pl been in able   to rebuild-cl.m.3pl
    Did they manage to rebuild them?
B: Uno dei   palazzi   (l')   hanno restaurato, ma per l'altro   sono
    one of-the buildings cl.m.3sg have   rebuilt,   but for the-other are.3pl
    ancora in attesa dei   fondi.
    still   in waiting of-the funds.
    'They rebuilt one of the buildings, but they are still waiting for the funds for the other one.'

The experiment was implemented using an online script from Prosody.Lab. The experiment was presented to the participants as follows: for each target item, the participant was asked to simultaneously read and listen to the context. Participants then clicked "next", after which the question and answer pair appeared, again both in written and audio form. Auditory stimuli were used to ensure that participants processed the sentences with the intended intonation. Two native speakers of Italian (one female and one male) recorded the stimuli for the Italian experiment and two native speakers of Romanian (one female and one male) the ones for the Romanian experiment. Questions were pronounced by the male and contexts and answers by the female speaker.

After hearing a question-answer pair, participants were asked to rate how acceptable the answer sounded to the question provided. Participants used a scale from 1 to 6, where 1 indicated that the answer was highly unacceptable and 6 that the answer was highly acceptable. An "I don't know"-option was not included in this task. Participants could listen to the question-answer pair a second time, if they wished.

5.2.2   Written Elicitation task

In the written elicitation task, participants were asked to complete sentences that were partially left blank. The written elicitation task consisted of 20 target items, five of each in the four possible conditions as illustrated in (6)-(9), varying the factors [± specific] and [± anaphoric]. The parts left blank aimed at eliciting a verb alone or a clitic and a verb. The experimental items were interspersed with 2 control items and 32 filler items. The control

items consisted of partitive indefinites and the filler items doubled as a proficiency task for the second language learners. Each item started with a short context followed by a question and answer pair similar to the Acceptability Judgment task. All contexts, questions and answers were provided in Italian for the Italian native speakers and the Italian L2 learners and in Romanian for the Romanian native speakers. In the examples below the contexts and questions are given in Italian and the answers (the target sentences) both in Italian and in Romanian. Note, however, that the Romanian contexts were in Romanian. A full list of experimental stimuli can be found in Appendix D for Italian and Appendix F for Romanian.

(6) **[+ specific, +anaphoric]**
Livio cerca di trovare qualcuno che possa prendere il cane e il gatto di sua nonna perché lei non può più prendersi cura di loro. Livio chiede a Silvia:
Livio is looking for someone who can take his granny's cat and dog as she can't take care of them anymore. Livio asks Silvia:

Q: Vorresti   adottare il   gatto o magari il   cane?
   want.cond.2sg. adopt   the cat   or maybe the dog?
   Would you maybe want to adopt the cat or the dog?

A: Il gatto _____*lo adotterei/lo prenderei*_____ volentieri, ma non abbiamo spazio per un cane.

A': Pisica *o voi adopta/as adopta-o/o pot adopta* cu drag, dar nu avem loc pentru un câine.
    the cat _____ happily, but I do not have space for a dog.

(7) **[+ specific, -anaphoric]**
Anna e Beatrice parlano di Lea e Gianni che si sono appena sposati. Anna dice a Beatrice:
Anna and Beatrice are talking about Lea and Gianni who recently got married. Anna says to Beatrice:

Q: Se ho   capito   bene hanno   visitato le   isole   Vergini.
   If have.1sg understood well have.3pl visited the Islands Vergin
   They have visited the Virgin Islands if I remember correctly.

A: Le MALEDIVE _____*hanno*_____ vistato per il viaggio di nozze, non le isole Vergini.

A': Insulele MALDIVE _____*le-au*_____ vizitat în luna de miere, nu Insulele Virgine.
    The Maledives _____ visited for the honeymoon, not

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the Virgin Islands.

(8)   **[-specific, +anaphoric]**
Alessandra è in biblioteca ma non sa esattamente cosa leggere e quindi va dal bibliotecario per chiedere consigli. Il bibliotecario le dice:
Alessandra is in the library but she isn't sure what she wants to read and she goes to the librarian to ask for recommendations. The librarian says:

Q: Vorresti   leggere un libro sugli   aeroplani o uno sulle   macchine?
    Want.cond.2sg read   a   book on-the airplane or one on-the cars?
    Would you like to read a book about airplanes or one about cars?

A: Un libro sugli aeroplani _____ *lo leg* _____gerei con piacere, ma le
    macchine non mi interessano.

A': O carte despre avioane _____ *as citi* _____ cu plăcere, dar maşinile
    nu mă interesează
    A book about airplanes _____ with pleasure, but I am
    not interested in cars.

(9)   **[-specific, -anaphoric]**
Elena va a fare shopping perch ha un appuntamento questo weekend. Il suo amico pensando di essere utile dice:
Elena will go shopping this weekend because she has a date. Her friend tries to be helpful and says:

Q: Non cercavi   una maglietta nera? Ne   ho   viste alcune carine
    Not look.past.2sg a   shirt   black? Of-them have.1sg seen some   cute
    da Zara.
    at Zara
    Weren't you looking for a black shirt? I saw some cute ones at Zara.

A: Un VESTITO nero _____ *cerco* _____, non una maglietta nera.

A': O ROCHIE neagră _____ *caut* _____, nu o cămaşă neagră.
    A black dress _____ not a black shirt.

The experiment was completed using a Google form, with each question placed on a different

page so that participants saw one trial at a time. Participants typed their answer in the

allocated box and then clicked "next" to continue to the next item. Participants could not

go back to change previous answers.

For the native speakers and the L2 learners of Italian, items from the Written Elicitation

task were interspersed with items from the proficiency task, which will be discussed next.

In addition, a C-test was placed at the end of this task.[2] The native speakers of Romanian participated in a translation of the Italian Written Elicitation task. This version did not include items from a proficiency task or a C-test as this was only relevant for the Italian native speakers whose responses created a baseline to which the L2 learners of Italian were compared.

5.2.3 Italian proficiency task

The Italian proficiency test focused on a variety of grammar phenomena such as use of prepositions, conjugation, correct use of articles, clitics and agreement marking on adjectives. The original test was a multiple choice test devised by the University of Oxford which was used as an Italian placement test (taken from www.lang.ox.ac.uk/italiancollapse663986). The task was adapted such that the test items could double serve as fillers for the Written Elicitation task. In order to make this task as similar as possible to the target items, the multiple choice options from the original proficiency task were removed. Instead, the target word was gapped and all items were preceded by a short context sentence and a question. An example item is shown in (10). In this item participants were expected to use the correct preposition which in Italian is merged with the determiner of the following noun.

(10)   Claudia sente che Emanuele è agitato mentre chiude un cassetto e chiede:
         Claudia hears that Emanuele is getting frustrated while he is closing a drawer and asks:
    a.   Claudia: Cosa c'è?
         Claudia: What is going on?
    b.   Emanuele: Metti troppe cose ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯cassetti, non riesco a chiuderli.
         Emanuele: You put too many things ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯drawers, I can't close them.

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[2] A C-test is a gap filling test where parts of words are missing. In this respect the C-test differs from a Cloze-test where whole words are omitted.

The Italian proficiency task consisted of 34 items and, like the Written Elicitation task, the responses were collected using a Google form, with each question placed on a different page. All responses were manually graded by a native speaker.

5.2.4 Italian C-test

The C-test, developed by Voorhout (2010), consisted of 4 short stories taken from newspapers. In each sentence, complete words (if they were function words) or parts of lexical words were omitted and participants were asked to complete these sentences. In total there were 100 gaps to be filled. Participants were instructed to leave a gap blank if they did not know the answer. All responses were manually graded by a native speaker. A complete version of the C-test can be found in Appendix B.

5.2.5 Background Questionnaire

A background questionnaire was used to obtain information about the participant's age, level of education, parental languages and experience with Italian as well as other languages. An English translation of the background questionnaire is shown in Appendix A. One issue concerned knowledge of another language with CLLD other than Romanian and Italian. Three participants in the Romanian group and four participants in the Italian group had some knowledge of Spanish. Other than one participant, who was already excluded from the analysis because of a very low proficiency score, these speakers categorized themselves as intermediate speakers of Spanish. Including or excluding these participants did not change the experimental results and therefore their data was retained in the analysis. For the self-rating of proficiency in the L2, participants were asked to indicate their level in Italian for Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking. For each category they could choose between *Beginner, Low-Intermediate, High Intermediate, Advanced* and *Near-Native.* The self-rating was then compared to each participant's score in the above-mentioned proficiency tasks. The self-rating from participants in the L1 Romanian group reflected their performance on the

proficiency tasks while several speakers in the L1 English group overestimated their knowledge of Italian. Their performance on the proficiency tasks, not the self-rating, was used to categorize participants into different groups based on proficiency.

5.3   Italian and Romanian native speakers

This section discusses the results from the native speakers of Italian and the native speakers of Romanian to establish a baseline to which the performance of the second language learners will be compared. The results from the Acceptability Judgment task will be discussed first followed by the results from the Written Elicitation task. Based on the theoretical literature discussed in Chapter 3, I predict Italian CLLD to be associated with anaphoricity and Romanian CLLD with specificity.

5.3.1   Participants

A total of 18 native speakers of Italian and 17 native speakers of Romanian participated in the study. Participants were recruited through word of mouth and through Facebook. All participants received compensation for their time after completion of the experiment.

5.3.2   Results - Acceptability Judgment task

To examine the effects of discourse function and specificity on the use of CLLD in Italian and in Romanian, the results were plotted for each language group separately. Figure 5–1 shows the mean felicity judgments and standard error for each condition and each L1 group. As predicted, the Italian native speakers judge the clitic sentences as more acceptable and the non-clitic sentences as less acceptable when the object is a discourse topic ([+anaphoric]), independently of specificity. When the fronted object is a discourse focus ([-anaphoric]), non-clitic sentences were preferred over clitic sentence. The opposite pattern is observed for Romanian; Romanian native speakers prefer clitic sentences and disfavor non-clitic sentences

when the fronted object is specific and prefer non-clitic sentences over clitic sentences when the fronted object is non-specific, independently of its discourse status (topic or focus).
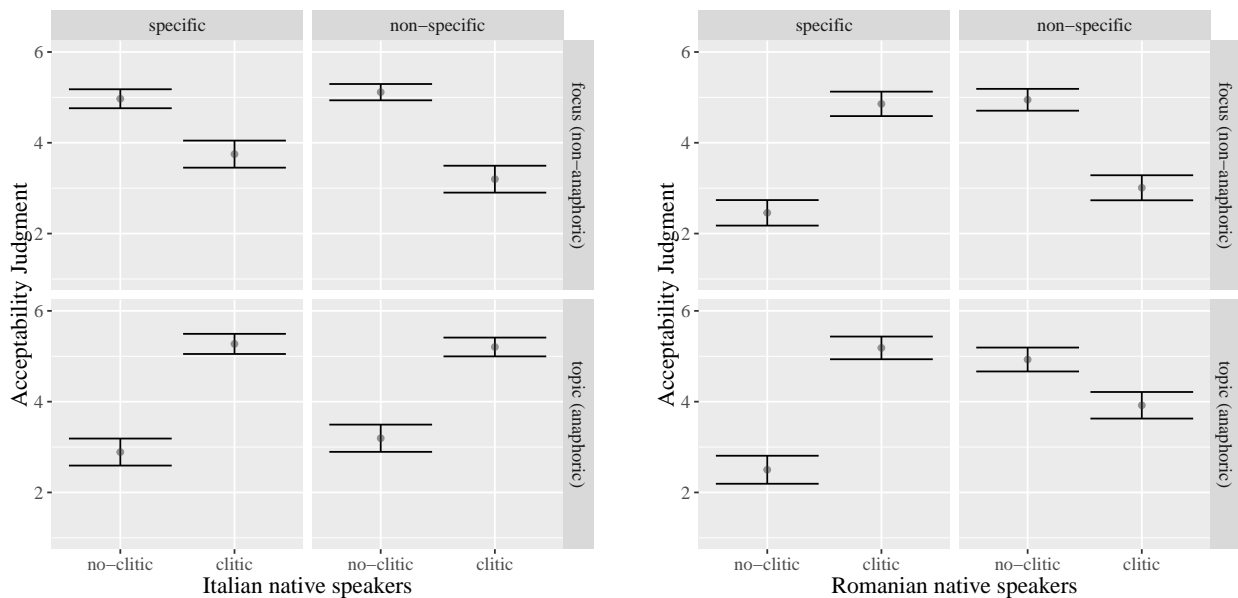
Figure 5–1: Acceptability judgements from native speakers of Italian (left) and native speakers of Romanian (right).

Table 5–2 shows the results of the models for each L1 group (L1 Italian followed by L1 Romanian) individually to investigate the effect of specificity and anaphoricity on acceptability ratings for clitic and non-clitic sentences. The third model includes the data from the two groups together to further examine whether the two languages are significantly different. All felicity ratings were analyzed using cumulative link mixed effects models (Christensen, 2014). The first two models include fixed effects for Clitic, Specificity, Discourse and their interactions and random effects for Participant and Item. Adding the slopes for predictors to random effects was based on a maximal model, following Barr et al. (2013), using the most maximal model that allows convergence. The models reported in Table 5–2 include participant slopes for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interactions as well as item slopes for Clitic and Discourse and their interaction. Recall that Specificity cannot be included in the item slopes because Specificity was not a within-item factor. The combined model included fixed effects for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and Group (L1 Italian or

L1 Romanian) and all possible two way interactions as well as three-way interactions with Clitic, Specificity and Group and Clitic, Anaphoricity and Group. Random slopes were the same as in the other two models.

Effects on Acceptability judgment			
	L1 Italian	L1 Romanian	Combined
NoClitic.vs.Clitic	**0.67** (0.24)**	**1.33** (0.41)**	**0.84*** (0.21)**
Specific.vs.NonSpecific	- 0.10 (0.24)	0.89 (0.50)	0.22 (0.26)
Topic.vs.Focus	- 0.04 (0.19)	- 0.49 (0.28)	-0.25 (0.16)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific	**- 0.92* (0.47)**	**- 7.48*** (1.36)**	**-3.85*** (0.61)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus	**- 6.63*** (1.16)**	**- 1.29* (0.51)**	**-3.77 (0.63)***
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:Topic.vs.Focus	- 0.48 (0.36)	-0.23 (0.90)	
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:Topic.vs.Focus	- 0.00 (0.56)	- 0.03 (0.11)	
L1Italian.vs.L2Romanian			- 0.39 (0.41)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:L1Ita.vs.L2Rom			0.35 (0.31)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Ita.vs.L2Rom			**0.79** (0.28)**
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Ita.vs.L2Rom			**- 0.46* (0.22)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Ita.vs.L2Rom			**- 5.5*** (1.06)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus:L1Ita.vs.L2Rom			**5.4*** (1.24)**

Table 5–2: Acceptability judgements from native speakers of Italian, native speakers of Romanian and their comparison.

Each row in Table 5–2 shows the levels of the predictors that were contrasted. All predictors are categorical. For example, NoClitic.vs.Clitic refers to the rating of items with clitics contrasted to items without clitics. For both languages, the ratings for clitic sentences are significantly higher than those of non-clitic sentence. As can be observed from the plot, for both languages the presence of a clitic is more acceptable in a context where it would typically not be used than omitting a clitic in a context where one is expected. That is, for Italian, it is more acceptable to have a clitic with non-anaphoric objects than it is not to have a clitic in anaphoric contexts. Similarly for Romanian, it is more acceptable to have a clitic with non-specific objects than it is to omit a clitic with specific objects. This causes the overall higher rating of clitic sentences over non-clitic sentences. As expected for Italian, there is a strong effect of Anaphoricity (Topic.vs.Focus) on the acceptability of clitic versus non-clitic sentences: as NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus shows, there is a significant interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity ($p < 0.0001$). The table also shows a significant interaction between Clitic and Specificity ($p < 0.05$), suggesting that specificity has an effect in Italian as well, contrary to my original assumption. As can be seen in Figure 5–1, clitics in sentences with fronted specific foci are rated slightly higher than with non-specific foci. The interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity is, however, much higher than that between Clitic and Specificity.

Data from Romanian native speakers show a strong interaction between Clitic and Specificity ($p < 0.0001$), suggesting that the rating for clitic and clitic-less sentences is mainly driven by whether the fronted object is specific. There is also a significant interaction between Clitic and Discourse, most likely because clitic sentences with non-specific objects are rated as more acceptable when this object is a topic (see Figure 5–1). Thus, while Discourse has the strongest effect in Italian and Specificity in Romanian, both languages show a significant interaction between Clitic and Discourse and between Clitic and Specificity.

To confirm that the two languages are significantly different, it is important to compare data from the two groups directly. The model output shown in the last column of Table

5–2 provides information about whether the interaction between Clitic and Specificity and the interaction between Clitic and Discourse differs between the two L1 groups. The last two rows show that this is indeed the case: There is a significant 3-way interaction between Clitic, Specificity and Group as well as between Clitic, Discourse and Group.

Results - Control Items. Recall that the experiment included control trials with partitive indefinites. If definiteness determines the presence versus absence of a clitic in Romanian, we expect non-clitic sentences to be preferred over clitic sentences. However, if specificity is the relevant factor, the opposite pattern is expected since partitive indefinites are always specific.

The left dislocated object was anaphoric in all items. As shown in Figure 5–2, both the Italian and Romanian speakers rated the control items with a clitic as more acceptable than the ones without a clitic. We can therefore conclude that the acceptability difference between the items in the specific and the non-specific condition in Romanian is indeed due to a specificity requirement on the use of overt clitics in left dislocation constructions and does not depend on whether the fronted object is definite.
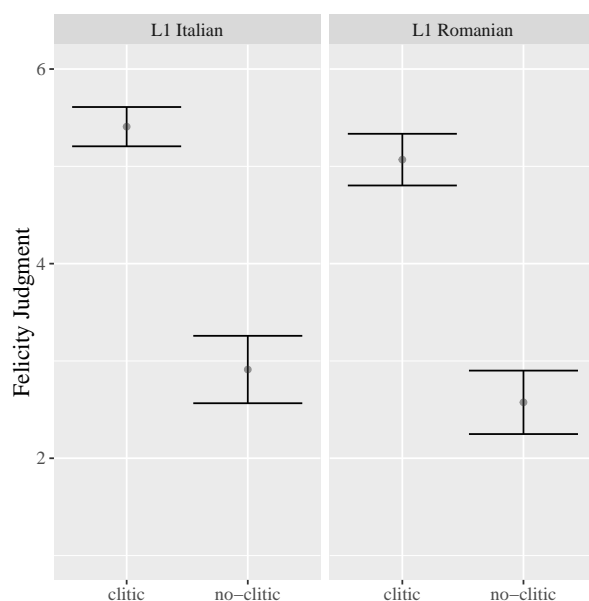
Figure 5–2: Acceptability ratings with partitive indefinites.

5.3.3   Results - Written Elicitation task

In the Written Elicitation task, participants were expected to write a word to complete each sentence, which allowed for examining whether and in which conditions they would attach a clitic to the verb. Answers with a clitic were assigned the value '1' and answers without a clitic were assigned the value '0'. In some instances, participants provided answers that were not verbs. These responses were removed from the analysis (4% of the responses for the L1 Italian group and 5% of the response for the L1 Romanian group). As shown in Figure 5–3, the Italian native speakers inserted a verb with a clitic in the object-topic sentences regardless of specificity and the Romanian native speakers chose a verb with a clitic in the object-specific sentences regardless of discourse function. The results are therefore in line with those from the Acceptability Judgment task.
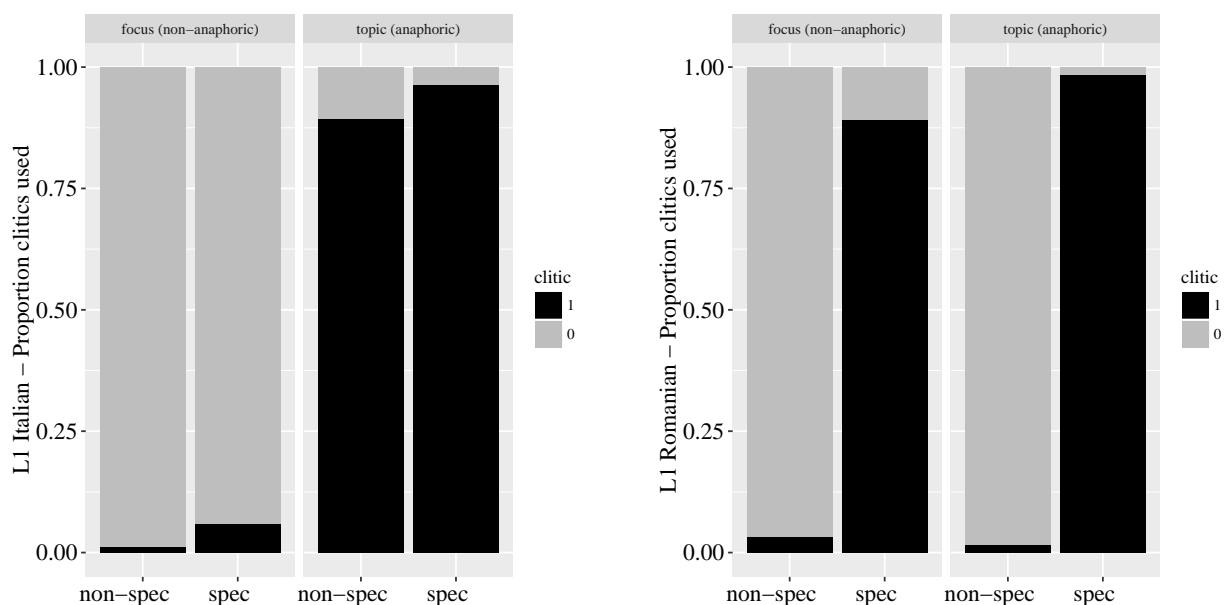
Figure 5–3: Proportion of clitics used in Written Elicitation task by native speakers of Italian and native speakers of Romanian.

Table 5–3 shows the results of binary logistic regression models predicting how the factors Anaphoricity and Specificity affected the use of clitics in Italian and in Romanian. The first model includes the data from the Italian group, the second from the Romanian group and the last model includes the combined data. The models include random intercepts

for participant and item to include differences across participants and across items and both main effect terms and their interaction as random slopes. No random slopes were included for Item, as these models did not converge.

In line with what can be observed in Figure 5–3, the model shows a significant effect of Anaphoricity for the L1 Italian group and a significant effect of Specificity for the L1 Romanian group. For the L1 Italian speakers, there is also an effect of Specificity. Crucially however, if we convert the estimates into odds we can get an idea of what the model predicts the odds to be that native speakers of Italian use a clitic depending on Specificity or depending on Anaphoricity. We can convert the estimate in an odds ratio ($e^{9.08}$=8777.96) and see that the model estimates that the odds of using a clitic when the object is a Topic (anaphoric) is about 8778 times higher than when the object is a Focus (non-anaphoric). The odds of using a clitic when the object is specific is only about 9 times higher ($e^{2.25}$=9.48) than when it is non-specific. Compare this to the L1 Romanian group, where the odds of choosing a clitic is much higher ($e^{43.35}$=6.71^{e+18}) when the object is specific compared to when it is non-specific.[3] The significant interactions with Anaphoricity and Group and Group and Specificity shown in the last two lines of the third model confirm again that the two languages are significantly different.

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[3] In reality, the odds ratio is even higher than the number shown here. This is due to the fact that the value of one of the responses had to be changed from 0 (no clitic used) to 1 (clitic used) in order for the logistic regression model to converge. Figure 5–3 shows that no participant used a clitic in the topic non-specific condition in any of the experimental trials, and the model cannot calculate the log odds if the rate for one of the conditions is 0.

Effects of specificity and discourse on use of clitic			
	L1 Italian	L1 Romanian	Combined
Intercept	0.65 (0.66)	-0.27 (3.43)	0.49 (0.47)
Topic.vs.Focus	**9.08*** (1.95)**	-0.53 (6.82)	**5.08*** (1.15)**
Specific.vs.NonSpecific	**2.25* (1.05)**	**48.35*** (12.03)**	**5.96*** (1.21)**
Topic.vs.Focus:Specific.vs.NonSpecific	-0.18 (1.91)	-2.88 (18.75)	-1.08 (1.48)
L1Italian.vs.L1Romanian			-0.17 (0.91)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L1Romanian			**-8.49*** (2.21)**
L1Italian.vs.L1Romanian:Specific.vs.NonSpecific			**7.66*** (1.93)**

Table 5–3: Written elicitation from native speakers of Italian, native speakers of Romanian and their comparison.

5.3.4 Summary on L1 Italian and L1 Romanian

The results from the native speakers of Italian and the native speakers of Romanian convincingly illustrate that overt clitics in left dislocation constructions are restricted to anaphoric objects in Italian and to specific objects in Romanian. These results confirm the observations previously made in the theoretical literature but which, to my knowledge, have not previously been tested experimentally in controlled contexts. Furthermore, the results from the L1 groups confirm the applicability of the experimental design and test items developed for this study. We now turn to the results from the second language learners of Italian.

5.4 L2 learners of Italian

This section focuses on the results from the L1 English and L1 Romanian learners of L2 Italian. Before examining the results from the Acceptability Judgment and Written Elicitation task, it is important to discuss the background information from the second language learners and their proficiency in Italian.

5.4.1 Participants and proficiency levels

A total of 55 second language learners took part in this study (25 native speakers of Romanian and 30 native speakers of English). Participants were found through word of mouth, facebook pages on the internet targeting Americans, Romanians - or expats more generally - living in Italy, the British school in Rome and the Romanian cultural institute in Rome. Potential participants were asked whether they believed their proficiency level in Italian was at least at the high-intermediate level (a B2 level in the European system) prior to participation.

The Italian proficiency test was developed to categorize speakers into low, intermediate or advanced proficiency in Italian. The results of this test were combined with the scores for the C-test, which was designed to distinguish advanced speakers from near-native speakers. The Italian proficiency task had a maximum score of 34 points and the C-test a maximum

score of 100 points. Native speakers of Italian scored between 125 and 134 points.[4] Participants who scored between 115-134 points were categorized as near-native (they all had a (near-)perfect score on the proficiency task), 100-114 as advanced and 70-99 as Intermediate. Participants with a score lower than 70 were excluded from the analyses (2 for the L1 English group, 0 for the L1 Romanian group). Note that, in the statistical analysis reported in Section 5.4.2, the data from the Intermediate and Advanced groups have been collapsed because there was no observable difference in behaviour between those two groups.

The number of participants for each of the language and proficiency groups is shown in Table 5–4, including also additional background information about the participants and their experience with the L2. For the Romanian learners it can be seen that although the average number of years of experience with the Italian language between the Int/Adv group and the Near-Native group is very similar, the Near-Native speakers use the Italian language on average much more than the Int/Adv group. The English near-native speakers have more experience with the Italian language than the speakers in the Int/Adv group; both their years of learning and the hours per week they use Italian is higher. Taking everything together, it seems that on average the results from the C-test and the proficiency test reflects their experience with the L2.

5.4.2 Results - Acceptability Judgment task

The experimental task for the second language learners was identical to the one taken by the Italian native speakers.

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[4] Ideally, the second language learners categorized as near-native would have performed within the same range. Unfortunately, however, the range for the near-native speakers was slightly lower than the native speaker range due to the impossibility of finding a sufficient number of L1 English L2 Italian speakers who performed within the native range.

	#	Age	Age at Onset	Years of learning	Hours per week
L1 Romanian - Int/Adv	10	32.9 (21-48)	22.3 (16-30)	10.6 (2-27)	10 (0-50)
L1 Romanian - Near-Native	15	30.1 (21-43)	19.4 (16-24)	10.7 (6-19)	50.2 (0-140)
L1 English - Int/Adv	15	36.1 (21-62))	22.14 (16-33)	13.9 (3-34)	24.8 (1-82)
L1 English - Near-Native	13	43.1 (22-68)	22.6 (16-40)	20.3 (4-50)	44.1 (4-130)

Table 5–4: Background information L2 learners of Italian, showing mean and range for all columns.

L1 English. Figure 5–4 shows the results of the acceptability judgment task by L1 English speakers, divided into two groups based on proficiency level. The left plot, showing the data from the Int/Adv (Intermediate and Advanced) group, shows a high level of acceptance of clitics and does not show a clear preference for clitic or no-clitic sentences in any of the conditions. The Near-Native speakers (right plot) also rate all sentences highly but rate fronted topics with clitics as more acceptable than no-clitic sentences regardless of specificity. For target trials where the fronted object is a contrastive focus, near-native speakers have no preference between clitic or no-clitic sentences.

Table 5–5 shows the results of the cumulative link mixed effect models for the Int/Adv and the Near-Native group separately. Fixed effects were plotted for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their two-way and three-way interactions. We were able to run a maximal model: the random effect terms included intercepts for item and participant and participant slopes for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interactions, as well as item slopes for Clitic and Anaphoricity and their interaction. The model for the Int/Adv group shows a small but significant interaction between Clitic and Specificity, but not between Clitic and Anaphoricity, suggesting that clitics are rated as more acceptable when the fronted object is specific than when it is non-specific. This result is somewhat unexpected, but could be attributed to an L1 effect which will be discussed in Section 5.4.4. Furthermore, the near-native speakers, but not the participants in the Int/Adv group, distinguished between
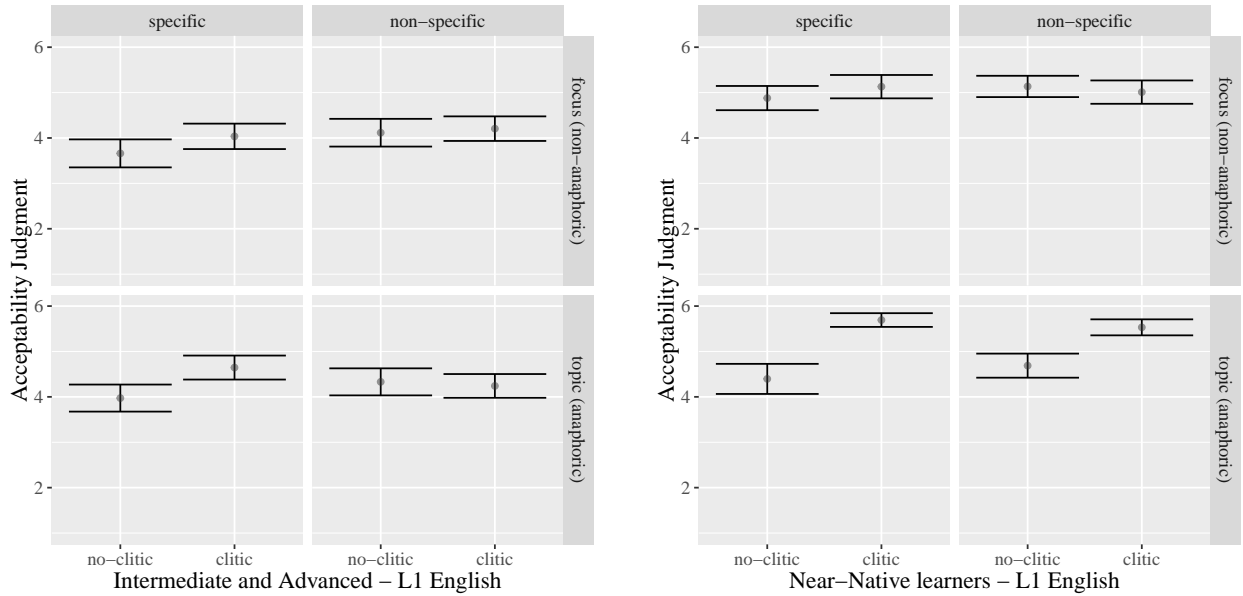
Figure 5–4: Acceptability judgements from L1 English intermediate and advanced learners of Italian (left) and L1 English near-native speakers of Italian (right).

clitic and no-clitic sentences with topical dislocated objects. This can be observed from a significant interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity, clitic sentences being preferred when the fronted object is a Topic ([+anaphoric]). The third model includes the data from both learner groups compared to the native speakers. Most relevant are the significant three-way interaction between Clitic, Anaphoricity and Group shown in the last two rows of the third column. This shows that both learner groups are significantly different from the native speakers in the effect that Anaphoricity has on the acceptability of clitic versus no-clitic sentences. As can be seen from a comparison of Figure 5–4 to Figure 5–1, the difference in judgment between the clitic and no-clitic sentences is much larger for the native speakers compared to the L2 groups. It is common for L2 learner's responses to be less categorical, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The more important finding is that the near-native speakers, but not the Int/Adv speakers show a significant effect of Anaphoricity on their judgment of clitic and no-clitic sentences, like the Italian native speakers.

Effects on Acceptability judgment			
	Int/Adv	Near-native	Compared to Native Speakers
NoClitic.vs.Clitic	0.43 (0.68)	**1.47*** (0.40)**	0.64 (0.37)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific	0.80 (0.43)	-0.16 (0.29)	-0.07 (0.21)
Topic.vs.Focus	0.43 (0.39)	-0.23 (0.27)	-0.02 (0.20)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec	**0.48* (0.50)**	-1.08 (0.62)	**-0.92* (0.36)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus	0.62 (0.39)	**-2.68*** (0.73)**	**-6.49*** (0.77)**
Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	0.14 (0.39)	0.37 (0.43)	
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	-0.81 (0.56)	0.39 (0.69)	
L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.17 (0.41)
L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**1.62*** (0.43)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.34 (0.55)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.64 (0.57)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.34 (0.25)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.07 (0.28)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.43 (0.26)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			-0.20 (0.29)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			0.17 (0.46)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.05 (0.51)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**6.39*** (1.14)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**4.18*** (1.21)**

Table 5–5: Acceptability judgments from the L1 English L2 Italian group. The first two columns show the estimates and standard errors from the intermediate/advanced and the near-native group, respectively. The second two columns show the results in comparison to the L1 Italian group.

L1 Romanian. Figure 5–5 shows the results of the acceptability judgment task by L1 Romanian speakers, divided in two groups based on proficiency level in Italian. The Int/Adv speakers rate clitic sentences higher when the object is specific and non-clitic sentences higher when the object is non-specific. Learners in the near-native group have a preference for sentences with clitics when the object is [+anaphoric] but, unlike Italian native speakers, they also prefer clitic sentences when the object is a specific focus.
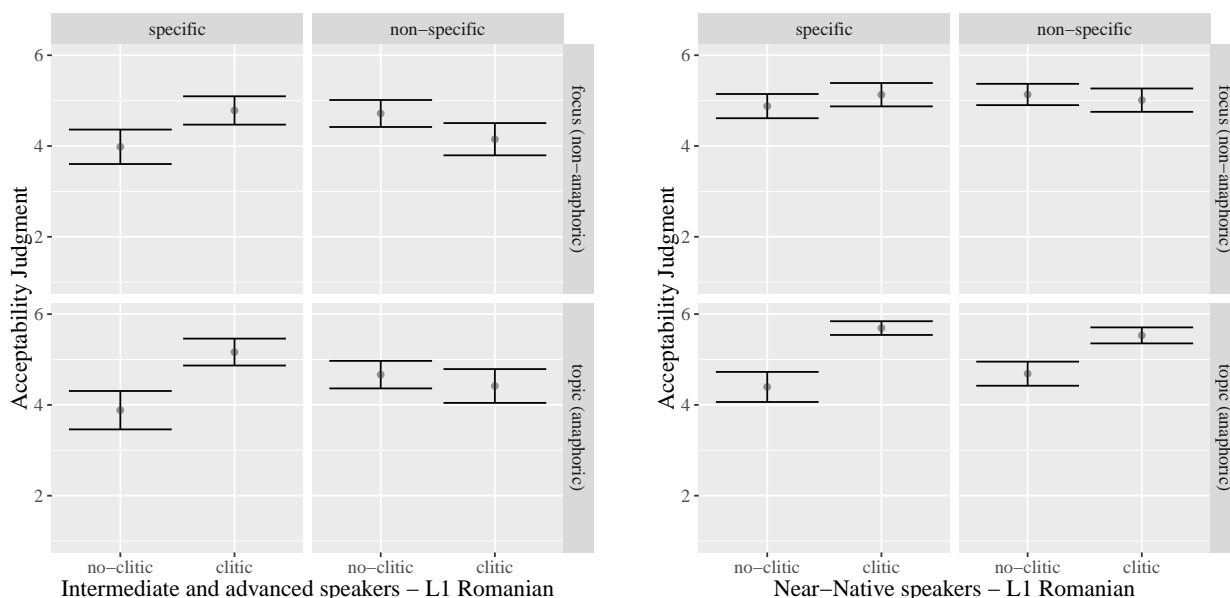
Figure 5–5: Acceptability judgements from L1 Romanian intermediate and advanced learners of Italian (left) and L1 Romanian near-native speakers of Italian (right).

Table 5–6 shows the results of the cumulative link mixed effect models for the Int/Adv and the Near-Native group separately. Fixed effects were plotted for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interactions. The random effect terms included intercepts for item and participant and participant slopes for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interactions as well as item slopes for Clitic and Anaphoricity and their interaction. For the Int/Adv group there is a significant interaction between Clitic and Specificity, suggesting that clitic sentences are preferred over non-clitic sentences when the fronted object is specific, regardless of anaphoricity. No other interactions are significant for this group. Interestingly, for the near-native speakers, there is a significant interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity

as well as between Clitic and Specificity. In addition, for this group there is a main effect of Clitic, which makes sense given that speakers in this group rate clitic sentences as more acceptable than non-clitic sentence in three out of four of the possible conditions. The third model includes the data from both learner groups compared to the native speakers. As was also observed for the English learners of Italian, the learner groups differ significantly from the native speakers with respect to the interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity because the responses from the Italian native speakers are more categorical. There is also a significant three-way interaction between Clitic, Specificity and Group comparing the near-native speakers to the native speakers. This is probably due to the fact that Romanian near-native speakers of Italian also show an effect of Specificity on clitic versus non-clitic sentences.

Effects on Acceptability judgment			
	Int/Adv	Near-native	Compared to Native Speakers
NoClitic.vs.Clitic	0.82 (0.52)	**2.03*** (0.41)**	**0.72* (0.29)**
Specific.vs.NonSpecific	-0.11 (0.25)	0.16 (0.29)	-0.23 (0.17)
Topic.vs.Focus	-0.37 (0.32)	**-0.80** (0.29)**	-0.05 (0.21)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec	**-2.78* (1.23)**	**-2.52*** (0.51)**	**-1.19* (0.46)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus	-0.94 (0.65)	**-2.65*** (0.54)**	**-7.06*** (0.83)**
Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	0.14 (0.51)	-0.68 (0.46)	
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	0.42 (0.86)	-0.07 (0.78)	
L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			0.84 (0.52)
L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.81 (0.46)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**-1.19* (0.46)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**-7.06*** (0.83)**
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.06 (0.23)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.15 (0.20)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.32 (0.29)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**-0.68** (0.25)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.78 (0.72)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Specific.vs.NonSpecific:L1Italian.vs.L2N-Natives			**-1.39* (0.64)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**6.27*** (1.36)**
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**4.70*** (1.21)**

Table 5–6: Acceptability judgments from the L1 Romanian L2 Italian group. The first two columns show the estimates and standard errors from the intermediate/advanced and the near-native group, respectively.

5.4.3   Results - Written Elicitation task

L1 English. Figure 6–2 shows the proportion of Italian clitics used by L1 English speakers in the Written Elicitation task. The left graph shows that participants in the Int/Adv group do not consistently use clitics in any condition. In particular, anaphoricity has no effect. Rather, they tend to use clitics more when the fronted object is specific regardless of anaphoricity. The near-native speakers also do not consistently use clitics. However, they use them more when the object is [+anaphoric] than when it is [-anaphoric], suggesting sensitivity to the discourse status of the fronted object, unlike the Int/Adv group.
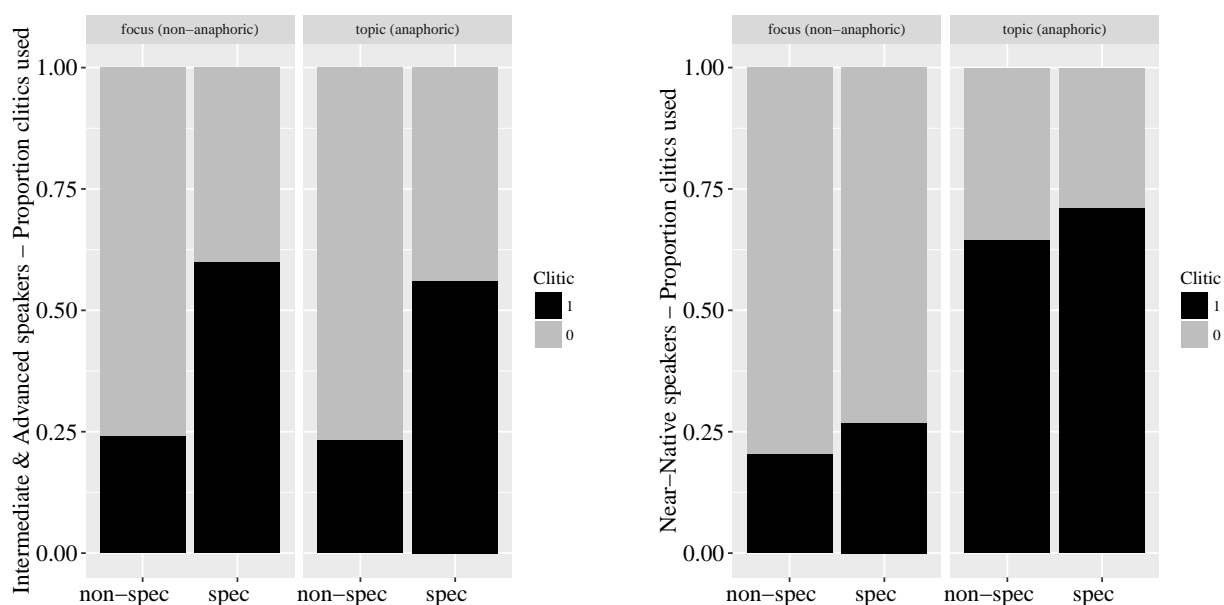
Figure 5–6: Proportion of clitics used in Written Elicitation task by L1 English L2 Italian speakers

The first two columns of Table 5–8, show the results of binary logistic regression models predicting how the factors Anaphoricity and Specificity affected the use of clitics for each of the proficiency levels. The model includes random intercepts for participant and item and participant random slopes for Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interaction (this was the maximal model that allowed convergence). As can also be observed from the plot, there is a significant effect of specificity for the Int/Adv group: clitics are used more when the fronted object is specific than when it is non-specific. The near-native speakers show an effect of

Anaphoricity, choosing a clitic significantly more often when the fronted object is a Topic than when it is a Focus. The third column shows the results of a binary logistic regression model including data from the learner groups and the native speakers. There is a significant interaction between Anaphoricity and Group, suggesting that both of the learner groups behave differently from the native speakers with respect to how they use clitics in the Topic and Focus conditions. Again, this can be attributed to the fact that the responses from the learner groups are less categorical. Yet, the near-native group makes a distinction between the Topic and Focus conditions. In fact, Bley-Vroman (1983) argues that the learner's interlanguage forms should not be compared with the corresponding target language, as this may obscure systematic patterns within the interlanguage itself. The relevant result is that the pattern of ratings for both the L1 and the L2 group is the same.

Effects of specificity and discourse on use of clitic			
	L1 Eng - Int/Adv	L1 Eng - NN	Compared to NS
Intercept	0.76 (0.69)	0.38 (0.60)	0.44 (0.56)
Topic.vs.Focus	-0.08 (0.51)	**3.56*** (0.85)**	**8.01*** (0.88)**
NonSpecific.vs.Specific	**2.95*** (0.69)**	0.60 (0.65)	**2.13** (0.77)**
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific	0.82 (1.09)	0.26 (1.07)	0.41 (1.48)
L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			0.15 (0.71)
L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			-0.13 (0.72)
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**-8.09*** (0.91)**
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**-4.87*** (0.90)**
NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			0.80 (0.80)
NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			-1.28 (0.78)
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			0.06 (1.56)
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			-0.23 (1.56)

Table 5–7: Written elicitation results from L1 English L2 Italian speakers, divided by proficiency level and the learners compared to the Italian native speakers.

L1 Romanian. Figure 5–7 shows the proportion of Italian clitics used by L1 Romanian speakers. Speakers in the Int/Adv proficiency level use clitics mainly when the fronted object is specific, but the graph also suggest a small effect of anaphoricity. The pattern of behaviour for the near-native speakers looks comparable to that of the speakers in the Int/Adv group in that specificity plays a role. One crucial difference is the increased use of clitics with non-specific topics, suggesting that these learners have acquired the fact that clitics are obligatory in Italian in this context, in contrast to Romanian.
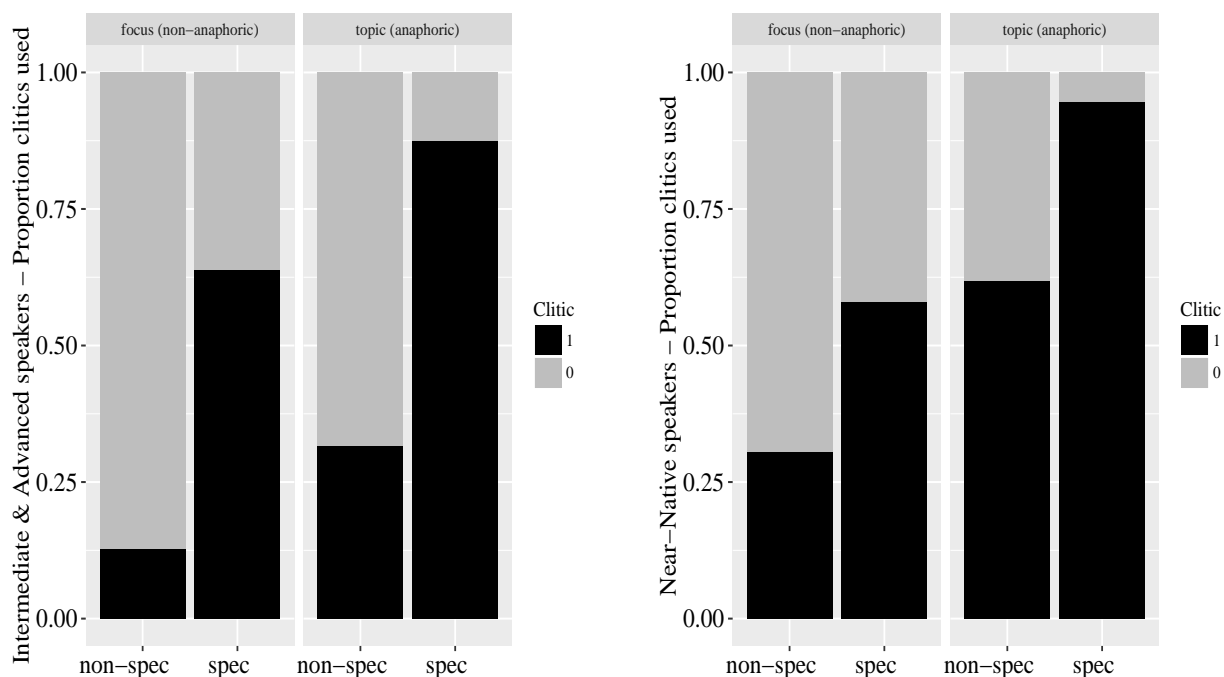
Figure 5–7: Proportion of clitics used in Written Elicitation task by L1 Romanian, L2 Italian speakers.

The left two columns of Table 5–8 show the results from binary logistic regression models reporting the data from the Romanian Int/Adv and Near-Native learners of Italian, respectively. The model outcomes show that specificity, but not anaphoricity, has a significant effect on the use of clitics for speakers in the Int/Adv group. This pattern is similar to the one observed for the Romanian native speakers. For the near-native speakers, however, both specificity and anaphoricity have a significant effect. In fact, clitics are used more when the fronted object is a topic, whether specific or non-specific, but they also use clitics when the

object is a specific focus. The third column shows the results of a binary logistic regression model including data from the learner groups and the native speakers. As was the case for the L1 English groups, the learner groups behave different from the native speakers on the strength of the effect of Anaphoricity on the use of clitics.

Effects of specificity and discourse on use of clitic			
	L1 Rom - Int/Adv	L1 Rom - NN	Compared to NS
Intercept	0.36 (0.37)	-0.71 (0.49)	0.63 (0.50)
Topic.vs.Focus	1.10 (0.58)	**2.97*** (0.71)**	**8.33*** (0.92)**
NonSpecific.vs.Specific	**3.11*** (0.66)**	**2.92*** (0.63)**	**1.87* (0.77)**
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific	-0.67 (1.10)	0.26 (1.07)	-1.95 (1.21)
L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.58 (0.57)
L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**-1.50** (0.53)**
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**-6.28*** (0.88)**
Topic.vs.Focus:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			**-5.40*** (0.85)**
NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			**1.63* (0.82)**
NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			0.60 (0.79)
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Int/Adv			-0.92 (1.62)
Topic.vs.Focus:NonSpecific.vs.Specific:L1Italian.vs.L2Near-Natives			-2.15 (1.57)

Table 5–8: Written elicitation results from L1 Romanian L2 Italian speakers, divided by proficiency level and learners compared to native speakers of Italian.

5.4.4 Summary on L2 Italian

Table 5–9 summarizes the contexts in which clitics are used in Italian and the results from the L2 learners on whether they correctly used or omitted a clitic in each of the four conditions.

	[+anaphoric] (Topic)		[-anaphoric] (Focus)	
	[+specific]	[-specific]	[+specific]	[-specific]
Italian	✓	✓	✗	✗
Did L2 learners acquire the Italian pattern?				
L1 Eng IA	No	No	No	No
L1 Eng NN	Yes	Yes	Yes?	Yes?
L1 Rom IA	Yes	No	No	Yes
L1 Rom NN	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Table 5–9: Summary of results. Note: some of the answers are in grey boxes because Romanian behaves like Italian in these contexts, suggesting there is no need to acquire anything new.

The L1 English groups have to acquire the use of resumptive clitics and restrict their use to the correct discourse contexts, namely those with fronted [+anaphoric] objects. For the Intermediate/Advanced group, the results indicate that speakers have acquired the fact that clitics are used in Italian, but they have not yet figured out the discourse restrictions on their use. That is, unlike the native speakers of Italian, they do not restrict the use of clitics to [+anaphoric] contexts. Rather, in both tasks, there was a small effect of specificity. This can possibly be explained as transfer from English, if these speakers apply the specificity restriction on English pronouns, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4, to Italian clitics. The near-native speakers on the other hand, have acquired the target restriction on CLLD; in the Acceptability Judgment task they rate sentences with clitics higher than sentences without clitics when the fronted object is [+anaphoric] and in the Written Elicitation task they use them significantly more in contrastive topic constructions. The data from the Acceptability Judgment task and the Written Elicitation task are mostly comparable. They differ, however, in how the English near-native speakers treated Italian sentences with focus fronting. Unlike the native speakers of Italian, the near-native speakers do not show a clear

preference for sentences with or without clitics in the Acceptability Judgment task. In the Written Elicitation task, on the other hand, they correctly omit clitics most of the time when the fronted object is a Contrastive Focus. Therefore, the conclusion for the English near-native speakers of Italian in the [-anaphoric] conditions is indicated in Table 5–9 with a *yes?* as the results are not compelling across tasks. Chapter 7 further elaborates on the observed performance differences between tasks.

The L1 Romanian groups have to reconfigure the relevant property associated with CLLD from a specificity restriction that was observed for native speakers of Romanian to an anaphoricity restriction as was observed for native speakers of Italian. Intermediate/ Advanced learners show a clear specificity effect in Italian, which I argue is the result of L1 transfer. Interestingly, it seems that the Romanian learners do not completely overcome the L1 specificity effect; even the near-native speakers show a preference for clitic sentences over non-clitic sentences when the fronted object is a specific focus. This is the preferred pattern for Romanian, but not for Italian. The behaviour of the near-native speakers is more target-like than the Int/Adv group, as only the former correctly accept and use clitics with non-specific topics. In other words, speakers of the L1 Romanian group eventually learn that clitics can be used with non-specific topics, but they continue to accept and use clitics when the fronted object is a specific focus. Section 6.3 focuses on further examination as to why this may be the case.

Another interesting observation that should be mentioned based on the results of the Acceptability Judgment task is the relatively high acceptance of all target sentences. As can be observed from Figure 5–4 and 5–5, even when the near-native speakers make clear contrasts between clitic and non-clitic sentences, infelicitous sentences (clitic sentences with Focus Fronting and non-clitic sentences with Topic Fronting) are rated as fairly acceptable. I believe this may be a consequence of the judgment scale used for the task. The 6-point scale forces the participant to judge the target sentence either as (somewhat) acceptable or (somewhat) unacceptable, as there is no middle category. Since the rating scale also did not

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include a "don't know" option as a separate option, the experimental design does not allow for grammatical indeterminacy. It could be that, whenever a participant was uncertain, they simply accepted the target sentence, causing a relatively high main average of target sentences.

To answer the research questions stated in Section 4.4 (repeated below) we can draw the following interim conclusions:

1. *Is reconfiguring discourse features associated with CLLD (L1 Romanian, L2 Italian) more difficult than acquiring discourse features associated with CLLD without prior L1 knowledge of this construction (L1 English, L2 Italian)?*

   Comparing the behaviour of the English learners of Italian to the Romanian learners of Italian, the results indicate persistent L1 effects for the L1 Romanian speakers. The English near-native speakers of Italian correctly associate CLLD with fronting of [+anaphoric] objects. The Romanian near-native speakers of Italian, on the other hand, continue to show an L1 specificity effect as they preferred clitic sentences over non-clitic sentences with specific foci. Therefore, reconfiguration, which is required for the Romanian group, seems to be more difficult than acquiring the discourse features associated with CLLD without prior L1 knowledge. Crucially however, not all transfer effects are equally persistent, as will be elaborated on in the next research question.

2. *Is it harder to unlearn that CLLD cannot be used in a particular discourse context ([+specific, -anaphoric]) than learning a new discourse contexts in which CLLD is used ([-specific, +anaphoric]), because only the latter can be acquired from positive evidence while negative evidence is needed for unlearning?*

   Recall that Italian and Romanian differ in the use of clitics in two different discourse contexts: where Romanian requires clitics with specific foci, these are not allowed in Italian and while Romanian disallows clitics with non-specific topics, they are required

in Italian in these contexts. An important conclusion to be drawn from the experimental results is that the Romanian near-native speakers of Italian only show persistent difficulties with unlearning that clitics are not allowed with fronted non-specific foci. They are, however, successful in acquiring clitic use with non-specific topics. Therefore, unlearning seems to be more difficult.

The next chapter aims at further testing whether the need for unlearning the unacceptability of CLLD in certain discourse contexts in the L2 indeed prevents learners from reconfiguring the discourse features associated with CLLD from L1 to L2 mappings.

CHAPTER 6
Experiment on L2 Romanian - testing the role of input

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data from a pilot experiment on the L2 acquisition of Romanian by native speakers of Italian and English and aims to provide further insights into the question of whether L2 learners can unlearn the use of clitics in discourse contexts where they are used in the L1 but not in the L2. Before discussing the experimental design and results, this section will first summarize the findings from the experiment on L2 Italian in light of the the role of the input in unlearning the use of CLLD in certain discourse contexts and the role of construction frequency. The goal of the pilot study, which reverses the direction of the L1 (now Italian) and the L2 (Romanian), is to tease those two factors apart.

6.2 Discussion on L2 acquisition of Italian

Chapter 2 discussed the observation that despite the fact that discourse constraints on word order are often acquired late, successful L2 acquisition of phenomena at the syntax-discourse interface is possible (e.g. Slabakova et al., 2012; Donaldson, 2011, 2012; Smeets, 2018; Hopp et al., 2018; Leal et al., 2017; Ivanov, 2012, for studies on CLLD and object fronted word orders). This thesis extends the line of research on discourse constraints on movement to situations where learners have to reconfigure the discourse features associated with a syntactic construction. The main research question I aimed to answer is whether it is possible to reconfigure the discourse features associated with CLLD when the contexts in which this construction is felicitously used differ between the L1 and the L2 and, if not, what may cause persistent difficulty. Let us first discuss the results from the L1 English learners of Italian to which the L1 Romanian learners of Italian will be compared.

The results from the L1 English groups suggest that while Intermediate/Advanced learners of Italian do not show sensitivity to [± anaphoric] in judging the acceptability of CLLD, the near-native speakers correctly accept and use clitics when the dislocated object is [+anaphoric]. This suggests that they have acquired the discourse properties associated with CLLD in Italian. The behaviour of the Romanian learners of Italian differed in interesting ways from the English learners. To reconfigure the use of CLLD from their L1 mappings to the correct L2 mappings, Romanian learners of Italian have to acquire the fact that clitics are not used with specific foci and that they are obligatory with topics, including non-specific topics. The results for both tasks suggest that while the Intermediate/Advanced group showed strong L1 patterns (accepting and using clitics when the fronted object is specific, independent of anaphoricity), the behaviour of the near-native speakers is significantly different. In particular, they acquired the fact that in Italian clitics are obligatory with all topics, including non-specific topics, but they continued to prefer and use clitics when the fronted object was a specific focus. The data from the Romanian learners of Italian thus show that some L1 discourse constraints on word order persist even in near-native grammars and thus that feature reconfiguration is unsuccessful.

Chapter 4 discussed some factors that may contribute to persistent L1 effects in L2 grammars, suggesting that relatively low frequency of the relevant construction in the input as well as a lack of negative evidence to unlearn the L1 configuration can hinder successful L2 acquisition. The next sections elaborate on the role of the input in examining why the obligatory use of clitics with fronted topics is easier to acquire for the Romanian group than the impossibility of clitics with fronted foci.

6.2.1   Input effects on the reconfiguration of discourse features

Language learners have to make hypotheses about the structure of the language they are learning on the basis of positive evidence. The features determining the use of clitics in object fronting constructions are language specific, and therefore must be learned. It is also

not the case that specificity and anaphoricity constraints on CLLD are mutually exclusive. In other words, once the L2 learner of Italian figures out that all fronted topics require a resumptive clitic, it does not automatically exclude the possibility that specificity plays a role as well. In fact, it is common for languages to apply both a specificity and an anaphoricity constraint on CLLD (e.g. in Spanish or Greek).

How then, could the input guide Romanian learners of Italian in acquiring the discourse constraints on Italian CLLD? Let us consider the possibility that the learner correctly assumes that clitics are not optional but mandatory in a particular discourse. In other words, once the learner acquires the fact that a clitic is used in a certain context, it is concluded that clitic-less sentences are ungrammatical. Assuming L1 transfer, the initial hypothesis of the Romanian learner of Italian is that fronted non-specific topics *do not* occur in CLLD and fronted specific foci *do* occur in CLLD. With increasing experience with the L2 this hypothesis can then be revised by making new generalizations from the input provided. For fronting of non-specific topics, the learner encounters CLLD constructions in the input and can infer on the basis of the presence of the clitic that this clitic is obligatory. For fronting of specific foci, the learner encounters a word order which does not have a clitic and could in principle infer that a clitic is not allowed. What we observed, however, is that the L1 grammatical option only persists in the latter situation.

An interesting question is what causes the difficulty with acquiring the unacceptability of clitics with Italian Focus Fronting for native speakers of Romanian. One option is that the lack of a clitic is not as salient as the presence of a clitic and therefore learners do not observe that clitics are not allowed with fronted specific foci. Alternatively, learners may not take the absence of evidence for a clitic as evidence for a clitic not being allowed. That is, learners may not generalize from this kind of data to revise their hypotheses about the L2 grammar. Direct negative evidence might be needed to unlearn L1 syntactic possibilities. Another possibility is that Focus Fronting constructions are simply not frequent enough for learners to unlearn overgeneralization errors that are due to L1 transfer. The next section

further elaborates on the role of construction frequency.

6.2.2 The role of construction frequency

In Chapter 4 I discussed the idea that low construction frequency may increase difficulty of acquiring an L2 syntactic construction. This discussion was based on the learning situation of Spanish L2 learners of English who overaccepted ungrammatical resumptive pronouns in English Topicalization constructions as discussed in Slabakova (2015) and Valenzuela (2005).

The relevant question then is whether the attested L1 effects in contexts with specific foci, where a clitic is used in Romanian but not allowed in Italian, may be due to the fact that learners do not encounter Focus Fronting at a sufficient rate in the input to unlearn the use of clitics in this context. In fact, Italian CLLD (=Topic Fronting) is more common than Focus Fronting and this may (partially) explain our results from the L1 Romanian group.[1]

If Italian Focus Fronting is insufficiently frequent for the learner to figure out that clitics are not used, the Romanian learners of Italian continue to rely on an L1 strategy.[2]

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[1] This observation is based on data from Brunetti et al. (2011) who report that in the NOCANDO corpus, 1.35% of all Italian sentences were instances of CLLD (the same as in Spanish). This percentage was 1.4% for Catalan and may suggest that frequency of CLLD in Romance languages is very comparable. Due to the lack of other studies investigating frequency of object fronting in Romanian, we may cautiously assume that CLLD in Romanian is equally frequent. With respect to Focus Fronting, Brunetti found that 63 instances of a 45,000 word corpus in Italian were Focus Fronting constructions, while this was 33 instances in a 59,800 word Spanish corpus. To calculate the frequency of Focus Fronting in each of these languages, I took the total of the number of words divided by the total of number of segments reported in Table 1 in Brunetti et al. (2011) to get an average words per segment ratio, which was 6.5. It can then be extrapolated from the data that Italian Focus Fronting occurs in around 0.9% of all constructions (63/(45,000/6.5)=0.009), while this number is 0.69% for Spanish (33/(59,800/6.5)). In both languages, CLLD (Topic Fronting) is more common than Focus Fronting.

[2] Note that insufficient input may also have played a role for the English learners. Even in the near-native stages speakers in this group showed difficulty in determining whether a clitic is accepted with fronted [-anaphoric] objects, even though these learners do not have to unlearn an L1 strategy. However, this effect was only found in the Acceptability

It is commonly understood within the generative approach to language acquisition that learning and unlearning occurs using positive evidence from experience with the input. Yang's (2002) influential work focuses on how learners integrate experience with prior knowledge and how generalizations are formed on the basis of a finite amount of data.[3] One crucial element underlying his ideas is that a certain threshold needs to be met (the Sufficiency Principle) before the grammar can create an abstract generalization, a productive rule. Construction frequency is highly relevant because it is predicted that if the amount of input is amplified, the acquisition process is accelerated.

In the course of language acquisition, abstractions/rules are made based on the input data and new data are evaluated in terms of these generalizations. Different grammatical options are associated with different probabilities, and these probabilities change over time when the learner receives more input (as proficiency increases)(Yang, 2002). A certain frequency threshold needs to be met before a productive rule can be formulated. One of several crucial differences between L1 and L2 acquisition is that the default hypothesis with which L2 learners parse their grammar is their L1 (Yang and Montrul, 2016). A possibility to consider is that the threshold level may be different for the L1 English group compared to the L1 Romanian group. In other words, it is possible that the necessary number of instances that follow a certain rule is larger for learners who have to switch from an L1 system to the L2

Judgment task, not in the Written Elicitation task, where the English near-native speakers of English show a significant higher use of clitics in the Topic conditions compared to the Focus conditions.

[3] Yang's (2002) approach (The Tolerance Principle) has mainly been applied to constructions which follow a productive rule in coexistence with exceptions in the field of first language monolingual acquisition. The mostly studied phenomena are the overgeneralization of the past tense -ed rule (e.g. *think-thinked, fall-falled*) and the use of dative alternation to cases where this would be ungrammatical in the adult language. It was originally proposed to understand how children deal with exceptions. For example, how do children generalize the -ed productive rule for past tense marking to novel verbs when a possible exception to this rule cannot be assumed to be impossible simply based on not having (yet) encountered a potential exceptional past tense marking for this verb in the input.

system as opposed to acquiring the L2 system from scratch. This reasoning follows from the intuition that when a speaker of a language without CLLD (such as the L1 English group) encounters CLLD in Italian, the learner does not yet know how to deal with this input and starts abstracting over the data in search for a pattern. The Romanian learner of Italian brings to the L2 acquisition process a rule that can handle the L2 data, at least most of the time. Namely, most instances of object fronting involve contrastive topic configurations and it is likely that most of these topics are also specific. This follows from the fact that most of the time when we reintroduce a previously mentioned discourse entity, the referent of this entity is known. The Romanian learner of Italian then doesn't receive a lot of counter evidence to trigger reconfiguration; in other words more input may be needed for changing the grammar.

To determine whether the results from the experiments on L2 Italian are due to either the lack of negative evidence needed to unlearn an L1 configuration or the lack of positive evidence (insufficient construction frequency), we can reverse the L1 and the L2. In Section 6.3, I report on the results of a pilot study with L1 Italian and L1 English learners of Romanian. Based on the differences in the use of clitics in object fronted constructions in Italian and Romanian, the predictions are as follows: if unlearning an L1 strategy is indeed more difficult than acquiring an L2 construction not available in the L1, then Italian learners of Romanian should acquire the obligatory status of clitics with Fronted Foci, but will not unlearn the use of clitics with non-specific Topics. This should be the case regardless of the fact that Topic Fronting constructions are more frequent than Focus Fronting constructions. Reversing the language combination thus allows us to remove the low frequency of Focus Fronting as a potential factor that can hinder successful acquisition. Speakers in the L1 English group, on the other hand, should successfully acquire the specificity requirement on Romanian clitics in object fronting constructions since these speakers do not have to unlearn an L1 strategy.

6.3 L2 learners of Romanian

This section describes the results from a pilot study with second language learners of Romanian with either Italian or English as a native language. Due to difficulties in finding speakers who acquire Romanian as a second language, only tentative results can be reported. Nevertheless, the findings are of interest and therefore worth discussing.

6.3.1 Research goals

The goal of this second experiment was to further examine whether unlearning an L1 discourse driven syntactic construction creates more difficulties for second language learners than learning an L2 construction not available in the L1, by removing potential effects of insufficient positive evidence for acquiring the target grammar.

Table 5–1, repeated here as Table 6–1, shows the different contexts in which CLLD is used in Italian and Romanian. Two of the conditions are of interest, the [+anaphoric, -specific] condition and the [-anaphoric, +specific] condition. The results from the near-native Romanian learners of Italian showed target preference and use of clitics within the [+anaphoric, -specific] condition. Persistence of L1 effects, however, were found in the [-anaphoric, +specific] condition: although Italian does not allow clitics in this context, Romanian learners of Italian showed difficulties unlearning the use of clitics in such cases. If this reasoning is correct, we expect Italian learners of Romanian to show difficulties unlearning the use of clitics in the [-specific, +anaphoric] condition since the clitic is required in Italian but disallowed in Romanian. At the same time, they are expected to be successful in acquiring the obligatory use of the clitic in the [-anaphoric, +specific] condition on the basis of positive evidence.

6.3.2 Participants

In this experiment, 5 native speakers of Italian and 5 native speakers of English took part. Participants were recruited through word of mouth, the Romanian Institute of Culture in Venice and through facebook pages on the internet targeting Americans, Italians, or

	+anaphoric		-anaphoric		Relevant property
	+specific	-specific	+specific	-specific	
Italian	✓	✓	✗	✗	[+anaphoric]
Romanian	✓	✗	✓	✗	[+specific]
English	✗	✗	✗	✗	N.A.

Table 6–1: Distribution of resumptive clitics in left dislocation.

expats more generally, living in Romania. The second language learners of Romanian also participated in a Romanian C-test.[4]

Table 6–2 summarizes the background information collected from both learner groups giving mean and ranges. It should be observed that the average proficiency level of the L1 Italian group is a little lower than that of the L1 English group. In particular, the years of experience with Romanian and the hours per week the participants use the L2 is somewhat higher for the L1 English group. According to their self-rating, speakers in both groups judged themselves as advanced speakers of Romanian.

	L1 Italian	L1 English
Age	31.5 (18-41)	39 (31-52)
Age at onset	25 (17-38)	28.2 (19-35)
Years of learning	6.5 (1-17)	13.2 (3-21)
Hours of use per week	24.8 (4-50)	34.3 (0.5-84)
C-test score	57.5 (21-80)	69.6 (56-90)

Table 6–2: Background information L2 learners of Romanian.

6.3.3 Methodology and Procedure

The L2 learners participated in the Romanian version of the Acceptability Judgment and the Written Elicitation task, the same version which native speakers of Romanian had taken.

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[4] The C-test was a modification of the Cloze-Test developed by Professor Charlotte Gooskens and Professor Vincent J. van Heuven at the University of Groningen.

Acceptability Judgment task

Examples of the Romanian version of the experiment, which are translations of the Italian version, are shown in (1)- (4). The examples in (1) and (2) show target items in the [+specific] condition, for [+anaphoric] and [-anaphoric], respectively. The examples in (3) and (4) show the same for target items in the [-specific] condition.

(1)   **[+specific, +anaphoric]** Luca şi Mihaela s-au căsătorit de curând şi apoi s-au mutat în noua lor casă. Luca a lucrat toată ziua, în timp ce Mihaela a rămas acasă să aranjeze mobila. Luca o sună să o întrebe cum a mers, şi întreabă:
Luca and Mihaela recently got married and they moved into their new house. Luca worked all day while Michaela stayed home to organize the furniture. Luca calls her to ask how it went and says:
Q: Ce   ai   făcut cu   canapeaua şi   cu   masa?
   What have.2sg done with couch-the and with table-the
   'What have you done with the couch and the table?'
A: Canapeaua am   pus (-o)   în sufragerie, dar masa   s-a   rupt
   Couch-the   have.1sg put (cl.f.1sg) in living-room, but table-the self-has broken
   în timpul transportului.
   in time   transport.
   'I put the couch in the living room, but the table broke during the transportation.'

(2)   **[+specific, -anaphoric]**
Q: Ai   pus masa   în sufragerie,   nu?
   have.2sg put table-the in living-room, right?
   'You put the table in the living room, right?'
A: CANAPEAUA am   pus (-o)   în sufragerie, nu masa.   Masa
   Couch-the   have.1sg put (cl.f.1sg) in living-room, but table-the. Table-the
   s-a   rupt   în timpul transportului.
   self-has broken in time   transport.
   'The couch I put in the living room, not the table. The table broke during the transportation.'

(3)   **[-specific, +anaphoric]**
Emma şi Alin sunt la restaurant cu Nicu şi Suzana, fratele şi sora lui Alin. Nicu şi Suzana se scuză şi se duc la baie, cerându-i lui Alin să comande pentru ei. Când soseşte ospătarul, Alin nu e sigur ce au vrut să comande Nicu şi Suzana, şi o întreabă pe Emma:
Emma and Alin are at a restaurant with Nicolò and Susanna, Elio's brother and sister. Nicolò and Susanna excuse themselves to go to the bathroom and ask Elio to

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order for them. When the waiter arrives, Elio isn't sure what Nicolò and Susanna requested and he asks Emma:

Q: Cine a   vrut   un vin   şi   cine a   vrut   o bere?
Who has wanted a   wine and who has wanted a beer?
'Who wanted a wine and who a beer?'

A: Un vin (l-)   a   comandat fratele   tạu iar sora ta   ar   vrea o
A wine cl.m.3sg- has ordered   brother your and sister your would want a
bere.
beer.
'Your brother ordered a wine and your sister would want a beer.'

(4)   **[-specific, -anaphoric]**

Q: Nicu a   comandat o bere, nu-i aşa?
Nico has ordered   a beer, not ?
'Nico ordered a beer, isn't it?'

A: Un VIN (l-)   a   comandat fratele tău, nu o bere. Sora ta   e cea
A wine cl.m.3sg has ordered   brother your, not a beer. Sister your is one
care ar   vrea o bere.
who would want a beer.
'Your brother ordered a wine, not a beer. It's your sister who wanted a beer.'

Written Elicitation task

For the Written Elicitation task, in addition to test items, filler items were included to make the procedure identical to the task used with the L2 learners of Italian. An example for each condition is shown in (5)-(8).

(5)   **[+specific, +anaphoric]**
Liviu încearcă să găsească pe cineva care să ia câinele şi pisica bunicii sale, pentru că ea nu mai poate avea grijă de ei. El o întreabă pe Silvia:
Liviu is looking for someone who can take his granny's cat and dog as she can't take care of them anymore. Livio asks Silvia:

Q: Ai   vrea sa   adopţi un câine şi o pisică?
have.2sg want cond. adopt a   dog   or a cat?
'Would you like to adopt a dog or a cat?'

A: Pisica   *o voi adopta/as adopta-o/o pot adopta* cu   drag, dar nu avem
Cat.the _____ with dear, but not have.1pl
loc   pentru un câine.
space for   a dog

'I'd happily adopt the cat, but we do not have space for a dog.'

(6)   **[+specific, -anaphoric]**
Ana şi Beatrice vorbesc despre Lia şi Ion, care s-au căsătorit de curând.
Ana and Beatrice are talking about Lia and Ion who recently got married.

Q: Dacă am   înţeles eu   bine,   au   vizitat Insulele Virgine.
    If   have.1sg I   well, have.3pl visited islands virgin
    'If I remembered well, they visited the Virgin Islands.'

A: Insulele MALDIVE _____*le-au*_____ vizitat în luna de miere,
    Islands MALDIVE _____ visited in moon of honey,
    nu Insulele Virgine.
    not islands Virgin.
    'They visited the MALEDIVE during their honey moon, not the Virgin Islands.'

(7)   **[-specific, +anaphoric]**
Alexandra e la bibliotecă, dar nu e sigură ce ar vrea să citească, aşa că se duce la
bibliotecar să îl întrebe ce recomandă. Bibliotecarul spune:
Alexandra is in the library but she isn't sure what she wants to read and she goes to
the librarian to ask for recommendations. The librarian says:

Q: Vrei să   citeşti o carte despre avioane   sau despre maşini?
    want cond. read   a book about airplanes or   about cars
    'Would you like to read a book about airplanes or about cars?'

A: O carte despre avioane _____*as citi*_____ cu   plăcere, dar
    A book about airplanes _____ with pleasure, but
    maşinile nu mă interesează.
    cars   not me interest.
    'I'd read a book about airplanes with pleasure, but I am not interested in cars.'

(8)   **[-specific, -anaphoric]**
Elena va merge la cumpărături, să îişi găsească haine pentru o întâlnire pe care o are
weekendul âsta. Prietena ei încearcă să o ajute şi spune:
Elena will go shopping this weekend because she has a date. Her friend tries to be
helpful and says:

Q: Nu cautai   cumva   o cămaşă neagră? Am   văzut unele drăgu͡te la
    not were looking perhaps a shirt   black? Have.1sg. seen some cute   at
    Zara.
    Zara
    'Weren't you looking for a black shirt? I saw some cute ones at Zara.'

A: O ROCHIE neagră _____*caut*_____, nu o cămaşă neagră.
    A dress   black _____, not a shirt   black
    'I am looking for a black dress, not a black shirt.'

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6.3.4   Results - Acceptability Judgment task

Figure 6–1 shows the results from the Acceptability Judgment task for the second language learners of Romanian as well as the native speakers of Romanian. The plot on the left suggests a specificity effect for the L1 English group; overall the sentences with clitics are rated as more acceptable when the fronted object is specific and sentences without clitics are rated as more acceptable when the fronted object is non-specific. Furthermore, there is no strong difference in judgment between the clitic and non-clitic sentences in the specific-focus condition. Nevertheless, the English learners show a clear effect of specificity; their pattern of behaviour for the specific-focus condition is different from that in the non-specific focus condition. There does not seem to be an effect of anaphoricity for the L1 English group.

The acceptability ratings from the Italian learners of Romanian are relatively high and the differences between clitic and non-clitic sentences are quite small for all conditions. This may suggest that Italian learners of Romanian experience more difficulty than the English learners of Romanian in figuring out the constraints on Romanian CLLD. With respect to anaphoricity, the bottom row of the plot on the right shows that speakers in the L1 Italian group slightly prefer sentences with a clitic over those without a clitic when the fronted object is a discourse topic. This is arguably an effect of their L1. When the fronted object is a focus (see top row), a slight preference can be observed for clitic sentences when the object is specific and clitic-less sentences when the object is non-specific, a trend which is in line with the native speakers of Romanian.

Table 6–3 shows the results of cumulative link mixed effect models for the English and the Italian L2 learners of Romanian. As was the case for the previous models, fixed effects were plotted for Clitic, Specificity, Anaphoricity and their interactions. The random effect terms included intercepts for item and participant but the random slope patterns differed between the two models. The model for the L1 English group allowed both Item and Participant random slopes for all dependent variables and their interactions. The model for the L1 Italian group only converged when including main effect slopes for Clitic, Specificity and
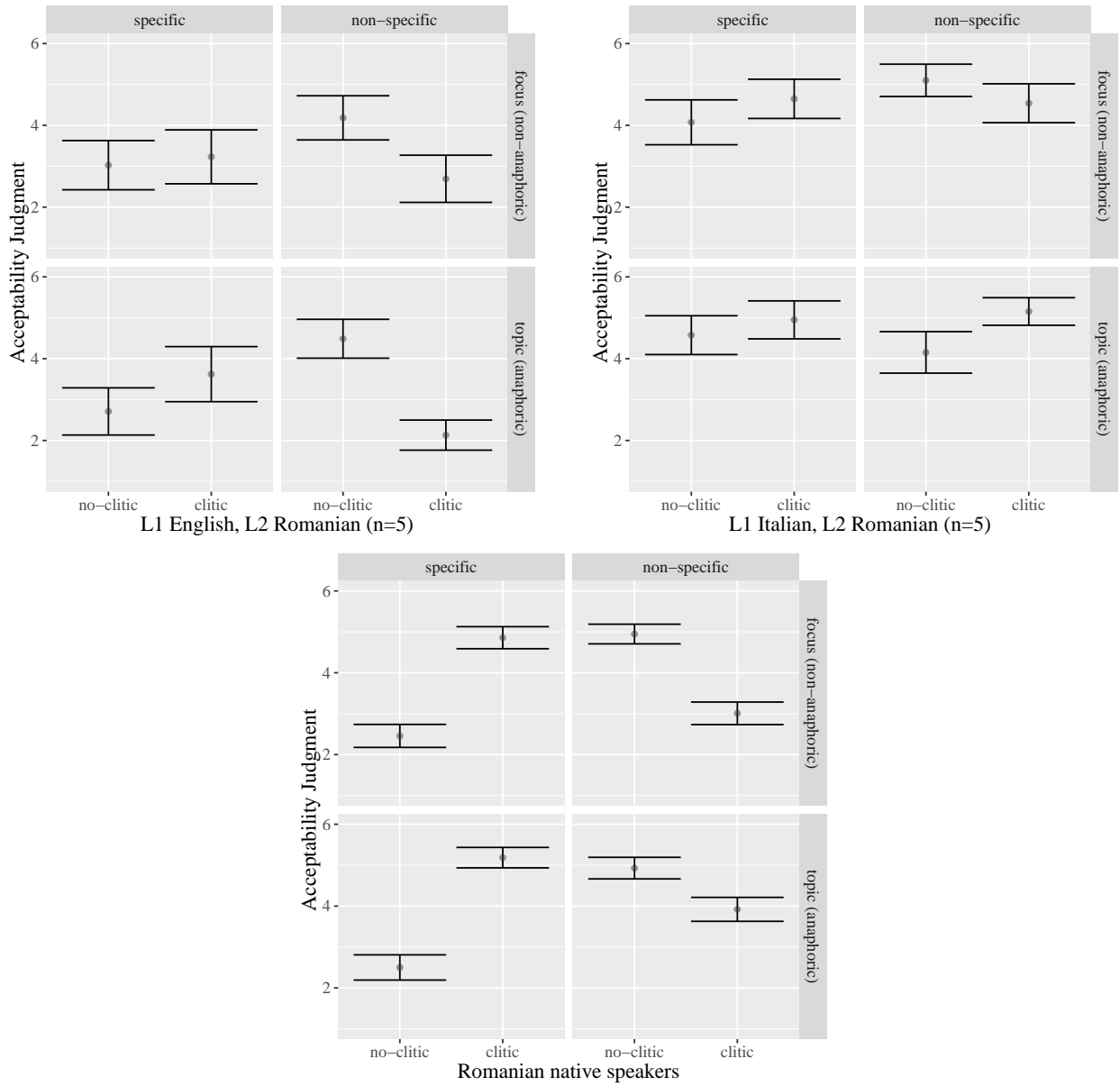
Figure 6–1: Acceptability judgements from English learners of Romanian (left) and Italian learners of Romanian (right), compared to Romanian native speakers

Anaphoricity, but not not when including their interactions. In line with what was observed

from Figure 6–1, the model for the L1 English group predicts a significant interaction between

clitic and specificity (p < 0.01), suggesting L2 convergence. The model for the L1 Italian

group shows a significant two-way interaction between Clitic and Anaphoricity (p < 0.05) as

well as between Specificity and Discourse (p < 0.05). There is also a significant three-way

interaction between Clitic, Specificity and Anaphoricity, suggesting that both Specificity and

Anaphoricity affect the acceptability of clitic versus non-clitic sentences.

Effects of Clitics, Specificity and Discourse on Acceptability Judgment		
	L1 English	L1 Italian
NoClitic.vs.Clitic	-1.04 (0.77)	0.37 (0.45)
Specific.vs.NonSpecific	0.51 (0.69)	0.29 (0.26)
Topic.vs.Focus	0.06 (0.41)	-0.04 (0.51)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec	**-3.67 (1.41)****	-0.67 (0.43)
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Topic.vs.Focus	0.46 (0.73)	**-1.11 (0.44)***
Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	0.23 (0.59)	**0.94 (0.43)***
NoClitic.vs.Clitic:Spec.vs.NonSpec:Topic.vs.Focus	1.83 (1.90)	**-2.35 (0.86)****

Table 6–3: Acceptability Judgment task results from English and Italian L2 Romanian
speakers.

Let us now turn to the results of the Written Elicitation task before interpreting these

findings in more detail.

6.3.5   Results - Written Elicitation task

Figure 6–2 shows the results from the Written Elicitation task, reporting the perfor-

mance from the L1 English speakers on the left and the L1 Italian speakers on the right. For

the participants in the L1 English group, it can be seen that they use clitics extensively when

the fronted object is specific, suggesting successful acquisition of the specificity restriction in

Romanian. For the L1 Italian group, on the other hand, we do not observe totally consistent

use of clitics in any of the conditions. The proportion of clitics is higher in the target items

where the fronted object is specific. At the same time, comparing the topic versus focus

conditions, we see that L1 Italian participants use clitics more when the object is a topic, in accordance with the results from the native speakers of Italian.
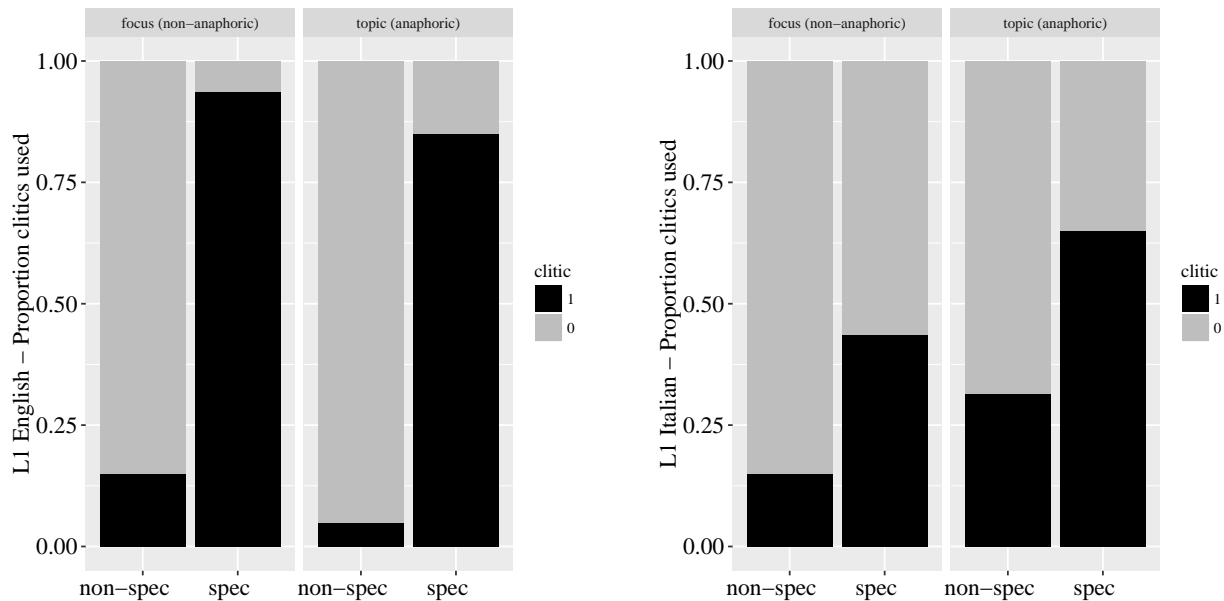
Figure 6–2: Written Elicitation task results from English (left) and Italian L2 learners of Romanian (right) .

Table 6–4 shows the results from binary logistic regression models predicting how the factors Anaphoricity and Specificity affected the use of clitics by L2 learners of Romanian. The models include random intercepts for participant and item to include differences across participants and across items (this was the maximal model that allowed convergence).

Effects of specificity and discourse on use of clitic		
	L1 English	L1 Italian
Intercept	0.06 (1.07)	0.69 (0.70)
Topic.vs.Focus	-1.24 (0.98)	1.21 (0.62)*
NonSpecific.vs.Specific	6.09 (1.70)***	1.95 (0.65)**
Topic.vs.Focus: NonSpec.vs.Spec	-0.25 (2.94)	0.19 (1.21)

Table 6–4: Written Elicitation task results from English and Italian L2 Romanian speakers.

The model for the L1 English group contains random slopes for Specificity and Discourse, but not their interaction and the model for the L1 Italian group does not have random slopes as these models did not converge. The first model includes the data from the L1 English group and the second from the L1 Italian group. The model outcome from the

L1 English group confirms the effect of specificity observed from Figure 6–2; clitics are used significantly more often when the fronted object is specific than when it is non-specific. The model outcome from the data collected from the L1 Italian group also shows a significant effect of Specificity, although this effect is not as strong as for the L1 English group. There is also an effect of Anaphoricity, as clitics are used significantly more often when the fronted object is a Topic than when it is a Focus.

6.3.6 Summary on L2 Romanian

Interesting trends can be observed from the preliminary data collected from the L2 learners of Romanian. The participants in the L1 English group show, quite convincingly, a preference for clitics in constructions with fronted specific objects. Although the sample size is very small and these results should be interpreted with care, it can be observed that L2 learners of Romanian with English as an L1 acquire the CLLD construction in Romanian and restrict its use to contexts with fronted specific objects. The data from the L1 Italian group are less clear at this stage and more data is definitely needed, but some very interesting trends can be observed. In the Acceptability Judgment task, the Italian L2 learners of Romanian rate sentences with clitics as more acceptable than sentences without clitics when the fronted object is specific, as is appropriate for Romanian. They do, however, also rate clitic-sentences as more acceptable in the non-specific topic condition, suggesting some influence of the Italian anaphoricity requirement on the use of clitics. The statistical analysis confirmed an interaction between specificity and discourse. In other words, the Italian learners of Romanian have acquired the fact that clitics are used with object fronting of specific foci, an option unavailable in their L1, but they have not unlearned the fact that clitics cannot be used with non-specific topics.

This behaviour is in line with what was found for the Romanian learners of Italian and therefore strengthens the earlier findings on L2 acquisition of CLLD of Italian, namely that reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface can be hindered if the acquisition process

requires unlearning an L1 syntactic option. The findings are therefore suggestive of the idea that construction frequency does not play a major role in the reconfiguration of discourse features associated with CLLD. These findings invite future research on the role of the input and how it guides L2 learners in constructing new form-meaning mappings in situations where they differ from the L1 grammar. The final chapter discusses the implications of the current findings and presents questions for future research.

CHAPTER 7
General Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The present dissertation examined the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on Clitic Left Dislocation. The acceptability of CLLD in a given context depends on the discourse properties, or features, associated with the left dislocated object. Chapter 3 examined the different discourse contexts in which CLLD is used in Italian and Romanian. Interesting differences between these two languages allowed us to test for L1 transfer of the discourse features associated with CLLD and the situations in which such transfer effects can be overcome and target form-meaning mappings can be acquired. This final chapter discusses the main conclusions of this dissertation, relating them to earlier studies on the acquisition of CLLD and to the SLA literature on feature reconfiguration and the discourse-syntax interface more generally.

7.2 Discussion of main findings

Chapter 5 reported on the experiments conducted to investigate the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on CLLD in Italian. This thesis compared the L2 acquisition of CLLD by English learners of Italian to Romanian learners of Italian, as their L2 acquisition task is significantly different. The English learners of Italian need to acquire a grammar containing features that are not selected by their L1. In other words, they have to acquire new features. The Romanian learners of Italian need to reassemble the features associated with CLLD; they need replace the [+specific] feature with the [+anaphoric] feature. This allowed us to test whether feature reconfiguration is harder than feature acquisition. It was predicted that learners who have to reconfigure the discourse features carried by the clitic and the corresponding dislocated object in CLLD constructions (Romanian L2 learners of Italian)

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would be delayed or completely hindered in achieving L2 native-like competence compared to learners whose L1 does not have CLLD (English L2 learners of Italian).

7.2.1 English learners of Italian

Let us first discuss the results from the English learners of Italian and how these findings relate to earlier studies on L2 acquisition of CLLD. Based on earlier studies testing English learners of a language with CLLD as discussed in Chapter 4, speakers in the L1 English group at the near-native levels were predicted to successfully acquire the discourse constraints on Italian CLLD. This prediction was borne out: The near-native speakers showed sensitivity to topics marked in the syntax in the Acceptability Judgment and the Written Elicitation task. In other words, they acquired the [+anaphoric] feature associated with the left dislocated object in Italian CLLD.

One remarkable observation, however, was that in the Acceptability Judgment task (but not in the Written Elicitation task), the English near-native speakers of Italian did not show a significant preference for non-clitic sentences over clitic sentences in contexts with non-anaphoric objects (Focus Fronting). These results differ from those reported for the English near-native speakers of Spanish in Slabakova et al. (2012). What might explain this difference? Methodologically, the two studies are almost identical. In both experiments a context and a question-answer pair were presented auditorily and visually. The experimental design of both studies consisted only of sentences with Topic Fronting (requiring a clitic in the L2) and Focus Fronting (disallowing a clitic in the L2). There is, however, one methodological distinction which may have contributed to the attested difference between the two studies. In Slabakova et al. (2012), participants were asked to rate a sentence with a clitic and without a clitic at the same time. That is, after each context and question, the participant saw a sentence with a clitic and one without a clitic, allowing participants to compare the two sentences prior to making an acceptability judgment. In the current study, participants judged the sentence with the clitic and the one without the clitic in the same discourse

condition at different moments of the experiment. Slabakova et al.'s (2012) methodology allowed for direct comparison of clitic and non-clitic sentences, making it explicit to the participant what the relevant syntactic factor was that the researchers were interested in. This may have made the presence versus absence of the clitic more salient, facilitating the experimental task.

Additionally, the near-native speakers in the L1 English group differed from the native Italian speakers in that the difference in rating between clitic and non-clitic sentences across all conditions was significantly smaller for the learners compared to the native speakers. That is, L2 learners were less categorical in their acceptability judgments compared to native speakers; L2ers accepted non-felicitous sentences at a higher rate than native Italian speakers. Crucially, however, we are interested in seeing whether the learners showed a significant contrast between sentences depending on the discourse context those sentences were presented in. The English learners of Italian did demonstrate such target judgments. Similarly, while the same learners correctly used a significant larger proportion of clitics in the topic fronting context than in the focus fronting contexts in the Written Elicitation task, a higher error rate was found for the near-native speakers while the native speakers show more categorical responses.

There are several factors which can have contributed to these quantitative differences between the near-native and native speakers. A possibility to consider is that L2 learners are simply not as sensitive to the presence or absence of the clitic, possibly due to this morpheme being short and phonologically unstressed. There is some evidence, however, which suggests that this is not the case, at least for most speakers. Out of the 13 English near-native speakers of Italian, only 3 speakers did not show a difference in rating between clitic and non-clitic sentences across conditions (those three speakers judged all target sentences as highly acceptable). The responses from these three learners, however, may have affected the group mean results. Alternatively, L2 learners may have used the scale in the Acceptability Judgment task differently from native speakers. Contextual felicity is a gradient phenomenon and

therefore a 6-point scale was used rather than a categorical response. L2 learners generally tend to refrain more than native speakers from using the edges of the judgment scale (the "1" and "6" values in this experiment), possibly because they are less confident in their judgments. We do see, however, that the higher ends of the scale are used at a high rate by L2 learners. Furthermore, the finding that clitics are not consistently used in Topic fronting and omitted in Focus Fronting constructions in the Written Elicitation task, as well as the higher rating of infelicitous sentences in the Acceptability Judgment task, is in line with the idea proposed by Sorace (2011) that even very experienced L2 learners exhibit optionality due to the fact that the integration of information across different interfaces places higher demands on the processing mechanism. As Hopp (2006) states, computing derived word orders (like CLLD) also comes with an increased processing effort compared to canonical word orders, because a constituent has moved from its canonical position. If L2 learners do not (always) compute the syntax or do so incompletely, it is harder for them to map the appropriate discourse features ([+anaphoric] or [-anaphoric]) to the associated syntactic word order. In consequence, increased computational demands can hinder consistent application of L2 grammatical knowledge.

7.2.2 Romanian learners of Italian - reconfiguring L1 mappings

The results from the Romanian learners of Italian are of interest in answering whether L2 learners can remap discourse features onto a syntactic construction when the discourse contexts differ between the L1 and the L2.

This dissertation tested the hypothesis that acquisition of the target language may be delayed or even impossible for learners who have to reconfigure L1 discourse-syntax mappings to L2 mappings. The Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (Lardiere, 2008) was applied to feature reconfiguration of phenomena at the interface between discourse and syntax. The results from an earlier study (Hopp, 2009) already suggested that it may indeed be difficult to acquire constraints of Information Structure on syntactic non-canonical word orders if

the L1 used the same word order in different discourse contexts. Using an Acceptability Judgment task, he found that near-native speakers of German with English and Russian as L1 successfully acquired the discourse constraints on German scrambling, while the acceptability judgments from an L1 Dutch group did not differ between felicitous and non-felicitous word orders. Interestingly, Dutch differs from English in that while English does not allow scrambling at all, Dutch marginally allows scrambling, but crucially not in all discourse contexts permitted in German. In particular, scrambling in Dutch is not allowed in the contexts tested in the experiment. Hopp's (2009) results are inconclusive in explaining the reasons for non-target performance of the Dutch group. As the author writes, the experiment did not include an experimental condition displaying the discourse context in which object over subject scrambling is allowed in Dutch (Focus scrambling). Therefore, it is unclear whether the non-convergence of the L1 Dutch group is the consequence of persistent L1 discourse-syntax mappings or whether the speakers in this group simply did not identify the discourse constraints on German scrambling. The design of the current study allowed for testing whether L1 discourse-syntax mappings persist in the L2 grammar, as the experiments included conditions where CLLD was felicitous in the L1 and/or in the L2. If L2 learners for whom the L1 allows the same syntactic construction in different discourse contexts experience general difficulties in establishing the relevant dependency between information structure and syntax in the L2, we expect no differences between judgments across conditions. If their behaviour is driven by persistent L1 mappings, we expect differences across conditions.

In line with the FRH, the results from the Romanian learners of Italian convincingly show that these learners initially map their L1 features onto Italian CLLD. In both tasks, the Romanian learners of Italian in the Int/Adv group accepted clitics and used clitics significantly more when the fronted object was specific, independently of whether the construction involved Focus Fronting or Topic Fronting. At this developmental stage, the learners had not yet acquired the L2 discourse-syntax mappings. In other words, they did not remove the [+specific] feature and did not acquire the [+anaphoric] feature on the clitic and the left

dislocated object in Italian CLLD. These results indicate strong L1 transfer effects. Partial evidence for reconfiguration was found at the near-native levels. The speakers in this group acquired the fact that Topic Fronting in Italian is associated with CLLD, and that an overt clitic is not only required with fronted specific objects but also with non-specific objects. For Topic Fronting, Romanian near-native learners of Italian removed the [+specific] requirement for Italian CLLD. Persistent L1 effects were found as well, as the Romanian learners continued to use clitics with fronted specific foci, a discourse context in which CLLD is felicitous in Romanian but not in Italian. In other words, even at the near-native stages, learners were unable to unlearn the use of CLLD in [+specific, -anaphoric] contexts. This means that they did not restrict CLLD to anaphoric objects and therefore did not acquire the [+anaphoric] associated with Italian CLLD.

In summary, the experimental results support the idea that feature reassembly is harder than feature acquisition as the performance of the English learners of Italian was more target like than that of the Romanian learners of Italian. However, the results do not support the idea that L2 learners generally cannot reconfigure mappings of discourse features onto specific syntactic constructions. Rather, persistent L1 features are found if reconfiguration to L2 mappings involves unlearning an L1 syntactic option. Note that these findings are not in line with those reported in Hopp (2009), where the Dutch learners of German did not acquire a new context in which a discourse dependent syntactic construction is used in the L2. The next section elaborates on our findings with regards to learning and unlearning, bringing the results from the pilot study on L2 Romanian into the discussion.

7.2.3   L2 acquisition of Romanian - learning versus unlearning

As discussed in the previous section, the experimental results on L2 Italian showed that L1 Romanian near-native speakers acquired the use of CLLD in contexts with non-specific topics, but did not unlearn the use of CLLD in contexts with specific foci. In consequence, they were unable to reset the features associated with CLLD from L1 mappings

to L2 mappings. Since Focus Fronting in Italian (and possibly in all Romance languages) is significantly less frequent than Topic Fronting, and therefore frequency effects may have played a role in explaining why the L2 learner performance diverged from the native speaker performance on Focus Fronted constructions, a pilot study was conducted testing the L2 acquisition of Romanian by native speakers of Italian and English.

The predictions were as follows: if it is complicated or impossible to unlearn L1 syntactic options, then Italian learners of Romanian should acquire the obligatory status of CLLD with specific foci but not the impossibility of CLLD with non-specific topics. In other words, they can remove the [+anaphoric] feature and extend CLLD to focus fronting, but not acquire that Romanian CLLD is restricted to [+specific] objects and overuse and accept clitics with non-specific topics. English learners of Romanian, on the other hand, were expected to successfully acquire the specificity constraint on Romanian CLLD, allowing and using clitics only in the conditions with specific objects.

The initial results from the pilot study support this hypothesis: a clear effect of specificity was found for the English group, while there was both an effect of specificity and discourse for the Italian group. It can therefore be concluded that the need for feature reconfiguration does not necessarily lead to persistent non-convergence. Rather, when this involves unlearning of the use of CLLD in a discourse context in which CLLD is allowed in the L1 but not in the L2, resetting of L1 features to L2 features is difficult.

The next section discusses some ideas for future studies to broaden our understanding of interlanguage grammars relating to the syntax and discourse properties of CLLD.

7.3   Future directions

There are several questions that follow from the reported results and which require further investigation.

7.3.1 Offline versus Online tasks

First of all, it would be interesting to examine whether we can attest a sensitivity to discourse constraints on Italian CLLD also in less advanced groups using a different methodology. The findings reported in this dissertation suggest that speakers in the English Int/Adv group are insensitive to discourse in judging clitic and non-clitic sentences in felicitous and infelicitous contexts. These results add to prior findings on the L2 acquisition of discourse driven non-canonical word orders showing that native like judgments are only achieved at the near-native stages. It may be possible to reveal a sensitivity to discourse in lower proficiency speakers using an online task. That is, online experiments may reveal information about the learner's underlying grammatical representation that do not surface with offline tasks. For example, Hopp (2009) showed that while his English advanced learners of German did not differentiate between felicitous and infelicitous contexts in an acceptability judgment task, in a reading task these learners showed reading time differences between different contexts, parallel to native speakers. To explain the difference between methodologies used, Hopp (2009) suggests that the task demands may be higher for an acceptability judgment task than for a reading task. Why may this be so? For the particular situation tested in Hopp (2009), which involves object over subject scrambling, he explains that the Acceptability Judgment task necessitates morphological checking of case marking in order to make a judgment for syntactic wellformedness. This morphological checking is not required for reading in context, as is it is assumed that sentences read by the participants are grammatical to begin with. He proposes that "...*the difficulties with morphological feature checking of case arguably prevent effects of information structure to surface in the off-line judgements.*(Hopp, 2009, p,478). Morphological case checking does not apply to Italian CLLD. However, the general argument that an Acceptability Judgment task involves additional processing demands may hold regardless. In fact, it can be argued that an offline Acceptability Judgment task is generally be more demanding than an online reading task because the former involves additional metalinguistic examination of the target sentence. The learner needs to make an

explicit judgment about the syntactic wellformedness of a sentence in addition to reading and processing the sentence. In the same vein, a Written Elicitation task taps into the learner's metalinguistic awareness. The participant's task is to find a verb that completes the sentence. If the entire sentence is not processed as a whole or when the target sentence in relation to the accompanying discourse context is not kept in memory while finding the word(s) to fill in the gap, the learner may forget to insert a clitic. In a future study, it would be interesting to compare the offline methods (the Acceptability Judgment task and the Written Elicitation task) used in this dissertation to an online method such as a reading task. With the latter method, longer reading times are expected for processing sentences that are presented in infelicitous contexts compared to felicitous contexts, but only if the relevant discourse-syntax mappings are represented in the L2 learner's grammar.

7.3.2   Testing L1 transfer effects with other language combinations

To further investigate the role of the input in feature reconfiguration at the discourse-syntax interface, it would be interesting to extend the current study to other language combinations which differ on fewer levels than Italian does to Romanian. One suitable language is Spanish. As discussed in Chapter 4, Spanish CLLD is constrained both by specificity and anaphoricity. Therefore, in Spanish only left dislocated specific topical object are used in CLLD constructions. An interesting question is whether L2 learners can acquire the discourse features associated with CLLD when the L1 and the L2 are minimally different. Take, for example, the Italian-Spanish combination. The task of Italian L2 learners of Spanish is to acquire the fact that clitics are not allowed with fronted non-specific objects. The other way around, Spanish L2 learners of Italian ought to extend the use of clitics to both specific and non-specific objects. The hypothesis presented in this dissertation predicts difficulties only in one learning direction. Elaborating on the observation that unlearning that CLLD cannot be used in a particular discourse requires negative evidence, Spanish L2 learners of Italian are predicted to be successful in removing the specificity requirement in

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L2 Italian. For Italian learners of Spanish, on the other hand, unsuccesful acquisition of the specificity requirement is expected as these learners have to unlearn CLLD with non-specific topics.

While the Italian-Spanish combination allows for testing the specificity requirement or the lack thereof in CLLD constructions, the Romanian-Spanish combination allows for testing the learning and unlearning of an anaphoricity requirement. Romanian L2 learners of Spanish have to restrict CLLD to anaphoric objects, while Spanish L2 learners of Romanian have to acquire the fact that anaphoricity is irrelevant in Romanian. Again, assuming that learning a new option is easier is than unlearning, we predict acquisition difficulties only for the Romanian L2 learners of Spanish.

Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare the performance of the Italian-Spanish and Romanian-Spanish L2ers to the performance of the Italian-Romanian L2ers. The former two groups possibly experience an even greater degree of difficulty than the Italian-Romanian L2ers because their L1 and L2 behave more similarly with respect to the discourse contexts in which CLLD is used. In the Italian-Spanish combination, only sentences with non-specific-topics can provide evidence for L2 learners to alter the L1 discourse-syntax mappings to L2 mappings. Similarly, in the Romanian-Spanish combination, only sentences with specific-foci can inform the learner that CLLD is not used in identical discourse contexts in the L1 and the L2. Because most left dislocated objects are probably specific topics, as most entities mentioned earlier in the discourse naturally have a specific referent, the majority of the instances of CLLD in the L2 are not contradictory to the L1 grammar. This leaves the learner with a small amount of evidence in the input that allows them to alter L1 mappings.

7.3.3 Feature representation in the interlanguage grammar

In Section 3.2.4 it was shown that the specificity requirement in Romanian extends beyond CLLD constructions. This means that Romanian learners of Italian and Italian learners of Romanian have to shift their feature composition of clitics more generally. Romanian

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learners of Italian need to acquire the fact that Italian clitics can stand in for non-specific interpretations and Italian learners of Romanian need to acquire the fact that Romanian clitics cannot be used with *de dicto* interpretations of the indefinite NP. The current thesis did not study explicitly what the feature representation of clitics in interlanguage grammars looks like. It would be interesting to examine whether L2 learners can use knowledge of properties of the clitic inventory to acquire properties of CLLD. To further investigate whether L2ers can acquire the (lack of) the [+specific] requirement on clitics more generally, future work can include a larger variety of structures with clitics (e.g. CLLD, Clitic Doubling and coreference constructions). It can then be examined whether those L2 learners who successfully acquire that Italian clitics do not and Romanian clitics do have a specificity requirement can use this information to derive properties of CLLD in the L2.

Note, however, that the findings of the current study do provide some insights onto whether learners carry over general properties of clitics (and pronouns for the L1 English group) to CLLD constructions. Namely, the findings suggest that L2ers do not transfer properties of the clitic across different syntactic constructions, which brings the use of the [±specific] feature into question. Take, for example, the Romanian learners of Italian. We observed that speakers at the near-native levels removed the [+specific] requirement for the use of clitics in Topic Fronting constructions. If these learners removed the [+specific] requirement on Italian clitics more generally, we would predict that they overgeneralize CLLD to non-specific foci. The results do not support this prediction, suggesting that Romanian learners of Italian do not acquire more generally that Italian clitics are [-specific]. Similarly, we notice that English learners of Italian do not transfer the specificity restriction of English pronouns to Italian clitics, as the learners from both proficiency levels correctly allow clitics with fronted non-specific objects as well. This constitutes another example where properties of CLLD in the interlanguage grammar are not directly transferred from properties of the pronoun/clitic.

7.4 Final Conclusions

This dissertation has explored the L2 acquisition of discourse constraints on CLLD in Italian and Romanian. First it was established that these two languages use CLLD in different discourse contexts. Following and elaborating on López (2009), the attested differences were attributed to different features assigned to the syntax of CLLD constructions. This interesting language combination allowed for exploring L1 transfer and the process of feature reconfiguration at the syntax-discourse interface, applying the predictions from the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis to a phenomenon involving discourse features.

The performance of two L1 groups was compared to disentangle the effects of L1 transfer (only possible for the L1 Romanian group) from general L2 acquisition difficulties (for both the L1 Romanian and the L1 English group). In addition, to examine the interlanguage grammar at different stages of development, the performance of each L1 group was examined at two proficiency levels (the Intermediate/Advanced stage and the Near-Native stage). This allowed us to see that the Romanian Int/Adv learners of Italian indeed mapped their L1 grammar onto the L2, while the grammar of the near-native group showed both properties of the L1 and the L2.

In terms of ultimate attainment, the Romanian near-native speakers of Italian differed from the English near-native speakers of Italian, as only the latter group fully acquired the discourse features associated with Italian CLLD. First of all, these findings support the idea that there exists no general representational impairment at the discourse-syntax interface and thus that L2 discourse-syntax mappings are acquirable. Secondly, L2 learners can acquire the use of a syntactic construction in discourse contexts where this is not allowed in the L1. However, L1 mappings persist when L2 acquisition requires unlearning the use of a discourse dependent syntactic option in a context in which this is used in the L1. In consequence, complete resetting of the relevant features is difficult for L2 learners. This conclusion was supported by data from a pilot study on the acquisition of Romanian CLLD comparing the L2 performance of English and Italian learners of Romanian.

In conclusion, this thesis has contributed to Generative Second Language Acquisition by examining the acquisition of CLLD using a language pairing that had not been previously studied. The different properties of CLLD in Italian and Romanian allowed for a more detailed understanding of how discourse features are applied to specific syntactic constructions. In line with previous studies testing feature reassembly, which to date had not been applied to the discourse-syntax interface, it was found that properties associated with discourse sensitive constructions such as CLLD are transferred from the L1 to the L2. The results suggest that the need for negative evidence to unlearn the use of CLLD in discourse contexts where the construction is allowed in the L1 hinders successful reconfiguration of features associated with CLLD. This furthermore provides another context for language pedagogy where L2 learners need to be explicitly taught when CLLD cannot be used in order to gain native-like competence in the L2.

Appendix A: Background Questionnaire

This is an English translation of the Background Questionnaire presented to L2 learners of Italian.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your sex?

3. Place of birth:

4. Date of birth:

5. Employment status:

6. Highest level of education currently in progress or completed:

7. What is/are the native language(s) of your parents?

8. Have you ever lived in Italian? No/ Yes (if yes, we ask you to answer the following question)

9. Where have you lived and for how long?

10. Approximately, how many hours a week do you use Italian?

11. Do you participate in Italian language courses? No/ Yes (if yes, we ask you to answer the following question)

12. Which Italian course are you taking/have you taken and which proficiency level have you reached?

13. Indicate your proficiency level in Italian.

14. In addition to English and Italian / Romanian and Italian, do you speak other languages? No/ Yes (if yes, we ask you to answer the following questions)

15. Which languages do you speak?

16. What is your proficiency level in each of these languages (beginner, low-intermediate, high-intermediate, advanced, near-native)?

In alcune delle seguenti parole è stata cancellata l'ultima parte. Prova a completare gli spazi bianchi, saltando le parole che non conosci. In questo test non è importante la corretta ortografia, quindi non avere paura di commettere errori. Esempio:

Ieri n_____ ho comp_____ il gior_____

Ieri non ho comprato il giornale

In bocca al lupo!

---

1. Studente modello via da scuola

Commozione a Trento per _____decisione di un diciassettenne _____abbandonare gli studi per lavorare. Suo pa_____ ha pe_____ il lav_____ in fabb_____ e l_____, un 17enne d_____ Rovereto c_____ frequenta u_____ istituto tec_____, ha de_____ alla pre_____che las_____la scu_____ per and_____ a lavo_____. È u_____ peccato h_____ detto l_____dirigente scolastica, il ragazzo _____ un bravo st_____.

2. Penelope Cruz si sposerà a dicembre

Starebbe organizzando il s_____ matrimonio con il compagno di l_____ data Javier Bardem. Penelope Cruz si spo_____ a dice_____. L'att_____ spagnola star_____ organizzando i_____suo matri_____ con i_____ compagno d_____ lunga da_____ Javier Bardem. L_____ voce cir_____ da qua_____ giorno. S_____ sposeranno pre_____. Penelope e Javier so_____ spagnoli, e l_____ vorrebbe ta_____ che a dise_____ il s_____ abito d_____ sposa sia proprio _____ stilista spagnolo, lo rivelano fonti vicine all'att_____ a In Touch Weekly. L'abito potrebbe e_____ disegnato dalla maison Balenciaga, _____ disegn anche l'abito _____ sposa di Salma Hayek.

3. Botte o abusi per una donna su tre

Un universo di solitudine, quello che circonda _____ donne vittime di violenza. So_____ durante, m_____ sole an_____ dopo ave_____ subita. An_____ per que_____ soltanto cin_____

su di_____ denunciano laggre_____. In Ita_____ una do_____ su t_____ tra i 16 e i 70 an_____ è st_____ vittima ne_____ sua vi_____ dell'aggres_____ di u_____ uomo. S_____ milioni 743 mi_____ quelle che hanno subito _____corso della propria vita violenza f_____ e sessuale, se_____ i dati Istat.

4. Cellulari, provati effetti sul cervello

Uno studio svedese _____ dimostrato che esistono gli effetti biologici dei cell_____ e d_____ telefoni se_____ fili s_____ cervello. L'inda_____, promossa d_____ Consiglio sve_____ delle rice_____ e cond_____ dall'unive_____ di Oerebro, h_____ rilevato i_____ chi f_____ troppo u_____ dei telef_____ un aum_____ di u_____ proteina n_____ sangue, l_____ transtiretina. Attra_____ gli es_____ del san_____, i ricercatori _____ valutato l'influenza delle o_____ radio sulla proteina contenuta nel fluido cerebrospinale _____ funziona da barriera per _____ cervello.

Appendix C: Acceptability Judgment task - Italian

(1)   **Item 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Edoardo e Marianna sono studenti all'università e stanno studiando per gli esami finali. A loro servono il libro di statistica e gli appunti del prof. Quando Marianna è arrivata, Edoardo le chiede:

Edoardo and Marianna are university students and they are studying for their final exams. They need the statistics text book and the professors notes. When Marianna arrives, Edoardo asks her:

E: Hai   il   libro e   gli appunti che ci servono?
     Have.2sg. the book and the notes   that us serve?
     Did you bring the book and the notes we need?

M : Il   libro (l')   ho   portato, ma gli appunti ci mancano ancora.
     The book cl.m.3sg have.1sg brought, but the notes   us miss   still.
     'I brought the book, but we are still missing the notes.'

(2) **Item 1 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

E: Gli appunti che hai portato sono nello zaino?
The notes that you brought are.3pl in-the backpack
'Are the notes you brought in the backpack?'

M: ll LIBRO l ho portato, non gli appunti. Gli appunti ci
THE BOOK cl.m.3sg have.1sg brought, not the notes. The notes us
mancano ancora.
miss still.
'I brought the BOOK, not the notes. We are still missing the notes.'

(3) **Item 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Luca e Michaela si sono appena sposati e si sono trasferiti nella loro nuova casa. Luca

ha lavorato tutto il giorno mentre Michaela è rimasta a casa per sistemare i mobili.

Luca la chiama per chiedere com'è andata e dice:

Luca and Michaela recently got married and they moved into their new house. Luca

worked all day while Michaela stayed home to organize the furniture. Luca calls her

to ask how it went and says:

L: Cosa hai fatto con il divano e il tavolo?
What have.2sg done with the couch and the table?
'What did you do with the couch and the table?'

M: Il divano l' ho messo in soggiorno, ma il tavolo si
the couch cl.m.3sg. have put in living room, but the table REFL. is
rotto durante il trasporto.
broken during the transportation.
'I put the couch in the living room, but the table broke during the transportation.'

(4) **Item 2 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

L: Hai messo il tavolo in soggiorno, vero?
have.2sg put the table in the living room, right?
'You put the table in the living room, right?'

M: Il DIVANO l' ho messo in soggiorno, non il tavolo. Il
The COUCH cl.m.3sg' have.1sg put in living room, not the table. The
tavolo si rotto durante il trasporto.
table REFL is broken during the transportation.

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'I put the couch in the living room, not the table. The table broke during the transportation.'

(5) **Item 3 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Cristiano e Lara hanno invitato Mario per cena. La cena è servita sul terrazzo e tutto era buonissimo. Mario vorrebbe far un complimento a Lara e dice:

Cristiana and Lara invited Mario for dinner. The dinner is served on the terrace and everything was delicious. Mario would like to compliment Lara and says:

M: Tutto   è veramente delizioso. Chi   ha preparato la zuppa e   chi   il
   Everything is really   delicious. Who has prepared the soup and who the
   pesce?
   fish?
   'Everything is really delicious. Who made the soup and who the fish?'

L: Il   pesce l'   ho   preparato io e   Cristiano ha fatto   la zuppa.
   The fish   cl.m.3sg have prepared I and Cristiano has prepared the soup.
   'I made the fish and Cristian made the soup.'

(6) **Item 3 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Lara, mi piace molto la   zuppa. L'hai   preparata tu,   vero?
   Lara, me please very   the soup. CL.f.3sg have.2sg prepared you,   right?
   'Lara, I really like the soup. You made it, right?'

L: Il   PESCE l'   ho   preparato io, non la   zuppa.   CRISTIANO
   the FISH   CL.M.3sg have.1sg prepared I, not the soup.   Is CRISTIANO
   che ha fatto la   zuppa.
   who has made the soup.
   'I prepared the FISH, not the soup. It's Cristiano who made the soup.'

(7) **Item 4 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Anna e sua mamma sono andati al parco giochi. A casa sua mamma racconta a suo papà del pomeriggio al parco. Poi il papà chiede ad Anna:

Anna and her mother when to the playground. At home her mother tells her father about the afternoon at the playground. Then father asks Anna:

P: C'era   Lidia al   parco con il   suo cane?
   there'was Lidia at-the park with the her dog

'Was Lidia at the park with her dog?'

A: Il   cane lo   abbiamo visto ma Lidia non c'era.
    The dog cl.m.3sg have.3pl seen but Lidia not there'was.
    'We've seen the dog, but Lidia wasn't there.'

(8)   **Item 4 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

P: Ho   sentito che avete   visto Lidia al   parco.
    Have.1sg. heard   that have.2pl seen Lidia at-the park
    'I heard you guys say Lidia at the park.'

A: Il   suo CANE lo   abbiamo visto. Lidia non c'era.
    The her dog   cl.m.3sg have.3pl seen. Lidia not there'was
    'We saw her DOG. Lidia wasn't there.'

(9)   **Item 5 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Silvia e Piero sono amici che vivono in due città diverse e ogni tanto si scrivono e si

mandano dei regali. Piero chiede:

Silvia and Piero are friends who live in two different cities and every once in a while

they write each other and send each other presents. Piero asks:

P: Hai   ricevuto la lettera e   il pacchettino che ti   ho   mandato?
    Have.2sg received the letter and the package   that you have.1sg sent?
    'Did you receive the letter and the package that I sent you?'

S: Il   pacchettino l'ho   ricevuto ma la lettera ancora non è
    The package   cl.m.3sg'have.1sg received but the letter still   not is
    arrivata.
    arrived.
    'I received the package but the letter hasn't arrived yet.'

(10)   **Item 5 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

P: Tua madre mi ha   detto che hai   ricevuto la lettera che ti
    your mother me has.3sg said   that have.2sg received the letter that you
    ho   mandato.
    have.1sg sent
    'Your mother sold me you received the letter I sent you

S: Il   PACCHETTINO l'ho   ricevuto, non la   lettera. La   lettera
The PACKAGE   cl.m.3sg'have.sg received, not the letter.   The letter
ancora non è arrivata.
still   not is arrived
'I received the package, not the letter. The letter hasn't arrived yet.'

(11)   **Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]** Silvio è un cuoco che si offre per realizzare

servizi di catering a casa. È fantastico! Ha preparato il pranzo e la cena che abbiamo

mangiato oggi.

Silvio is a chef who offers catering services at home. He is fantastic! He prepared

the lunch and the dinner we ate today.

S: In quanto   tempo ha   preparato i   piatti?
In how-much time   has.3sg prepared the dishes?
'In how much time did he prepare the dishes?'

M: Il   pranzo l'ha   preparato in circa   30 minuti, ma per la   cena
The lunch   cl.m.sg'has prepared in around 30 minutes, but for the dinner
ci   ha messo 50 minuti.
there he put   50 minutes
'He prepared the lunch in around 20 minutes, but he spend 50 minutes on the

dinner.'

(12)   **Item 6 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

S: Ho   sentito che ha   preparato la   cena   in 30 minuti.
have.1sg heard   that has.3sg prepared the dinner in 30 minutes
'I heard he prepared dinner in 30 minutes

M: Il   PRANZO l'   ha   preparato in 30   minuti, non
The lunch   cl.m.3sg'has prepared in   30 minutes, not   the
la   cena. Per la   cena   aveva bisogno di 50   minuti.
dinner. For   the dinner had.3sg need of   50 minutes
'He prepared the LUNCH in 30 minutes, not the dinner.'

(13)   **Item 7 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Zoe é alla festa di compleanno della sua amica Silvia. A casa a Zoe non é permesso

di mangiare tanto zucchero. La mamma di Silvia le aveva chiesto cosa vorrebbe

provare, peró ha dimenticato la risposta. Le porta un piatto con un biscotto e una

fetta di torta e chiede:

Zoe is at her friend Silvia's birthday Party. At home Zoe isn't allowed to eat a lot

of sugar. Silvia's mom asked her what she wanted to try, but she forgot the answer.

She brings her a plate with a cookie and a slice of cake and asks:

M: Ti   piacerebbe   sia   il   biscotto che la   torta?
    You please.cond.3sg both the cookie   as   the cake?
    'Would you like both the cookie and the cake?'

Z: Il   biscotto lo   voglio   provare, ma la   torta é troppo grande.
    the cookie   cl.m.3sg want.1sg try,   but the cake is too   big
    'I would like to try the cookie, but the cake is too big.'

(14)   **Item 7 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Volevi   provare la   torta, vero?
    wanted.2sg try   the cake, right?
    'You wanted to try the cake, right?

Z: Il   BISCOTTO lo   voglio   provare, non la   torta. La   torta é
    The cookie   cl.m.3sg want.1sg try,   not the cake. The cake is
    troppo grande.
    too   big
    'I want to try the COOKIE, not the cake. The cake is too big.'

(15)   **Item 8 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Elisa e Jacopo organizzeranno una cena a casa con due altri amici. Elisa ha comprato

tutto ciò di cui avevano bisogno e a casa avevano anche delle mele e delle arance che

stavano per andare a male. Jacopo chiede a Elisa:

Elisa and Jacopo will organize a dinner at home with two other friends. Elisa bought

everything they needed and at home they also have some apples and oranges who

are about to go bad. Jacopo asks Elisa:

J: Cosa farai   con le   arance e   con le   mele che stanno per
    what make.fut.2sg with the oranges and with the apples that are.3pl to
    andare (a   male)?
    go   bad
    'what will you make with the apples and oranges that are about to go bad?'

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E: Le mele le   uso   nella torta e   farò   un succo con le
The apples CL.F.pl use.1sg in-the cake and make.fut.1sg a   juice with the

arance.

oranges.

'I will use the apples in the cake and I will make a juice with the oranges.

(16) **Item 8 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

J: Usi   le   arance nella torta, vero?
use.2sg the oranges in   the   cake, right?
'You will use the oranges in the cake, right?'

E: Le MELE le   uso   nella torta, non le   arance. Con le   arance
The apples cl.f.3pl use.1sg in-the cake, not the oranges. With the oranges

faccio   un succo.
make.1sg a   juice

'I will use the APPLES in the cake, not the oranges. With the oranges I will

make a juice.'

(17) **Item 9 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

L'azienda per cui Matteo e Carla lavorano ha appena raggiunto un accordo fi-

nanziario. Matteo trova sempre l'occasione giusta per celebrare e dice:

The company for which Matteo and Carlo work just made a financial agreement.

Matteo always finds the right occasion to celebrate and says:

M: Andiamo al   bar per un caffè e   poi un aperitivo?
go.1pl   to-the bar for a   coffee and then a   drink?
'Are we going to the bar for a coffee and then a drink?'

C: Un caffe lo   prenderei,   ma è   decisamente troppo presto per
A   coffee cl.m.3sg take.cond.1sg, but is.3sg definitely   too   early for

l'alcool.

the'alcohol

'I would take a coffee, but it is definitely too early for alcohol.'

(18) **Item 9 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Carla, prendi   una birra per festeggiare, no?
Carla, take.2sg a   beer to   celebrate, no?
'Carlo, you'll take a beer to celebrate, no?'

C: Un CAFFE lo   prendo, non una birra. È decisamente troppo presto
   A COFFEE cl.m.3sg. take.1sg, not a   beer. Is definitely too   early
   per l'alcool.
   for alcohol.
   'I'll take a COFFEE, not a beer. It is definitely too early for alcohol.'

(19)   **Item 10 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Giacomo lavora allo zoo e invita la sua nipotina Elisa per venire con lui a nutrire gli

animali giovedì mattina. Giacomo dice:

Giacomo works at the zoo and invites his niece Elise to come with him to feed the

animals on Thursday morning. Giacomo says:

G: Vuoi   venire con me? Potresti   nutrire una scimmia e   un leone se
    want.2sg come with me? can.cond.2sg feed   a   monkey and a lion if
    vuoi?
    want.2sg
    'Do you want to come with me? You can feed a monkey and a lion if you want?'

E: Una scimmia la   voglio   nutrire ma i   leoni mi fanno paura.
    A   monkey cl.f.3sg want.1sg feed   but the lions me do   fear.
    'I want to feed a monkey, but I am afraid of lions.'

(20)   **Item 10 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

G: Avresti   voglia di venire con me, puoi   anche nutrire un leone, come
    have.cond.2sg wish   to come with me, can.2sg also feed   a lion, like
    mi hai   chiesto?
    me have.2sg asked
    'Do you feel like coming with me, you can also feed a lion, like you asked me?

E: UNA SCIMMIA la   voglio   nutrire, non un leone. I   leoni mi fanno
    A   monkey cl.f.3sg want.1sg feed,   not a lion. The lions me do
    paura.
    fear
    I want to feed a MONKEY, not a lion. I am afraid of lions.

(21)   **Item 11 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Carlo e Serena sono al ristorante per la cena. Carlo chiede:

Carlo and Serena are at a restaurant for dinner. Carlo asks:

C: Cosa vorresti ordinare, magari un'insalata o una pizza?
What want.cond.2sg order, maybe a'salad or a pizza
What would you like to order, maybe a salad or a pizza?

S: Un'insalata la mangio volentieri, ma la pizza non mi piace.
A'salad cl.f.3sg eat.1sg gladly, but the pizza not me pleases.
'I would gladly eat a salad, but I do not like pizza.'

(22) **Item 11 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

C: Tu vuoi ordinare pizza, vero?
You want.2sg order pizza, right?
'You want to order pizza, right?

S: Un'INSALATA la voglio ordinare, non una pizza. La pizza non mi
A'salad cl.f.3sg want order, not a pizza. The pizza not me
piace.
pleases.
'I want to order a salad, not a pizza. I do not like pizza.'

(23) **Item 12 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Recentemente Mira ha aperto un piccolo ristorante. Il business sta andando molto

bene, ma si rende conto che avrà bisogno di aiuto perché non ha abbastanza tempo

per cucinare e servire i piatti tutto da sola. Suo padre chiede a sua madre:

Recently Mira opened a small restaurant. The business is going very well, but she

realizes she needs help because she doesn't have enough time to cook and to serve

plates all by herself. Her father asks her mother:

P: Pensi che assumerà un altro cuoco o un altro cameriere?
think.2sg that hire.fut.3sg an other cook or an other waiter?
'Do you think she will hire another cook or another waiter?'

M: Un cameriere lo assumerà presto, ma Mira non sopporterebbe mai
A waiter cl.m.3sg hire.fut.3sg soon, but Mira not stand.cond.3sg ever
un altro cuoco nella sua cucina.
an other cook in-the her kitchen
'She will hire a waiter soon, but Mire can never stand another cook in her

kitchen.'

(24) **Item 12 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

P: Ho   sentito che presto assumerà   un cuoco.
Have.1sg heard   that soon   hire.fut.3sg a   cook
'I heard that soon she will hire a cook.'

M: UN CAMERIERE lo   assumerà   presto, non un cuoco. Mira non
A WAITER   cl.m.3sg hire.fut.3sg soon,   not a   cook. Mira not
sopporterebbe mai un altro cuoco nella   sua cucina.
stand.cond.3sg ever an other cook   in-the her kitchen
'She will hire a WAITER soon, not a cook. Mire can never stand another cook

in her kitchen.'

(25)   **Item 13 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

I membri di un coro pop stanno discutendo le canzoni che vogliono provare e chi sará

il cantante principale per ciascuna delle canzoni. Il direttore del coro vuole prendere

in considerazione lopinione di tutti e chiede ad Eva:

The members of a pop choir are discussing the songs they want to practice and

who will be the lead singer for each of the songs. The choir director wants to take

everyone's opinion into consideration and asks Eva:

D: Tu vorresti   cantare una canzone di   Madonna ed una di   Beyonce?
You like.2sg.cond sing   a   sing   from Madonna and one from Beyonce?
'Would you like to sing a song from Madonna and one from Beyonce?'

E: Una canzone di   Madonna la   canterò volentieri, ma quelle di
A   song   from Madonna cl.f.3sg sing.fut happily,   but those from
Beyonce sono troppo difficili.
Beyonce are   too   difficult.
'I will happily sing a song from Madonna, but those from Beyonce are too

difficult.'

(26)   **Item 13 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

D: Eva, tu   canterai una canzone di   Beyonce, vero?
Eva, you sing.fut a   song   from Beyonce, right?
'Eva, you will sing a song by Beyonce, right?'

E: Una canzone di   MADONNA la   canterò io, non una di   Beyonce.
A   song   from Madonna   cl.f.3sg sing.fut I, not one from Beyonce.
Quelle sono troppo difficili per me.
Those are   too   difficult for me.

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'I'll sing a song from MADONNA, not one from Beyonce.'

(27) **Item 14 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Emma ed Elio sono al ristorante con Nicolò e Susanna, il fratello e la sorella di Elio.

Nicolò e Susanna si scusano e vanno in bagno chiedendo ad Elio di ordinare per loro.

Quando il cameriere arriva, Elio non è sicuro di quello che hanno chiesto Nicolò e

Susanna e chiede ad Emma:

Emma and Elio are at a restaurant with Nicolò and Susanna, Elio's brother and

sister. Nicolò and Susanna excuse themselves to go to the bathroom and ask Elio to

order for them. When the waiter arrives, Elio isn't sure what Nicolò and Susanna

requested and he asks Emma:

E: Chi voleva un vino e chi una birra?

Who wanted a wine and who a beer?

'Who wanted a wine and who a beer?'

Em: Un vino (*lo)   ha ordinato tuo fratello e   tua sorella vorrebbe
     A   wine cl.m.3sg has ordered your brother and your sister   want.cond.3sg
     una birra.
     a   beer
     'Your brother ordered a wine and your sister would like a beer.'

(28) **Item 14 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

E: Nicolò ha ordinato una birra, vero?
     Nicolò has ordered   a   beer, right?
     Nicolò ordered a beer, right?

Em: UN VINO (*lo)   ha ordinato tuo fratello, non una birra. È tua   sorella
     A   wine   cl.m.3sg has ordered your brother, not a   beer. Is your sister
     che   vorrebbe   una birra.
     who want.cond.3sg a   beer.
     'Your brother ordered a wine, not a beer. It's your sister who wanted a beer.'

(29) **Item 15 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Elena va fare shopping perché ha un colloquio di lavoro tra due settimane. Ha

bisogno di una gonna rossa e un paio di stivali. Suo padre cerca di essere utile e

dice:

Elena is going shopping because she has a job interview in two weeks. She needs a

red short and a pair of boots. Her father tries to be helpful and says:

P: Hai   trovato una gonna rossa e   un paio di stivali?
   have.2sg found   a   skirt   red   and a   pair of boots?
   'Did you find a red skirt and a pair of boots?'

E: Una gonna rossa la   cerco   già   da   due mesi,   però ho
   A   skirt   red   cl.f.3sg look-for already since two months, but   have.1sg
   trovato un paio di stivali neri   molto belli.
   found   a   pair of boots black very   beautiful.
   'I've been looking for a red skirt for two months, but I did find a pair of very

   nice black boots.'

(30)   **Item 15 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

P: Non cercavi   una maglietta rossa? Ne   ho   viste alcune
   Not look-for.2sg.past a   sweater   red?   CL.part have.1sg seen some
   carine da H&M.
   cute   at H&M
   'Weren't you looking for a red sweater? I saw some cute ones at H&M.'

E: Una GONNA rossa la   cerco,   non una MAGLIETTA rossa.
   A   skirt   red   cl.f.3sg look-for, not a   sweater   red.
   'I am looking for a red SKIRT, not a red SWEATER.'

(31)   **Item 16 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Gianna e Emilio hanno bisogno di un cappello e alcune giacche per la prova di uno

spettacolo teatrale. Gianna sa che suo nonno ha tante giacche e tanti cappelli in un

vecchio guardaroba e quindi promette di andare a vederli. Emilio vorrebbe sapere

se può invitare gli attori per provare i costumi e chiede a Gianna:

Gianna and Emilio need a hat and some jackets for a theatre rehearsal. Gianna

knows that her grandfather has a lot of jackets and hats in an old wardrobe and

therefore he promises to go and check them out. Emilio would like to know if he can

invite the actors to come try the costumes and asks Gianna:

E: Quando riesci   a portarci un cappello e   delle giacche?
When   manage.2sg to bring-us a   hat   and some coats?
'When will you be able to bring us a hat and some coats?'

G: Un cappello lo   posso   portare domani   ma le   giacche prima
A   hat   cl.m.3sg can.1sg bring   tomorrow but the jackets   first
devono   essere lavate.
need.3pl be   washed.
'I can bring a hat tomorrow, but the jackets first need to be washed.'

(32) **Item 16 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

E: Domani   porti   le   giacche, vero?
Tomorrow bring.2sg the jackets, right?
'Tomorrow you'll bring the jackets, right?'

G: Un CAPPELLO lo   porto   domani,   non le   giacche. Quelle prima
A   hat   cl.m.3sg bring.1sg tomorrow, not the jackets. Those first
devono   essere lavate.
need.3pl be   washed.
'I'll bring a hat tomorrow, not the jackets. Those first need to be washed.'

(33) **Control Item 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Valentina e Giovanni si sono recentemente trasferiti e hanno sistemato tutto in base

alle loro esigenze. Elio chiede:

Valentina and Giovanni recently moved and they organized everything according to

their needs. Elio asks:

E: Cosa hai   fatto con   le   due stanze vuote?
What have.2sg done with the due rooms empty
'What did you do with the two empty rooms?'

V: Una delle stanze la   usiamo come   ufficio e   l'altra servirà
One of   the   rooms cl.f.3sg use.1pl as   office and   the'other
come   stanza degli ospiti.
serve.3sg.fut as   room of-the guests.
'We'll use one of the rooms as an office and the other will serve as a bedroom.'

(34) **Control Item 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Oggi Giulia e Paolo tingeranno deimaglioni insieme per la recita teatrale di fine anno.

Quando Paolo entra in casa e vede che un maglione è già stato colorato chiede:

Today Giulia and Paolo will colour some sweaters together for the end of year theatre play. When Paolo enters the house and sees that one sweater is already painted he asks:

P: Hai   già   cominciato a colorare i   maglioni?
   have.2sg already begun   to color   the sweaters?
   'Did you already start colouring

G: Uno dei   maglioni l'ho   gi'a   colorato perché volevo
   One of-the sweaters cl.m.3sg'have.1sg already coloured because want.1sg.past
   vedere l'effetto   finale di questa tintura.
   see   the'effect final of this   dye.
   'I already coloured one of the sweaters because I wanted to see the final result

   of this dye.'

(35)   **Control Item 3 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Flavia racconta a Marco che Andrea ha 2 macchine e adora guidarle. Marco dice:

Flavia tells Marco that Andrea has two cars and that he likes to drive them. Marco

says:

M: Davvero? E   le   usa   entrambe?
   Really?   And CL.pl.F use.3sg both?
   'Really? And he uses both of them?'

F: Una delle macchine la   usa   per andare al   lavoro e   con
   One of-the cars   cl.f.3sg use.3sg for go   to-the work   and with
   l'altra   va   in vacanza.
   the'other goes in vacation.
   'He uses one of the cars to go to work and with the other he goes on vacation.'

(36)   **Control Item 4 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Sebastiano sta cercando i suoi libri di matematica, e chiede a sua madre:

Sebastiano is looking for his mathematics books and asks his mother:

S: Hai   visto i   miei libri di matematica?
   Have.2sg seen the my   books of mathematics?
   'Have you seen my mathematics books?'

M: Uno dei   libri l'ho   messo sulla   mensola, l'altro   non
   One of-the books cl.m.3sg'have.1sg put   on-the shelf,   the'other non
   so   dove sia.
   know.1sg where is.subj
   'I put one of the books on the shelf, I wouldn't know where the other one is.'

(37) **Control Item 5 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Chiara racconta la storia di quando è andata a fare una passeggiata nel bosco e

all'improvviso si accorta di essere seguita da un branco di lupi. Portava due zaini

pesanti e non poteva correre con entrambi gli zaini. Antonio le chiede:

Chiara tells the story from when she went for a hike in the forest and she suddenly

realized she was being followed by a pack of wolves. She was carrying two heavy

backpacks and she couldn't run with both backpacks. Antonio asks her:

A: E   poi cosa hai   fatto?
    And then what have.2sg done?
    'And then what did you do?'

C: Uno degli zaini   l'ho   buttato e   poi i lupi sono
    One of-the backpacks cl.m.3sg'have.1sg thrown and then the wolves are
    scappati.
    escaped.
    'I threw one of the backpacks and then the wolves escaped.'

(38) **Control Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Giorgia racconta che l'anno scorso dei vandali hanno danneggiato due palazzi nel

centro di Roma. Riccardo chiede:

Giorgia tells that last years some vandals damaged two palaces in the centre of

Rome. Riccardo asks:

R: Sono   stati in grado di ricostruirli?
    be.3pl been in state to reconstruct-them?
    'Were they able to reconstruct them?'

G: Uno dei   palazzi l'hanno restaurato, ma   per l'altro sono   ancora
    One of-the palaces cl.m.3sg have.3pl   repaired, but for   the'other are.3pl
    in   attesa dei fondi.
    still in   wait of-the funds.

'They repaired one of the palaces, but they are still waiting for the funds for the other one.'

(39) **Filler Item 1 - [+anaphoric, + generic]**

Tommaso sta parlando del bucato con sua madre e dice:

Tommaso is talking with his mother about the laundry and says:

T: Di solito come lavi   una giacca e   una camicia?
Of usual how wash.2sg a   jacket and a   dress shirt?
'How do you usually was a jacket and a dress shirt?'

M: Una giacca la   porto   in lavanderia, ma una camicia   sopravvive
A   jacket cl.f.3sg bring.1sg in launderette, but a   dress shirt survives
anche in lavatrice.
also   in washing machine.
'I bring a jacket to the launderette, but a dress shirt also survives the washing

machine.'

(40) **Filler Item 1 - [-anaphoric, + generic]**

T: Di solito porti   una camicia   alla   lavanderia, vero?
Of usual bring.2sg a   dress shirt to-the launderette, right?
'You usually bring a dress shirt to the launderette, right?'

M: Una GIACCA la   porto   alla   lavanderia, non una camicia.   Una
A   jacket   cl.f.3sg bring.1sg to-the launderette, not a   dress shirt. A
camicia   sopravvive anche in lavatrice.
dress shirt survives   also   in washing machine
'I bring a JACKET to the launderette, not a dress shirt. A dress-shirt also

survives the washing machine.'

(41) **Filler Item 2 - [+anaphoric, + generic]**

Due mamme sono al supermercato ed una chiede all'altra:

Two moms are in the supermarket and one asks the other:

M1: I   tuoi figli,   quando scelgono   un dolce, per esempio delle   caramelle
 The your children, when   choose.3pl a   sweet, for   example of-the candy
o un gelato, quale   gusto scelgono?
o an ice   cream, which flavour   choose.3pl?

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'Your children, when they get to choose something sweet, for example candy or

an ice cream, which flavour do they choose?'

M2: Un gelato   lo   scelgono   al   gusto di cioccolata ma preferiscono
An ice cream cl.m.3sg choose.3pl in-the flavour of chocolate but prefer.3pl
le   caramelle al   gusto di fragola.
the candy   in-the flavour of strawberry.
'They choose chocolate flavoured ice cream but they prefer strawberry flavoured

candy.'

(42)   **Filler Item 2 - [-anaphoric, + generic]**

M1: I   tuoi figli,   quando lasci   loro scegliere delle   caramelle, le
The your children, when   let.2sg them choose   of-the candy,   CL.pl.F
scelgono al   gusto di   cioccolato, vero?
in-the   flavour of   chocolate, right?
'Your children, when you let them choose candy, they pick chocolate flavour,

right?'

M2: Un GELATO   lo   sceglierebbero   al   gusto di cioccolato, non
An ICE CREAM cl.m.3sg choose.3pl.COND in-the flavour of chocolate, not
le   caramelle. Le   caramelle al   cioccolato neanche piacciono a loro.
the candy.   The candy   in-the chocolate not even please.3pl to them
'They would choose a chocolate flavoured ICE CREAM, not candy. They don't

even like chocolate flavoured candy.'

(43)   **Item 1 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Silvia e Mario hanno una piccola fattoria dove tengono anche alcune galline. Stanno

pensando di acquistare altri animali per la produzione di latte. Mario chiede:

Silvia and Mario have a small farm where they also keep some chickens. They are

thinking about acquiring other animals for milk production. Mario asks:

M: Pensi   che abbiamo spazio per una capra o una mucca?
    Think.2sg that have.1sg space for a   goat or a   cow?
    'Do you think we have space for a goat or a cow?'

S: Una capra ＿＿＿＿＿＿ tenere in giardino ma una mucca è troppo
    A   goat ＿＿＿＿＿＿ keep   in garden but a   cow   is too
    grande
    big.
    'We can keep a goat in the garden but a cow is too big.'

(44) **Item 2 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Lara sta organizzando una cena a casa sua. Sa che Sara ha delle allergie e quindi la

chiama per assicurarsi di preparare qualcosa che possa mangiare anche Sara.

Lara is organizing a dinner at her home. She knows that Sara has allergies and

therefore she calls her to make sure she prepares something also Sara can eat.

L: Va   bene se preparo   della pizza e   dell'insalata?
    go.3sg good if prepare.1sg of-the pizza and of-the   salad?
    'Is it ok if I prepare some pizza and some salad?'

S: Un'insalata —————————— mangiare, ma non mangio la   pizza perché
    A'salad   —————————— eat,   but non eat.1sg the pizza because
    contiene   glutine.
    contain.3sg gluten
    'I can eat a salad, but I do not eat pizza because it contains gluten.'

(45) **Item 3 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Alessandra è in biblioteca ma non sa esattamente cosa leggere e quindi va dal bib-

liotecario per chiedere consigli. Il bibliotecario le dice:

Alessandro is in the library but she doesn't know what to keep and therefore she

goes to the librarian to ask for recommendations. The librarian tells her:

B: Vorresti   leggere un libro sugli aeroplani o uno sulle   macchine?
    want.2sg.cond read   a   book on-the airplanes or one on-the cars?
    'Would you like to read a book about airplanes or one about cars?'

A: Un libro sugli   aeroplani —————————gerei con piacere, ma le
    A   book on-the airplanes —————————ead   with pleasure, but the
    macchine non mi interessano.
    cars   not me interest.3pl
    'I'd happily read a book about airplanes, but I am not interested in cars.'

(46) **Item 4 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Dopo scuola Sofia e Matteo sono andati alla casa di Matteo. Matteo chiede a Sofia:

After school Sofia and Matteo went to Matteo's house. Matteo asks Sofia:

M: Avresti   voglia di guardare un documentario o un film di James Bond?
    have.2sg.cond desire to watch   a   documentary or a   film of James Bond?
    'Would you like to watch a documentary or a James Bond movie?'

S: Un documentario ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒ vedere, ma non mi piacciono i film
   A documentary ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒ see, but not me please.3pl the film
   violenti.
   violent.
   'I'd like to watch a documentary, but I do not like violent films.'

(47) **Item 5 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Tutto il pomeriggio Rosa e Maurizio hanno lavorato ad un progetto per l'università.

Maurizio ha fame e chiede:

All afternoon Rosa and Maurizio worked on a project for university. Maurizio is

hungry and asks:

M: Ti andrebbe di andare a mangiare un gelato o una pizza insieme?
   You go.3sg.cond to go.inf to eat.inf an ice cream or a pizza

   together?
   'Would you like to go eat an ice cream or a pizza together?'

R: Un gelato ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒, ma non ho abbastanza fame
   An ice cream ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒, but not have.1sg enough
   per mangiare una pizza.
   hunger to eat.inf a pizza
   'I'd eat an ice cream, but I am not hungry enough to eat a pizza.'

(48) **Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Guido è andato al supermercato per fare la spesa. Quando torna a casa Monica gli

chiede:

Guido went to the supermarket to do groceries. When he returns home Monica asks

him:

M: Hai trovato il salmone e l'avocado per la cena di stasera?
   have.2sg found the salmon and the'avocado for the dinner of tonight?
   'Did you find the salmon and the avocado for tonight's dinner?'

G: Il salmone ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒ comprato ma non sono riuscito a trovare
   The salmon ‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒‒ bought but non are.3pl managed to find
   un avocado.
   an avocado.
   'I bought the salmon but I didn't manage to find an avocado.'

(49)   **Item 7 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Livio cerca di trovare qualcuno che possa prendere il cane e il gatto di sua nonna

perchè lei non può più prendersi cura di loro. Livio chiede a Silvia:

Livio is trying to find someone who could take care of his grandma's dog and cat

because she can't take care of them anymore. Livio asks Silvia:

L: Vorresti adottare un gatto o un cane?
     want.2sg adopt   a   cat   or a   dog
     'Would you like to adopt a cat or a dog?'

B: Il   gatto _____ volentieri, ma non abbiamo spazio per un cane.
     The cat   _____ happily,   but not have.1pl space for a   dog.
     'I'd happily adopt the cat, but we do not have space for a dog.'

(50)   **Item 8 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Ieri Elena è andata al concerto di Madonna. Anche Marcello voleva andarci ma si

sentiva male e quindi ha chiesto a Elena di portargli un CD e un poster. Quando

Elena torna Marcello chiede:

Yesterday Elena went to Madonna's concert. Marcello also wanted to go there but

he didn't feel well and therefore he asked Elena to bring him a CD and a poster.

When Elena returns Marcello asks:

M: Hai   comprato il   CD e   il   poster?
     Have.2sg bought   the CD and the poster
     'Did you buy the CD and the poster?'

E: Il   CD _____ comprato, ma il   poster non mi piaceva.
     The CD _____ bought,   but the poster not me please.3sg
     'I bought the CD, but I didn't like the poster.'

(51)   **Item 9 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Daniela e la sua amica sono andate al Garden Center. Quando tornano a casa Paolo

chiede a Daniela:

Daniela and her friend went to Garden Center. When they return home Paolo asks

Daniela:

P: Dove pianti i fiori e il basilico che hai   comprato?
    Where plant.2sg the flowers and the basil   that have.2sg bought?
    'Where will you plant the flowers and the basil that you bought?'

D: I   fiori _____nto in giardino e   il   basilico in un vaso in
    The flowers _____nt in garden and the basil   in a vase in
    cucina.
    kitchen
    'I will plant the flowers in the garden and the basil in a vase in the kitchen.'

(52) **Item 10 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

I cugini stanno organizzando la cena di natale in famiglia. Tra l'altro hanno deciso

di fare la zuppa di porro e un tacchino stufato.

The cousins are organizing the family's Christmas dinner. Among other things they

decided to make a leak soup and a stuffed turkey.

A: Chi porta   la zuppa e   chi porta   il   tacchino?
    Who bring.3sg the soup   and who bring.3sg the turkey
    'Who brings the soup and who brings the turkey?'

B: La zuppa _____ Giulio e   Pedro si occupa   del   tacchino.
    The soup _____ Giulio and Pedro self occupy.3sg of-the turkey
    'Giulio will bring the soup and Pedro takes care of the turkey.'

(53) **Item 11 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Elena va a fare shopping perché ha un appuntamento questo weekend. Il suo amico

pensando di essere utile dice:

Elena goes shopping becayse she has an appointment this weekend. Her friend think

he's being useful and says:

A: Non cercavi   una maglietta nera? Ne ho   viste alcune carine da
    Non look-for.2sg a   shirt   black? Of have.1sg seen some   cute   at
    Zara.
    Zara
    'Weren't you looking for a black shirt? I have seen some cute ones at Zara.'

E: Un VESTITO nero _____, non una maglietta nera.
    A DRESS   black _____, not a   shirt   black
    'I am looking for a black DRESS, not a black shirt.'

(54)   **Item 12 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Virginia adora i prodotti vintage e sta cercando un orologio. Al mercato delle pulci

un venditore che la conosce bene le dice:

Virginia adores vintage products and she is looking for a watch. At the flee market

who she knows well tells her:

V: Non cercavi   una macchina fotografica   vintage?
    Not look-for.2sg.past a   machine   photographic vintage
    'Weren't you looking for a vintage photo camera?'

V: Un OROLOGIO _____ da   anni, non una macchina fotografica.
    A WATCH   _____ since years, not a   machine   fotographic
    'I have been looking for a WATCH for years, not a photo camera.'

(55)   **Item 13 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Per motivi di crisi economica la commissione di un'azienda di costruzione che com-

prende 10 operai e 3 segretarie ha organizzato una riunione per discutere cosa fare

per evitare di andare in bancarotta. Il vice presidente propone:

For economic reasons the board of a construction company consisting of 10 work-

ers and 3 secretaries organized a meeting to discuss options for preventing going

bankrupt. The vice president suggests:

VP: Dobbiamo licenziare un operaio.
    Must.1pl fire   a   worker
    'We must fire a worker.'

P: UNA SEGRETARIA _____ licenziare. Abbiamo bisogno di tutti
    A   SECRETARY   _____ fire.   Have.1pl need   of all
    i   nostri operai.
    the our   workers.
    'We must fire a secretary. We need all our workers.'

(56)   **Item 14 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Elena ha appena comprato una nuova casa con un bellissimo terrazzo e vorrebbe

compare dei mobili. Il suo amico Daniele la vuole aiutare e dice:

Elena just bought a new house with a beautiful terrace and she would like to buy some furniture. Her friend Daniela wants to help her and says:

a. Cercavi   una poltrona di legno, vero? Ne ho   viste alcune da
   look-for.2sg.past a   armchair of wood, right? Of have.1sg seen some at
   Ikea.
   Ikea
   'You were looking for a wooden chair, right? I have seen some at Ikea.

b. Una SOFA di legno ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, non una poltrona.
   A   SOFA of wood ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, not an   armchair.
   'I am looking for a wooden SOFA, not an armchair.'

(57) **Item 15 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Serena è al mercato e vede dei gioielli che le piacciono molto. Serena chiede al

venditore:

Serena is at the market and she sees some jewelry that she likes a lot. Serena asks

the vendor:

S: Vende   una collana   a 30 euro, vero?
    Sell.3sg a   necklace at 30 euro, right?
    'You sell a necklace for 30 euro, right?'

Il V:Un BRACCIALETTO ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ a 30 euro, non una collana.
     A   BRACELET   ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ at 30 euro, not a   necklace
     'I sell a BRACElET for 30 euro, not a necklace.'

(58) **Item 16 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

I genitori di Pietro hanno invitato degli amici a cena. Pietro ne parla con la sua

sorella.

Pietro's parents invited some friends over for dinner. Pietro talks about it with his

sister.

P: Se ho   capito   bene ci   sarà   anche Giovanna, ma non la
    If have.1sg understood well there be.3sg.fut also   Giovanna, but not her
    supporto.
    stand.1sg
    'If I understood it correctly Giovanna will also be there, but I cannot stand

    her.'

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S: MARINA _____ invitato, non Giovanna.
     MARINA _____ invited, not Giovanna
     'They invited Marina, not Giovanna.'

(59)   **Item 17 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Anna e Beatrice parlano di Lea e Gianni che si sono appena sposati.

Anna and Beatrix are talking about Lea and Gianni who recently got married.

A: Se ho   capito   bene hanno   visitato le isole   Vergini.
     If have.1sg. understood well have.3pl visited   the islands Virgin
     'They visited the Virgin Islands, if I understood it correctly.'

B: Le MALEDIVE _____ visitato per il   viaggio di nozze,   non
     The MALEDIVE _____ visited for the travel   of wedding, not
     le   isole   Vergini.
     the island Virgin
     'They visited the MALEDIVE for their honeymoon, not the Virgin Islands.'

(60)   **Item 18 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Sembra che tutti i giorni Alice si metta lo stesso cappello e la sciarpa, anche in

primavera. Gianni le chiede:

It seems that Alice wears the same hat and the same scarf every day, also during

spring. Gianni asks her:

G: Metti   quella sciarpa tutti i   giorni, vero?
     Put.2sg that   scarf   all   the days,   right?
     'You wear this scarf every day, right?'

A: IL   CAPPELLO _____ tutti i   giorni, non la   sciarpa. Metto
     The HAT   _____ all   the days,   not the scarf.   Put.1sg
     la   sciarpa solamente quando fa   veramente freddo.
     the scarf   only   when   make.3sg really   cold.
     'I wear the HAT every day, not the scarf. I wear the scarf only when it's really

     cold.'

(61)   **Item 19 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Luca vorrebbe usare il videogioco di Emma e il suo libro sui dinosauri. Però Luca

è una persona molto irresponsabile e spesso perde le cose quindi Emma è un po'
titubante.

S: L'altro   giorno Luca ha   perso il tuo libro suoi dinosauri, vero?
    The'other day   Luca has.3sg lost   the your book on-the dinosaurs, right?
    'The other day Luca lost your book about dinosaurs, right?'

E: Il   mio VIDEOGIOCO _____ perso, non il   libro.
    The my VIDEOGAME   _____ lost,   not the book.
    'He lost my video game (about dinosaurs), not the book.'

(62) **Item 20 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Sofia racconta ad Andrea che nel weekend ha accompagnato Gianni alla fiera di
automobili. Poi Lara dice:

Sofia is telling Andrea that she went with Gianni to the car fair this weekend.

L: Alla   fiera Gianni ha venduto la   moto
    At-the fair   Gianni has sold   the motor
    'Gianni sold the motor at the fair.'

S: La   MACCHINA _____, non la   moto.
    The CAR   _____, not the motor.
    'He sold the car, not the motor.'

(63) **Control 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Quest'anno per Pasqua a Carlotta sono state regalate 14 uova di Pasqua da amici e
colleghi. Anche se le piace il cioccolato, non riesce mai a mangiarle tutte da sola.

This year for Easter Carlotta was gifted 14 Easter eggs from her friends and col-
leagues. Even though she likes chocolate, she will never manage to eat them all by
herself.

A: Cosa hai   fatto con tutte le   uova di cioccolato che hai   ricevuto?
    What have.2sg done with all   the eggs of chocolate that have.2sg received?
    'What did you do with all the chocolate eggs you got?'

B: Una delle uova _____ mangiata e le   altre _____
    One of-the eggs _____ ate   e the others _____
    regalate ai   miei nipotini.
    gave   to-the my nephews.
    'I ate one of the eggs and the other ones I gave to my nephews.'

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(64)   **Control 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Piero e Sara parlano di musica.

Piero and Sara are talking about music

P: Conosci   bene la   musica di Andrea Bocelli?
      Know.2sg well the music   of Andrea Bocelli?
      'Do you know Andrea Bocelli's music well?'

S: una delle   sue canzoni ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ suonata al   nostro matrimonio
      One of-the his songs   ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ played   at-the our   wedding
      e   tante altre   le   conosco anche perché mio marito   le
      and many others CL.F.PL know.1sg also   because my husband play.3sg
      suona a   casa
      at   home.
      'They played one of his songs at our wedding and I know the other ones because

      my husband plays them at home.'

(65)   **Item 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Eduard şi Mariana sunt studenţi la facultate, şi învaţă pentru examene. Au nevoie de cărţile lor de statistică şi de notiţe. Mariana a spus că le va aduce pe amândouă azi după-amiază. Când soseşte Mariana, Eduard o întreabă :

Eduard and Mariana are university students and they are studying for their final exams. They need the statistics text book and the professors notes. When Mariana arrives, Eduard asks her:

E: Ai   adus   cartea   şi   notiţele   de care   avem   nevoie?
    Have.2sg. brought book-the and notes-the of which have.1pl need?
    Did you bring the book and the notes we need?

M : Cartea   am   adus-o,   dar notiţele încă lipsesc.
    book-the have.1sg brought-CL.f.3sg, but notes-the still lack.3pl
    'I brought the book, but we are still missing the notes.'

(66)   **Item 1 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

E: Notiţele   pe care   le-ai   adus   sunt în ghiozdan?
     Notes-the PE which CL.f.3pl-have.2sg brought are   in backpack
     'Are the notes you brought in the backpack?'

M: CARTEA am   adus-o,   nu notiţele. Notiţele   încă lipsesc.
     BOOK-the have.1sg brought-CL.f.3sg, not notes-the. Notes-the still lack.3pl
     'I brought the BOOK, not the notes. We are still missing the notes.'

(67)   **Item 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Luca şi Mihaela s-au căsătorit de curând şi apoi s-au mutat în noua lor casă. Luca

a lucrat toată ziua, în timp ce Mihaela a rămas acasă să aranjeze mobila. Luca o

sună să o întrebe cum a mers, şi întreabă:

Luca and Mihaela recently got married and they moved into their new house. Luca

worked all day while Mihaela stayed home to organize the furniture. Luca calls her

to ask how it went and says:

L: Ce   ai   făcut cu   canapeaua şi cu   masa?
     What have.2sg. done with couch-the and table-the?
     'What did you do with the couch and the table?'

M: Canapeaua am   pus-o   în sufragerie,   dar masa
     Couch-the have.1sg put-CL.f.3sg in living-room, but table-the
     s-a   rupt în timpul   transportului.
     REFL.3sg-has.3sg broken in time-the transport-the-GEN
     'I put the couch in the living room, but the table broke during the transporta-

     tion.'

(68)   **Item 2 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

L: Ai   pus masa   în sufragerie, nu?
     Have.2sg. put table-the in living-room, no?
     'You put the table in the living room, right?'

M: CANAPEAUA am   pus-o   în sufragerie, nu masa.   Masa
     COUCH-the   have.1sg put-CL.f.3sg in living-room, not table-the. Table-the
     s-a   rupt în timpul   transportului.
     REFL-has.3sg broken in time-the transport-the-GEN

'I put the couch in the living room, not the table. The table broke during the transportation.'

(69)   **Item 3 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Cristi şi Laura l-au invitat pe Marius la cină. Cina a fost servită pe terasă şi totul a fost delicios. Marius vrea să îi facă un compliment Laurei şi îi spune:

Cristi and Laura invited Marius for dinner. The dinner is served on the terrance and everything was delicious. Marius would like to complement Lara and says:

M: Totul   e delicios. Cine a   făcut supa   şi   cine peştele?
    Everything is delicious. Who has.3sg made soup-the and who fish-the?
    'Everything is really delicious. Who made the soup and who the fish?'

L: Peştele   l-am   pregătit eu, iar Cristi a   făcut supa.
    Fish-the CL.m.3sg-have.1sg prepared I, and Cristi has.3sg made soup-the
    'I made the fish and Cristian made the soup.'

(70)   **Item 3 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Laura, îmi   place mult supa. Tu ai   gătit-o,
    Laura, REFL.1sg.GEN like much soup. You have.2sg cooked-CL.f.3sg,
    nu-i   aşa?
    not-is that?
    'Laura, I really like the soup. You made it, right?'

L: PEŞTELE l-am   pregătit eu, nu supa.   Cristi e cel
    FISH-the CL.m.3sg-have.1sg prepared I, not soup-the. Cristi is that.m.sg
    care a   făcut   supa.
    which made soup-the
    'I prepared the FISH, not the soup. It's Cristiano who made the soup.'

(71)   **Item 4 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Ana şi mama ei s-au dus în parc. Acasă, mama ei îi povesteşte tatălui despre după-amiaza lor în parc. Apoi tatăl o întreabă pe Ana:

Ana and her mother when to the playground. At home her mother tells her father about the afternoon at the playground. Then father asks Ana:

P: Era   şi Alina în parc cu   câinele ei?
    Was.3sg too Alina in parc with dog-the hers?

'Was Lidia at the park with her dog?'

A: Câinele ei   l-am   văzut dar Alina nu era.
Dog-the hers CL.m.3sg-have.1sg seen   but Alina not was.3sg.
'We've seen the dog, but Lidia wasn't there.'

(72)   **Item 4 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

P: Am   auzit că   era   şi Alina în parc.
Have.1sg heard that was.3sg too Alina in parc.
'I heard you guys say Lidia at the park.'

A: CÂINELE ei   l-am   văzut dar Alina nu era.
DOG-the   hers CL.m.3sg-have.1sg seen   but Alina not was.3sg.
'We saw her DOG. Lidia wasn't there.'

(73)   **Item 5 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Silvia şi Matei sunt prieteni care locuiesc în oraşe diferite, şi din când în când îşi

scriu scrisori şi îşi trimit cadouri. Matei o întreabă pe Silvia:

Silvia and Matei are friends who live in two different cities and every once in a while

they write each other and send each other presents. Matei asks:

M: Ai   primit scrisoarea şi coletul   de   la   mine?
Have.2sg received letter-the and package-the from me?
'Did you receive the letter and the package that I sent you?'

S: Scrisoarea am   primit-o,   dar coletul   încă nu a
Letter-the have.1sg received-CL.f.3sg, but package-the yet   not has.3sg
ajuns.
arrived.
'I received the package but the letter hasn't arrived yet.'

(74)   **Item 5 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Mama   ta   mi-a   zis că ai   primit
Mother-the yours CL.1sg.DAT[to-me]-has.3sg told that have.2sg. received
coletul   de   la mine.
packed-the from me
'Your mother sold me you received the letter I sent you

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S: SCRISOAREA am primit-o, nu coletul. Coletul încă
LETTER-the have.1sg received-CL.f.3sg, not package-the. Package-the yet
nu a ajuns.
not has.3sg arrived.
'I received the package, not the letter. The letter hasn't arrived yet.'

(75) **Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]** Silviu e un bucătar care face livrări acasă. E

fantastic! El a pregătit prânzul şi cina pe care le-am mâncat azi.

Silviu is a chef who offers catering services at home. He is fantastic! He prepared

the lunch and the dinner we ate today.

S: în cât timp a pregătit mesele?
In how-much.masc time has.3sg prepared meals-the?
'In how much time did he prepare the dishes?'

M: Masa de prânz a pregătit-o în vreo 30 de minute, dar
Meal of lunch has.3sg prepared-CL.f.3sg in about 30 of minutes, but
cina a durat 50 de minute.
dinner-the has.3sg lasted 50 of minutes.
'He prepared the lunch in around 20 minutes, but he spend 50 minutes on the

dinner.'

(76) **Item 6 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

S: Am auzit că a pregătit cina in 30 de minute.
Have.1sg heard that has.3sg prepared dinner-the in 30 of minutes.
'I heard he prepared dinner in 30 minutes

M: Masa de PRÂNZ a pregătit-o in 30 de minute, nu
MEAL OF LUNCH has.3sg prepared-CL.f.3sg in 30 of minutes, not
cina. Pentru cină a avut nevoie de 50 de minute.
dinner-the. For dinner has.3sg had need of 50 of minutes.
'He prepared the LUNCH in 30 minutes, not the dinner.'

(77) **Item 7 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Zoe e la petrecerea de ziua prietenei ei Silvia. Acasă, Zoe nu are voie să mănânce

prea multe dulciuri. Mama Silviei a întrebat-o ce vrea să mănânce, dar între timp a

uitat. îi aduce o farfurie cu un fursec şi o felie de tort şi întreabă:

Zoe is at her friend Silvia's birthday Party. At home Zoe isn't allowed to eat a lot

of sugar. Silvia's mom asked her what she wanted to try, but she forgot the answer.

She brings her a plate with a cookie and a slice of cake and asks:

M: Vrei   să mănânci şi fursecul   şi tortul?
   Want.2sg. to eat.2sg   and cookie-the and cake-the?
   'Would you like both the cookie and the cake?'

Z: Fursecul   vreau   să îl   gust,   dar tortul   e prea mare.
   Cookie-the want.1sg to CL-m.3sg taste.1sg, but cake-the is too   big
   'I would like to try the cookie, but the cake is too big.'

(78)   **Item 7 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Ai   spus că vrei   să guşti   tortul,   nu-i aşa?
   Have.2sg said that want.2sg to taste.2sg cake-the, not-is so?
   'You wanted to try the cake, right?

Z: FURSECUL vreau   să îl   gust,   nu tortul. Tortul   e prea
   COOKIE-the want.1sg to CL-m.3sg taste.1sg, not cake-the. Cake-the is too
   mare.
   big.
   'I want to try the COOKIE, not the cake. The cake is too big.'

(79)   **Item 8 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Eliza şi Iacob vor organiza o cină acasă cu prietenii. Eliza a cumpărat tot ce le

trebuie, iar acasă mai aveau şi nişte mere şi portocale care aveau să se strice în

curând. Iacob o întreabă pe Eliza:

Eliza and Iacob organize.fut.3pl a dinner at home with two other friends. Elisa

bought everything they needed and at home they also have some apples and oranges

who are about to go bad. Iacob asks Eliza:

I: Ce   o   să faci   cu merele   şi portocalele care o   să se
   What going to do.2sg with apples-the and oranges-the which going to REFL
   strice în   curând?
   spoil soon?
   'what will you make with the apples and oranges that are about to go bad?'

E: Merele   le   voi   folosi în tort şi voi   face un suc   din
   Apples-the CL.f.3pl will.1sg. use   in cake and will.2sg make a   juice of
   portocale.
   oranges.

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'I will use the apples in the cake and I will make a juice with the oranges.

(80)   **Item 8 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

I: Vei   folosi portocalele la tort, nu-i   aşa?
     Will.2sg use   oranges.the for cake, not-is so?
     'You will use the oranges in the cake, right?'

E: MERELE   le   voi   folosi în tort, nu portocalele. Din portocale
     APPLES-the CL.f.3pl will.1sg. use   in cake, not oranges-the. Of   oranges
     voi   face   un suc.
     will.2sg make a   juice.
     'I will use the APPLES in the cake, not the oranges. With the oranges I will

     make a juice.'

(81)   **Item 9 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Compania la care lucrează Matei şi Carla tocmai a încheiat un contract. Matei e

întotdeauna în căutare de motive de a sărbători, şi spune :

The company for which Matteo and Carla work just made a financial agreement.

Matei always finds the right occasion to celebrate and says:

M: Mergem la un bar să bem ceva,   o cafea şi   apoi poate o tărie?
     Go.1pl   to a   bar to drink something, a coffee and then maybe a liquor?
     'Are we going to the bar for a coffee and then a drink?'

C: O cafea aş   bea-o,   dar e   mult prea devreme pentru
     A coffee would.1sg drink-CL.f.3sg, but is.3sg way too   early   for
     alcool.
     alcohol.
     'I would take a coffee, but it is definitely too early for alcohol.'

(82)   **Item 9 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

M: Carla, bei   o bere să sărbătorim,   nu-i   aşa?
     Carla, drink.2sg a beer to celebrate.1pl, not-is so?
     'Carla, you'll take a beer to celebrate, no?'

C: O CAFEA aş   bea-o,   nu o bere. E   mult prea devreme
    A COFFEE would.1sg drink-CL.f.3sg, not a beer. Is.3sg way too early
    pentru alcool.
    for   alcohol.
    'I'll take a COFFEE, not a beer. It is definitely too early for alcohol.'

(83) **Item 10 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Ion lucrează la grădina zoologică şi o invită pe nepoata lui Eliza să vină cu el să

hrănească animalele joi dimineaţa. Ion spune:

Ion works at the zoo and invites his niece Eliza to come with him to feed the animals

on Thursday morning. Giacomo says:

I: Vrei   să vii   cu   mine? Poţi   să hrăneşti o maimuţă sau un leu
    Want.2sg to come.2sg with me?   Can.2sg to feed.2sg a monkey or   a   lion
    dacă vrei.
    if   want.2sg.
    'Do you want to come with me? You can feed a monkey and a lion if you want?'

E: O maimuţă aş   hrăni-o   cu   drag dar   leii   mă
    A monkey would.1sg feed-CL.f.3sg dearly but lions.the me.REFL scare.3pl.
    sperie.

    'I want to feed a monkey, but I am afraid of lions.'

(84) **Item 10 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

G: Vrei   să vii   cu   mine? Poţi   să hrăneşti un leu, aşa   cum
    Want.2sg to come.2sg with me?   Can.2sg to feed.2sg a lion such as
    mi-ai   cerut.
    me.REFL-have2sg. requested.
    'Do you feel like coming with me, you can also feed a lion, like you asked me?

E: O MAIMUŢĂ vreau   să o   hrănesc, nu un leu. Leii   mă
    A MONKEY   want.1sg to CL.f.3sg feed,   not a lion. Lions.the me.REFL
    sperie.
    scare.3pl.
    I want to feed a MONKEY, not a lion. I am afraid of lions.

(85) **Item 11 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Sorin şi Alina sunt la restaurant, şi îşi comandă de mâncare. Sorin întreabă:

Sorin and Alina are at a restaurant for dinner. Sorin asks:

S: Ce   vrei   să comandăm, poate o salată sau o pizza?
    What want.2sg to order.2pl,   maybe a salad or   a pizza?
    What would you like to order, maybe a salad or a pizza?

A: O salată aş   comanda-o   cu   dragă inimă, dar nu îmi
    A salad would.1sg order-CL.f.3sg with dear   heart, but not me.REFL.DAT.
    place pizza.
    please pizza.
    'I would gladly eat a salad, but I do not like pizza.'

(86) **Item 11 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

C: Vrei   să comandăm o pizza, nu-i   aşa?
    Want.2sg to order.2pl   a pizza, not-is so?
    'You want to order pizza, right?

S: O SALATĂ aş   comanda-o   cu   dragă inimă, nu o pizza. Nu
    A SALAD   would.1sg order-CL.f.3sg with dear   heart, not a pizza. Not
    îmi   place pizza.
    me.REFL.DAT. please pizza.
    'I want to order a salad, not a pizza. I do not like pizza.'

(87) **Item 12 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Mirela a deschis de curând un mic restaurant. Afacerea merge foarte bine, dar Mirela

îşi dă seama că va avea nevoie de ajutor, pentru că nu are suficient timp să gătească

şi să servească toată mâncarea singură. Tatăl ei o întreabă pe mama ei:

Recently Mirela opened a small restaurant. The business is going very well, but she

realizes she needs help because she doesn't have enough time to cook and to serve

plates all by herself. Her father asks her mother:

T: Crezi   că va   angaja un alt   bucătar sau un alt   ospătar?
    Think.2sg that will.3sg hire   a different cook   or a different waiter?
    'Do you think she will hire another cook or another waiter?'

M: Un ospătar îl   va   angaja în   curând, dar   Mirela nu
    A waiter CL.m.3sg will.3sg hire   soon, but   Mirela not   would.3sg
    ar   suporta niciodată un   alt bucătar în   bucătăria ei.
    bear never   a   different cook in   kitchen-the hers.
    'She will hire a waiter soon, but Mirela can never stand another cook in her

    kitchen.'

(88) **Item 12 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

T: Am auzit că în curând va angaja un bucătar?
Have.1sg heard that soon will.3sg hire a cook?
'I heard that soon she will hire a cook.'

M: Un OSPĂTAR îl va angaja în curând, nu un bucătar.
A WAITER CL.m.3sg will.3sg hire soon, not a cook. Mirela
Mirela nu ar suporta niciodată un alt bucătar în
not would.3sg bear never a different cook in kitchen-the
bucătăria ei.
hers.
'She will hire a WAITER soon, not a cook. Mirela can never stand another

cook in her kitchen.'

(89) **Item 13 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Membrii unui grup de muzică pop discută cântecele pe care vor să le încerce la

repetiții, şi cine va fi solistul fiecărui cântec. Liderul grupului vrea să ia părerea

fiecăruia în considerare, aşa că o întreabă pe Eva:

The members of a pop choir are discussing the songs they want to practice and

who will be the lead singer for each of the songs. The choir director wants to take

everyone's opinion into consideration and asks Eva:

L: Ai vrea să cântăm un cântec de Madonna şi unul de Beyonce?
Would.2sg like to sing a song by Madonna and one by Beyonce?
'Would you like to sing a song from Madonna and one from Beyonce?'

E: Un cântec de Madonna l-aş cânta cu plăcere, dar cele
A song by Madonna CL.m.3sg-would.1sg sing with pleasure, but those
de Beyonce sunt prea grele.
by Beyonce are too difficult.pl.
'I will happily sing a song from Madonna, but those from Beyonce are too

difficult.'

(90) **Item 13 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

D: Eva, tu ai să cânţi un cântec de Beyonce, nu-i aşa?
Eva, you going.2sg to sing a song by Madonna, not-is so?
'Eva, you will sing a song by Beyonce, right?'

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E: Un cântec de MADONNA îl   voi   cânta, nu unul de Beyonce.
   A song   by MADONNA CL.m.3sg would.1sg sing,   not one by Beyonce.
   Cele   de Beyonce sunt prea grele   pentru mine.
   Those by Beyonce are   too difficult.pl for   me.
   'I'll sing a song from MADONNA, not one from Beyonce.'

(91)   **Item 14 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Emma şi Alin sunt la restaurant cu Nicu şi Suzana, fratele şi sora lui Alin. Nicu şi

Suzana se scuză şi se duc la baie, cerându-i lui Alin să comande pentru ei. Când

soseşte ospătarul, Alin nu e sigur ce au vrut să comande Nicu şi Suzana, şi o întreabă

pe Emma:

Emma and Alin are at a restaurant with Nicu and Suzana, Alin's brother and sister.

Nicu and Suzana excuse themselves to go to the bathroom and ask Alin to order

for them. When the waiter arrives, Alin isn't sure what Nicu and Suzana requested

and he asks Emma:

A: Cine a   vrut   un vin şi cine a   vrut   o bere?
    Who has.3sg wanted a   wine and who has.3sg wanted a beer?
    'Who wanted a wine and who a beer?'

E: Un vin   l-a   comandat fratele   tău iar sora   ta
    A wine.m CL.m.3sg-has.3sg ordered   brother-the your, and sister-the your
    ar   vrea o bere.
    would.3sg like a beer.
    'Your brother ordered a wine and your sister would like a beer.'

(92)   **Item 14 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

E: Nicu a   comandat o bere, nu-i   aşa?
    Nicu has.3sg ordered   a beer, not-is so?
    Nicu ordered a beer, right?

Em: Un VIN   l-a   comandat fratele   tău, nu o bere.
     A WINE CL.m.3sg-has.3sg ordered   brother-the your, not a bere.
    Sora   ta e cea   care ar   vrea o bere.
    Sister-the your is the-one who would.3sg like a beer.
    'Your brother ordered a WINE, not a BEER. It's your sister who would like a

    beer.'

(93) **Item 15 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Elena va merge la cumpărături pentru că are un interviu pentru o slujbă în două săptămâni. Are nevoie de o fustă roşie şi o pereche de ghete. Tatăl ei încearcă să o ajute şi spune:

Elena is going shopping because she has a job interview in two weeks. She needs a red short and a pair of boots. Her father tries to be helpful and says:

T: Ai   găsit o fustă roşie şi   o pereche de ghete?
   Have.2sg found a skirt red.f and a pair   of boots?
   'Did you find a red skirt and a pair of boots?'

E: O fustă roşie o   caut   deja   de două luni,   dar am   găsit o
   A skirt red.f CL.f.3sg seek.1sg already for two   months, but have.1sg found a
   pereche de ghete negre   foarte frumoase.
   pair   of boots black.f.pl very   beautiful.
   'I've been looking for a red skirt for two months, but I did find a pair of very

   nice black boots.'

(94) **Item 15 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

T: Nu căutai   tu o cămaşă roşie? Am   văzut unele   draguţe la
   Not seek.2sg.PAST you a shirt   red.f? Have.1sg seen   some.f.pl nice.f.pl at
   H&M.
   HM.
   'Weren't you looking for a red sweater? I saw some cute ones at H&M.'

E: O FUSTĂ roşie o   caut,   nu o CăMAşă roşie.
   A SKIRT red.f CL.f.3sg seek.1sg, not a SHIRT   red.f.
   'I am looking for a red SKIRT, not a red SWEATER.'

(95) **Item 16 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Ioana şi Mihai au nevoie de o pălărie şi două jachete pentru o piesă de teatru pe care o pun în scenă. Ioana ştie că bunicul ei are o mulţime de jachete şi pălării într-un dulap vechi şi promite că va căuta în dulap. Mihai vrea să ştie dacă poate să îi invite pe actori să vină să probeze costumele, şi o întreabă pe Ioana:

Ioana and Mihai need a hat and some jackets for a theatre rehearsal. Ioana knows that her grandfather has a lot of jackets and hats in an old wardrobe and therefore

he promises to go and check them out. Mihai would like to know if he can invite
the actors to come try the costumes and asks Ioana:

M: Când vei   putea să aduci   o pălărie şi   nişte jachete?
When will.2sg can   to bring.2sg a hat   and some jackets?
'When will you be able to bring us a hat and some coats?'

I: O pălărie o   pot   aduce mâine   dar jachetele   trebuie
A hat.f   CL.f.3sg can.1sg. bring tomorrow but jackets.the need
spălate   mai întâi.
washed.f.3pl first.
'I can bring a hat tomorrow, but the jackets first need to be washed.'

(96) **Item 16 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

M: Mâine   aduci   jachetele, nu-i aşa?
Tomorrow bring.2sg jackets-the, not-is so?
'Tomorrow you'll bring the jackets, right?'

I: O PĂLĂRIE o   aduc   mâine,   nu jachetele. Ele   trebuie
A HAT.f   CL.f.3sg bring.1sg tomorrow, not jackets-the. They.f need
spălate   mai întâi.
washed.f.3pl first.
'I'll bring a hat tomorrow, not the jackets. Those first need to be washed.'

(97) **Control Item 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Valentina şi Ion s-au mutat într-o casă nouă pe care au amenajat-o după bunul plac.

Alin întreabă:

Valentina and Ion recently moved and they organized everything according to their

needs. Alin asks:

A: Ce   aţi   făcut cu   cele două camere goale?
What have.2pl done with those two   rooms.f empty.f.pl?
'What did you do with the two empty rooms?'

V: Una   dintre camere am   transformat-o   în   birou. Cealaltă
One.f of   rooms have.1pl transformed-CL.f.3sg into office. Other.f.sg
va   servi drept cameră de oaspeţi.
will.3sg serve as   room   for guest.
'We'll use one of the rooms as an office and the other will serve as a bedroom.'

(98)   **Control Item 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Astăzi Iulia şi Pavel vor vopsi ouă împreună, în pregătire pentru Paşti. Când ajunge

Pavel acasă observă că unul dintre ouă e deja vopsit şi întreabă:

Today Iulia and Pavel will colour some eggs for Easter. When Pavel enters the house

and sees that one sweater is already painted he asks:

P: Ai   început deja   să vopseşti ouăle?
    Have.2sg begun   already to paint.2sg eggs-the?
    'Did you already start colouring

I: Unul dintre ouă   l-am   colorat deja   pentru că
    One.m of   eggs.m CL.m.3sg-have.1sg coloured already because wanted.1sg
    voiam să   văd dacă   vopseaua asta e   bună
    to   see.1sg if paint-the this.f   is   good.f
    'I already coloured one of the eggs because I wanted to see the final result of

    this dye.'

(99)   **Control Item 3 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Flavia îi povesteşte lui Marc că Andrei are două maşini şi că îi place să umble cu

ele. Marc spune:

Flavia tells Marc that Andrei has two cars and that he likes to drive them. Marc

says:

M: Serios?   şi   le   foloseşte pe amândouă în acelaşi timp?
    Seriously? And CL.f.3pl use.3sg PE both.f   in same   time?
    'Really? And he uses both of them?'

F: Una dintre maşini o   foloseşte să meargă la muncă, iar cu   cealaltă
    One.f of   cars.f CL.f.3sg uses.3sg to go.3sg to work, and with other.f
    se   duce în vacanţă.
    REFL goes on holiday.
    'He uses one of the cars to go to work and with the other he goes on vacation.'

(100)   **Control Item 4 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Sebastian caută cărţile lui de matematică şi o întreabă pe mama lui:

Sebastian is looking for his mathematics books and asks his mother:

S: Ai   vazut cărţile mele   de mate?
    Have.2sg seen   books.f my.f.pl of math?
    'Have you seen my mathematics books?'

M: Una dintre cărţi am   pus-o   pe raft, cealaltă nu ştiu
    One.f from   books have.1sg put-CL.f.3sg on shelf, other.f   not know.1sg
    unde   e.
    where is.3sg.
    'I put one of the books on the shelf, I wouldn't know where the other one is.'

(101)   **Control Item 5 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Carla povesteşte despre cum a fost în drumeţie prin pădure cu o prietena de-a ei.

Dintr-o dată şi-au dat seama că erau urmărite de o haită de lupi. Aveau două genţi

grele la ele, şi nu puteau fugi cu amândouă. Andrei o întreabă:

Carla tells the story from when she went for a hike in the forest and she suddenly

realized she was being followed by a pack of wolves. She was carrying two heavy

backpacks and she couldn't run with both backpacks. Andrei asks her:

A: şi   apoi ce-aţi   făcut?
    And then what-have.2pl done?
    'And then what did you do?'

C: Una dintre genţi am   aruncat-o   într-un tufiş şi   cu   cealaltă
    One.f of   bags have.1pl thrown-CL.f.3sg in   a   bush and with
    am   fugit   mai departe.
    other.f have.1pl run further.
    'I threw one of the backpacks and then the wolves escaped.'

(102)   **Control Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Georgiana povesteşte despre cum anul trecut nişte huligani au stricat două fântâni

vechi din Piaţa Unirii. Robert întreabă:

Giorgiana tells that last years some vandals damaged two palaces in the centre of

Rome. Robert asks:

R: Au   reuşit   să le   repare?
    Have.3pl managed to CL.f.3pl fixed?
    'Were they able to reconstruct them?'

G: Una dintre fântâni au   reparat-o,   dar pentru cealaltă încă
One.f of   fountains have.3pl repaired-CL.f.3sg, but for   other.f still
aşteaptă   finanţare.
expect.3pl financing.
'They repaired one of the palaces, but they are still waiting for the funds for

the other one.'

(103)   **Filler Item 1 - [+anaphoric, + generic]**

George vorbeşte despre spălatul rufelor cu mama lui:

George is talking with his mother about the laundry and says:

T: Cum speli   de obicei o jachetă şi   o cămaşă?
How wash.2sg of habit a.f jacket   and a.f shirt.
'How do you usually was a jacket and a dress shirt?'

M: O jachetă o   duc   la curăţătorie, dar o cămaşă merge   şi   în
A.f jacket   CL.f.3sg take.1sg to cleaners,   but a.f shirt   works.3sg also in
maşina   de spălat.
machine-the for washing
'I bring a jacket to the launderette, but a dress shirt also survives the washing

machine.'

(104)   **Filler Item 1 - [-anaphoric, + generic]**

T: De obicei duci   o cămaşă la curăţătorie, nu-i   aşa?
Usually   take.2sg a shirt   to cleaners,   not-is so?
'You usually bring a dress shirt to the launderette, right?'

M: O JACHETĂ o   duc   la curăţătorie, o cămaşă merge   şi   în
A.f JACKET   CL.f.3sg take.1sg to cleaners,   a.f shirt   works.3sg also in
maşina   de spălat.
machine-the for washing.
'I bring a JACKET to the launderette, not a dress shirt. A dress-shirt also

survives the washing machine.'

(105)   **Filler Item 2 - [+anaphoric, + generic]**

Doua mame sunt la magazin, şi una o întreabă pe cealaltă:

Two moms are in the supermarket and one asks the other:

M1: Copii   tăi,   când au   voie   să mănânce ceva
    Children-the your.m.pl, when have.3pl permission to eat.3pl   something
    dulce, de exemplu bomboane sau îngheţată, ce   aromă aleg?
    sweet, for examples candy.f.pl or ice-cream.f, what flavour pick.3pl?
    'Your children, when they get to choose something sweet, for example candy

    or an ice cream, which flavour do they choose?''

M2: O   îngheţată o   aleg   cu   gust de ciocolată, dar preferă
    A.f ice-cream CL.f.3sg pick.3pl with taste of chocolate, but prefer.3pl
    bomboanele cu   gust de căpşuni.
    candy   with taste of strawberries.
    'They choose chocolate flavoured ice cream but they prefer strawberry flavoured

    candy."

(106)   **Filler Item 2 - [-anaphoric, + generic]**

M1: Copiii   tăi,   când îi   laşi   să îşi   aleagă
    Children-the your.m.pl, when CL.m.3pl allow.2sg to REFL choose.3pl
    bomboane, le   aleg   pe cele de ciocolată, nu-i   aşa?
    candy.f.pl, CL.f.3pl choose.3pl PE those of chocolate, not-is so?
    'Your children, when you let them choose candy, they pick chocolate flavour,

    right?''

M2: O   ÎNGHEŢATĂ ar   alege-o   cu   gust de ciocolată.
    A.f ICE-CREAM would.3pl pick.3pl-CL.f.3sg with taste of chocolate.
    Bomboanele cu   ciocolată nici măcar nu le   plac.
    Candy   with chocolate not even   no REFL like.3pl.
    'They would choose a chocolate flavoured ICE CREAM, not candy. They don't

    even like chocolate flavoured candy.'

(107)   **Item 1 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Laura organizează o cină la ea acasă. Ea ştie că Sanda are alergii, aşa că o sună ca

să fie sigură că găteşte ceva ce poate mânca şi Sanda.

Laura is organizing a dinner at her home. She knows that Sanda has allergies and

therefore she calls her to make sure she prepares something also Sanda can eat.

L: Poţi   să mănânci plăcintă şi   o salată?
     Can.2sg to eat.2sg   pie   and a salad?
     'Is it ok if I prepare some pizza and some salad?'

S: O salată ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ mânca, dar   nu   mănânc plăcinte pentru
     A salad ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ A   salad eat.INF, but   not   eat.1sg
     că   conţin   gluten.
     pies because contain.3pl gluten.
     'I can eat a salad, but I do not eat pizza because it contains gluten.'

(108) **Item 2 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Alexandra e la bibliotecă, dar nu e sigură ce ar vrea să citească, aşa că se

duce la bibliotecar să îl întrebe ce recomandă. Bibliotecarul spune:

Alexandra is in the library but she doesn't know what to keep and therefore

she goes to the librarian to ask for recommendations. The librarian tells her:

B: Vrei   să citeşti   o carte despre avioane   sau despre maşini?
Want.2sg to read.2sg a book about airplanes or   about cars?
'Would you like to read a book about airplanes or one about cars?'

A: O carte despre avioane _____ cu   plăcere, dar maşinile
A book about airplanes _____ with pleasure, but cars-the
nu   mă interesează.
not me interest.3pl
'I'd happily read a book about airplanes, but I am not interested in cars.'

(109)   **Item 3 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Dupa ore, Sofia si Matei s-au dus acasa la Matei. Matei o intreaba pe Sofia:

After school Sofia and Matei went to Matteo's house. Matei asks Sofia:

M: Vrei   sa vezi   un documentar sau un film cu   James Bond?
Want.2sg to see.2sg a   documentary or   a   film with James Bond?
'Would you like to watch a documentary or a James Bond movie?'

S: Un documentar   as   vrea _____, dar nu imi   plac
A   documentary would.1sg like _____, but not CL.1sg.DAT like
filmele   violente.
films-the violent.
'I'd like to watch a documentary, but I do not like violent films.'

(110)   **Item 4 - [+anaphoric, -specific]**

Toată după-amiaza Carmen şi Mihnea au lucrat la un proiect la facultate. Lui

Mihnea îi e foame, şi întreabă:

All afternoon Carmen and Mihnea worked on a project for university. Mihnea is

hungry and asks:

M: Vrei   să mergem să mâncăm o   îngheată sau o pizza împreună?
Want.2sg to go.1pl   to eat.1pl   an ice-cream or   a pizza together?
'Would you like to go eat an ice cream or a pizza together?'

R: O înghează   _____, dar nu mi-e   destul de foame să
    A ice-cream.f _____, but not CL.1sg.DAT-is enough of hunger to
    mănânc o pizza.
    eat.1sg a pizza.
    'I'd eat an ice cream, but I am not hungry enough to eat a pizza.'

(111)   **Item 5 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

George s-a dus la supermarket să facă cumpărături. Când se întoarce acasă, Monica

îl întreabă:

George went to the supermarket to do groceries. When he returns home Monica

asks him:

M: Ai   cumpărat somonul   şi avocado-ul pentru cina   de
    Have.2sg bought   salmon-the and avocado-the for   dinner-the of
    astă-seară?
    this-evening?
    'Did you find the salmon and the avocado for tonight's dinner?'

G: Somonul   _____ cumpărat, însă nu am   reuşit   să
    Salmon-the.m _____ bought,   but not have.1sg managed to
    găsesc   un avocado.
    find.1sg an avocado.
    'I bought the salmon but I didn't manage to find an avocado.'

(112)   **Item 6 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Liviu încearcă să găsească pe cineva care să ia câinele şi pisica bunicii sale, pentru

că ea nu mai poate avea grijă de ei. El o întreabă pe Silvia:

Liviu is trying to find someone who could take care of his grandma's dog and cat

because she can't take care of them anymore. Liviu asks Silvia:

L: Ai   vrea sa adopţi   un câine şi   o pisică?
    Would.2sg like to adopt.2sg a   dog.m and a cat.f?
    'Would you like to adopt a cat or a dog?'

B: Pisica   _____ cu   drag, dar nu   avem loc pentru un
    Cat-the.f _____ dearly, but   not have.1pl room for a   dog.
    câine.

    'I'd happily adopt the cat, but we do not have space for a dog.'

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(113)   **Item 7 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Elena s-a dus la concertul Madonnei ieri. Marcel voia şi el să meargă, însă era

bolnav, aşa că a rugat-o pe Elena să îi aducă un CD şi un poster mare. Când se

întoarce Elena, Marcel o întreabă:

Yesterday Elena went to Madonna's concert. Marcel also wanted to go there but

he didn't feel well and therefore he asked Elena to bring him a CD and a poster.

When Elena returns Marcel asks:

M: Ai   cumpărat CD-ul   şi   posterul?
    Have.2sg bought   CD-the.m and poster-the.m?
    'Did you buy the CD and the poster?'

E: CD-ul   _____ cumpărat, dar posterul   nu
    CD-the.m _____ bought,   but poster.the not
    mi-a   plăcut.
    CL.1sg.DAT-has.3sg pleased.
    'I bought the CD, but I didn't like the poster.'

(114)   **Item 8 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Daniela şi prietena ei Paula au fost la magazinul de flori. Când se întorc acasă,

Paula o întreabă pe Daniela:

Daniela and her friend Paula went to Garden Center. When they return home

Paula asks Daniela:

P: Unde plantezi florile   şi   busuiocul pe care le-ai
    Where plant.2sg flowers-the.f and basil-the.m PE which CL.f.3pl-have.2sg
    cumpărat?
    bought?
    'Where will you plant the flowers and the basil that you bought?'

D: Florile   _____tez   în grădină şi   busuiocul într-un ghiveci
    Flowers-the _____nt.1sg in garden and basil-the in-a   pot
    în bucătărie.
    in kitchen.
    'I will plant the flowers in the garden and the basil in a vase in the kitchen.'

(115)   **Item 9 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Elena va merge la cumpărături, să îşi găsească haine pentru o întâlnire pe care o

are weekendul ăsta. Prietena ei încearcă să o ajute şi spune:

Elena goes shopping because she has an appointment this weekend. Her friend

think he's being useful and says:

A: Nu căutai   cumva   o cămaşă neagră? Am   văzut unele
Not search.2sg by-any-chance a shirt.f   black.f? Have.1sg seen   some.f.pl
drăguţe la Zara.
nice.f.pl at Zara.
'Weren't you looking for a black shirt? I have seen some cute ones at Zara.'

E: O ROCHIE neagră _____, nu o cămaşă neagră.
A DRESS.f black.f _____, not a shirt.f   black.f.
'I am looking for a black DRESS, not a black shirt.'

(116) **Item 10 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Virginiei îi plac lucrurile de modă veche, şi caută un ceas. La un târg de vechituri,

un vânzător care o cunoaşte bine spune:

Virginiei adores vintage products and she is looking for a watch. At the flee market

who she knows well tells her:

V: Nu căutai   tu un aparat   de fotografiat?
Not search.2sg you a   machine for photographing?
'Weren't you looking for a vintage photo camera?'

V: Un CEAS   _____ ani   de zile, nu un aparat   de
A   WATCH.m _____ years of days, not a   machine for
fotografiat.
photographing
'I have been looking for a WATCH for years, not a photo camera.'

(117) **Item 11 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Din motive economice, consiliul de administraie al unei companii care angajează

10 muncitori si 3 secretare a organizat o întâlnire pentru a discuta ce se poate face

pentru a evita falimentul. Vice-preşedintele spune:

For economic reasons the board of a construction company consisting of 10 work-

ers and 3 secretaries organized a meeting to discuss options for preventing going

bankrupt. The vice president suggests:

VP: Trebuie să concediem un muncitor.
Must   to fire.1pl   a   worker
'We must fire a worker.'

P: O secretară   trebuie să ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, nu un muncitor.
     A SECRETARY must   to ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, not a   worker.
     'We must fire a secretary, not a worker.'

(118)   **Item 12 - [-anaphoric, -specific]**

Alina e la cumpărături şi vede nişte bijuterii care îi plac mult. Alina îl întreabă pe

vânzător:

Alina is at the market and she sees some jewelry that she likes a lot. Alina asks

the vendor:

S: Vindeţ un colier   la 150 de lei, nu-i   aşa?
    Sell.2pl a   necklace.m at 150 of lei, not-is so?
    'You sell a necklace for 30 euro, right?'

Il V:O BRĂŢARĂ   ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ la 150 de lei, nu un colier.
    A BRACELET.f ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ at 150 of lei, not a   necklace.m.
    'I sell a BRACElET for 30 euro, not a necklace.'

(119)   **Item 13 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Carla şi Matei vorbesc despre felurile de mâncare care îi plac Luizei, pentru că vor

s-o ducă la restaurant de ziua ei. Matei spune:

Carla and Matei talk about the dishes that Luiza like, because they're going to

take her to her favourite restaurant for her birthday. Matei says:

P: îi   place mâncarea indiană, nu-i   aşa?
    CL.3sg.DAT please food-the.f Indian.f, not-is so?
    'She likes Indian food, right?'

S: Mâncarea JAPONEZĂ ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, nu pe cea indiană. Mancarea
    Food   JAPANESE ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯, not PE that Indian.f. Food-the.f
    indiană e prea picantă pentru ea.
    Indian.f is too spicy   for   her.
    'She likes JAPANESE food, not Indian food. Indian food is too spicy for her.'

(120) **Item 14 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Ana şi Beatrice vorbesc despre Lia şi Ion, care s-au căsătorit de curând.

Ana and Beatrice are talking about Lia and Ion who recently got married.

A: Dacă am înţeles eu bine, au vizitat Insulele Virgine.
   If have.1sg understood I well, have.3pl visited Islands-the Virgin.
   'They visited the Virgin Islands, if I understood it correctly.'

B: Insulele MALDIVE ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ vizitat în luna de miere, nu
   Islands-the MALDIVE ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ visited in moon of honey, not
   Insulele Virgine.
   Islands-the Virgin.
   'They visited the MALEDIVE for their honeymoon, not the Virgin Islands.'

(121) **Item 15 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Ion o vede mereu pe Alice cu aceeaşi pălărie şi aceeaşi eşarfă, aşa că o întreabă:

It seems that Alice wears the same hat and the same scarf every day, also during

spring. Ion asks her:

G: Tu porţi eşarfa aceea în fiecare zi, nu-i aşa?
   You wear.2sg scarf-the.f that.f in every day, not-is so?
   'You wear this scarf every day, right?'

A: PĂLĂRIA ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ fiecare zi, nu eşarfa. Îmi pun
   HAT-the.f ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯ in every day, not scarf-the. CL.1sg.DAT
   eşarfa doar când e într-adevăr frig.
   put scarf-the only when is truly cold
   'I wear the HAT every day, not the scarf. I wear the scarf only when its really

   cold.'

(122) **Item 16 - [-anaphoric, +specific]**

Luca vrea să împrumute cartea lui Emma şi jocul ei video despre dinozauri. însă

Luca e iresponsabil şi pierde deseori lucruri, aşa că Emma ezită puin. Andrei spune:

Luca wants to use Emma's video game and his book about dinosaurs. However,

Luca is a very irresponsible person and he often loses things and therefore Emma

is a bit hesitant. Andrei says:

S: De curând a pierdut cartea ta despre dinozauri, nu-i aşa?
Of recently has.3sg lost book-the your about dinosaurs, not-is so?
'The other day Luca lost your book about dinosaurs, right?'

E: Jocul meu VIDEO ＿＿＿＿＿＿ dut, nu cartea.
Game-the.f my VIDEO ＿＿＿＿＿＿ost , not book-the.
'He lost my video game (about dinosaurs), not the book.'

(123) **Control 1 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Anul acesta de Paşti prietenii şi colegii Carlei i-au dat 14 ouă de ciocolată. Deşi

iubeşte ciocolata, nu va reuşi niciodată să le mănânce singură.

This year for Easter Carlei was gifted 14 Easter eggs from her friends and colleagues.

Even though she likes chocolate, she will never manage to eat them all by herself.

A: Ce ai făcut cu toate ouăle acelea de ciocolată pe care
What have.2sg done with all eggs-the those.f.pl of chocolate PE which
le-ai primit?
CL.f.pl-have.2sg received?
'What did you do with all the chocolate eggs you got?'

B: Un ou ＿＿＿＿＿＿cat şi celelalte le-am făcut cadou
An egg.m ＿＿＿＿＿＿ten, and others.f.pl CL.f.pl-have.1sg made present
nepoţilor mei.
nephews-the my.
'I ate one of the eggs and the other ones I gave to my nephews.'

(124) **Control 2 - [+anaphoric, +specific]**

Petru şi Sanda vorbesc despre muzică.

Petru and Sanda are talking about music

P: Cunoşti muzica lui Andrea Boccelli?
Know.2sg music-the of Andrea Boccelli?
'Do you know Andrea Bocelli's music well?'

S: Unul dintre cântecele lui ＿＿＿＿＿＿tat cineva la
One-the.m of his songs ＿＿＿＿＿＿ung someone at
nunta noastră şi multe altele le cunosc pentru că soţul meu le cântă
wedding-the our.
acasă.

'They played one of his songs at our wedding and I know the other ones because my husband plays them at home.'

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