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**Comparative grammar and the relationship between syntax
and morphology: the status of N-N compounds and complex
predicates in the non-native Spanish of French
and English speakers**

Elena Valenzuela
M.A. Thesis
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures
University of Ottawa
Thesis supervisor: Prof. J.M. Liceras



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ABSTRACT

In this study we investigate the status of N-N compounds and resultative constructions in the L2 Spanish of native French and native English speakers in light of the "compounding parameter" (Snyder 1995). This parameter states that a language allows the production of complex predicates if it permits the marking of open-class items to be marked [+affixal]. While the parameter has been proposed for L1 acquisition, in the present study we analyze L2 acquisition data in order to explore first, whether or not a parametric relationship between these constructions indeed exists, second, to what extent the L1 plays a role in L2 acquisition, and finally, ultimate attainment. The data provided evidence for transfer from the L1 for the English subjects. They also showed that ultimate attainment was native-like only in the case of the N-N compounds. The results did not provide evidence supporting a parametric relationship between N-N compounds and resultatives.

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For my parents and for abuela Feli and abuela Luisa

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Introduction

The present M.A. thesis is a study of the grammatical representation of a specific type of complex predicate and Noun-Noun (N-N) compounds in the non-primary Spanish of French and English speakers. Central to the study is the newly proposed 'compounding parameter' (Snyder 1995). This parameter states that a language will freely permit the existence of complex predicates (such as the resultative *beat...silly*, or the particle verb *turn...up*) if and only if it freely exhibits productive root compounding such as that found in N-N compounds (as in *country house*) (Snyder 1995). The study will explore the so-called 'compounding parameter' and its implications on second language acquisition in terms of the following issues: a) whether or not there is transfer from the L1 of N-N compounds as well as whether or not there is transfer from the L1 of resultatives; b) whether there is indeed a relationship between N-N compounds and resultatives in second language acquisition and consequently whether or not this parameter can be fixed in the non-native grammar; and c) ultimate attainment. The hypotheses formulated around these three themes will be tested using two separate data elicitation tasks, Grammaticality Judgement Tasks and Translation Tasks. The present study will contribute to the field of second language acquisition research by providing an analysis of this under-explored aspect of Spanish in terms of the role of the L1. Second, it will contribute to the field of descriptive linguistic theory in general because it will offer a contrastive analysis of an aspect of English, Spanish, and French that has not yet been explored. Third, it can extend to provide insight for

pedagogical grammars that are geared toward advanced Spanish grammar textbooks.

The first chapter will discuss linguistic theory and acquisition theory in general in terms of first language (L1) acquisition versus second language (L2) acquisition. Discussion of second language acquisition theory in particular will centre on L1 transfer, or the role of the first language in second language acquisition, and the concept of ultimate attainment. The latter is a theoretical topic in which the final competence level achieved by the L2 learner is compared to native speakers' competence in the target language. Finally, this chapter will examine the Spanish non-native grammar of English and French speakers and the status of resultatives and N-N compounds in their interlanguage (IL). This last point will introduce the main query that will be examined in chapters 3 and 4 where these specific constructions will be viewed in light of the so-called 'compounding parameter'.

The second chapter will survey both English and Spanish N-N compounds, complex predicates, and in particular resultatives within the framework of the Principles and Parameters theory (Chomsky 1981) as well as subsequent developments (Chomsky 1995).

The third chapter will examine the proposed 'compounding parameter' (Snyder 1995) in terms of L2 acquisition. Snyder's (1995) 'compounding parameter' will be the starting point for the present study. Though Snyder only presents the proposal for first language acquisition, we will extrapolate from it to provide our hypotheses for the present study. The study pairs affixal and

non-affixal languages in terms of the L1 English speakers learning Spanish and among the two subject groups, French L1 and English L1. The study considers the way in which an English speaker coming from the affixal option of the parameter will differ from a French speaker coming from the non-affixal option of the parameter in the way they deal with complex predicates in Spanish. Based on a pilot study that was conducted the year preceding the current study, hypotheses are presented that deal with L1 transfer, L2 initial state, and ultimate attainment.

The fourth chapter will examine both the study in which the hypotheses of chapter 3 were tested and a discussion of the results. The study consisted of two sets of data elicitation tasks, a Grammaticality Judgements Task and a Translation Task, in which the subjects were presented with both grammatically possible and impossible Spanish resultatives and N-N compounds. The Grammaticality Judgements were three-part judgement exercises in which the subject was asked to give a personal opinion on whether they would use or not the Spanish sentence in question. The next two steps involved correcting the sentence if they thought that it was incorrect and translating all of the Spanish sentences into their L1. The Translation Task was more straightforward in that the subject was simply presented with an English sentence containing a resultative construction or an N-N compound and then asked to translate it into Spanish. The procedure and results of both data elicitation tasks are discussed in this chapter as well as conclusions to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3. These results clearly

indicate a positive transfer from the L1 in the case of the English subjects and a much less clear pattern of transfer for the French subjects. The results for both of the subject groups do not attest a clear-cut relationship between N-N compounds and the type of complex predicates exhibited in resultative constructions. The results also indicate that the ultimate attainment level for these subjects, including the so-called near-native group, was not that of native-like competence in the case of resultatives.

1. Linguistic theory and acquisition theory

The theoretical grounding for the present study is situated within the framework of the *Principles and Parameters* model of language acquisition and subsequent developments which have led to the *Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1981/1995; Haegeman 1994; Stowell 1981/1995) as well as generative grammar approaches to second language acquisition (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono 1996; Liceras 1996a; White 1989/1996). Within this framework, the classical view of language acquisition is as follows. First and second language acquisition are guided by a set of principles which are applicable to all languages: these are the universal characteristics of language. Parameters, in the classical Chomskyan (1981) sense, account for the variability of grammatical representations among languages. The process of language learning is the implementation of these universal principles and the setting of parameters. Parameter setting occurs when any infant comes into contact with any given language, that is, receives input from the language. Once the appropriate trigger is activated from the input data, the parameter is set. Parameters are structures made up of interrelated properties that reflect cross-linguistic variation and their range of possible settings is finite. The predisposition for learning languages that each human is born with is called *Universal Grammar* (UG) and is part of our genetic programme. UG contains within it all of the principles that are needed for language learning that may or may not be parameterized. There are contending views as to the content of UG in the early grammar. One of the main debates centres on

whether or not Functional Categories (FCs) are present at the early stages and therefore part of the genetic make-up. On the one hand, there is the maturational view (Radford 1990) which contends that no FCs (such as DP, CP or AgrP) are present at the early stages of the grammar and that their appearance depends on a maturational agenda. On the other hand, those in support of *continuity* are divided into two camps. The *weak continuity approach* (Clahsen et al. 1994) claims that the child will only project lexical categories (VP and NP) initially and will layer on the FCs as the input is processed. The *strong continuity approach* (Hyams 1996; Poeppel and Wexler 1993) supports the claim that FCs are fully present in the early grammar. Second language theorists have similarly treated this topic in terms of access to UG in the non-native grammar and L2 initial state. The maturational approach is the L1 counterpart of the Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono (1996) hypothesis that we will hereafter refer to as the *default option* for L2 learners. The second language theoretical counterpart to the weak continuity hypothesis is the Minimal Trees hypothesis of Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996) which proposes that only the VP and NP are present at the L2 initial state and that subsequent layering on of FCs depends on the input. The Full Transfer/Full Access model of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) which maintains that there is full transfer of FCs to the L2 initial state is equivalent to the strong continuity claim for L1. In the present study, we will test the default option (Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono 1996) as well as the full transfer/full access model (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996) in terms of

whether or not a parameter can be fixed in the L2. Since the above claims deal with the presence or absence of FCs and the 'compounding parameter' deals with lexical categories, the theories have been adapted to fit the properties of this particular parameter.

Within the Chomskyan framework, there exists a distinction between language knowledge, which includes performance, (E-language) and actual language competence (I-language). The aspects of I-language that are based on UG and parameter setting are those which are instantiated in primary language development. Once UG is 'grown' it makes up one's I-language. Language is a developmental inevitability in that it is a natural occurrence in all human beings which is both unavoidable and more or less predictable (Lightfoot 1980; Pinker 1994).

At the centre of language acquisition theory is the goal of determining the process by which language is acquired and its mental representation throughout this process. The task of the linguistic researcher, then, is to study and predict the mental representation of language, be it a primary language or a non-primary one. Language acquisition is the branch of linguistic research which deals with the process of acquiring a primary or a non-primary language at the various levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics). The language faculty that is contained within the mind/brain or UG does not work alone in the acquisition process. Every child is born with the language faculty and is capable of learning any given language. This capability is due to the universal nature of UG and the parameter-setting

mechanism which can be put to work to respond to the parametrized, or controlled variability of, human language. As the child receives input from the language that is spoken in its environment, it responds to the triggering data that allows the setting of parameters in the given language. The *input* is the available data that the learner is exposed to in his/her environment. What the learner actually accesses from the input data or rather what the learner manages to deal with is the *intake*. Afterward, the learner organises the intaken data whereby he/she projects his/her grammar. If those are the essential steps involved in the 'growth' of the L1, what occurs in L2 acquisition?

It is unreasonable to think that the mental organ which represents UG can grow a second time in the same way as it did in primary language acquisition. Most second language theorists agree that both processes are indeed different but there is disagreement on the ways in which the two processes of acquisition and their mental representations differ.¹

1.2 Linguistic theory and second language acquisition

The main task of the second language acquisition researcher is to get at the very nature of non-native grammar and the process that the mind undergoes as this grammar is developing. Most studies in non-native language acquisition (L2A) have centred on availability of UG in second language

¹ See Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono and the commentaries (1996) for an overview of the contending views in this area.

acquisition. Because UG is the building block of the language faculty, it must be determined to what extent it plays a role in L2A. The initial state of first language acquisition (L1A) is also the initial state of the language faculty, UG, and the outcome, except in some exceptional cases, is the successful acquisition of a native grammar or the full-grown mental organ. The initial state of the L2, however, is not quite as clearly demarcated because UG has already been instantiated as a full grown language. Clearly, the context within which a second language is acquired is different than that of a first language regardless of the fact that the second language may be learned in either an institutional setting or a natural setting (e.g. total immersion). The most obvious difference is that the L2 learner already has a fully developed grammar at the starting point of the L2 whereas a child acquires a first language with UG alone as its starting point. The differences do not end there. Bley-Vroman (1990) offers a theory of adult L2A which suggests that it is the adult's developed problem-solving skills which allow him/her to learn a second language. Central to his claim is that child language learning and adult language learning are fundamentally different. He maintains that this is so because in adult second language learning the L1 fills in the place of UG in first language acquisition while their adult problem-solving strategies take the place of the child's specific learning procedures. The final state of the L1 learner is a successful native grammar that is like that of other native speakers of the same language². However, the final state of L2 acquisition is

² Though there always exists variation among native speakers of the same language, the

much more difficult to determine because there exist so many different competence levels among L2 learners. Ultimate attainment varies dramatically among L2 learners despite the fact that these learners may be of the same age or have the same L1.

The following subsections consider two areas of study within the field of second language acquisition. The first subsection examines the issue of L2 initial state and the three major views on the mental representation of the stages of development in L2A. This section will also deal with the theme of L1 transfer in L2A. The second subsection will treat the issue of ultimate attainment and the contending views on the topic.

1.2.1 L2 initial state

While traditional research on UG approaches to L2 acquisition in general has been aimed at topics in markedness and parameter setting (White 1989; Gass and Schachter 1989; Flynn and O'Neil 1988), recent study has focused on the initial state of L2 grammars and the availability of UG principles in L2A. If availability of UG is one of the critical differences between L1 and L2 acquisition then it is crucial to determine the manner in which it is accessed. The debate surrounding availability of UG has been discussed under various guises. The importance of determining the role of UG in L2A is that UG carries in it all of the principles applicable to all languages and it is on the

'final state' of L1A has a clearly marked end state in terms of what Chomsky refers to as core grammar or I-language (result of UG and fixing of parameters), the rest (periphery, stylistics, etc.) does enter here.

basis of them that a language is learned. Each language cannot be a separate phenomenon, UG accounts for the similarities that exist among languages; it is the common ground for this cognitive process. Parameters, on the other hand, have of late been related to the [+/-] strong features of Functional Categories (FCs). In L1A, the input provides the triggers which allow the child to set the construction for its particular L1, and so the polemic of how exactly UG is accessed in L2A remains. This relates to another important issue: if every child is born with the tools (UG principles) necessary to acquire any primary language, then what happens to those that are not instantiated in the L1? If a particular principle of grammar is not available in the L1 of that child, then that option will not be instantiated because it has not received the proper input that would implement the affected constructions. Could this construction be set anew in an L2? The input received by the child in primary language acquisition is to be learned by way of UG but not all of the available options will be used by the different languages (White 1989).

When the task of learning a second language (L2) is embarked upon, the learner goes through various levels of development. These are the stages of interlanguage (IL) that every L2 learner undergoes until a learning plateau of sorts is reached. Naturally, this stabilised stage of growth does not extend to every facet of the grammar, the L2 learner, just like any native speaker of the language, will always be able to incorporate lexical-semantic items into the non-native grammar. In recent years, debate has centred on the way in which these stages of development are represented in the L2 learner's

grammar. Four major theoretical currents in the literature have aimed at determining the degree of transfer or influence from the L1 when acquiring an L2 as well as the degree, if any, of access to Universal Grammar (UG). While they present a simplification of the processes involved in acquiring a second language, these four main analytical factions are: The Full Transfer/Full Access model of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996); the Weak Transfer hypothesis of Eubank (1993/4), the Minimal Trees/Gradual Transfer hypothesis of Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1994/6), and the Full Access hypothesis of Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono 1996.

The first model, that of Schwartz and Sprouse, makes a twofold claim. The first claim is that the L2 initial state is equal to the L1 final state, *full transfer*. This means that all of the principles and parameters activated in the L1 are transferred at once into the TL. Second, as the learner is faced with input data from the TL that cannot be represented in their L1, they are required to 'restructure' their new grammar - where each restructuring is a new level of IL - by accessing UG, thus is a process which implies *full access*. Because this model assumes that unimpaired access to UG is readily available to the L2 learner, the options that were not instantiated in the L1 are able to be set for the first time in the L2. If the same theory (L2 initial state = L1 final state) were not to support full access to UG then the new parameters would not be able to be set in the same way. They assume, then, that there is no potential difference between L1 and L2 acquisition because of unimpaired access to UG in both circumstances. This theory predicts that the initial state

of L2 grammar is total transfer from the L1 grammar and that this early stage will last an indeterminate amount of time until the L2 learner receives the input needed to set or reset a parameter or to project a given functional category or abstract feature. Again, this latter point is only possible because there is total access to UG and to the mechanisms which 'read' into the input (both system and programme). However, it is not clear whether this unimpaired access is indeed access to UG principles in their initial state (I-language principles) or to 'grown' I-language principles. In the second case however, an I-language may not be implemented because these principles cannot be accessed in the same way as those in the initial state as proposed by Liceras (1996b)³.

The second model, the Minimal Trees/Gradual Transfer hypothesis of Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996), claims that only lexical categories are transferred from the L1 at the initial state; no functional categories are transferred at this stage. Essentially, they maintain that the L2 initial state consists of a VP shell and as the L2 develops, functional projections are layered on top of the initial VP shell as they are triggered by lexical items. In this way, at the early stages the L2 learner will not project IP, CP or DP but rather will only project VPs and NPs. This model is quite different from that of

³ Liceras (1996b) is a commentary on the Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono (1996) article. In it the author claims that it is difficult at best to determine whether the adult learner is accessing UG principles or I-language principles. I-language is the fully grown mental organ plus the fixed parametric options. Therefore, there is no parameter setting in the L2 but rather 'restructuring' via the secondary learning mechanisms. In this way, the final state of the L1 leads to the initial state of the L2. In terms of the 'compounding parameter' in L2A, then, the child will learn the [+/-affixal] option from the N-N compounds, whereas the adult must deal with this parameter construction by construction and will not readily extend it to complex predicates.

Schwartz and Sprouse. This model claims that despite the L2 learner's knowledge of functional categories he/she does not transfer them initially to his/her L2, and it is only as he/she processes the L2 input that these upper XP layers are added on to his/her non-native grammatical representations.

The third model, the Weak Transfer/Valueless Feature hypothesis of Eubank (1993/4), maintains that at the initial state of L2, all of the features of the L1 are transferred except for those functional categories marked [+strong]. That is, all L1 functional categories and L1 lexical categories are transferred to the L2 from the initial state but the distinguishing characteristic of this model is that they are not initially marked [+strong]. These features remain unspecified at the early stages of the L2 grammar. Eubank maintains that progress in the L2 means that the learner has to acquire or infer from it the appropriate inflectional morphology in their target language (TL) which will lead to the realisation of the [+strong] features.

The fourth model, the Full Access model of Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono (1996) suggests that access to UG in adult L2 acquisition is the same as access in child language acquisition. While Schwartz and Sprouse also claim full access to UG in adult L2 acquisition, their view acknowledges and supports the role that the L1 plays in this acquisition process. The Full Access model, however, discounts the role of the L1 for those aspects of grammars which are UG dependent (for the I-language).

1.2.2 Ultimate attainment in L2A

A child is born with an inherent predisposition to learn a language. This inherent characteristic is called UG. As the child develops, it is provided with input from the language spoken in its environment and combines that input with its innate mechanism to acquire language. In this way, both input and UG constitute the building blocks for primary language acquisition. In all non-pathological cases, the ultimate attainment in L1A is native competence in that language. The point at which the L2 learner ceases to acquire the L2 is when the learner reaches its ultimate attainment; this stage is less precisely defined. Clearly, every L2 learner reaches his/her ultimate attainment or 'end state' at quite different stages of development, but what accounts for the halt in development? That is, what accounts for the fact that L2A, under normal circumstances, does not reach the same level of competence as L1A. Two main areas of interest regarding this question have materialised. First, the effects of age on access to UG (Lenneberg 1967; Flynn and Manuel 1991) and, second, the difference in competence between native speakers and near-native speakers (Coppieters 1987; Johnson and Newport 1991; Birdsong 1992; and White and Genesee 1996). Topics in ultimate attainment have considered the question of whether or not it is possible to attain native-like results in L2A and whether this success depends on the age at which initial exposure to the L2 began.

The traditional view on ultimate attainment has considered the maturational constraints on UG accessible principles. These UG-type structures are considered to be those grammatical domains that are held

within the constraints of UG knowledge or rather principles which are universal across languages, as opposed to those aspects of grammar that are language specific or 'functional' (Birdsong 1992; Coppieters 1987). It has been held that prepubescent initial exposure to the L2 results in a higher degree of access to structures normally associated with UG and therefore greater success in achieving native-like proficiency in the L2 grammar. Conversely, postpubescent exposure to the L2 has traditionally been claimed to slow down access to UG-type structures and therefore result in a lower level of success in the L2. Essentially, the idea is that an adult L2 learner cannot exhibit native-like competence in the L2 because of the decline in access of those principles contained within the domain of UG that are available to the L1 learner. Hypotheses have centred on a critical or 'sensitive' age which determines the availability of UG principles to the L2 learner and therefore the ability for them to acquire a second language as successfully as a first language (Krashen 1974; Long 1990; Johnson and Newport 1991 among others⁴). Birdsong (1992), however, claims that native-like performance in adult L2A is both possible and independent of UG specific principles. Other theories have gone further to include the question of whether or not maturational constraints affect not only UG principles but also extend themselves to include the question of whether or not parameters can be reset in adult L2A. Tsimpli and Rousseau (1991) and Liceras (1996) among others

⁴ A new book has just been published on ultimate attainment but was not available to us at the time of this study.

have claimed that while there is access to UG principles in L2A, parameters are not set anew.

In the last fifteen years, contending theories have arisen around the issue of ultimate attainment. On the one hand, there are those that contend that native-like performance in UG principles is possible in L2A (White and Genesee 1996; Birdsong 1992) and, on the other hand, those that contend that this is not possible (Coppieters 1987; Johnson and Newport 1991). Among those in favour of native-like proficiency in a non-native grammar, the two studies cited above agree that ultimate attainment is not necessarily subject to maturational constraints on availability of UG. That is, an L2 learner whose initial exposure to the L2 comes after puberty can still achieve native-like proficiency in that language. They do not agree, however, on the issue of UG access. White and Genesee maintain that UG access is always available irrespective of age of the L2 learner, whereas Birdsong maintains that native-like performance for the adult L2 learner is not dependent on UG specific access.

White and Genesee (1996) and Birdsong (1992) hold that age factor is not an issue when it comes to learning a second language and that an adult L2 learner is capable of achieving native-like results. On the opposing end of the spectrum are Coppieters (1987) and Johnson and Newport (1991), who maintain that their data provide evidence indicating that so-called near-native speakers showed significant differences in performance from native speakers of the language. Considering that the studies in question citing near-native

speakers whose first exposure to the target language was postpubescent and who perform like native speakers in the L2 only provide rare or exceptional cases of this, it can be inferred that only in the most exceptional instances will the L2 learner's ultimate attainment ever be native-like (Selinker 1972)⁵.

In the next section, we will relate the two topics discussed above - L1 transfer and ultimate attainment - with the interrelationship of morphology and syntax in the 'compounding parameter' as proposed by Snyder (1995).

1.3 The Spanish non-native grammar of English and French speakers: resultatives and N-N compounds

Snyder's (1995) so-called 'compounding parameter', discussed at length in Chapter 2, maintains a strong connection between syntax and morphology in the following way⁶: a given language exhibits complex predicates in its syntax on the condition that it liberally permits productive root compounding in its morphology. In his dissertation, Snyder (1995) introduces the 'compounding parameter' and supports his claim with spontaneous data from American English primary language acquisition, as well as a cross-linguistic survey of both N-N compounds and complex predicates. The parameter dictates that a language will exhibit complex predicates if and only if it also allows the free production of root compounding of the type demonstrated in N-N compounds. In this way, his proposal claims that N-N compounds and complex predicates

⁵ Recalling Selinker's (1972) article in which the author claims that native-like performance in adult L2A is only achieved 5% of the time and is therefore a 'pathological' case.

are parametrically linked and thus he considers an aspect of the syntax/morphology interface. Following this proposal, one can group languages as either belonging to the [+affixal] option of the parameter or the [-affixal] option of the parameter. Among the languages that Snyder lists as being 'affixal' are: English, Dutch, German, and Hungarian. Among the languages that are considered to be 'non-affixal' are: French, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Japanese, ASL, etc. A language from the former group, then, allows complex predicate constructions necessarily because they also exhibit productive root compounding.

On a morphological level, an 'affixal' language is one that marks an open-class, non-affixal lexical item as [+affixal], as illustrated in example (1):

(1) country house

In (1), the Noun *country* is marked [+affixal] and is affixed to head Noun *house* and forms the N-N compound *country house* with a single semantic unit of meaning. At the syntactic level, the same affixing properties occur in an English resultative construction, illustrated in (2):

(2) Graham *beat* Alex *silly*

In (2), the Adjective *silly* is marked [+affixal] and is affixed to the Verb *beat* in order to form the complex predicate *beat...silly* with a single unit of meaning. Because English is classified under the [+affixal] option of the parameter, it entails the [-affixal] option of the parameter, as in (3) and (4):

⁶ Lardi re (1998) provides data which supports a much less direct connection between morphology and syntax in terms of a divergence between inflectional morphology and abstract grammatical knowledge.

(3) house in the country

(4) Graham beat Alex until he was silly

In example (3), *country* is not affixed to another Noun but rather is contained in a PP and modifies the Noun *house*. In (4), the Adjective *silly* is no longer affixed to the main Verb and is now contained within a periphrastic construction that modifies the main Verb. Examples (3) and (4), then, demonstrate the [-affixal] option of the parameter in English. Because Spanish and French are grouped as non-affixal languages, according to the 'compounding parameter' they will only contain sentences in their language equivalent to the English examples in (3) and (4), namely the non-affixal option, as illustrated in (5a) to (6d):

(5a) *casa campo
house – country
"country house"

(5b) casa de campo
house – of – country
"country house"

(5c) *Graham golpeó a Alex tonto
Graham – hit – to – Alex – silly
"Graham beat Alex silly"

(5d) Graham golpeó a Alex hasta dejarlo tonto
Graham – hit – to – Alex – until – leaving – him – silly
Graham beat Alex until he was silly

(6a) *maison campagne
house – country
"country house"

(6b) maison de campagne
house – of – country
"country house"

(6c) *Graham frappa Alex fou
Graham – hit – Alex – silly
"Graham beat Alex silly"

(6d) Graham frappa Alex jusqu'à le rendre fou
Graham – hit – Alex – until – him – rendering – silly

“Graham beat Alex until he was silly”

Some exceptional cases of resultatives and N-N compounds exist in both Spanish and French but the mechanism is not productive. These exceptions will be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters.

While Snyder concentrates on L1 acquisition, the main thrust of the present study is to examine the status of resultatives and Noun-Noun (N-N) compounds in the non-native Spanish of English and French speakers. Using the ‘compounding parameter’ as a point of departure, the study considers this aspect of the syntax/morphology interface in terms of L1 transfer, L2 initial state, and ultimate attainment. The study involves the grouping of affixal and non-affixal languages in two ways: first, from the angle of L1 and target language (TL) and second, from the perspective of the two groups of subjects. Given this, certain predictions can be made about the way in which these particular constructions are acquired by both English and French learners of Spanish. English is among the group of languages that has productive N-N compounding and therefore also has complex predicates, namely resultatives for the purposes of this study, while Spanish and French are among the group of languages that do not have productive N-N compounds and consequently no resultatives. English, then, has both options as in examples (7a) and (7b):

(7a) coffee cup ([+affixal] option)

(7b) cup for coffee ([-affixal] option)

The example in (7a) is the [+affixal] option where *cup* is the nucleus of the N-N compound and *coffee*, an open-class non-affixal lexical item, is marked

[+affixal] and is affixed to the head Noun to form a single semantic unit of meaning. The parameter, of course, offers the other option for English as well, as in example (7b), where *cup* is simply modified by the PP *for coffee* and no affixing is involved. Spanish and French only have the [-affixal] as in (7b) and illustrated in (8a) to (9b) respectively:

- (8a) *taza café
cup – coffee
“coffee cup”
- (8b) taza de café
cup – of – coffee
“coffee cup”
- (9a) *tasse café
cup – coffee
“coffee cup”
- (9b) tasse à café
cup – of – coffee
“coffee cup”

Considering that allowance of productive N-N compounding is the prerequisite for the allowing of complex predicates such as resultatives, English will allow complex predicates whereas Spanish and French will not.

From the perspective of the acquisition of Spanish as a second language by English and French speakers, one is faced with a pairing of affixal and non-affixal languages. Spanish, the TL, is non-affixal whereas the L2 learners are divided into two language groups, affixal and non-affixal. This will mean that there should be a difference in the way the two acquire, or rather let go of, complex predicates and N-N compounds in Spanish. As mentioned above, there exist some examples of N-N compounds and complex predicates in Spanish but these examples are not productive ones.

This means that at least the N-N compounds are exceptional lexical items that have to be learned as such, and not as morphological constructs of the Spanish language. In the case of the resultatives, the exceptional cases in which English-type resultatives are possible in Spanish will also have to be learned as exceptional items and not acquired as a productive aspect of Spanish syntax. Therefore, examining the status of N-N compounds and resultatives in the non-native Spanish of English speakers is a manner of determining the amount of transfer from the L1. That is, if one is to assume that L2 initial state is the L1 final state (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996) the English speaker will transfer the [+affixal] option of the 'compounding parameter' to the L2 Spanish. It will be at some stage of Interlanguage (IL) that the English speaker will 'let go' of that option. However, given that cases of N-N compounds and resultatives are so scarce in Spanish, at what level will the English learners of Spanish learn those exceptional cases? Presumably, L2 learners of Spanish will learn quite early on that root compounding is not an option in Spanish. However, that is only the first step, what follows is to determine whether or not this will let the L2 learner know that complex predicates are not available in Spanish either, and what the learner will do with this information.

According to the 'compounding parameter', the first non-lexical N-N compound that the child utters heralds the onset of complex predicates. Therefore, in L1 acquisition, a chronology of learning exists with respect to the syntax – morphology interface that dictates that productive root compounding

is the preliminary step to acquiring complex predicates. This leads to another question. Does the same order of acquisition exist in L2? Since these constructions are not productive ones in Spanish, the question will have to be determined by way of examining which construction is first abandoned by the English learners. Similarly we would predict that the French learners should never choose the [+affixal] option in their non-native Spanish.

Snyder maintains that root compounding is acquired first in L1 acquisition and that N-N compounds are the trigger that instantiates the setting of the 'compounding parameter'. In this way, the preliminary step is morphological in that productive root compounding of the type exhibited in N-N compounds is necessarily acquired first in child primary language acquisition. Once the productivity of root compounding is instantiated the syntactic aspect then follows: that is, the complex predicates are acquired as a group. It can perhaps be assumed, then, that N-N compounds could also be the trigger in L2 acquisition. In the case of English speakers acquiring Spanish, the lack of positive data for N-N compounds will indicate that Spanish is not an affixal language. The same will occur in the case of the French learners. Once the English learner realises that N-N compounds are not productive in Spanish, according to Snyder's proposal, they will also learn that complex predicates are not productive in Spanish.

French learners of Spanish will not have to reset the [-affixal] option of the parameter though the exceptional cases will have to be learned as such. By comparing results of the two L1 groups, one can determine the following:

first, whether or not a difference exists in the way the English learners deal with the exceptional cases as compared to the way the French learners deal with them; second, whether or not the L1 plays a role in this process; and finally, at what level the English subjects let go of the affixal option. However, the level of bilingualism (French/English) of specific learners in our data brings with it both some complications and some challenging issues. For example, an English learner of Spanish who also has some knowledge of French will probably relate the non-affixal nature of French to his/her non-native Spanish rather than make a clear-cut transfer from English to Spanish. This 'noisy' subject data complicates the facts somewhat in that we were not always dealing with real L2 acquisition but rather with L3 or L4 acquisition or even with total bilinguals facing an L2. Their non-native Spanish was not going to be impervious to their knowledge of either French or English L2. Therefore, we carefully measured the degree of competence that each subject in our study had in both English and French (as in the White and Genesee 1996 study) in order to determine the level of interference that may occur. The following chapter will examine the relationship between affixal and non-affixal languages specifically in terms of the 'compounding parameter'. In other words, we will conduct a comparative linguistic analysis of this phenomena in all three languages, Spanish, English, and French.

2. Language variation and the 'compounding parameter'

2.1 N-N compounds in English and Spanish

According to Snyder's 'compounding parameter', the productivity of root compounding in a given language is directly related to the productivity of complex predicates in that language. In this way, given that English (and other Germanic languages) exhibits productive N-N compounds, this will mean that English will also freely permit the production of complex predicates. Spanish and other languages like it, on the other hand, do not exhibit productive root compounding of the type exhibited in Noun-Noun (N-N) compounds that are found in languages like English and will therefore not, as shown in the preceding section, freely produce complex predicates (Piera 1995; Snyder 1995). An English-type N-N compound is formed by compounding two Nouns together to form one unit of meaning. The distinguishing feature is that there is no prepositional modifier between the two Nouns as illustrated in (1a) and (1b):

(1a) country house

(1b) art gallery

In Spanish and French, however, such words require a prepositional modifier, as in (2a) - (3b):

(2a) casa de campo

(2b) galería de arte

(3a) maison de campagne

(3b) *galerie d'art*

The absence of the prepositional modifier in Spanish would result in the words being ungrammatical, as in (4) and (5):

(4) **casa campo*

(5) **galería arte*

There do exist some examples in Spanish and French. However, these anomalies are not a productive construction in the language because they consist of either borrowed words or lexically fixed meanings, as illustrated in examples (6a) - (7b) respectively:

(6a) *video juego*

(6b) **video tienda*⁷

(7a) *homme-grenouille*

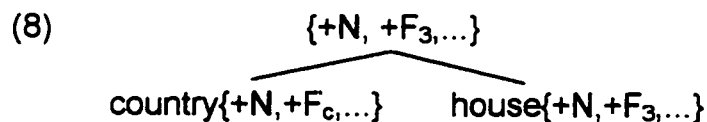
(7b) **homme-chat*

As in Chapter 1, for Snyder's intents and purposes, he relates N-N compounds and complex predicates in this way: *country* is affixed to *house* in the English N-N compound *country house* in the same way that *silly* is affixed to *beat* in the English resultative *beat...silly*. In both cases the two heads join to form one single semantic unit of meaning. These constructions, which will be examined in the following section, are a productive component of languages such as English while they are not in Spanish. Snyder maintains that the reason why complex predicates are not freely available in Spanish

⁷ Of course one could assume that once a word such as *video juego* has been incorporated that other borrowed words such as *video tienda* may also eventually be incorporated.

(nor other Romance languages) hinges on the fact that N-N compounds are not a productive item of the grammar.

The question remains as to why these N-N compounds are a freely productive part of English while they are so restricted in Spanish. Some attempts, albeit few, have been made to answer this question. In Piera (1995), the author describes basic English root compounding as the result of adjunction rather than lexical insertion as traditionally considered. Basic English root compounding is represented as in (8) where the N-N compound *country house* is illustrated syntactically:



An English N-N compound is right headed, meaning the head is on the right-hand side. This is the mirror image of a Spanish N-N compound (the few cases that do exist, such as *zona centro* for example) which is left-headed. The head of an English compound projects its features on the adjunction side, or left-hand side of the compound. Because the head of the compound is on the right-hand side, its features can project. Spanish root compounds pose a problem, however, because their head is on the left-hand side (Piera 1995; Varela 1992)⁸. The structure of a typical Spanish head Noun is as in example (9):

⁸ The Spanish N-N compound has been sparsely treated in traditional grammars. Their existence is acknowledged in the *Esbozo de la Real Academia* (1976) though not examined in detail. Traditional grammars such as that of Gili Gaya (1973) overlook them altogether.

(9) $[[\text{cas}(\text{a})]\text{WM}]^9$

Given this structure, a N-N compound in Spanish would have to be represented as in (10):

(10) $[[\text{cas}(\text{a})]\text{WM}][[\text{camp}(\text{o})]\text{WM}]^{10}$

The N-N compound, then, is made up of a head Noun and an adjunction Noun. Piera's proposal is that adjunction is restricted in Spanish compounds because of the fact that the head is on the left-hand side. He proposes the following rule (11):

(11) A double bracket at the edge of a word blocks adjunction of a word¹¹

The double bracket is a descriptive device used to demonstrate the side to which adjunction can project in the given language. Projection of adjunction also coincides with the placement of adjectives in both languages. It follows that a Spanish N-N compound must have the head at the left as in examples (12a) and (12b):

(12a) zona centro (city centre)

(12b) *centro zona

Piera, following Harris (1991), proposes that Spanish exhibits this linear construction for N-N compounds where the head is followed by a word marker (WM) to the right. This WM is situated after the single bracketed side of the

⁹ As outlined in Piera (1995), the item in brackets indicates where the WM will eventually be mapped out.

¹⁰ This right-headed structure is not always the case in Spanish as will be outlined later on. Some exceptional vocabulary items exist that use borrowed words (e.g. *video juego*) where the head noun is on the left and projects leftward.

head because, according to the rule outlined in (11), the double bracket blocks adjunction on its side of the word, as in (13a) and (13b):

(13a) [[zona]WM centro]

(13b) *[[centro] WM [[zona]WM]]

In this way, all of the compounds in Spanish that have the head to the right are deemed ungrammatical as we have said above. The few cases that do exist of right-headed Spanish compounds are borrowed words from other languages such as (14a) and (14b) where *juego* is the head and *video* is the adjunction:

(14a) video juego

(14b) *juego video

The right-headed leftward projection of English-type N-N compounds allows for a much more flexible adjunction system, a recursive one as in examples (15a) -(16b):

(15a) Madrid city centre

(15b) Madrid pedestrian city centre

(16a) *zona centro Madrid

(16b) *zona centro Madrid peatonal

Piera's claim for English and Spanish compounding can be related to Snyder's proposal that English allows an open-class, non-affixal word to be marked [+affixal] whereas Spanish does not. In this way the structure of the English Noun is less restrictive than that of the Spanish. The 'compounding

¹¹ Piera (1995), p. 306.

parameter' is rooted in the foundation of phrase structure building (compounding) and how the lexicon comes into this process.

2.2. Complex predicates

A complex predicate is one that is made up of a main verb and a secondary predicate. The secondary predicate is not an argument of the matrix verb but rather, is compounded to it to form a 'complex predicate'. Semantically, this V XP compounds to form a complex predicate and is considered one verbal unit. The most common complex predicates are the resultative construction (17) and the verb-particle construction (18):

(17) He *scrubbed* the floor *clean*

(18) She *turned* the volume *up*

The resultative construction in (17) is made up of the main verb *scrubbed* and the A° *clean*, resulting in the complex predicate *scrubbed...clean*. In example (18), the verb-particle construction consists of the main verb *turned* and the preposition *up*, which combine to form the complex predicate, *turned...up*. The existence of complex predicates is variable cross-linguistically. English-type languages allow these constructions freely whereas Romance languages do not. The English examples in (17) and (18) cannot be translated directly into Spanish or French as illustrated in (19a) - (20b) respectively:

(19a) *El *frotó* el suelo *limpio*
'He scrubbed the floor clean'

(19b) *Ella *subió* el volumen *arriba*
'She turned the volume up'

(20a) *Il *frota* le plancher *net*
'He scrubbed the floor clean'

(20b) *Il *tourna* le volume *haut*
'She turned the volume up'

The linear structure of the complex predicate construction, such as a resultative, is the following:

(21) V NP XP

Complex predicate analysis sees the NP as an argument of the complex predicate which is made up of the matrix verb and the XP. In this way, it is not the NP and the XP that are arguments of the main predicate but rather, the NP alone is an argument of the verb. This analysis was originally given by Chomsky (1965).

In Snyder (1995, 1996) it is argued that the various forms of complex predicates are all generated from the same parameter. The three types of complex predicates outlined in Snyder (1995), as in examples (22a) - (22c), and then extended to include seven types in Snyder (1996) make up the constructions in question and are as follows:

(22a) Graham *scrubbed* the floor *clean* (Resultative)

(22b) George *handed* his essay *in* (Verb-particle)

(22c) Lucas *gave* her *flowers* (Double object dative)

(22d) Lucas *gave* flowers *to his mother* (To-dative)

(22e) He *made* her *smile* (Make-causative)

(22f) He *saw* her *smile* (Perceptual report)

(22g) Rafael *put* the jacket *on the chair* (Put-locative)

In the above seven constructions, the main verb and another XP form a single syntactic, as well as semantic, unit of meaning, and together form the given complex predicate. In all cases, the secondary predicate is a "syntactically independent head as a subpart of a single predicate" (Snyder 1995) which is precisely wherein the connection to N-N compounding lies. The essential feature of the complex predicate is that two normally non-affixal independent heads are joined together to form a single unit of meaning.

Constructions such as the ones outlined in examples (22a) - (22g) have various analytical representations. The main analytical streams are: (1) the 'constituency' or 'complex predicate theory' as in Chomsky (1955/75,1993), Larson (1988, 1990), Neeleman (1992), Hale and Keyser (1993), and Marantz (1993); (2) the 'predication theory' as in Mallén (1991) and Williams (1980); and (3) the 'small clause' analysis as in Rothstein (1983), Kayne (1985), Hoekstra (1988), and Contreras (1987, 1995). These theories will be examined in individual sections in this chapter.

The three main types of complex predicates that Snyder (1995) discusses are particle verbs (23), resultatives (24), and double object constructions (25).

(23) George *handed* his essay *in*

(24) Graham *scrubbed* the floor *clean*

(25) Lucas *gave* his mother *flowers*

The particle verb in (23) is made up of *handed* and the preposition *in*, and is viewed, semantically as forming one unit. The resultative construction in (24) consists of the main verb *scrubbed* and the adjective *clean* as its predicative endpoint which are again viewed semantically as forming one unit. The dative movement in (25) allows for the double object construction of *gave...flowers*. Complex predicates, then, are formations of compound words that make up a larger predicate that takes an internal object NP. Snyder argues that English complex predicates may in fact become a compound, or a "word-level unit", at an abstract level of syntactic representation. His argument centres around the idea that Noun-Noun compounds (as in example (26)) are not only related to the complex predicate but are a necessary 'requirement' for their formation.

(26) country house

The latter point will be elaborated in Chapter 3 in the discussion on Snyder's 'compounding parameter'. Resultatives were chosen as the characteristic diagnostic for several reasons. First, double object datives could never be possible in Spanish without the preposition *-a* (to) despite the fact that the word order is permissive as in examples (27a) and (27b):

(27a) Le di a Paco el libro
 Him gave(1 p.s.) to Paco the book
 'I gave Paco the book'

(27b) Le di el libro a Paco
 Him gave (1 p.s.) the book to Paco
 'I gave the book to Paco'

Second, resultatives show the clearest relationship to N-N compounds, in terms of marking heads as [+affixal], for the purposes of examining the 'compounding parameter'. Third, resultatives appear as sporadically and unproductively as do N-N compounds in Spanish and French. For these three reasons, the data elicitation tasks have focused only on resultatives as the representative complex predicate along with N-N compounds.

2.3. Resultatives

Resultatives are complex predicate constructions that semantically join a process verb with a closed-class, non-affixal item (most commonly it is an adjective). The resultative is therefore made up of two parts, a process and a resultant state. On a semantic level, both parts of the predicate are viewed as forming one unit. Snyder only deals with the classic resultative that takes an AP as its endpoint predicate. Other accounts of resultatives (Napoli 1992) admit PP and NP as well as AP resultatives, illustrated in (28) - (30):

(28) John cut the bread [PP into pieces]

(29) We painted the chair [NP a dark colour]

(30) She beat him [AP silly]

Napoli's (1992) account of resultatives in Italian (and other Romance languages) argues that, in order for the resultative to be 'possible' in that language, it must focus on the endpoint of the action. Napoli calls this the 'semantic interpretation' for resultatives in Romance languages. In this way, the Spanish example in (31) should be possible because it emphasizes the

endpoint whereas the Spanish example in (32) should not be possible because it is a simple process verb with a non-emphasized resultant state:

- (31) El carnicero *cortó* la carne *muy fina*
 'The butcher cut the meat very fine'
- (32) El carnicero *cortó* la carne *fina*
 'The butcher cut the meat fine'

However, while (31) is the only one that, according to Napoli's 'semantic interpretation', should be accepted by native speakers, (32) has also unquestionably been accepted by native Spanish speakers in the present study.

Resultatives themselves as complex predicates are subject to various analyses. The main analytical streams are the small clause analysis, the secondary predication analysis, the semantic interpretation, and Snyder's phonologically null telic morpheme interpretation¹². The latter is the one that will be assumed for the present study because of the affixal/non-affixal language pairings that can be realised in terms of English, Spanish, and French in L2 acquisition. Therefore, given that resultatives are complex predicate constructions that semantically join a process verb with an open-class, non-affixal item (generally an adjective), Snyder's interpretation is the following. The resultative is made up of two parts, a process and a resultant state and then both join to form a single event argument. This newly formed

¹² The principal opposing theories are the *predication analysis* (Williams 1983; Mallén 1991) which will be elaborated in section 2.2.2. and the *complex predicate analysis* (Chomsky 1955/1975).

complex verb then takes a single NP as the argument of both the verb and the adjective, as in example (33):

(33) Graham *scrubbed* the floor *clean*

The DP *the floor* is the complement of the verb *scrub* as well as of the inner predicate *clean*. In this way, the floor is essentially an argument of both predicates and not of one or the other independently. Thus, the predicate in (33) is established, according to Snyder (1995), by the morphological compounding of the two heads and resulting in the formation of the compound verb *scrub...clean*. Snyder (1995) argues that a phonologically null telic morpheme links *scrub* and *clean* as illustrated in example (34a and 34b):

(34a) Graham scrubbed the floor ϕ *telic* clean (phonologically null morpheme)

(34b) [VP Graham scrubbed_i [VP [the floor] t_i [ϕ *telic* [AP clean]]]]

The Adjective *clean* is therefore marked [+affixal] in order for it to be joined to the verb *scrub* to form the complex predicate *scrub...clean*. The same sentence with a phonologically overt morpheme would be represented as in example (35):

(35) Graham scrubbed the floor *until it was* clean (phonologically overt morpheme)

Both sentences, (34) and (35), have the same meaning but only the former is a true 'syntactic' resultative because it has the phonologically null morpheme and consequently the [+affixal] value on the endpoint head. Snyder argues that Romance languages do not exhibit productive complex predicate

constructions such as resultatives because in those languages it is not possible to have the phonologically null morpheme, only the phonologically overt morpheme option is available in Romance languages, as in examples (36) and (37):

(36) *Graham frotó el suelo ϕ *telic* limpio (phonologically null morpheme)

'Graham scrubbed the floor clean'

(37) Graham frotó el suelo *hasta dejarlo* limpio (phonologically overt morpheme)

'Graham scrubbed the floor until it was clean'

Though resultatives are typically not possible in Spanish and Spanish-type languages, some restricted examples of true resultatives do exist, as in example (38a):

(38a) Rafael molió el café ϕ *telic* fino (phonologically null morpheme)

'Rafael ground the coffee fine'

Contrary to what Napoli's 'semantic interpretation' would predict, the Spanish resultative construction in (38a) is indeed possible despite the fact that the endpoint is not emphasized, as in example (38b).

(38b) Rafael molió el café fino fino

'Rafael ground the coffee very fine'

While Romance languages require the phonologically overt morpheme option, there are some non-productive examples such the one in example (38a) where there can be true resultatives.

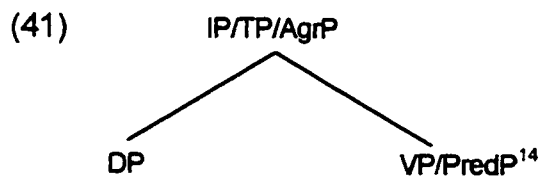
2.3.1 Resultatives as small clauses

Early discussions on small clauses centred around the question of whether or not they in fact existed. However, in recent years they have gained general acceptance and their study deals with sentences such as the classic examples in (39) and (40):

(39) He declared [the battle over].

(40) I consider [John handsome].

The bracketed items in (39) and (40) represent the small clause (SC) and the controversy which accompanies them now hinges on whether or not these bracketed strings are D-structure constituents¹³ and whether or not they have the same SUBJECT/PREDICATE relationship as full clauses. They are represented syntactically as sister constituents:



The small clause theory as put forth by Contreras (1987, 1995) examines the syntactic structure of sentences of the following type:

(42) I consider [Graham handsome] (adjectival predicate)

(43) I saw Graham [play the guitar] (verbal predicate)

¹³ Proponents of small clauses, Contreras (1987, 1995) and Stowell (1981, 1995) among others, maintain that the bracketed strings are in fact D-structure constituents. However, since the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) does not have D-structure, it may be assumed, taking a minimalist approach, that these units occur before Spell-out.

¹⁴ As proposed in Stowell (1995).

(44) I consider [Beethoven a great composer] (nominal predicate)

(45) We cut [the bread into pieces] (prepositional predicate)

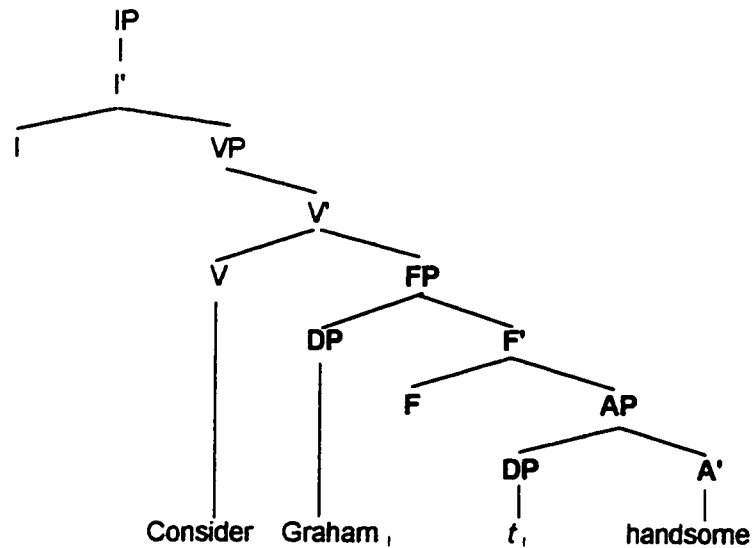
Fundamental to the small clause analysis is the fact that the words inside the brackets are D-structure constituents. Contreras' view is that only [+V] category predicates; that is, adjectival and verbal predicates as in (42) and (43) can be truly analysed according to the small clause analysis and for the [-V] category predicates (nominal and prepositional predicates as in (44) and (45)) he proposes a complex predicate analysis¹⁵. The reason for this restriction in the possibility of projecting small clauses, according to Contreras (1995), is two-fold. First, only the [+V] predicates have a subject and second, these are the only ones that exhibit Agreement or Aspectual functional projections.¹⁶

Determining the syntactic category of small clauses is central to their analysis. Stowell proposes, and Contreras concurs, that "a small clause is a maximal projection of its predicate" (Stowell 1981) and is, what Stowell calls, the XP-version of the small clause (SC) theory. In structural terms, small clauses are represented as in (46) and (47):

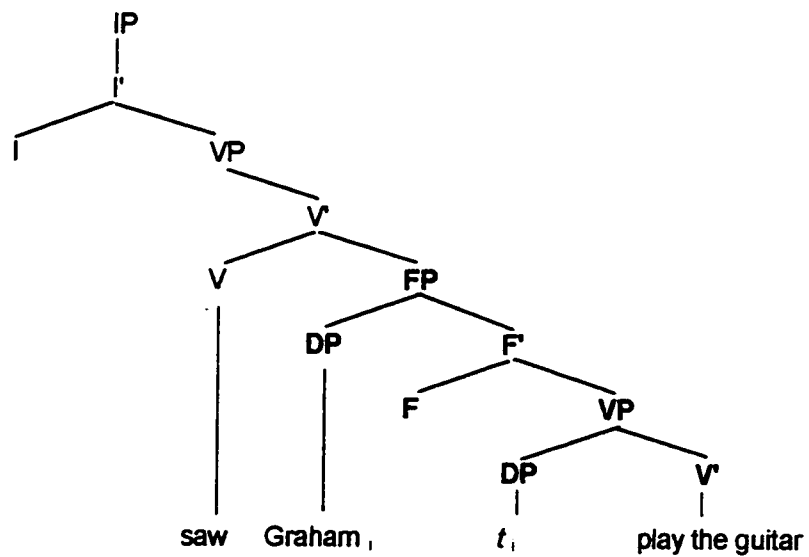
¹⁵ The lexical categories are N, V, A, and P and are accounted for as having binary features. These binary features are [+/-N (Noun)] and [+/-V(Verb)].

¹⁶ Contreras does not attempt to give an explanation for these two occurrences nor does he try to explain why it is that only these predicates can, in his view, project small clauses.

(46)



(47)

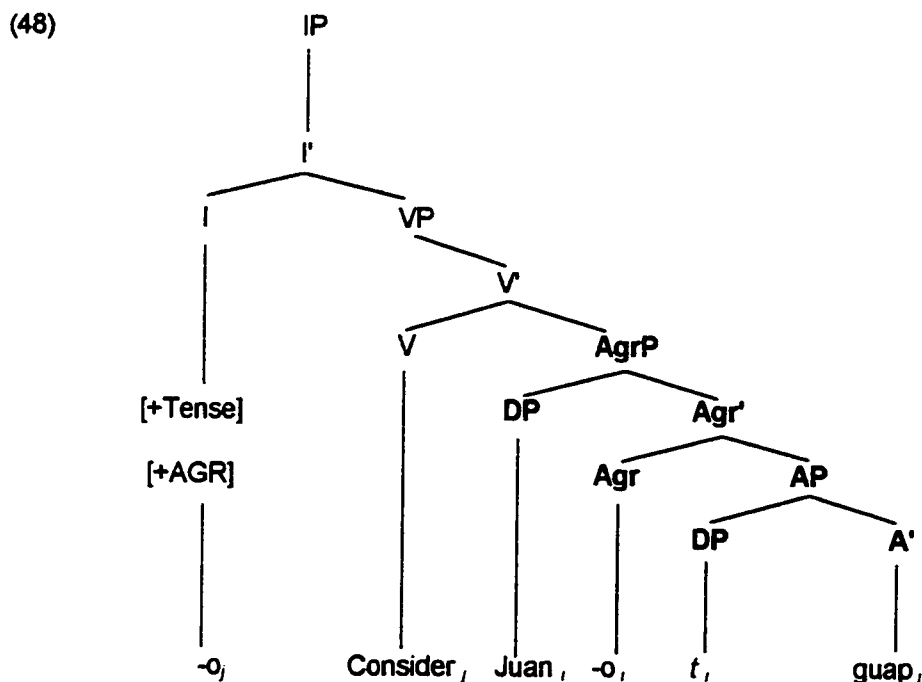


In this way, the XP^{17} which projects as a small clause can have four realizations (NP, PP, AP, or VP) according to Stowell (1995) and two realizations (AP or VP) according to Contreras (1995). Therefore, while Stowell accounts for all of the

¹⁷ The XP can be an AP, PP, VP or an NP.

realizations of SCs as in examples (44) through (47), Contreras only accounts for two of them, as in examples (44) and (45), because they are [+V] predicates.

Stowell improves on his own XP-version of the small clause theory by proposing an IP-version in which the XP can be dominated by one or more categories such as IP or AgrP. This latest proposition accounts for the agreement between adjective and subject in languages such as Spanish, French, Italian, etc. The small clause analysis can thus be applied to these sentence types in Romance languages even though they occur much less frequently in these languages. The IP-version adapts itself to a Spanish small clause in the following way:

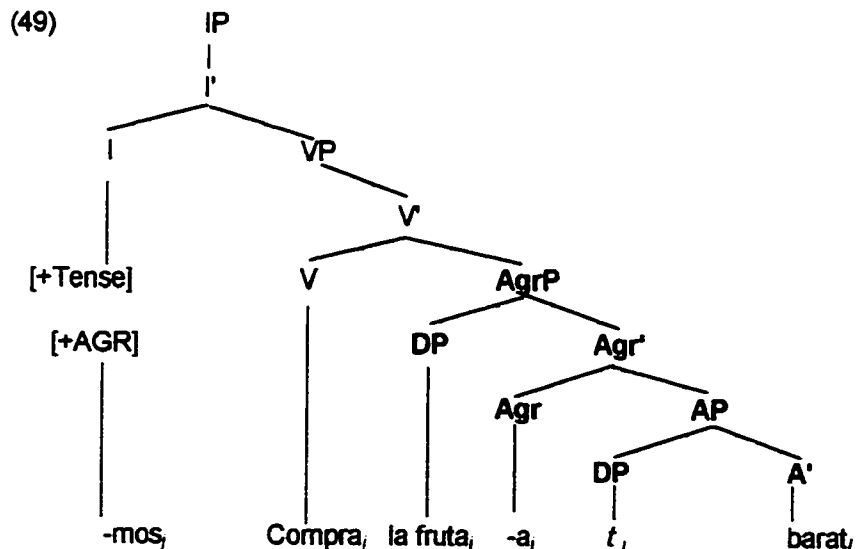


Stowell argues in favour of his IP-version over the XP-version in that it goes beyond the reach of the XP-version because it syntactically represents a small clause in the same way as a full clause, thus it assimilates the two. This

contrasts with the secondary predication theory that does not consider the SC constituents as part of the D-structure and therefore does not analyse them in the same way as a full clause.

Another central theme in the analysis of small clauses is that of subject. It is generally accepted that the subject of the small clause is not independently generated, but rather, it is produced through VP-raising (as in a full clause). Within this definition, Contreras argues that the subject of the small clause occupies the position of Specifier of the functional projection immediately dominating it in S-structure.

As illustrated in example (49), the AP contains the trace of its subject which, after DP-raising, is represented in the Specifier of the FP immediately dominating the AP. Thus, the subject of the small clause, in S-structure, is external to the small clause and not independently generated.



It has been proposed that resultatives may be analysed as forming small clauses (Rothstein 1983; Kayne 1985; Hoekstra 1988; Contreras 1987, 1995; etc.). In example (50a), the main verb does not take an NP complement but rather, it takes an SC:

(50a) He [V" scrubbed [SC [the floor] [A" clean]].

A review of the four types of resultatives in English (Napoli 1992) are illustrated in examples (51) – (54):

(51) The river froze [solid] (AP resultative predicated of the subject)

(52) She beat him [silly] (AP resultative predicated of the object)

(53) She laughed him [out of the room] (PP resultative)

(54) Sally cried herself [sick] (AP resultative with 'fake' object)

The bracketed items are the 'resultant' state and there are three possible realizations for the bracketed strings in English, PP, AP, and NP. While resultatives are both frequent and productive in English, the instance of these types of constructions is not productive in Spanish. The resultative realizations in Spanish are limited to a restricted group of either PP (as in example (55)) or AP resultatives.

(55) *Cortamos el pan en trozos*

Cut (1p.p.) the bread in pieces

'We sliced the bread'

Napoli makes this claim based on two arguments. First, a resultative of category XP is only possible if that same category can also occur in the position immediately following the direct object as a non-predicative argument. The

second argument is based on what Napoli calls the *rule of interpretation* that essentially dictates that the main verb must focus on the 'result' of the activity it denotes.

The range of the small clause theory has reached as far as including the analysis of AP resultative constructions, both in Spanish and English though the former, as mentioned above, has an extremely restricted use of such constructions. Stowell distinguishes two problems in the small clause analysis of resultatives in general. The first is how to interpret the two different types of AP resultatives and the second problem is how to fit the analysis for the two types. The two types of AP resultatives proposed by Stowell are the following:

(56) John cut his hair short.

(57) Mary beat John silly.

In (56), the main verb assigns a θ -role to the subject of the small clause and in (57), there is a 'causative' relationship between the main verb and the resultative's subject. Stowell himself admits that there are many important questions that remain unresolved in this particular extension of the small clause analysis that has been little explored.

The Spanish equivalents of the above constructions are questionable:

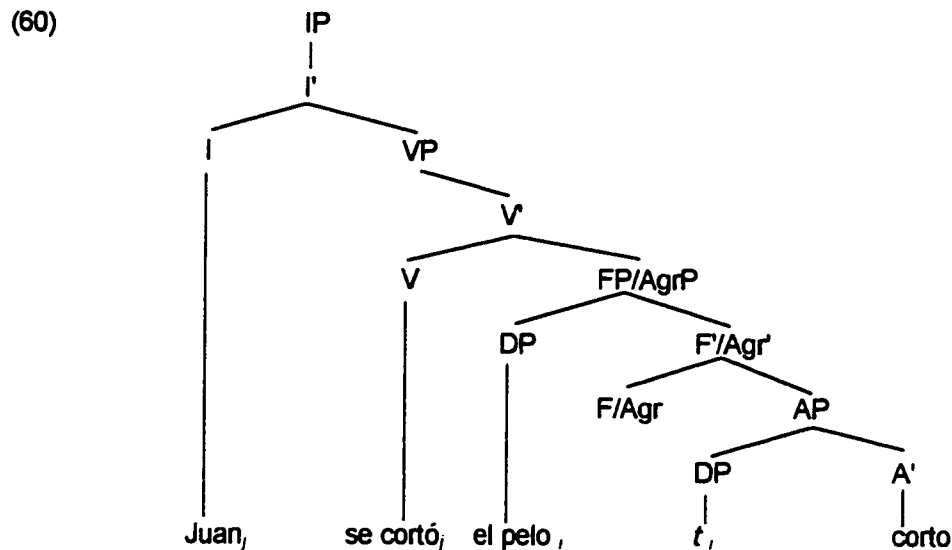
(58) ?Juan se cortó el pelo corto¹⁸

(59) *María le golpeó atontado

¹⁸ In accordance with Napoli's 'semantic interpretation' for resultatives in Romance languages, this sentence will be accepted by native speakers more frequently with an intensifier, as in:
Juan se cortó el pelo *muy* corto

The latter is utterly ungrammatical and the former is redundant but questionably acceptable. Sentence (58) may be interpreted as wishing to emphasize the end result of the action.

If we are to fit these sentences into the small clause model given by Contreras, they must be represented as in (60):



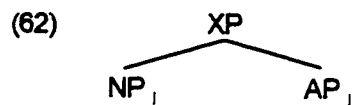
We have seen that the syntactic category of small clauses is the maximal projection of the category of their predicate. They are both D-structure constituents and, as Stowell illustrates, can be structurally treated in the same way as full clauses. The SUBJECT of the small clause is produced through VP-raising and is not independently generated. The trace of the subject can be seen in the Specifier position of its predicate XP (an AP as in (60)) but in the S-structure is raised to the Specifier position of the FP directly dominating the XP.

2.2.2 Resultatives as secondary predication

The predication theory (Williams 1980; Mallén 1991) analyses sentences such as the one in example (61) in this way:

(61) Graham scrubbed [the floor] [clean]

The bracketed strings are treated as secondary predicates and not, as in the small clause analysis, categorised as D-structure constituents with the same structural representation as a full clause. Mallén distinguishes two types of possible secondary predication, object-oriented (O-) secondary predicates and subject-oriented (S-) secondary predicates. The O-secondary predicates appear structurally as sisters to the complement of the verb, whereas S-secondary predicates appear as sisters to the subject of the main VP to which they are attached. Mallén illustrates this proposal with the following configuration:



In this way, he distinguishes a secondary predicate as occurring when "a non-argument projection is linked to an argument theta-marked by another lexical head either directly or indirectly". Given these criteria, the bracketed string in (61) represents an O-secondary predicate in which *the floor* is the complement NP to the verb and *clean* is the secondary predicate. An example of S-secondary predicate is best represented in the Spanish sentence in example (63):

(63) Luisa bailó [el tango] [desnuda].
'Luisa danced the tango naked'

While *el tango* is a complement of the verb, *desnuda* attaches itself to the VP at the subject level because it is a sister of its subject, *Luisa*. The fundamental difference between the predication theory and the small clause analysis is the way in which they treat the bracketed strings. The predication theory considers them as arguments of the verb versus the small clause analysis that represents them structurally the same as a full clause.

Clearly, there is no agreement on how to analyse resultatives. The structural analysis provided by the small clause analysis is useful for visualising the two predications while Snyder's interpretation is useful for determining the semantic link between the main verb and the endpoint; the theories are not completely incompatible. The present study, however, will mainly focus on Snyder's interpretation of complex predicates.

3. The 'compounding parameter' in L2 acquisition

The present chapter deals with the 'compounding parameter' and its implications on L2 acquisition. The first section of the chapter will deal with Snyder's (1995,1996) L1 data, which supports his claim that a parametric relationship between N-N compounds and complex predicates exists. The second section will treat the non-native Spanish of English speakers by hypothesising about the status of resultatives and N-N compounds in their Spanish IL. These hypotheses will be made in terms of the role of the L1, the initial state of their L2, the level of development of their Spanish, and ultimate attainment. The third section of this chapter will discuss the results of a pilot study upon which the present thesis was based.

3.1 Snyder's data

In order to support his proposal in favour of a parametric relationship between productive root compounding such as the type exhibited in Noun-Noun (N-N) compounds and complex predicates, Snyder (1995) provides L1 acquisition data taken from the CHILDES database. Snyder and Stromswold (1997) provide a longitudinal survey of the spontaneous data of twelve children acquiring American English as a first language. The data from both studies show the following two things. First, that there is a correlation between the age of acquisition of complex predicates and the age at which the first novel, or non-lexical, productive root compounding is uttered. Second, that there is

indeed an interrelationship between the group of complex predicates outlined in Chapter 2 and repeated below in examples (1) through (7):

- (1) Graham *scrubbed* the floor *clean*. (Resultative)
- (2) George *handed* his essay *in*. (Verb-particle)
- (3) Lucas *gave* her *flowers*. (Double object dative)
- (4) Lucas *gave* flowers *to his mother*. (To-dative)
- (5) He *made* her *smile*. (Make-causative)
- (6) He *saw* her *smile*. (Perceptual report)
- (7) Rafael *put* the jacket *on the chair*. (Put-locative)¹⁹

These data provide evidence that the onset of the group of complex predicates can be predicted with a certain degree of accuracy once the child utters its first novel N-N compound such as those in examples (8) and (9):

- (8) tattoo man (Adam)
- (9) animal cup (Allison)²⁰

In this way, Snyder maintains that the child's first novel N-N compound is what heralds the onset of the complex predicates in (1) to (7). He proposes this as evidence in support of the claim that these seven types of complex predicates are acquired as a group. He maintains that the grammatical concept that children have acquired when they begin producing English complex predicates is the information that English allows open-class non-affixal items to be marked [+affixal], that is, productive root compounding. This type of

¹⁹ To reiterate from chapter 2, examples (1) - (3) are those outlined in Snyder (1995) and then in Snyder and Stromswold (1997) the range of complex predicates is extended to include all of the complex predicates in (1) - (7).

productive root compounding is the type used in N-N compounds. The L1 data provided evidence indicating that the age at which the child produced its first non-lexical N-N compound was significantly related to the age at which the child also produced each one of the complex predicates for the first time (Snyder 1995).

3.2 The Spanish L2 of English speakers: hypotheses

The present study will extrapolate Snyder's (1995) claim for L1 acquisition and the 'compounding parameter' and apply it to L2 acquisition centering on the way in which the stages of development of language acquisition are represented in the L2 learner's grammar. The four major theoretical streams that deal with the degree of transfer or influence from the L1 when acquiring an L2 as well as the degree, if any, of access to Universal Grammar (UG) have been outlined in Chapter 2. The first model, that of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996), maintains that the L2 initial state is equal to the L1 final state, with *full transfer*. This means that all of the principles and parameters activated in the L1 are transferred at once into the TL. Next, as the learner is faced with input data from the TL that cannot be represented in their L1, they are required to 'restructure' their new grammar - where each point of restructuring is a new level of IL - by accessing UG, thus with *full access*. This implies that learners coming from a [+affixal] L1 will have a [+affixal] initial state and that on the basis of the input from their L2 they will set the [-affixal]

²⁰ These examples from Snyder (1995) are taken from the CHILDES database.

option. The second model, the Weak Transfer/Valueless Feature hypothesis of Eubank, maintains that at the initial state of L2, all of the features of the L1 are transferred except for those functional categories marked [+strong]. Advancement in the L2 means that the learner has to acquire the appropriate inflectional morphology in the TL. It would be difficult to make a specific hypothesis derived by this model unless we were to assume that [+affixal] was the [+strong] feature. The third model, the Minimal Trees/Gradual Transfer hypothesis of Vainikka and Young-Scholten, claims that only lexical categories are transferred from the L1 at the initial state; no functional categories are transferred at this stage. Essentially, they maintain that the L2 initial state consists of a VP shell and as the L2 develops, functional projections are layered on top of the initial VP shell as they are triggered by lexical items. Here, the initial state would presumably be the N-N compounds and the resultatives would be added on as development in the L2 progressed. The fourth model, Full Access (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono 1996), claims that L1 and L2 acquisition proceed in the same way because adults have the same access to UG as do children. Thus, L2 learners will follow the same pattern as L1 learners. As in Snyder's proposal, therefore, this implies that the L2 learner will trigger the [+/-affixal] option of the parameter based on whether or not there are N-N compounds in the language. The Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono model will hereafter be called the *default option*. While all four models deal with functional categories, the basic principles can be adjusted so that we can formulate hypotheses and apply them to the

compounding parameter. All four models maintain full access to UG in a non-native grammar. The implication of having full access to UG in the L2, if this indeed implies the total resetting of parameters, is that every parameter would be able to be reset provided it was instantiated with the proper trigger. The present study will test the Full Transfer/Full Access model of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) and the Full Access or default option model of Epstein, Flynn, and Martohardjono (1996) because, out of the four, they are the ones which are most suitable for the 'compounding parameter' because they are not restricted to Functional Categories or Features. The hypotheses will be outlined in the proceeding paragraphs.

The 'compounding parameter' conforms to classical parameter (Chomsky 1981) where it is applicable to various grammatical constructions (the properties of the parameter). It has implications across languages and is relevant to L2 acquisition as follows: first, it is subject to the subset condition in that the English and French subjects would only acquire the [+affixal] option in their Spanish IL if they were to receive positive evidence indicating that this option were available in the language. Second, Snyder founds the parameter on word formation, which one could term as one of the most basic levels of learnability (Liceras, forthcoming). The 'compounding parameter' is classified into two options, the [+affixal] option and the [-affixal] option. Therefore, languages can be classified as either having one option or the other. According to the subset condition (Berwick 1985), a language that has the [+affixal] option available, also has the [-affixal] option available, whereas a

language without the [+affixal] would only have the [-affixal] option. Therefore, the [-affixal] option is the default option of the parameter, as in Table 1. The claim can be summarised as in Table 1:

TABLE 1.

	+affixal	-affixal
Spanish	NO	YES
French	NO	YES
English	YES	YES

According to this, Spanish and French child grammar represents the default option and English children have to fix the marked option on the basis of positive evidence. That is, a child is going to opt for the [-affixal] option of the 'compounding parameter' until it receives and processes the data that will trigger the marked option which is [+affixal] to be set. In short, the child will not produce complex predicates until it knows that N-N compounds are productive in the given language. Productive N-N compounds are the triggers in the L1 input data, which tell the child that its language is either affixal or non-affixal. The parameter is instantiated upon receiving this positive evidence. As discussed in the preceding section, Snyder (1995) claims that the moment the child produces its first non-lexical N-N compound is the moment when that child will also begin producing complex predicates. In L2 acquisition, one can therefore assume that N-N compounds also serve as the trigger in the input

data which give the L2 learner the knowledge that the target language (TL) in question is either affixal or non-affixal.

Given the affixal/non-affixal language contrast that the 'compounding parameter' distinguishes, it is possible to make hypotheses about the role of the L1 in L2 acquisition. Grouping, then, English as the [+affixal] option and French and Spanish as the [-affixal] option, the following hypotheses can be assumed regarding the Spanish L2 of French and English speakers:

English learners of Spanish - initial state/early learners:

1. Initial state = full transfer/full access. English speakers learning Spanish will transfer the [+affixal] option from their L1 and will therefore both accept and produce N-N compounds and resultatives in Spanish.

2. Initial state = default option. The Spanish L2 input data will not provide the English learners with the positive evidence needed to trigger the [+affixal] (non-default) option of the parameter. Therefore, English learners will not produce nor accept N-N compounds and complex predicates at the early stages of their L2 Spanish.

English learners of Spanish - later stages:

1. Later learners = full transfer/full access. At this stage, the English learners of Spanish will have had enough exposure to the TL to know that the [+affixal] option is not available in Spanish. At this later stage,

they will neither accept nor produce N-N compounds or complex predicates, even the exceptional cases.

2. Later stage = default option. English learners of Spanish will continue to choose the default option. The exceptional cases of N-N compounds and resultatives will only be accepted as such at this point if their L2 Spanish input data has provided these constructions for them.

Furthermore, considering the Full Transfer/Full Access model of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) would predict that the early English learner of Spanish would still be producing and accepting N-N compounds, one can make the following additional prediction. That the advanced learners will be distinguished from the beginners in that they will no longer be producing or accepting N-N compounds and complex predicates because they have, at that stage in development, presumably set the parameter to the Spanish value. The exceptional cases of Spanish N-N compounds and resultatives can only be incorporated into the non-native Spanish if the learner is exposed to it. At what level are such exceptional lexical items entered into the L2 learner's non-native grammar? When treating the exceptional cases of Spanish N-N compounds, it must be pointed out that, for the most part, these examples are regular in that they are left-headed. However, there do exist some cases of Spanish N-N compounds that, like English-type compounds, are right-headed as in examples (10) and (11):

(10) video juego (video game)

(11) video club (video rental store)

One can predict that examples such as the ones above, which were included in data elicitation tasks, will be accepted by the English learners at the early stages, that is, by the beginner subjects. Presumably, the advanced English learners would not accept either right-headed or left-headed possible or impossible compounds. It is possible that the L2 data provided in an institutional setting may not provide the learner with this specific input. Perhaps only near-native speakers and learners acquiring Spanish in a natural setting will receive the proper input data and therefore learn these exceptional items as such if at all.

When considering levels of development in second language acquisition, naturally the ultimate success is to perform like a native speaker of the target language (TL). When considering the various levels of proficiency of a given L2 learner, it must necessarily be compared to a native speaker's performance in the language. However, as is well known, there is, more often than not, variability in judgements among native speakers of the same language. As indicated above, Birdsong (1992) and White and Genesee (1996) predict that, given the right circumstances, an L2 learner can achieve native-like proficiency. On the other hand, Coppieters (1987) and Johnson and Newport (1991) claim that near-native subjects cannot perform like native speakers of the language. When a non-native speaker reaches a level of development of the L2 in which their performance is apparently native-like, to

what extent is it native-like? Furthermore, will there be differences depending on the area of grammar that one is dealing with? Turning to the 'compounding parameter' and L2 acquisition, it is fair to assume that in order for an L2 learner of Spanish to perform like a native speaker, they must not only set the parameter for the [-affixal] option but must also learn the cases of non-productive Spanish N-N compounds and (some) complex predicates as, perhaps, exceptional vocabulary items. There are, then, two issues: first is the issue of fixing parameters and second is the issue of incorporating language specific items.

3.3 The role of the L1: the Spanish L2 of French speakers

The preceding section dealt primarily with the role of the L1 in the Spanish L2 of English speakers. The present section will contrast those predictions with an examination of the Spanish L2 of French speakers. Consider again the foundation of the 'compounding parameter'. The parameter is either set with the [+affixal] option, as in English, or the [-affixal] option as in French and Spanish. Contrasting the two subject groups into their respective language category (according to the 'compounding parameter'), affixal/non-affixal, the French group represents the non-affixal language and the English group represents the affixal language. Given Spanish is a non-affixal language, hypotheses about the role of the L1 for the French subjects can be outlined in the following way:

French learners of Spanish - initial state/early learners:

1. Initial state = full transfer/full access. While the English learners of Spanish will have to let go of an option, the French learners will not have to do so. Beginner French learners of Spanish will neither accept nor produce N-N compounds and complex predicates because the parametric option of their L1 is that of [-affixal].

2. Initial state = default option. The Spanish L2 input data will not provide the French learners with the positive evidence needed to trigger the [+affixal] (non-default) option of the parameter. Therefore, French learners will not produce nor accept N-N compounds and complex predicates at the early stages of their L2 Spanish. According to the default option then, all adult learners will treat them as a child would in the L1.

French learners of Spanish - later stages:

1. Later learners = full transfer/full access. At this stage, the French learners of Spanish will have had enough exposure to the TL to know with accuracy that the [+affixal] option is not available in Spanish. At this later stage, they will neither accept nor produce N-N compounds or complex predicates, even the exceptional cases. The French subjects will, therefore, continue choosing the [-affixal] option. However, with the exceptional cases of N-N compounds that coincide with those in French, the learner will choose to accept the aberrant N-N compound.

2. Later stage = default option. French learners of Spanish will continue choosing the default option. The exceptional cases of Spanish N-N compounds and complex predicates may or may not have been incorporated into their non-native Spanish at this stage.

If the subset condition plays a role in second language acquisition, the French and English learners of Spanish will not set the parameter as [+affixal] unless they receive the positive evidence needed to do so in their Spanish input. While there do exist some non-productive cases of N-N compounds and resultatives in Spanish, they will not be enough for the learners to posit the [+affixal] option in the parameter. Presumably, the French subjects will choose the [-affixal] option from the initial state on both accounts, be it because of transfer from their L1 or because of the default option. According to the full transfer/full access model (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996), the English subjects, however, will transfer the [+affixal] option from their L1 to their L2 initial state. On the other hand, if one were to follow the default option hypothesis, the English subjects will choose the [-affixal] option even at the early stages, exactly as the French learners. The results for these tests, however, will exhibit some 'noisy' data because all of the subjects were bilingual (English and French) to greater or lesser extents. This knowledge of another L2 will mean that even before their initial exposure to Spanish every subject was aware of both the affixal and non-affixal parametric options. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the level of bilingualism of each subject was carefully

assessed in order to determine whether a high level of bilingualism also meant a change in results based on our predictions of how the French as opposed to the English subjects would treat these constructions²¹.

In order to test the hypotheses, two types of data elicitation tasks were administered to a cross-sectional sample. One task was a Grammaticality Judgements Task and the other was a Translation Task. The target grammatical areas that were incorporated into the tests were possible and impossible Spanish resultatives as well as possible and impossible Spanish N-N compounds. The structure of the tasks and the results of this cross-sectional study will be detailed in Chapter 4.

The subjects were made up of L1 speakers of English and L1 speakers of French learning Spanish. Since English was the affixal language and French and Spanish were the non-affixal languages, the language pairing encompassed not only English/Spanish but also extended to the English/French subject contrast in terms of how the two different language groups dealt with these restricted constructions in their Spanish IL. The French and English subjects' results were examined in terms of their scores as well as contrasted to one another. In other words, the French subjects provided a diagnostic whereby the process of acquisition of complex predicates and N-N compounds in Spanish can be contrasted between

²¹ The White and Genesee (1996) study aimed at determining whether or not so-called near-native speakers actually exhibited native-like proficiency in terms of their ultimate attainment. Our study uses their method of evaluating native-like competence in order to evaluate the level of bilingualism of our subjects. In this way, while we modelled our 'nativeness interviews' and method of evaluation after the White and Genesee study, our goals were quite different.

learners coming from a non-affixal language such as Spanish and learners coming from an affixal language such as English.

Before conducting the present study, a pilot study was carried out using some slightly different target constructions. Based on the insights gained from the results of the pilot study we were able to make predictions for the 'compounding parameter in second language acquisition'. The following section is a discussion of the pilot study.

3.4 Pilot study

A pilot study was conducted on a cross-sectional sample in which small clauses, resultatives and N-N compounds were the target Spanish constructions. Like the main study, this pilot project was also a subpart of the SSHRC funded research project "The Specific Nature of Non-Native Grammars" headed by Prof. J.M Licerias. The central aim of the pilot study was to investigate the role of morphology in the acquisition of L2 Spanish syntax.

The subject sample was made up of both French and English learners of Spanish at the university level and were distributed in the following way: five English beginner learners of Spanish, five French beginner learners of Spanish, five English advanced learners, and five French advanced learners as well as five control subjects all of whom were from Spain. Their selection and participation in the study was done in compliance with the Ethics Committee of the University of Ottawa as required by all SSHRC funded

research projects. All of the subjects were asked to fill out a questionnaire (APPENDIX 2) which allowed us to assess what was their L1.

The data elicitation tasks consisted of Preference Judgements (PJ) Tasks and Grammaticality Judgements (GJ) Tasks but the current discussion will be restricted to the two-part GJ tasks (APPENDIX 1) as they yielded more robust results than the PJ tasks. The GJ tasks included grammatically possible and impossible Spanish sentences with the following target constructions: resultatives, N-N compounds, complex predicates, determiners, N-drop, and infinitivals. It was only the resultatives and N-N compounds that concerned the 'compounding parameter' specifically. The tasks were made up of three steps. First, the subject was presented with a Spanish sentence and was asked whether they found it 'acceptable' or 'not acceptable'. If they felt that the given sentence was unacceptable, they were asked to correct it. Finally, they were asked to translate all of the sentences into their L1.

Sentences such as (12) were not included because they were not related to N-N compounds as in Snyder's study. The problem we found with this type of complex predicate structure was that there was no apparent link with the N-N compounds. That is, there is no [+/-affixal] marking for this predicate. As mentioned in chapter 2, there is no agreement on how to analyse this type of construction.

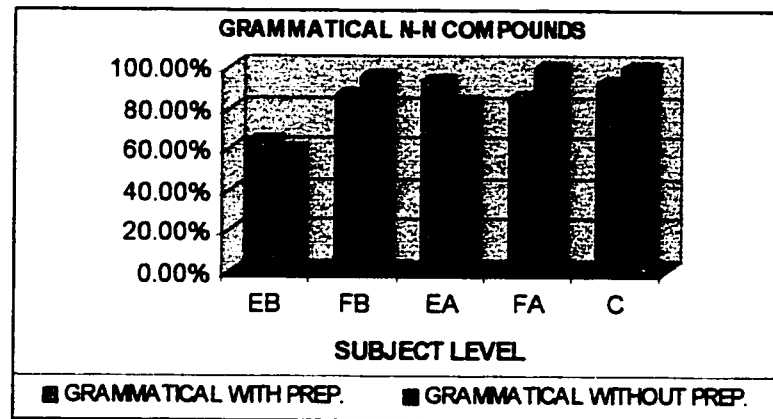
- (12) Considero a Juan inteligente
 Consider (1p.s.) to John intelligent
 'I consider John intelligent'

For the most part, the English subjects would translate the sentence in (12) as in example (13)

(13) I consider John *to be* intelligent

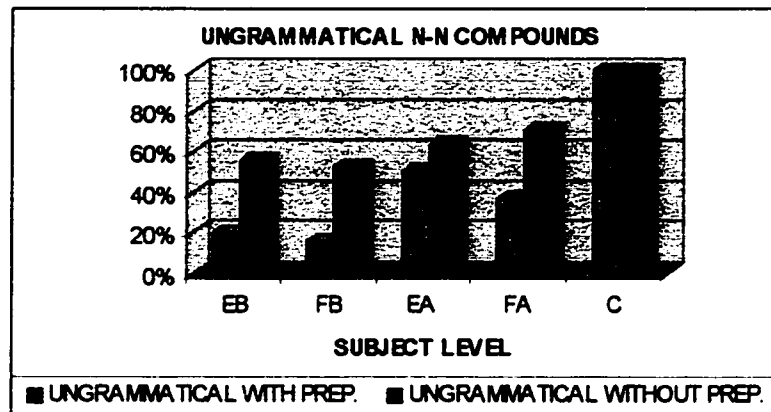
Clearly, *intelligent* is not affixed to the verb *consider* as in a resultative construction. If one is to assume that Snyder (1995) is correct in maintaining that the same type of affixation, that of items that are marked [-affixal], is involved in N-N compounds as in complex predicates then this type of construction is excluded. In fact, on the basis of this we reconsidered the issue of the different types of complex predicates and decided upon resultatives because of the affixal relationship between them and complex predicates and their having clearer counterparts in the three target languages.

The results obtained by the subjects in the pilot did not display a clear-cut relationship between N-N compounds and complex predicates nor did they show any evidence of native-like competence on the part of the advanced speakers. The results for the grammatical N-N compounds are illustrated in TABLE 2. The scores shown indicate the amount of correct answers by the given subject groups. This table shows the results for the exceptional cases of grammatical N-N compounds in Spanish as well as the regular *de*-construction variety.

TABLE 2.

The data indicate that the English subjects display a higher level of transfer of the [+affixal] option of their L1 at the Beginner stage for the N-N compounds as well as for the resultatives compared to their advanced counterparts. This shows a higher level of transfer of the [+affixal] option at the early stage and consequent acceptance of N-N compounds in Spanish without the prepositional modifier. However, as in TABLE 3, the French Beginner subjects achieved lower scores than the English Beginners which could disprove the transfer effect explanation given that French is a non-affixal language. On the other hand, the French subjects all had a high level of knowledge of English as an L2 which may have interfered with their Spanish. In fact, the English subjects also knew French. The results for the ungrammatical N-N compounds (TABLE 3) were more indicative of the actual level of competence of the subject groups in terms of Beginner versus Advanced in that there is a slight but positive increase in the results.

TABLE 3.



These ungrammatical N-N compounds were cases of exceptional N-N compounds in Spanish to which we inserted the preposition *de* in order to give it the regular Spanish construction, as in examples (14a) and (14b):

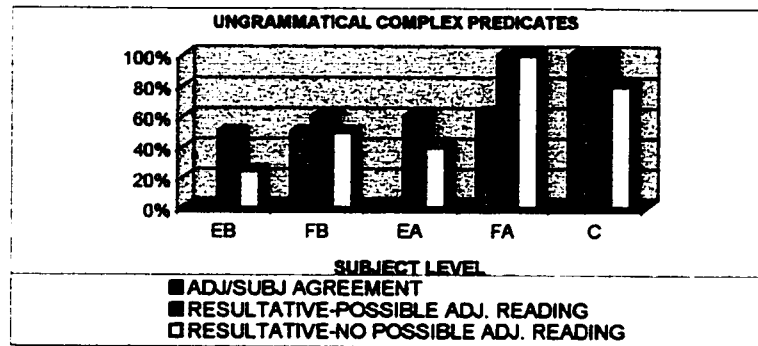
(14a) papel carbón

(14b) *papel de carbón

The Beginner and Advanced French subjects achieved slightly lower scores than their anglophone counterparts in the cases of ungrammatical *de*-construction compounds in Spanish. This indicates a positive transfer from their [-affixal] L1 which, despite the fact that these are ungrammatical, are accepted because they have the prepositional modifier.

The results for the ungrammatical resultatives are shown in TABLE 4. By ungrammatical resultatives we mean that it is a Spanish sentence with an English-type resultative construction.

TABLE 4.



The above results show a high level of positive transfer from French, the non-affixal language, into Spanish. The English subjects on both levels achieved lower scores than the French. This is not surprising given that these constructions are more complex than the N-N compounds. The results from the ungrammatical complex predicates were more telling than the other types of constructions.

In the main study we decided to proceed as follows: First, the target constructions were restricted to equal numbers of possible and impossible N-N compounds evenly distributed among left-headed and right-headed examples and equal numbers of possible and impossible resultatives. These two types of constructions proved to be best suited to translations in Spanish for reasons that will be outlined in Chapter 4. Second, the sentences were kept short (between seven and eight words) and the vocabulary simple²² in order to specifically target our syntactic issues and avoid any difficulty on the part of

²² In addition to maintaining the vocabulary simple, we provided the subjects with a Spanish/French/English vocabulary list (APPENDIX 7).

the subjects in terms of the length and vocabulary of some of the sentences. Third, two near-native groups were also added to the main study in order to test hypotheses in ultimate attainment. Finally, the subjects underwent a Nativeness Interview (as in White and Genesee 1996) in which their level of knowledge of their L2 (be it French or English) was carefully monitored. The above will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

4. The study

In order to test the predictions outlined in Chapter 3, both English and French learners of Spanish, at three different levels of proficiency, were given two types of data elicitation tasks, Translation Tasks and Grammaticality Judgements Tasks. The data elicitation involved both possible and impossible Spanish resultatives and possible and impossible Spanish N-N compounds. The tests were given individually and were administered in a controlled environment. Both tests were given to the subjects in order to gain a more complete picture of the L2 learner's non-native linguistic system. These two types of data elicitation tasks were used for several reasons. First, the GJ tasks have long been employed for assessing the status of syntactic and morphological items in primary (McDaniel et al. 1996) and non-primary grammars (Birdsong 1989). Second, this type of data elicitation technique allowed us to evaluate the subject's opinion of the target syntactic and morphological constructions as well as whether or not the subject was ascribing the correct meaning to the possible and impossible Spanish resultatives and N-N compounds (Liceras 1986). Third, the TR tasks were used as a supplement to the GJ in order to assess the degree of interference from their English or French L2, depending on the subject, in their non-native Spanish.

4.1 Subjects

The subjects were 12 English-speaking learners of Spanish and 12 French-speaking learners of Spanish as well as four Control subjects all of whom were from Spain as shown in TABLE 1.

TABLE 1.

SUBJECT²³ / CODE	AGE RANGE (at the time of the test)	L1	LEVEL OF SPANISH	INSTITUTION or COUNTRY
Jacinto / EB1	18-25	English	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Gerardo / EB2	18-25	English	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Simona / EB3	17-25	English	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Esteban / EB4	17-25	English	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Raquel / EA1	18-25	English	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Daniela / EA2	18 - 25	English	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Estrella / EA3	26-40	English	Advanced	University of Ottawa
María / EA4	26-40	English	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Jorge / ENN1	26-40	English	Near-native	n/a
Tania / ENN2	26-40	English	Near-native	n/a
Susi / ENN3	18-25	English	Near-native	n/a
Marco / ENN4	12-17	English	Near-native	n/a
Francisco / FB1	18-25	French	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Máximo / FB2	18-25	French	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Isabel FB3	26-40	French	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Elisa FB4	18-25	French	Beginner	University of Ottawa
Isis / FA1	18-25	French	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Marifé / FA2	18-25	French	Advanced	University of Ottawa
María Cristina / FA3	18-25	French	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Rosa / FA4	18-25	French	Advanced	University of Ottawa
Daria / FNN1	26-40	French	Near-native	n/a
Juanma / FNN2	40+	French	Near-native	n/a
Silvia / FNN3	40+	French	Near-native	n/a
Luis / FNN4	40+	French	Near-native	n/a
Antonio / C1	26-40	Spanish	Native	Spain
Vicente / C2	40+	Spanish	Native	Spain/Canada
Ester / C3	18-25	Spanish	Native	Spain
Marta / C4	18-25	Spanish	Native	Spain

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

All of the subjects except for the near-native group were taking a Spanish language course at the University of Ottawa; the average age was between 19 and 25 years. Their participation in the study and subsequent selection

was carried out in accordance with the Ethics Committee of the University of Ottawa as required by SSHRC funded research projects. A questionnaire (APPENDIX 2) was given to each subject in order to screen them in terms of what was their dominant language at home, at school, and at the workplace and whether or not the subjects had lived in or visited a Spanish-speaking country.²⁴

Because the 'compounding parameter' hypothesis involves the grouping of affixal/non-affixal languages, we wanted the subjects' L1 be clearly defined. This was a real challenge because all of the subjects from the beginner and advanced groups had grown up in a bilingual (French/English) education system in Ontario or Quebec and, consequently, had knowledge of both languages²⁵. It was, then, important to determine what was their level of bilingualism and what was their dominant language. With this end, in addition to the questionnaire, further dominant language screening was carried out through a set of audio taped interviews (White and Genesee 1996). Each subject was presented with a set of illustrated images for which they had to tell a story in both French and English separately; the illustration was different for the French and English interviews (APPENDIX 3). The subject was audio-taped as they told the story and the tapes were then edited and given to

²³ All of the subjects were given Spanish names as their project identification name.

²⁴ The present study is a subpart of the larger research project "The Specific Nature of Non-Native Grammars" (SSHRC # 410-96-0326) directed by Prof. J.M Liceras at the University of Ottawa.

²⁵ We could have tried looking for total monolinguals but both the overall project and our own interests were geared towards investigating L2 acquisition in Canada and this is the typical situation.

native judges from each language respectively to listen to. The judges were then asked to rank the level of nativeness of each of the subjects individually based on the following five items: syntax, morphology, phonology, vocabulary, and overall fluency. The judges were also given a subject evaluation form (APPENDIX 4) in which they rated the subjects based on the five items on a scale of one to twenty (where twenty is native competence). The scores for each subject were calculated and, based on that score, their dominant language, be it French or English as well as their level of bilingualism was determined. Because English represents the marked option of the compounding parameter, it was extremely important to determine the level of bilingualism so that we could take into consideration possible transfer from the L2 other than Spanish²⁶. The scores given to the subjects by the native judges (three French and three English) are shown in TABLES 2.1 and 2.2. The subjects' level of competence in Spanish was measured on the basis of the SGEL standardised placement test for Spanish (APPENDIX 5). All of the subjects were asked to take this two-part test. The two parts consisted of one part of fifteen oral questions with written multiple choice answers and the other part of eighty-five written multiple choice statements with answers. Subjects who placed between 50% and 70% in the SGEL were considered beginners and from 80% onward they were classified as advanced learners. The number of French speakers and English speakers in each subject group

²⁶ Spanish is a foreign language (FL) for our subjects because it is learned in an institution in a country where that language is not spoken. English and French, depending on the subject, is the L2 because in Ontario and Quebec there is submersion in that language.

was equal, that is, four of each of the two language groups in each of the three competence levels.

The near-native subjects were also divided into the L1 French speakers and the L1 English speakers; all were given the nativeness interview as well. They were considered near-native of Spanish based on the following criteria. All four of the L1 English near-native speakers had been exposed to Spanish from birth and, though they were all living in an English speaking country before and at the time of the test, their home environment was and had always been a Spanish-speaking one. However, their dominant language was obviously English. In the case of the L1 French near-native speakers, two had learned Spanish as early adolescents (Juanma and Daría) and the other two as adults (Silvia and Luis) but all had been living in a Spanish environment for over ten years. Both Juanma and Daría had even worked in Spanish environments over the course of the past ten years. In this way, their near-nativeness was not based on age of arrival in target language country (as in the studies conducted by Coppieters 1989; Birdsong 1992; White and Genesee 1996) but rather, on their age of initial exposure to Spanish and on the amount and context of exposure to Spanish they were receiving at the time of the study ,as well as our own assessment.

As the scores from the nativeness tests indicate, all of the subjects who according to the questionnaires were classified as anglophones were indeed ranked as native speakers of English by the judges with the exception of three discrepancies (TABLE 2.1).

TABLE 2.1 - English L1

SUBJECT/ CODE	EVALUATION FOR ENGLISH ²⁷				EVALUATION FOR FRENCH			
	JUDGE #1	JUDGE #2	JUDGE #3	MEAN SCORE	JUDGE #1	JUDGE #2	JUDGE #3	MEAN SCORE
Jacinto EB1	20	20	20	20	4.2	15.2	10.6	10
Gerardo EB2	20	20	20	20	19.8	19.8	16	18.5
Simona EB3	20	15.6	20	18.5	11.2	15.4	8.2	11.6
Esteban EB4	20	20	20	20	12.8	18.2	10.2	13.7
Raquel EA1	19	18.8	14.2	17.3	11	18.6	10	13.2
Daniela EA2	19.8	17.6	20	19.1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Estrella EA3	20	20	20	20	2.6	14.6	9	8.7
María EA4	16.6	15.8	18.4	16.9	18.8	20	10.2	16.3
Jorge ENN1	20	19.8	19.8	19.9	6.4	17	11.6	11.7
Tania ENN2	20	20	19.6	19.9	6.4	11	9	8.8
Susi ENN3	20	12.6	20	17.5	9.6	17	11.8	12.8
Marco ENN4	20	17.8	20	19.3	5	15.2	13	11.1

These discrepancies are the low scores given to María and Susi by Judge #2 and the low score given to Raquel by Judge #3. In the case of Susi who was given a perfect score of 20 and Raquel an extremely high score by the two other judges, the one low score can be ruled as human error on the part of the judges. In the case of María, however, it is less clear-cut. Her mean score for English is not exactly that of a native speaker nor is it the case in her French either. This is due to the fact that while she considers herself an anglophone, her English has a particular accent that is typical of the neighbourhood of

²⁷ The judges were asked to evaluate the five different areas on a scale of 1 to 20 where 20 represented a total native proficiency level in the given language.

Montreal in which she grew up. This may have thrown off the judges²⁸. In terms of the level of French L2 for the English subjects, Gerardo was the only one who got a high score. In the case of Gerardo, however, this high level of French does not manifest itself in his Spanish FL as will be evident in the results from the data elicitation tests a little further on in this chapter.

TABLE 2.2 - French L1

SUBJECT/ CODE	EVALUATION FOR ENGLISH				EVALUATION FOR FRENCH			
	JUDGE #1	JUDGE #2	JUDGE #3	MEAN SCORE	JUDGE #1	JUDGE #2	JUDGE #3	MEAN SCORE
Máximo FB2	17.2	10.8	12.6	13.5	20	20	17.4	19.1
Isabel FB3	20	12.2	16.4	16.2	20	20	19	19.7
Elisa FB4	20	14.6	13.8	16.1	19.6	20	17	18.9
Isis FA1	16.8	12.2	15	14.7	20	20	19.9	19.9
Marifé FA2	20	16.6	19	18.5	19.8	20	19.6	19.8
María Cristina FA3	19	18.8	17.2	18.3	20	20	19.4	19.8
Rosa FA4	16.8	9.8	14.2	13.6	19.8	20	16.4	18.7
Darí FNN1	18.3	12	11.6	13.9	19.4	20	19.2	19.5
Juanma FNN2	10	9.2	11.6	10.3	19.8	19.4	13	17.4

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native

The French subjects were all clearly ranked as francophones by the French judges. However, Francisco, Marifé, and María Cristina were ranked as anglophones by the English judges. This high level of English, as will be shown later on in this chapter, will influence their Spanish.

²⁸ We decided against excluding Maria from the study because we knew this subject personally and in our opinion, and in hers, she was an anglophone.

4.2 Data elicitation

Translation tasks

The Translation Tasks (APPENDIX 6) were divided into two tests. Each test consisted of twenty grammatical English sentences, five of which contained resultatives, another five of which contained N-N compounds and the remaining ten sentences were distractors. There was never more than one instance of the type of target item on each page of the tests. Subjects were also asked not to look back on previous sentences but rather to continue forward. The sentences were given in English and the subjects, the English and the French as well as the control group, were asked to translate the sentence into Spanish. In order to minimise the amount of disqualified sentences due to the subjects', particularly the Beginners', lack of knowledge of certain words, the subjects were provided with a vocabulary list when writing the test (APPENDIX 7). The English sentences were all, of course, grammatical in English but not always possible resultatives or N-N compounds in Spanish. The results were judged on whether or not the subject expressed the meaning of the English sentence properly in Spanish.

In the case of the resultatives, the subject had to convey a resultative meaning correctly in their Spanish translation in order to be marked 'correct', as in example (1):

- (1) 1- Abby worried her mother sick
Abby preocupó a su madre hasta ponerla enferma

The resultative in (1) is not a possible one in Spanish but the meaning can be conveyed using the periphrastic construction with *hasta ponerla* (until making her) in order to convey a resultative meaning. While the Spanish translation is not in a true resultative construction, the sentence conveys a resultative 'meaning' in Spanish. Therefore, the Spanish translation in (1) is marked 'correct'. Still in the case of resultatives, the subject's translation was marked 'incorrect' if either the resultative meaning was not conveyed or the subject gave an incorrect resultative translation in Spanish, as in example (2a) and (2b):

- (2) 1- Abby *worried* her mother *sick*
- (2a) Abby *preocupó* a su madre (not resultative)
Abby *worried* her mother
- (2b) Abby *preocupó* a su madre *enferma* (not resultative)
Abby *worried* her sick mother

The Spanish translation in (2a) is marked incorrect because it does not express a resultative meaning even though it is a correct grammatical transitive sentence. The translation in (2b) is also marked incorrect for the same reason. The same sentence is possible, however, if given a depictive reading (e.g. *Abby worried her sick mother*) but for the present study is marked 'incorrect'. The adjectival meaning means that *sick* is modifying *her mother* rather than *sick* being the endpoint of the verb *worry*.

In the case of the N-N compounds, things were much more straightforward. The subject's translation was marked 'correct' if they added a prepositional modifier where one was needed and marked 'incorrect' if they did not add a preposition, as in examples (3a) and (3b):

- (3) 2- They live in a *country house*
- (3a) Viven en una *casa de campo* (correct)
- (3b) Viven en una *casa campo* (incorrect)

The subject's translation was also marked 'correct' if they gave the possible Spanish N-N compound but marked 'incorrect' if they added a preposition to such an example, as in examples (4a) and (4b):

- (4) 10- Cristina rents movies at the *video store*
- (4a) Cristina alquila películas en el *video club* (correct)
- (4b) Cristina alquila películas en el *club de video* (not an N-N compound)

Examples such as those in (4b) were marked 'incorrect' because the subject has rejected an N-N compound that is accepted in Spanish and chooses the prepositional modifier. The alternative construction in (4b) is a possible one in Spanish but is not used for this specific type of store.

Besides the 'correct' and 'incorrect' marks, there were some cases in which the subjects' translations had to be disqualified. Only a few of the items were disqualified and it was due to one of two reasons. First, if no translation was provided due to a lack of understanding of the English or means of expression in Spanish. Second, that the translation provided by the subject was not coherent in Spanish. The reasons for giving the subjects English sentences to translate into Spanish was two-fold. First, for the coherence of the study it was important to compare the results of the French and the English subjects in terms of being presented with an affixal option and having to translate it into a non-affixal option. Second, because resultatives are not possible in French and we therefore could not give them ungrammatical sentences to translate into Spanish. One might question the appropriateness

of giving English sentences to the French subjects for them to translate into Spanish. We found this the most appropriate way to proceed because of the fact that this is an experimental situation. In addition, the English vocabulary was kept simple so that it was merely a question of translating difficult English constructions but rather simple translations that they would do in everyday life in a bilingual country.

Grammaticality judgement tasks

The Grammaticality Judgement (GJ) Tasks (APPENDIX 8) were presented as a series of two booklets each containing forty Spanish sentences made up of both possible and impossible Spanish resultatives and possible and impossible Spanish N-N compounds. In each booklet there were ten resultatives and ten N-N compounds and the remaining twenty sentences were distractors. The booklet had only one sentence per page in order to minimise any looking back to preceding questions on the part of the subject. The instructions for the GJ tasks were as follows. The subjects were asked to read the Spanish sentence and judge whether they found the sentence acceptable or not. If they deemed the sentence unacceptable, they were asked to provide an acceptable version of it in Spanish. Finally, all of the subjects were asked to translate the sentence into their native language. In order to decrease the incidence of disqualified answers due to a deficiency in vocabulary knowledge, the sentences were kept quite short (between 7 and 9

words) and the vocabulary was kept relatively simple as well²⁹. In addition, a Spanish/English/French vocabulary list was provided for each subject (APPENDIX 6) in which English and French translations of some of the more difficult words were provided. Each of the sets of possible and impossible constructions were then subdivided into different categories.

The resultatives were divided into four groups. First they were divided into ten possible resultative constructions and ten impossible resultative constructions in Spanish. The ten impossible resultatives were subdivided into five with a possible adjectival interpretation where the adjective was placed directly after the noun and five without a possible adjectival reading where the adjective was placed directly after the verb. Placing the endpoint adjective directly after the noun complement is the word order that English resultatives exhibit but when translated directly into Spanish can be interpreted as an adjective modifying a noun rather than a resultative. The ten possible resultatives were also subdivided into two groups: one group consisting of two true resultatives in Spanish and another group consisting of eight periphrastic constructions with a resultative meaning. A sample of these groupings is outlined in (5a) through (5d):

²⁹ The sentences were formulated in order to fit the criteria necessary for the Response Latency tasks that we are currently working on for the project (Bley-Vroman and Masterson 1989, Beck 1997). This is a reaction time measure task that parts from the idea that an ungrammatical sentence is faster to process than a grammatical one. Essentially, it is an on-line test in which the subject is presented with a sentence at the top of the computer screen and after a short delay another sentence appears at the bottom of the screen. The subject must then press a key indicating whether the first sentence and the second sentence are 'matched' and the computer measures the response latency.

impossible Spanish resultatives:

- (5a) 7-*Cristina aburrió tiesos a los estudiantes (no possible adjectival reading)
 Cristina bored stiff to the students
 'Cristina bored the students stiff'
- (5b) 31- Pablo se frotó la cara limpia (possible adjectival reading)
 Pablo himself-scrubbed the face clean
 'Pablo scrubbed his face clean'

possible Spanish resultatives:

- (5c) 17-En esa tienda muelen el café fino (true resultative)
 In that store grind(3p.p.) the coffee fine
 'In that store they grind the coffee fine'
- (5d) 29-Lavó los platos hasta dejarlos impecables (periphrastic construction)
 (He/She)washed the dishes until leaving them impeccable
 'He/She washed the dishes until they were impeccably clean'

In example (5a), the Spanish sentence is completely ungrammatical. Placing the adjective *tiesos* directly after the verb eliminates the possibility of the adjective modifying the object *los estudiantes*. In this way, the adjective must be part of the verb and therefore a resultative interpretation is forced upon the subject. The sentence in example (5b), however, has the same word order as a resultative in English but can be interpreted in two ways in Spanish. Because the adjective *limpia* follows the object *la cara*, it can be interpreted as modifying the DP rather than forming part of the predicate. The translation that the subjects provided for each of the sentences revealed whether the subject was giving the sentence an adjectival reading or a resultative reading.

The twenty sentences containing N-N compounds were also divided into impossible N-N compounds and possible N-N compounds. The impossible N-N compounds were subdivided into two groups of five each. One group of five contained N-N compounds with an English word order, that

is right-headed root compounds. The other group of five contained N-N compounds with the left-headed Spanish word order for root compounds. The group of ten possible Spanish N-N compounds consists of nine possible Spanish compounds that are left-headed and one right-headed compound, *video juego* (video game). An example of each of these groups follows in (6a) to (6d):

impossible Spanish N-N compounds:

- (6a) 17- teléfono número (right-headed)
telephone-number
telephone number
- (6b) 1- tarta manzana (left-headed)
pie-apple
apple pie

possible Spanish N-N compounds:

- (6c) 38- perro salchicha (left-headed)
dog-wiener
wiener dog/dachshund
- (6d) 23- video juegos (right-headed)
video-games
video games

4.3 Procedure

Because the study involved the pairing of affixal/non-affixal languages, the sample was divided into six groups (not including the control group). First, the study was a cross-sectional one, so that the subjects were divided into eight Beginner learners, eight Advanced learners, and eight Near-natives. Next, they were further divided into four francophone subjects and four anglophone subjects in each of the three groups.

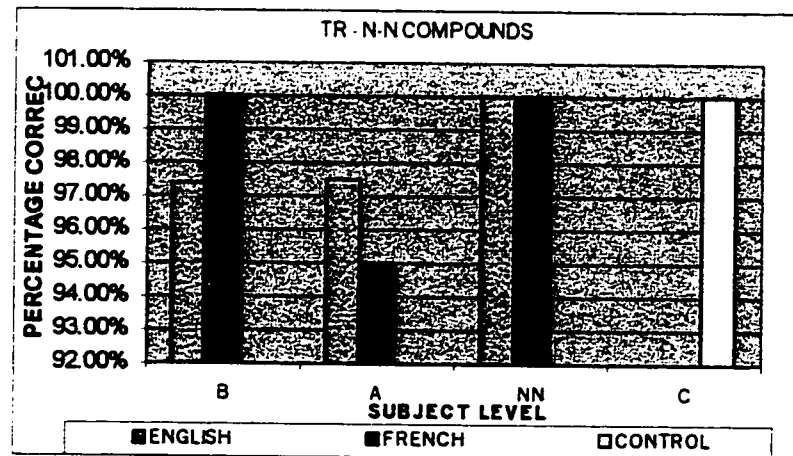
The reasons for the study concentrating on a cross-sectional sample as well as distinguishing between affixal L1 (English) vs. non-affixal L1 (French) among the subjects was twofold. First, the distinction between competence levels was made in order to determine if there was a particular level in the development of the non-native Spanish at which point the English subjects let go of the [+affixal] option of their L1 and began using the [-affixal] option of Spanish. Second, the subjects were carefully divided into anglophones and francophones in order to determine whether a difference existed between the way in which someone from an affixal L1, English, acquires the non-affixal option in their L2 and the way in which someone from a non-affixal L1, French, deals with the same constructions in the non-affixal FL. This study involves a change in directionality of the acquisition of complex predicates as in the 'compounding parameter' (Snyder 1995) because the English subjects have already set the parameter in question. In their non-native Spanish, the English subjects must learn to choose the [-affixal] option, that is, let go of their instinct to mark non-affixal items as [+affixal] which is so pervasive in their language. Comparing the English subjects' results with those of the French subjects allows for the contrasting of affixal and non-affixal L1.

4.4 Data Analysis: Translation tasks

The translations with N-N compounds (TABLE 3) were quite straightforward because of the fact that it is a lower level of structure than the resultative. All of the subjects fared better with these sentences than with the

more complicated resultatives. The Translation Tasks were corrected paying particular attention to the way in which each subject expressed the resultative construction or N-N compound in their non-native Spanish. The French subjects were asked to perform the exercise as well to compare their results with those of the English subjects and to determine whether there were any differences among the two L1 language groups.

TABLE 3 – COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: TR TASKS: N-N COMPOUNDS



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; TR=Translation Task

TABLE 3.1 – TR – N-N COMPOUNDS – ENGLISH L1

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(9/10)	10/10	(9/9)	(9/9)	10/10	10/10	10/10	(9/10)	10/10	10/10	10/10	10/10	(9/9)	10/10	10/10	10/10
90%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	90%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 3.2 –TR – N-N COMPOUNDS – FRENCH L1

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(6/6)	(9/9)	10/10	(9/9)	(9/10)	(9/10)	10/10	10/10	10/10	10/10	10/10	10/10	(9/9)	10/10	10/10	10/10
100%	100%	100%	100%	90%	90%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

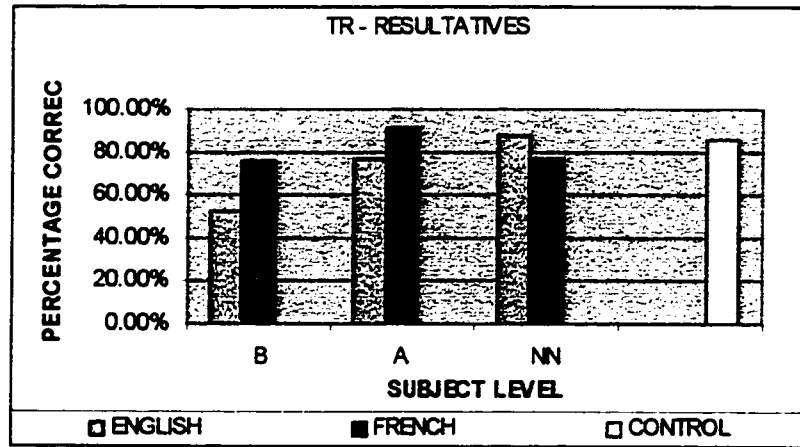
EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

Since all of the French subjects had a knowledge of English (see English evaluation chart, TABLE 2.1), it was important for us to determine to what extent they were considered bilingual and whether a high level of knowledge of English would entail interference into their Spanish L3.

For the English subjects, the results (TABLES 3.1 and 3.2) disconfirm the hypotheses based on the Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) model. The hypothesis predicts that at the early stages the English subjects will transfer the [+affixal] option into their Spanish L2 and that, as their non-native grammar develops and they receive the appropriate triggering data, they will modify their system accordingly. However, the data do not show a significant difference between the beginner and the advanced English subjects. Of course, this may be due to the fact that the beginner group was not exactly at the initial stage of their L2 but rather at an early stage. A different picture emerges when the English subjects were translating the English resultative into an impossible Spanish version. This was the case exactly half of the time. That is, they would give an English-type construction in Spanish where it was not permitted to do so. Presumably, the English subjects would not accept resultatives nor N-N compounds at the advanced stage, not even the exceptional cases. The data from the Translation Tasks for resultatives (TABLE 4) show that at the beginner stage the English subjects' scores indeed demonstrate a high level of transfer from their L1. That is, only in

52.8% of the cases did they translate the English resultative into a correct Spanish construction.

TABLE 4 – COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: TR TASKS: RESULTATIVES



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; TR=Translation Task

TABLE 4.1 – INDIVIDUAL SCORES – ENGLISH L1 - RESULTATIVES

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(5/9)	(5/9)	(3/9)	(6/9)	(4/7)	(7/9)	10/10	(6/9)	10/10	(7/10)	(8/10)	(9/9)	(9/10)	(9/10)	10/10	(2/5)
55.6%	55.6%	33.3%	66.7%	57.1%	77.8%	100%	66.7%	100%	70%	80%	100%	90%	90%	100%	40%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 4.2 – INDIVIDUAL SCORES – FRENCH L1 RESULTATIVES

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(7/9)	(5/10)	(8/9)	(8/9)	(8/8)	(7/9)	(8/9)	(7/7)	10/10	(7/10)	(5/9)	(8/10)	(9/10)	(9/10)	10/10	(2/5)
77.8%	50%	88.9%	88.9%	100%	77.8%	88.9%	100%	100%	70%	55.6%	80%	90%	90%	100%	40%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

The fact that there were correct responses does not disprove the full transfer hypothesis. These subjects had had over one hundred and fifty hours of in-

class Spanish instruction and, while we classified them as beginners due to their score of between 50 and 70 in the SGEL placement test, they were not exactly at the initial stage. The Beginner French subjects did significantly better than the Beginner English. The 24.3% error on the part of the French Beginners may be due to their high level of interference from English. In TABLE 4.2, the individual scores for the French subjects are outlined. The mistakes were made by two French subjects (FB2 and FB3) who scored quite a high level of English in the Nativeness Interview (TABLE 2.2). Their answers were marked wrong because they gave the sentences resultative meanings. It should also be noted that the control group did achieve a perfect score. This is probably due to directionality, that is, they were going from their L2, English, to their L1 in this particular test. The resultative constructions in English may not have been understood by the control group.

At the advanced level again the English subjects fare lower than the French ones. Because these are translation tasks, the improvement in the case of the advanced speakers may simply be due to a more sophisticated level of vocabulary rather than of competence. The English near-native group did better than the lower level English groups. At this level, the English speakers should no longer be transferring the [+affixal] option to their Spanish and therefore get higher scores than the lower level English speakers. The French near-natives (TABLE 4.1), however, achieved lower scores than their English counterparts. This is perhaps due to the fact that their level of English was lower than the French advanced group and therefore did not completely

grasp the meaning of the English sentence. The Control group did not achieve a perfect score either. The latter two subject groups' shortcomings may be due to the fact that the subjects who made the errors had a lower proficiency level in English whereby they could not understand the specific construction and could not translate equivalent structures into Spanish.

While the above data do indicate that N-N compounds are acquired first in L2A as in L1A, the triggering effect is less evident. If N-N compounds are the trigger for the setting of the 'compounding parameter, as Snyder (1995) maintains, the subjects should have reset the parameter in their non-primary Spanish at this point. This, however, is not the case as the above data indicate.

4.5 Data analysis: Grammaticality judgements tasks

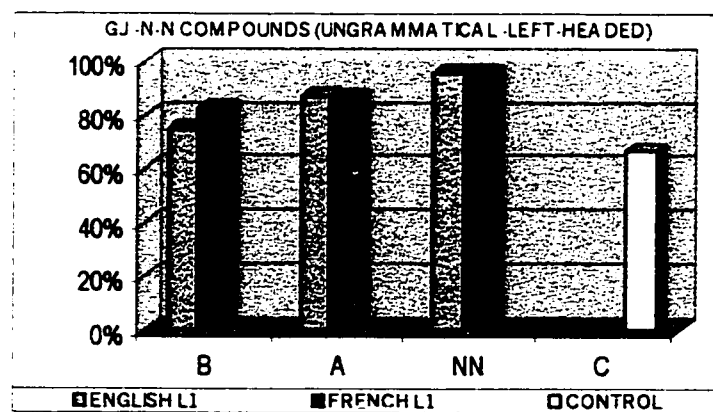
4.5.1 N-N compounds

In general the GJ tasks yielded lower scores and in particular those containing N-N compounds. The ungrammatical N-N compounds with left-headed compounding, that is, with Spanish modification, posed the greater problems for all of the subjects. This is perhaps due to the fact that in spoken Spanish the preposition is often dropped in de-compounds, or reduced to a schwa vowel /ə/, which would also account for the Control group's acceptance of some of these ungrammatical examples. For example, Control subject C1 accepted the following ungrammatical left-headed N-N compound:

- (7) 32- *Luisa siempre paga con su *tarjeta crédito*
 Luisa always pays with her card credit
 "Luisa always pays with her credit card"

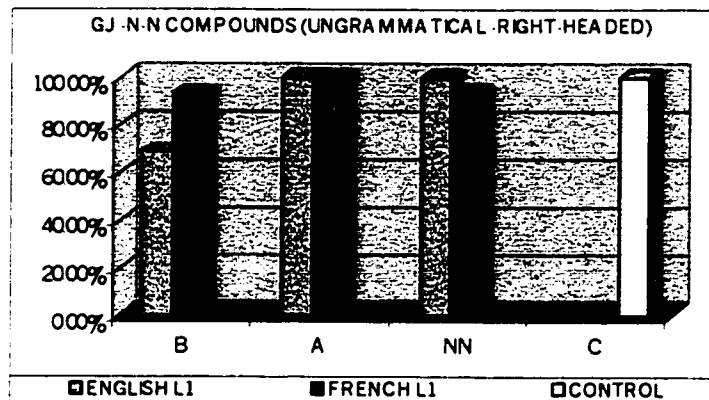
It is possible that when reading such a word a subject can accept it because it may *sound* correct when read quickly, that is, the person may not 'notice' that the *de* is missing. However, it would never be spoken or written without the prepositions. This can therefore be attributed to a lack of attention on the part of the subject rather than a case of having accepted an obvious erroneous word. This is the case because no Control subjects accepted right-headed ungrammatical N-N compounds. In fact, the same was true for all of the (subject) groups except for the Beginner English subjects who accepted both left-headed and right-headed N-N compounds (TABLES 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). Clearly, the Beginner English group are still transferring to a large extent.

TABLE 5.1. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS: LEFT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

TABLE 5.2. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS: RIGHT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

TABLE 5.2.1 – LEFT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS - L1 ENGLISH

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(5/6)	(4/6)	(3/6)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(5/6)	(5/6)	(5/6)	(5/6)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(4/6)	(3/6)	(5/6)	(4/6)
83.3%	66.7%	50%	100%	100%	83.3%	83.3%	83.3%	83.3%	100%	100%	100%	66.7%	50%	83.3%	66.7%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN=French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 5.2.2 – RIGHT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS – L1 ENGLISH

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(3/4)	(3/4)	(3/4)	(2/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)
75%	75%	75%	50%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN=French Near-Native; C=Control

5.2.3 – LEFT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS – L1 FRENCH

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(5/6)	(4/6)	(5/6)	(5/5)	(4/6)	(5/6)	(5/5)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(6/6)	(5/6)	(4/6)	(3/6)	(5/6)	(4/6)
83.3%	66.7%	83.3%	100%	66.7%	83.3%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	83.3%	66.7%	50%	83.3%	66.7%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN=French Near-Native; C=Control

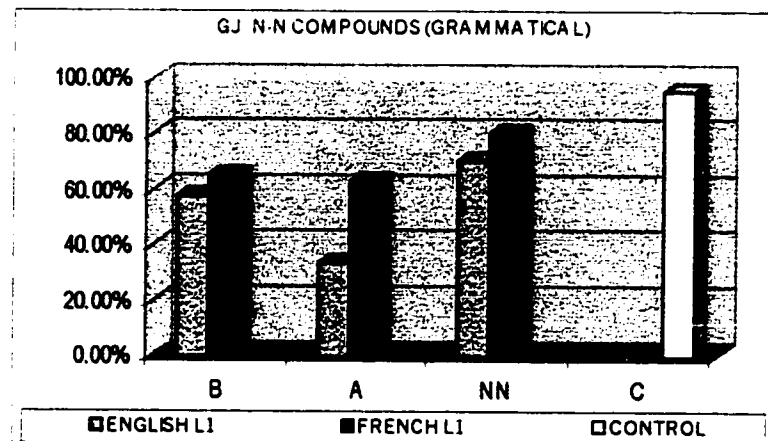
5.2.4 – RIGHT-HEADED N-N COMPOUNDS – L1 FRENCH

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(3/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(3/3)	(3/3)	(3/3)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(3/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)	(4/4)
75%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	75%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN=French Near-Native; C=Control

The results for the exceptional cases of grammatical N-N compounds are quite telling (TABLE 6).

TABLE 6. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS: N-N COMPOUNDS



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

Considering the errors made by all but the Control subjects, it demonstrates that all of the exceptional cases have not been incorporated into their non-native Spanish yet. There was only one mistake made by a Control subject (C2) in the grammatical N-N compounds. This may be due to the fact that this subject had been living outside of Spain for over a decade and the mistake made was that C2 rejected *video juego* (video game) because it is a new compound. Since the subject had been outside of Spain for a long time, he may not have been familiar with it nor with right-headed compounds in general.

In the case of the English subjects, the scores are predictable. The Beginners accept 57.5% of the grammatical N-N compounds. Since there was only one example of a right-headed possible compound (*video juego*), one cannot treat

this completely as an issue of transfer. Presumably, then, the English Beginners accepted only 57.5% of the possible Spanish N-N compounds perhaps because are aware that N-N compounds are not normally possible in Spanish without the prepositional modifier but are unsure of whether or not these may be exceptional cases. The Advanced subjects only accepted 33.3% of the grammatical N-N compounds thereby achieving a lower score than the Beginner group. This may indeed be due to the fact that they have received the proper trigger indicating to them that open-class, non-affixal words in Spanish cannot be marked [+affixal] and therefore rejecting all of them in their non-native Spanish without being aware that there may be exceptional cases.

GRAMMATICAL N-N COMPOUNDS – INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS

6.1 – GRAMMATICAL N-N COMPOUNDS - L1 ENGLISH

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(7/10)	(5/10)	(9/10)	(2/10)	(3/9)	(3/10)	(3/10)	(4/10)	(5/10)	(7/10)	(9/10)	(7/10)	10/10	(9/10)	10/10	(9/10)
70%	50%	90%	20%	33.3%	30%	30%	40%	50%	70%	90%	70%	100%	90%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

6.2 – GRAMMATICAL N-N COMPOUNDS - L1 FRENCH

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(7/10)	(6/10)	(8/10)	(5/10)	(4/10)	(7/10)	(6/10)	(8/10)	(6/10)	(8/10)	(9/10)	(9/10)	10/10	(9/10)	10/10	(9/10)
70%	60%	80%	50%	40%	70%	60%	80%	60%	80%	90%	90%	100%	90%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

Finally, the Near-native English subjects show a marked improvement but not a perfect score because, not living in a Spanish-speaking country, they may

not have come into contact with all of the exceptional N-N compounds. The scores for the French subjects disconfirm the claims made based on the Full Transfer/Full Access hypothesis. The hypothesis would predict that they should transfer the [-affixal] option of their L1 into their L2 and should thus get very low scores in the grammatical N-N compounds in Spanish. The results (TABLE 6) indicate that more than half of the items were accepted. However, this may be due to the fact that items such *hombre rana* (diver) and *papel carbón* (carbon paper) were included in the tests and such words are also exceptional cases of N-N compounds in French (e.g. *hommes-grenouilles*, *papier charbon*). This would indicate a positive transfer from their L1 but the examples of similar exceptions are not enough to add weight to the Full Transfer/Full Access theory. The Beginner and Advanced French subjects' acceptance of grammatical Spanish N-N compounds may indeed also be due to their high level of knowledge of English causing a transfer from their English L2 rather than their L1.

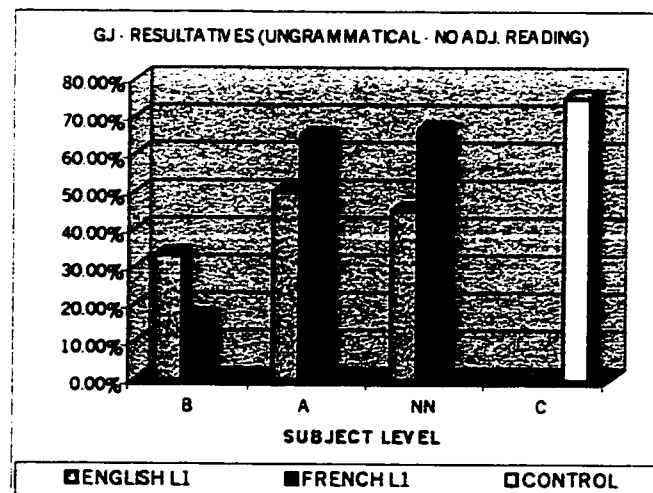
The Beginner French and English subjects as well as the Advanced French and English subjects achieved lower scores for the N-N compounds in the GJ tasks than in the TR tasks. This is because no one translated the English N-N compounds into incorrect Spanish N-N compounds, not even the English Beginner group who, according to the Full Transfer/Full Access model, should have done so. While the TR tasks, then, would indicate that all of the subjects have a high level of Spanish competence, the GJ tasks are

perhaps more indicative of the subjects' actual level of development in Spanish.

4.5.2 Resultatives

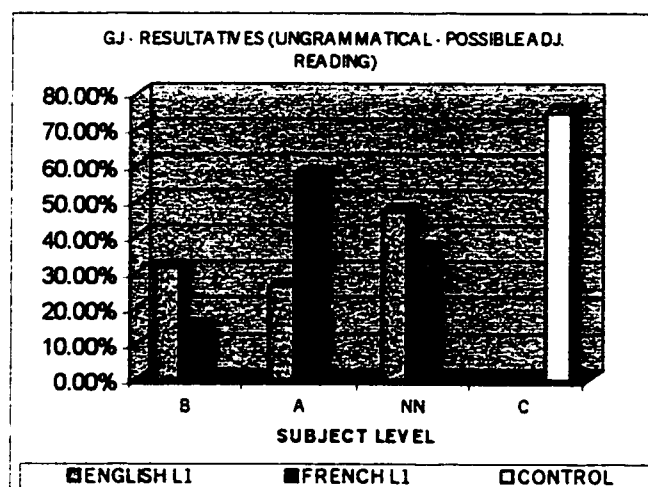
Again, as with the N-N compounds, the Grammaticality Judgement (GJ) Tasks yielded much lower scores than the TR tasks for all subjects. As outlined in TABLES 7.1 and 7.2, the results for the ungrammatical resultatives with no possible adjectival reading were typically lowest for the Beginner subjects.

TABLE 7.1. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS UNGRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES WITH NO POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING



B=Beginner, A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

TABLE 7.2. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS UNGRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES WITH POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

UNGAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES –INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS -L1 ENGLISH

TABLE 7.2.1 - NO POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(1/4)	(0/5)	(1/5)	(4/4)	(2/5)	(3/5)	(5/5)	(0/5)	(2/5)	(0/5)	(2/5)	(5/5)	(5/5)	(3/5)	(4/5)	(3/5)
25%	0%	20%	100%	40%	60%	100%	0%	40%	0%	40%	100%	100%	60%	80%	60%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 7.2.2 – POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(2/5)	(0/5)	(0/5)	(4/4)	(0/5)	(2/5)	(3/4)	(0/5)	(3/5)	(0/5)	(3/5)	(3/4)	(3/5)	(4/4)	(5/5)	(3/5)
40%	0%	0%	100%	0%	40%	75%	0%	60%	0%	60%	75%	60%	100%	100%	60%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

UNGAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES –INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS-L1 FRENCH

TABLE 7.2.3 - NO POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(0/5)	(1/3)	(2/5)	(0/5)	(5/5)	(3/5)	(1/5)	(4/5)	(4/5)	(4/5)	(3/3)	(1/5)	(5/5)	(3/5)	(4/5)	(3/5)
0%	33.3%	40%	0%	100%	60%	20%	80%	80%	80%	100%	20%	100%	60%	80%	60%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

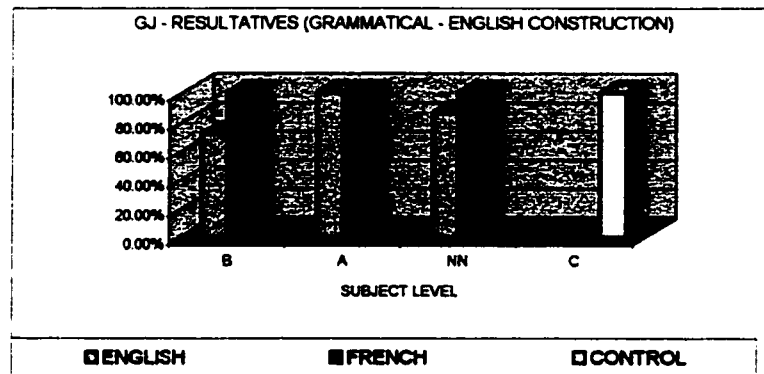
7.2.4 – POSSIBLE ADJECTIVAL READING

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(0/5)	(1/5)	(1/5)	(1/5)	(4/4)	(1/5)	(2/5)	(4/5)	(4/5)	(1/5)	(1/5)	(1/4)	(3/5)	(4/4)	(5/5)	(3/5)
0%	20%	20%	20%	100%	20%	40%	80%	80%	20%	20%	25%	60%	100%	100%	60%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

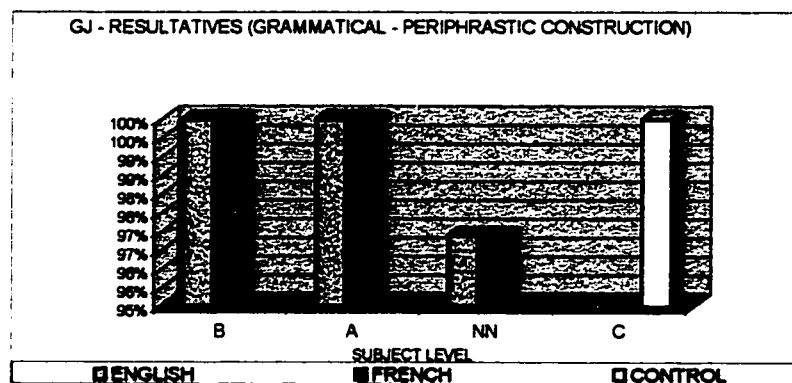
However, contrary to the predictions based on the Schwartz and Sprouse model, the French Beginner subjects had more errors, that is, they accepted the impossible Spanish sentences that were constructed as resultatives. This would disconfirm a full transfer at the early stages of the L2 grammar. The full transfer hypothesis explains the low score for the French Beginner subjects in the ungrammatical resultatives with a possible adjectival reading because their French L1 allowed them to interpret the endpoint adjective as modifying the complement rather than giving the sentence a resultative reading. However, this model does not explain the lower score on those ungrammatical resultative sentences with no possible adjectival reading. The latter may be a case of interference from the English L2.

TABLE 8.1. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS: GRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

TABLE 8.2. COLLAPSED SUBJECTS: GJ TASKS: GRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES WITH PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION



B=Beginner; A=Advanced; NN=Near-Native; C=Control; GJ=Grammaticality Judgement Task

The results for the grammatical resultatives (TABLES 8.1 and 8.2) in the GJ tasks were, in the case of the English subjects, predictable. At the Beginner level they accepted 71.4% of the grammatical Spanish sentences with an English-type resultative construction (TABLE 8.1). This means that the three subjects who accepted these sentences (EB1, EB2, and EB3 as outlined in TABLE 8.2.1) were still transferring the [+affixal] option to their Spanish IL. Those same three subjects were also doing so in the TR task.

The only English Beginner subject who did not accept any of the English construction-type grammatical resultatives in Spanish (EB4) was also the only subject who rejected all of the ungrammatical resultatives (TABLES 8.2.1 and 8.2.2), this is significant because it shows that this subject is consistent. EB4's total rejection of the possible and impossible English-type resultatives cannot be due to his high level of French as his score on the nativeness test was only 13.7/20 for French and a perfect 20/20 for English³⁰.

GRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES -INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS -L1 ENGLISH

TABLE 8.2.1 – ENGLISH CONSTRUCTION

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(2/2)	(2/2)	(1/1)	(0/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(1/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(1/1)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)
100%	100%	100%	0%	100%	100%	100%	100%	50%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 8.2.2 – PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION

EB1	EB2	EB3	EB4	EA1	EA2	EA3	EA4	ENN1	ENN2	ENN3	ENN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(8/8)	(8/8)	(7/7)	(6/6)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(7/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	87.5%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

At the Advanced level, the English subjects got a perfect score for one of the following two reasons. First, they may have incorporated these exceptional cases in Spanish into their L2 grammar or, second, they are still transferring the [+affixal] option from their L1. There was only one mistake made by an

³⁰ The low level of French may cause interference as well but specific studies on L3 acquisition is beyond the scope of the present study.

English Near-native subject (ENN1) in one of each of the types of grammatical resultatives (TABLES 8.2.3 and 8.2.4) which indicate an unfamiliarity with the exceptions in Spanish as in (8a):

- (8a) (17) En esa tienda muelen el café fino
In that store, they grind the coffee fine
ENN1 - "They grind fine coffee in that store"

In the case of the French Near-natives, there was only one mistake made by subject FNN4 in the grammatical resultatives with a periphrastic construction; this is not a significant error.

GRAMMATICAL RESULTATIVES -INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS -L1 FRENCH

TABLE 8.2.3 – ENGLISH CONSTRUCTION

FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)	(2/2)
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

TABLE 8.2.4 – PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION

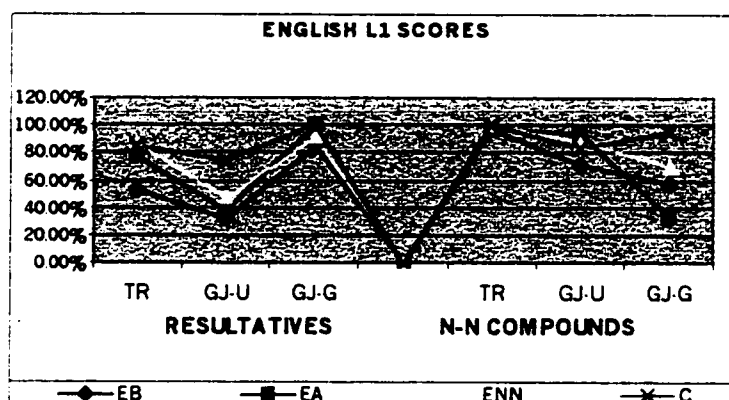
FB1	FB2	FB3	FB4	FA1	FA2	FA3	FA4	FNN1	FNN2	FNN3	FNN4	C1	C2	C3	C4
(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(7/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)	(8/8)
100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	87.5%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EB=English Beginner; EA=English Advanced; ENN=English Near-Native; FB=French Beginner; FA=French Advanced; FNN French Near-Native; C=Control

In TABLES 9.1 and 9.2, the compared results of the TR tasks and the GJ Tasks indicate that for the English subjects on all levels, the N-N compounds were better handled. For the French subjects, the N-N compounds also fared better except for the grammatical cases of N-N compounds. The fact that the subjects got better scores in the N-N compounds should mean that they have

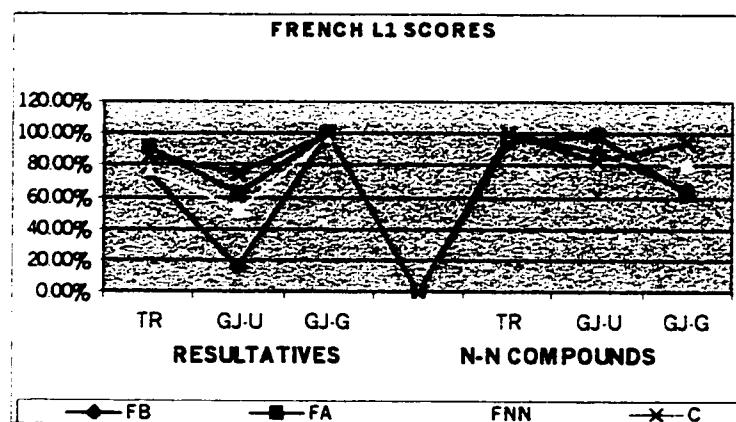
also instantiated the [-affixal] option of the 'compounding parameter' for their non-native Spanish. However, the comparatively lower results for the resultatives means that the same option has not yet been triggered for complex predicates. If one is to assume the 'compounding parameter' to be correct, then once the subjects have received the data indicating that N-N compounds are not grammatical in Spanish, this should trigger the [-affixal] option for the group of complex predicates. If indeed N-N compounds have such a triggering effect in non-primary acquisition, the above data does not show it nor does it support the parametric relationship between root compounding and complex predicates postulated in Snyder (1995, 1996) and Snyder and Stromswold (1997). This comes as no surprise because it has been systematically reported that different properties of a given parameter do not go hand in hand (White 1985, Licerias 1989, Hawkins et al. 1997).

TABLE 9.1



TR=Translation Task; GJ-U=Grammaticality Judgement Task (ungrammatical sentences);
GJ-G=Grammaticality Judgement Task (grammatical sentences)

TABLE 9.2



TR=Translation Task; GJ-U=Grammaticality Judgement Task (ungrammatical sentences);
GJ-G=Grammaticality Judgement Task (grammatical sentences)

In terms of ultimate attainment, typically the results were quite varied. As illustrated in TABLES 5 and 6, only in the TR tasks for the N-N compounds did the near-native subjects perform like the native Spanish speakers and so did the other competence levels for that matter. In the Grammaticality Judgements, the grammatical resultatives were easily accepted by all subjects. The ungrammatical resultatives were more indicative of the subjects'

actual competence level in Spanish. That is to say, the Beginner group had the lowest score followed by the Advanced group and finally the Near-native group made the fewest mistakes. Ultimate attainment in terms of the resultatives was not native-like.

All subjects, including the control group, had problems with the exceptional cases of N-N compounds because most of these anomalous words are newly incorporated vocabulary items. This does not necessarily constitute a lower level of competence in terms of the grammar but rather a lack of familiarity with usage or specific vocabulary items (e.g. borrowed words such as *video club*). Therefore, in terms of ultimate attainment, results were native-like in the case of the N-N compounds for both the French and English subjects.

Conclusion

The present study examined the status of N-N compounds and resultative complex predicates in the non-primary Spanish of French and English speakers. The main queries that have been raised have, to some extent, been answered. The first central question was two-fold. On the one hand, we wanted to determine whether the English subjects transferred the [+affixal] option of the 'compounding parameter' into their non-native Spanish. On the other hand, we wished to explore the ways in which the English subjects, coming from the marked option of the parameter, differed from the French subjects, who represented the unmarked option, in their treatment of impossible N-N compounds and resultatives in Spanish. Second, we wished to see to what extent the English subjects differ from the French subjects in terms of ultimate attainment. Third, we wanted to ascertain whether a parametric interrelationship between N-N compounds and complex predicates in L2 acquisition exists and whether this parameter could be fixed in the L2.

Our data elicitation tasks outlined in Chapter 4 allowed us to test the hypotheses revolving around these three central themes. Some of the data, mainly in the case of the resultatives, provided evidence indicating transfer at the early stages of the [+affixal] option on the part of the English subjects. Because the ungrammatical N-N compounds were well handled by all of the subjects, the parameter should have been instantiated in the non-native Spanish. Therefore, the ungrammatical resultatives provided further answers to the questions raised. The main differences between the French and English

subjects in the way in which they treated the ungrammatical cases of resultatives in Spanish was, essentially, the following. The English speakers held on to the [+affixal] option at the Beginner and Advanced stages while the French speakers with a lower level of English knowledge seemed to give the resultative construction a depictive reading rather than a resultative one thereby transferring the [-affixal] option of their French L1.

The analysis of our data had the following implications in terms of ultimate attainment. The near-native subjects from both L1 groups were unable to achieve perfect scores. This was not indicative of their actual competence levels necessarily but rather due to their lack of familiarity with the exceptional vocabulary items that constituted the grammatical examples of N-N compounds and English-type resultative constructions in Spanish. However, as the results for the ungrammatical resultatives show, the Advanced English group did not indicate that the parameter had been reset because the French Advanced group, comparatively, performed as expected coming from the unmarked option of the parameter. Native-like performance in these particular constructions was achieved by the Near-native group in all but the cases of grammatical N-N compounds. The latter was due to a lack of familiarity with those specific vocabulary items and not to their actual competence. Since the Control group was also unable to achieve perfect scores in the exceptional cases of N-N compounds, it can be concluded that ultimate attainment, then, can be native-like in the case of the N-N compounds but not for the resultatives.

Finally, the results obtained by the present study did not provide strong evidence in support of a parametric relationship between N-N compounds and resultatives in terms of triggering effect. There was no clear relationship between the order of acquisition of the N-N compounds and resultatives in the L2. The proposed parametric properties of the 'compounding parameter' have not been supported by the data.

Further study involving the so-called 'compounding parameter' in terms of L2 acquisition is required to establish the exact relationship between compounds and complex predicates. An examination of the acquisition of English by speakers who do not have near-native or any degree of competence of an affixal language may shed more light on whether the parametric relationship between N-N compounds and complex predicates does or does not exist. Furthermore, it would also aid in determining the grammatical representation of both N-N compounds and complex predicates in a non-native grammar system.

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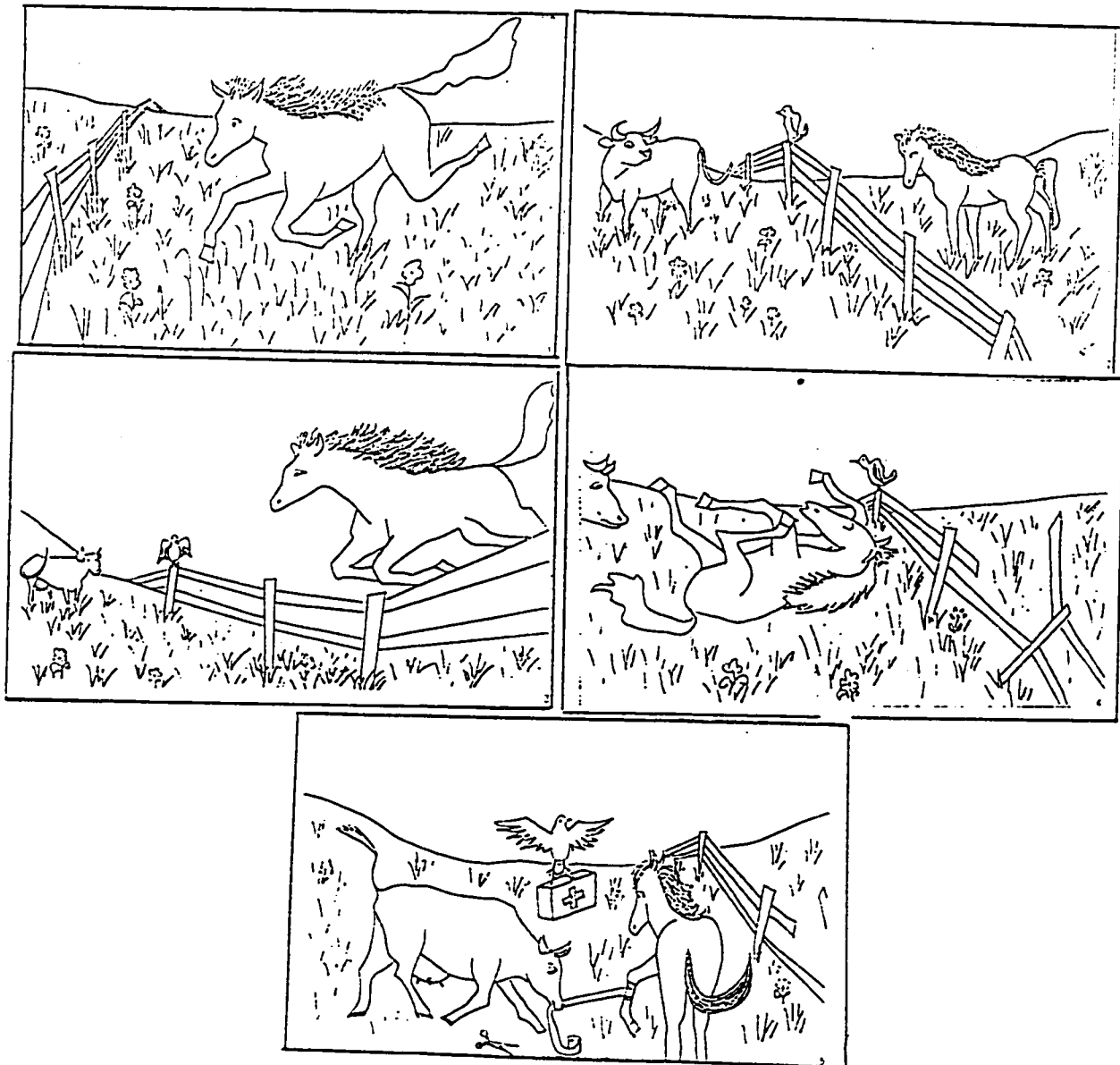
APPENDIX 1. PILOT STUDY – SAMPLE SENTENCES

1. El papel de cebolla no es bueno para hacer fotocopias
ACCEPTABLE:
DEBE SER:
TRADUCCIÓN:
7. Por lo que me dices, Juan lo parece un buen amigo
ACCEPTABLE:
DEBE SER:
TRADUCCIÓN:
21. En mi casa siempre cortamos el pan troceado
ACCEPTABLE:
DEBE SER:
TRADUCCIÓN:
28. Y ante el asombro de todos, Nacha bailó el tango desnuda
ACCEPTABLE:
DEBE SER:
TRADUCCIÓN:
30. Como habla tan bien, todos creen Laura inteligente
ACCEPTABLE:
DEBE SER:
TRADUCCIÓN:

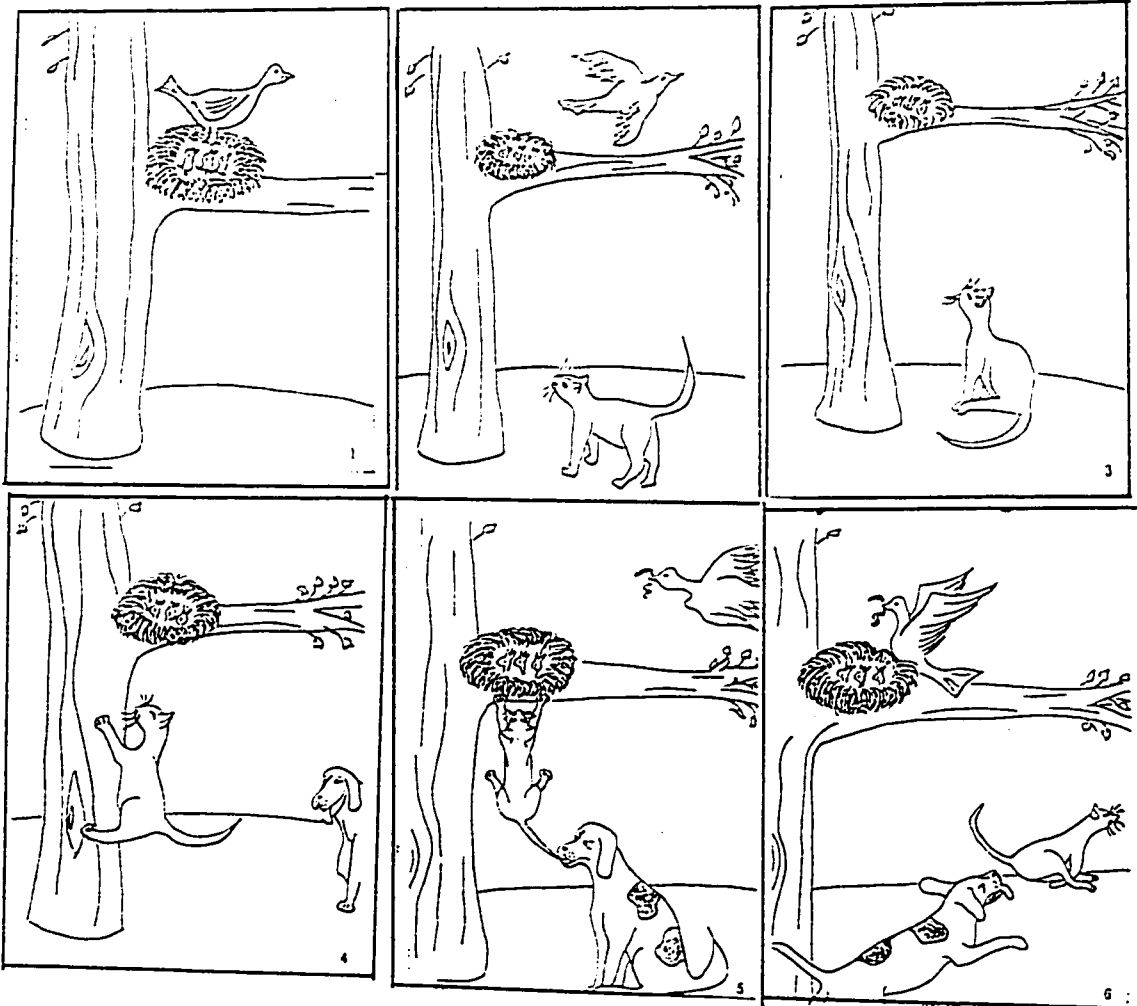
APPENDIX 2. QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name:
2. Age group:

4-12	13-16	17-25	26-40	40+
------	-------	-------	-------	-----
3. Mother's dominant language:
 Father's dominant language:
4. Language(s) spoken at home as a child:
5. Language(s) spoken during the first five years of your life:
6. Language(s) studied in:
 -Primary school
 -Secondary school
 -University
 -Other institutions
7. What other languages do you presently speak?
8. What language do you feel most comfortable in?
9. What languages do you speak:
 -At home
 -At school
 -At work
 -When you dream
10. Why are you studying Spanish?
 -B.A. in Spanish
 -Double Major
 -Personal reasons
 -Professional reasons
 -Other
11. Contact with Spanish outside the classroom:
Present contact:
 -Approximate hours/week:
 -Context (e.g. friends, family, clubs, etc.)
Previous contact:
 -Have you ever been to a Spanish speaking country? YES NO
 -When?
 -For how long?

APPENDIX 3. PICTURE FOR NATIVENESS INTERVIEW**ENGLISH**

FRENCH



APPENDIX 4. NATIVE JUDGE INSTRUCTIONS AND EVALUATION FORM

Nature Non-native Grammars
University of Ottawa [1996-1999]
"Nativeness" [1997-1998]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ENGLISH JUDGES

You have been asked to listen to a series of tape-recorded interviews in which each of the subjects were asked to tell a story based on a picture that they were shown (the same picture was used in each of the interviews). Some of the subjects are native English speakers and some are not; we have changed their names to Spanish ones in order to maintain the subjects' privacy.

The following is a list of the five items with which you are asked to evaluate the tape-recorded interviews. Please listen to each of the interviews carefully, keeping in mind that some of the subjects may not be native English speakers and then evaluate each subject individually according to the five items that we have outlined for you. After each item, we have given you a scale with which you must measure the given subject's level of English. Number 20 is the **highest level** of nativeness and is the rating that you would assign a subject who speaks absolute native English. Number 1 is the **lowest level** of English and would indicate that the subject is not only a non-native English speaker but also that the subject has a much poorer mastery of the language than one that would rate in the 2, 3...10...15, etc. range.

EVALUATION FORM**JUDGE:** _____**DATE:** _____**NAME OF SUBJECT:** _____**1. PRONUNCIATION**

- In your opinion, does the subject 'sound' like a native English speaker? Why?
- Can you hear any 'hints' of a non-English accent? That is, is there any indication that would suggest that the subject is not a native English speaker?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2. MORPHOLOGY

- Does the subject's grammar (nouns, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, etc.) show native English usage?

i.e. he goes (correct)

he go (incorrect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. SYNTAX

- Do you think that the subject's grammar is native English in terms of:
word order?

i.e. I often buy wine there (correct)

I buy often wine there (incorrect)

correct verbal form?

i.e. I can do it (correct)

I can to do it (incorrect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

4. VOCABULARY

- Does the subject display native use of English vocabulary when naming objects, describing events and situations, etc.?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

5. FLUENCY

- Are there any indications that would suggest that the subject does not have the typical fluency of a native English speaker in terms of vocabulary, grammar, intonation, and hesitations? Please note that there may be some hesitation due to it being their first time confronted with such pictures to describe.
- Please indicate the level at which you would rate the subject keeping in mind your overall impression of their grasp of English.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

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UMI

DIRECTIVES POUR LES JUGES FRANÇAIS

Les enregistrements que l'on vous demande d'écouter ont été réalisés par des sujets qui devaient raconter une histoire basée sur une image qui leur était présentée (la même image étant utilisée dans chacune des entrevues). Certains des sujets interviewés parlent le français comme langue maternelle et d'autres pas. Nous avons utilisé des noms espagnols afin de protéger l'anonymat des sujets.

S'il-vous-plaît, écoutez attentivement chacune des entrevues en tenant compte que la langue maternelle des sujets n'est pas nécessairement le français. Vous devez évaluer les entrevues enregistrées en vous basant sur les 5 items suivant et ensuite déterminer le niveau des connaissances du français du sujet en question en vous servant du barème établi à cette fin. Le numéro 20 représente le plus haut niveau et est attribué à un sujet dont le français est sa langue maternelle. Le numéro 1 est le plus bas niveau et est attribué à un sujet dont le français n'est pas sa langue maternelle et de plus qu'il s'exprime moins bien que celui du niveau 2, 3...10...15, etc.

FORMULAIRE D'EVALUATION

JUGE: _____

DATE: _____

DU SUJET : _____

1. PRONONCIATION

_ A votre avis, quand vous écoutez cette personne, pensez-vous que le français est-il sa langue maternelle? Pourquoi?

_ Il y a-t-il des indices démontrant un accent non-francophone?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

2. MORPHOLOGIE

_ Sa grammaire (noms, verbes, prépositions, adjectifs, etc.) démontre-t-elle un usage compétant du français comme langue maternelle?

Ex. Il va (correct)

Il vait (incorrect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. SYNTAXE

_ L'utilisation de sa grammaire démontre-t-elle l'usage du français comme langue maternelle quant à:

l'ordre des mots?

Ex. réunion officielle (correct)

officielle réunion (incorrect)

la forme verbale?

Ex. Je peux le faire (correct)

Je peux faire le (incorrect)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

4. VOCABULAIRE

_ Le sujet démontre-t-il une maîtrise du vocabulaire français d'une personne ayant le français comme langue maternelle quand il nomme des objets, décrit des événements et des situations, etc?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

5. FACILITE DE PAROLE / DISCOURS

_ Percevez-vous des indices qui suggéreraient que le sujet n'a pas la facilité de parole typique d'une personne possédant le français comme langue maternelle quant à la grammaire, le vocabulaire, l'intonation, et l'hésitation? **Veillez noter que le sujet peut marquer une certaine hésitation car il doit décrire ces images pour la première fois.**

_ Indiquez à quel niveau évalueriez-vous le sujet en tenant compte de sa maîtrise du français en général.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

APPENDIX 5. SGEL TEST – SAMPLE

16. El reloj marca _____ ocho y media. Es la hora de cenar.
A) las
B) a las
C) en las
D) para las
17. Mi mujer vió ese gato sobre el tejado. ¿ _____ anda ese gato?
A) por dónde
B) cómo
C) en qué
D) sobre qué
18. A) ¿Cómo de vieja es tu hermana?
B) ¿ Cuántos años de vieja tiene tu hermana?
C) ¿ Qué vieja es tu hermana?
D) ¿ Cuántos años tiene tu hermana?
19. La ventana está _____
A) ancha
B) cerrada
C) agradable
D) grande

APPENDIX 6. TRANSLATION TASK – SAMPLE

1. Abby worried her mother sick
2. They went to the art gallery
3. Elisa slammed the door shut
4. Laura laid the sweater flat
5. Luisa always pays with her credit card
6. Laura has a ceramic coffee cup
7. Pablo scrubbed his face clean
8. The thieves stripped the museum bare
9. They live in a country house
10. Juan likes apple pie

APPENDIX 7. VOCABULARY LIST

Nature of Non-Native Grammars
University of Ottawa/1996-1999
Bootstrapping /Tasks [1997-1998]

LISTA DE VOCABULARIO - VOCABULARY LIST - LISTE DE VOCABULAIRE

ESPAÑOL	ENGLISH	FRENCH
aburrir	to bore	ennuyer
agotado/a	exhausted	épuiser
alquilar	rent	louer
colocar	arrange or lay	arranger
corto/a	short	court
cura	priest	prêtre
desnudo/a	bare	nu
despojar	strip	dépouillier
disparar	to shoot	tirer
enfermo/a	sick	malade ou infirme
frotar	scrub	frotter
gastar	wear or use	utiliser ou porter
golpear	to hit	frapper
ladrón	thief	voleur
limar	file	limer
liso/a	flat or straight	plat ou droit
preocupar	to worry	préocuper
prestar	to lend or to borrow	prêter
rana	frog	grenouille
salchicha	wiener	saucisse
secarse	to dry or to blow-dry	se sécher
suéter	sweater	chandail
tienda	store	magasin
tieso/a	stiff	raide
uñas	nails	ongles

APPENDIX 8. GRAMMATICALITY JUDGEMENTS TASKS – SAMPLE

-A Juan le gusta la tarta manzana

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Ana habló tanto que nos volvió locos

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Antiguamente se hacían copias con el papel carbón

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Cristina aburrió tiosos a los estudiantes

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Dejamos el coñac en el mueble bar

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Diego alquila películas en la video tienda

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-El carnicero corta la carne muy fina

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-El rosa es mi color de uñas preferido

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Elisa golpeó cerrada la puerta

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Frotó el suelo hasta dejarlo limpisimo

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Juan me ha dado su teléfono número

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Juan trabajó tanto que se quedó agotado

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-La mujer policía secuestró al ladrón

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Laura colocó liso el suéter

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:

-Los invitados duermen en el sofá cama

¿LA USARIA? SI NO

USARIA:
