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Margaret Sikorska

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

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TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Juana Munoz-Liceras

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

M. L. Rivero

H. Zobl

L. Sanchez

R. Williamson

Gary W. Slater

Le Doyen de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales / Dean of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

Linguistic Theory and the L2 Acquisition of Dative Arguments

Margaret P. Sikorska

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Spanish Applied Linguistics

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ABBREVIATIONS

Accusative	acc
Adjective	adj
Clitic	Cl
Dative	dat
Genitive	gen
Imperative	imp
Infinitive	inf
Neuter	neut
Nominative	nom
Plural	pl
Present	pres
Reflexive	Refl
Singular	sg

Linguistic Theory and the L2 Acquisition of Dative Arguments
Margaret P. Sikorska

ABSTRACT

Verbal arguments are divided into two different types: (i) those that are true arguments of the verb; and, (ii) those that are non-core arguments in the sense that there is no evidence that they belong to the basic argument structure of the verb.

Theories of argument structure are largely theories about how these additional arguments are introduced. In this dissertation, we adopt the view that in Spanish there are specialized functional heads, such as the low applicative head and the high applicative head that introduce dative arguments, i.e. non-core arguments.

We investigate the second language acquisition of a wide range of dative constructions, i.e. applicative constructions, which have not been explored as a unified phenomenon previously in the literature. We compare the acquisition of Spanish as a second language by Polish and English speakers, whose languages have partially different mappings of argument structure to syntax. Since both languages differ crucially from Spanish with respect to the use of morphological markers in applicative constructions, we highlight the role played by morphology in the reanalysis of the mapping between argument structure and syntax.

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Prof. Juana M. Liceras

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Introduction

Theories of verbal argument structure attempt to answer questions about how arguments are licensed semantically and syntactically. In other words, how arguments are projected into a syntactic structure and how they get the meanings that they have.

Verbs are accompanied by a number of obligatory participants, generally ranging from one to three, which express the core meaning of the event. Participants which are the core elements in the meaning of an event are known as arguments, as in (1).

- (1) Mary washed her car

Other constituents, which are optional, are known as adjuncts, as in (2).

- (2) Mary washed her car with a soft cloth

Selectional restrictions have traditionally been taken as evidence for argument status. In other words, what kind of elements complements a verb is accounted for by selection and subcategorization. Different subcategories of verbs make different demands on (i) which arguments must be expressed, as in (3') and (4'); which can optionally be expressed, as in (5); and how the expressed arguments are encoded grammatically (i.e. as subjects, direct objects or oblique objects).

- (3) Mary saw *the Phantom of the Opera*

- (3') *Mary saw.

- (4) Mary put the keys on the table

- (4') *Mary put the keys / *Mary put on the table.

- (5) Mary saw *the Phantom of the Opera* with her husband.

However, in recent proposals (Cuervo 2003; Pylkkänen 2002; Kratzer 1996; Marantz 1993) it is argued that arguments are introduced by functional heads such as the low applicative head, the high applicative head; and, Voice. It is claimed that these heads belong to a universal inventory of functional elements from which a particular language must make its selection (Chomsky 1998). Crosslinguistic variation is argued to have two sources: (i) selection (Chomsky 1998) and (ii) the way a language packages the selected elements into syntactic heads.

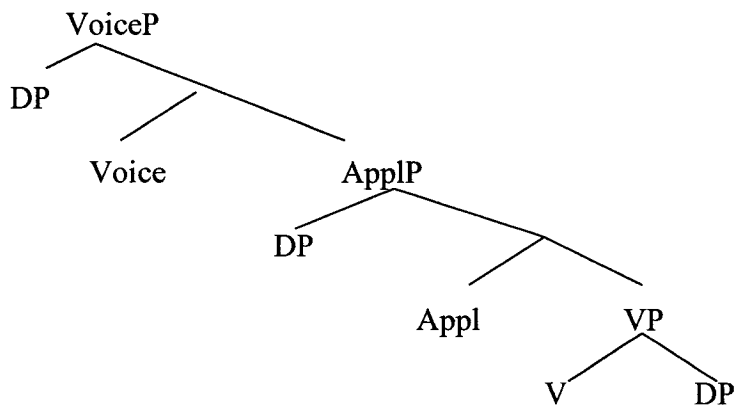
Kratzer (1996) argues that the external argument is not introduced by the verb, but by a separate predicate, which she calls ‘Voice’. Voice is a functional head denoting a thematic relation that holds between the external argument and the event described by the verb. It combines with the VP by a rule called ‘Event Identification’. Event Identification allows one to add various conditions to the event that the verb describes. For example, ‘Voice’ adds the condition that the event has an agent (or an experiencer or whatever one considers possible thematic roles for external arguments).

The assumption that the external argument is not a true argument of the verb has become standard in much syntactic research. Even though external arguments are obligatory in some syntactic environments (unlike most indirect objects); they are “additional” in that they involve an argument introducer that is separate from the verb, i.e. the high applicative head (Pylkkänen 2002).

The syntax of applicative constructions has been greatly studied, the main discovery being that in low applicative constructions both the direct and the indirect object exhibit object properties while in high applicative constructions only the applied

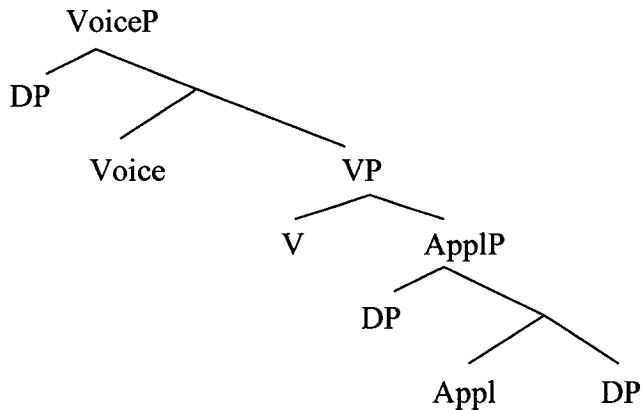
argument does (Marantz 1993). More specifically, high applicatives license the applied argument DP in a position external to the VP, in a manner that parallels the licensing of external arguments. Semantically, the applicative head combines with the complement VP as ‘Voice’ combines with its complement VP, that is, the head adds a participant to the event by the rule Event Identification:

High Applicative



Low applicatives relate two individuals. A low applicative head takes an object DP as its complement; then it relates it to the dative DP licensed in its specifier. Finally, the applicative phrase combines with the verb:

Low Applicative



Various syntactic solutions to this difference have been proposed, relying on theta-hierarchies or Government and Binding notions such as Case theory (Baker 1988) or government (Marantz 1993).

More recently, Cuervo (2003), following Pylkkänen's analysis of applicative constructions, argues that in Spanish dative arguments are not required or licensed by the verb; rather, they are added as "non-core" participants in the events described by the verb. In this sense, dative arguments seem to pattern with subjects and differ from objects, in requiring a specialized head for their licensing. Namely, dative arguments are not direct arguments of the verb; they are licensed by an applicative head. This applicative head licenses the dative DP as its specifier. However, unlike subjects, dative arguments have many different meanings: goal, location, experiencer, benefactive, etc.

Semantically, applicative constructions divide into two different types. In one type the applicative head denotes a thematic relation between an individual and the event

described by the verb, as in (6), this is known as a high applicative construction. The applicative head attaches above the VP. The other type of applicative is low in that the head combines with the direct object and denotes a transfer of possession relation between the direct object and the applied argument, as in (7).

The goal of this dissertation is to investigate the acquisition of applicative constructions where (i) the direct object establishes a transfer of possession relation with the applied argument (=Low Applicative) as in (6); and, where (ii) the applied argument relates to an event (=High Applicative) as in (7) by English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish.

- (6) Juan le regaló rosas a María
 John_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave as a present roses_{acc} to Mary_{dat}
 ‘John gave (as a present) Mary roses’

- (7) A Marta le gustan los caramelos
 to Marta_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the candy_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes candy’

We will examine the extent to which non-native intuitions differ from native intuitions at the advanced and near-native levels of competence and how different factors such as the effect of L1 knowledge, the amount of exposure to L2 input and the properties of inherent verb meanings in L2 affect the acquisition of verb argument structure in these applicative constructions.

In Spanish various types of constituents can be marked with dative morphology and display the complement properties of a verb even though they cannot be considered one of its arguments. One such case is benefactive phrases, which can be expressed either

by a PP introduced by the preposition *para* ‘for’, as in (8), or as a dative argument, as in (9).

- (8) Luisa compró un libro para Pedro
 Luisa_{nom} bought a book_{acc} for Peter
 ‘Luisa bought a book for Peter’
- (9) Luisa le compró un libro a Pedro
 Luisa_{nom} Cl_{dat} bought a book_{acc} to Peter_{dat}
 ‘Luisa bought a book for Peter’

The PP in (8) behaves like an adjunct, but the dative argument in (9) behaves like a complement, as shown by the behaviour under *hacerlo* ‘do it’ replacement.

- (10) a. Luisa compró un libro para Pedro y Marta lo hizo para su hermano
 Luisa_{nom} bought a book_{acc} for Pedro and Marta_{nom} it did for her brother
 ‘Luisa bought a book for Pedro and Marta did (bought) it for her brother’
- b. *Luisa le compró un libro a Pedro y Marta se lo hizo a su hermano¹
 Luisa_{nom} Cl_{dat} bought a book_{acc} to Pedro_{dat} & Marta_{nom} him it did to her brother_{dat}

In (10a) the adjunct phrase introduced by *para* can be left behind under *hacerlo* replacement; however, in (10b) *Pedro* introduced by *a* and clitic doubled behaves like a complement and therefore cannot be left behind under *hacerlo* replacement. Namely, the adjunct behaviour of benefactive phrases indicates that they are not assigned a theta-role by the verb and therefore cannot be considered one of its arguments. A benefactive DP can appear in dative form, which means that in the course of the derivation, it can be licensed in a complement position.

¹ Dative clitics in the 3rd person do not show number agreement if a 3rd person direct object is also present:

- (i) Susana le envió una tarjeta postal a su familia
 (ii) Susana se la envió a su familia

Another type of ‘indirect object’ that can appear in dative form and is not an argument of the verb is possible with unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates and verbs of creation/construction.

- (11) a. A Daniela le llegaron dos cartas (unaccusative verb)
to D_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters
‘Daniela got two letters’ / ‘Two letters arrived for Daniela’
- b. Pedro le corrió un maratón a Luca (unergative verb)
P_{nom} Cl_{dat} run a marathon to L_{dat}
‘Peter run a race against Luca’
- (12) La novia le besó la mejilla a su padre (non-transfer predicate)
the bride_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the cheek_{acc} to her father_{dat}
‘The bride kissed her father’s cheek’
- (13) Lola le preparó pollo asado a Manuel (verb of creation)
L_{nom} Cl_{dat} prepared chicken roasted_{acc} to M_{dat}
‘Lola prepared roasted chicken for Manuel’

Some theoretical linguists have compared Spanish and English and argued that the Spanish clitic doubled ditransitive configuration, as in (14), resembles the English double object ditransitive construction (DOC), as in (15), by exhibiting fundamental syntactic properties of the English DOC in that the goal/recipient is structurally higher than the theme object (Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2000, 2003).

- (14) Juan le dio rosas a Marta
J_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave roses_{acc} to M_{dat}
‘John gave Marta roses’
- (14’) Janek dał Marcie róże
J_{nom} gave M_{dat} roses_{acc}
‘John gave Marta roses’
- (15) John gave Marta roses

(16) a. Ana le_i admira la americana a Marta_i (stative verb)
 Ana_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the jacket_{acc} to Marta_{dat}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’

a’. Ania podziwia kurtkę Marcie
 A_{nom} admires jacket_{acc} M_{dat}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’

b. La madre le_i besó la frente a su hija_i (activity verb)
 the mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the forehead_{acc} to her daughter_{dat}
 ‘The mother kissed her daughter’s forehead’

b’. Mama pocałowała czoło córce
 mother_{nom} kissed forehead_{acc} daughter_{dat}
 ‘The mother kissed her daughter’s forehead’

² We are unaware whether Polish DOCs are analyzed as Low applicative constructions, therefore in this thesis we assume a pre-theoretical approach to these Polish structures that are very similar to the Spanish Low and High applicative constructions discussed by Cuervo (2003). Owczarzak (2004) argues that Polish has the English Double Object Construction.

- (17) A Pedro_i le_i falta dinero
 to Pedro_{dat} Cl_{dat} lacks money
 ‘Pedro lacks money’

- (17’) Piotrowi brakuje pieniędzy
 P_{dat} lacks money
 ‘Peter lacks money’

What all these low applicative constructions have in common is that the ‘indirect object’ that is marked dative is not an argument of the verb; rather it is analyzed as an argument of the low applicative structure.

Similarly psychological predicates do not need a dative argument for the structure to be well formed, as seen by the grammaticality of the sentence in (18) (Cuervo 2003).

- (18) Gustan las películas españolas
 like the movies Spanish_{nom}
 ‘Spanish movies are liked’

In the theory of applicative constructions (Cuervo 2003), constructions with psychological verbs are referred to as High Applicative constructions in the sense that there is no entailment of transfer of possession but rather that this type of applicative construction establishes a relation between an individual (the dative argument), *A Marta* ‘to Marta’, and an event, *gustar* ‘like’, as in (19).

- (19) A Marta le gustan las películas españolas
 to M_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the movies Spanish_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes Spanish movies’

- (19’) Marcie podobają się filmy hiszpańskie
 M_{dat} likes Refl.Cl movies Spanish_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes Spanish movies’

As previously states, the purpose of our study is to determine the relative effect of L1 knowledge, classroom input and inherent verb semantics in the acquisition of Low and High applicative constructions by English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish. We intend to reveal the nature of interlanguage grammar development by weighing the factors which are relevant to the acquisition of argument structure. This will help us to evaluate the validity of the claims made in L1 acquisition research in light of second language acquisition theory. More specifically, we intend to investigate the No Access Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1988), the Partial Access Hypothesis (Hawkins and Chan 1997) and the Access Hypothesis (White 2003b).

In the No Access Hypothesis it is argued that UG is totally inaccessible to the adult L2 learner and learning takes place in terms of non-linguistic learning strategies. Within this approach we find the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1988), which predicts that L1A and adult SLA are distinct from a variety of viewpoints, all boiling down to the fact that adults no longer have access to the learning mechanisms and innate knowledge source (UG) that L1 acquirers have. Namely, in adults UG ceases to operate; instead knowledge of the L1 and the cognitive skills of general ‘problem solving’ serve as a substitute. Bley-Vroman argues that the second language learner’s knowledge of L1 informs him a lot about what languages are like and that all absolute universal principles are given to the L2 learner through L1. In this manner the L2 learner can supplement or adjust his knowledge via general ‘problem solving’ skills to make his linguistic system more target-like.

The Partial Access Hypothesis predicts that UG is partially available to the learner; and only those parametric values characterizing the L1 grammar are available, the rest must be learnt in terms of non-linguistic learning strategies. Within this domain falls the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (Hawkins & Chan 1997), which advocates that "...the virtual, unspecified features associated with the initial state of functional categories like C, Agr, D, and which determine parametric differences between languages are available in that form only for a limited period in early life [...]. Beyond the critical period the virtual, unspecified features disappear, leaving only those features encoded in the lexical entries for particular lexical items [...]. The principles of UG, however, remain fully available and constrain grammar building" (Hawkins & Chan 1997: pg. 216).

In other words, the FFH predicts that functional features are subject to a critical period and cannot be acquired beyond childhood unless they are instantiated in the L1 and that L2 syntactic representations will be different from their native counterparts where the speaker's L1 does not have the same features as the L2, such as the [Appl]. Thus by this hypothesis, the L2 speaker is limited to the feature inventory of the L1, and he can only acquire categorical knowledge of the areas of the L2 grammar that his L1 features inventory allows him to.

Contrary to the Partial Access Hypothesis, the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b) predicts that UG is fully available and that, in principle, acquisition of all the properties of a target language is possible.

Chapter 1 introduces Low Applicative Constructions within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001). More specifically, in this chapter we follow

Cuervo who discusses Spanish and argues that the clitic-doubled ditransitive configuration is a double object construction (DOC) and that it should be analyzed as a low applicative construction (Cuervo 2003). We adopt the idea that the dative argument in the Spanish DOC can have three kinds of meanings: it can be a recipient (Low Applicative-‘TO’); a source (Low Applicative-‘FROM’) and a possessor (Low Applicative-‘AT’). However, even though it can be argued that languages distinguish between the DOC and the Prepositional Ditransitive construction universally, there is variation as to whether this distribution has specific morphosyntactic realizations, and in terms of the actual classification of the verbs that can participate in the construction. For instance, in English ‘wash’ cannot appear in the DOC, whereas in Spanish it can, as in (20b) and (21b), respectively.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (20) | a. Mary washed her car | b. *Mary washed John the car |
| (21) | a. María lavó su coche
M _{nom} washed her car _{acc}
‘Mary washed her car’ | b. María le lavó el coche a Juan
M _{nom} Cl _{dat} washed the car _{acc} to J _{dat}
‘Mary washed John’s car / the car for John’ |
| (21’) | a. Maria umyła swój samochód
M _{nom} washed her car _{acc}
‘Mary washed her car’ | b. Maria umyła Jankowi samochód
M _{nom} washed J _{dat} car _{acc}
‘Mary washed John’s car / the car for John’ |

In Chapter 2, we provide a review of first and second language literature related to the acquisition of the double object construction in English and in Haitian Creole. In Chapter 3 we introduce applicative constructions of the high type, which are shared by Polish, as in (19) and Spanish, as in (19’), repeated here as (22).

- (22) Marcie *podobają się* filmy hiszpańskie
 M_{dat} likes Refl.Cl movies Spanish_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes Spanish movies’

In Chapter 4 we review some L2 literature on the acquisition of dative experiencers and some L1 literature on the acquisition of ‘quirky’ subjects. There exist constituents that appear in the structural subject position and yet are marked other than with nominative case. In traditional grammar these constituents are known as indirect objects, while others refer to them as dative experiencers (Bosque et al 1999; Montrul 1997); and more recently as ‘*quirky*’ subjects (Chomsky 2000) or ‘*subjects*’ (Sigurðsson 2000).

Chapter 5 describes the methodology of our study and here we discuss our hypotheses for Low and High applicative constructions. We present the design of the three experiments intended to determine the status of a subset of ditransitive verbs, unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates, verbs of creation/construction and psychological predicates in the Spanish interlanguage of English and Polish L2 learners at the advanced and high advanced levels. One test consists of a picture task and the other two are grammaticality judgment tasks.

These tests allow us to determine whether and how learners classify the chosen verbs and what syntactic diagnostics they are using, if any, to treat send, as in (23) and like, as in (24), as different types of applicative constructions.

- (23) Juan le *envió una tarjeta postal* a Marta
 J_{nom} Cl_{dat} sent a card post_{acc} to Marta_{dat}
 ‘John sent Marta a post card’

- (24) A Juan le gusta el fútbol americano
to J_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes the soccer American_{nom}
'John likes football'

The results from the grammaticality judgment task and the preference task are consistent with the hypotheses that assume that in the initial periods of second language acquisition, some of the mappings of argument structure onto syntactic structure are transferred from the L1. These results are consistent with previous proposals that indicate that such mappings are strongly linked to the selection of a sub-group of lexical items. In addition, our empirical results only partially provide an answer to the research questions. This is due to a major degree to the native Spanish-speaking control group whose responses did not consistently agree with the intuitions of linguists. We view this as an important contribution to Spanish descriptive linguistics in that the variability that was found both for native speakers and non-native speakers pointed to the important role that usage plays in the acquisition of applicative constructions (i.e. dative clitic doubling with different types of predicates).

As for the relevance of this study, at the theoretical level it contributes to descriptive linguistics in that it presents a description of Low and High applicative constructions in Spanish. For L2 acquisition theory, it provides an analysis of the acquisition of these applicative constructions and data which test the proposals of acquisitional and linguistic theories. Lastly, at the practical level, our study provides native and non-native data that can be used by foreign language teachers, teacher trainers and for the preparation of teaching materials intended for the teaching of Spanish as a second or foreign language.

Chapter 1

Spanish Clitic Doubled Dative Constructions as *Low Applicative* Structures

1.0. Introduction

In English, the double object ditransitive construction, in (24a), is dubbed an instance of a Low Applicative construction by Pytkäinen (2002) following Marantz (1993), whereas the structure in (25b) is not, due to the fact that the indirect object, *Mary*, is introduced by the preposition ‘to’:

- (25) a. John sent *Mary* roses
b. John sent roses *to Mary*

It has been argued that the Spanish clitic doubled ditransitive constructions, as opposed to the non-clitic doubled ditransitive constructions, display similar syntactic characteristics as the English DOC (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003). As a result, the Spanish clitic doubled ditransitive constructions are labeled Low Applicative structures by Cuervo, as in (26a).

- (26) a. Juan _{le_i} envió rosas a María_i (Spanish)
J_{nom} Cl_{dat} sent roses_{acc} to M_{dat}
‘John sent Mary roses’
b. Janek wysłał róże Marii (Polish)
J_{nom} sent roses_{acc} M_{dat}
‘John sent Mary roses’

In section 1.1., we show that clitic doubled constructions differ from the non-clitic doubled structures with respect to syntactic properties, such as binding of anaphors, binding of possessives, weak cross-over effects and scope (Larson 1988; Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2003).

Cuervo (2003) stipulates that clitic doubled constructions with ditransitive verbs are not the only instances of Low Applicative structures and that non-transfer predicates, whether stative or non-directional activity verbs as in (27) and (28), are also Low Applicative constructions.

- (27) Ana le_i admira la americana a Marta;
Ana_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the jacket_{acc} to Marta_{dat}
'Ana admires Marta's jacket' (stative verb)
- (28) La madre le_i besó la frente a su hija;
the mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the forehead_{acc} to her daughter_{dat}
'The mother kissed her daughter's forehead' (non-directional activity verb)

This author argues that the structures in (26), (27), and (28) are Low Applicative constructions, but what makes them differ from each other is that the dative argument, *a María*, in (26), is licensed by a *Low Applicative Dynamic* head, whereas the possessor dative arguments, *a Marta*, in (27) and, *a su hija*, in (28), are licensed by a *Low Applicative Stative* head (Cuervo 2003). The reason for this distinction is semantics. Unlike the dative argument of ditransitive verbs, the dative argument with non-transfer predicates, whether they be stative or non-directional activity verbs, do not get or lose anything as a result of the event but they are just a participant in the event.

According to Cuervo (2003), Spanish Low Applicative constructions occur with simple dynamic unaccusative verbs like *llegar* ‘arrive’, in (29), and existential unaccusative predicates such as *faltar* ‘be lacking’ in (30).

- (29) A Marta_i le_i llegaron dos cartas (dynamic unaccusative verb)
to Marta_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters
‘Two letters arrived for Marta’
- (30) A Pedro_i le_i falta dinero (existential unaccusative verb)
to Pedro_{dat} Cl_{dat} lacks money
‘Pedro lacks money’

She claims that the structure in (29) resembles the clitic doubled ditransitive construction in (26), in that the dative argument, *A Marta*, is the recipient of the theme, *dos cartas*. This shows a transfer of possession relation, which defines low applicative constructions. In example (30), the possession relation is established by the unaccusative verb between the dative argument, *A Pedro*, and the theme, *dinero*.

This chapter is divided in two sections. In section 1.1., we address the syntactic properties that show clitic doubled constructions to be structurally different from non-clitic doubled ones. In section 1.2., we introduce the three types of Spanish Low Applicative Constructions with different types of predicates.

1.1. Structural differences between Clitic- and Non Clitic- Doubled Constructions

Spanish clitic doubled ditransitive configurations resemble the English double object ditransitive constructions (DOC) by exhibiting the same fundamental syntactic properties

(such as binding of anaphors and possessives, weak cross-over effects and scope), in that, the goal/recipient is structurally higher than the theme object.

Cuervo (2000, 2003), in the spirit of Demonte's (1995) analysis of the dative alternation, shows that there exist syntactic differences in the presence or absence of a clitic that doubles the indirect object in ditransitive constructions. More specifically, in the non-doubled configuration, binding indicates that the theme is higher than the goal $\bar{a}$ -DP, as in (31). The same syntactic tests show that in the clitic doubled structure the goal $\bar{a}$ -DP is higher than the theme, as in (32).

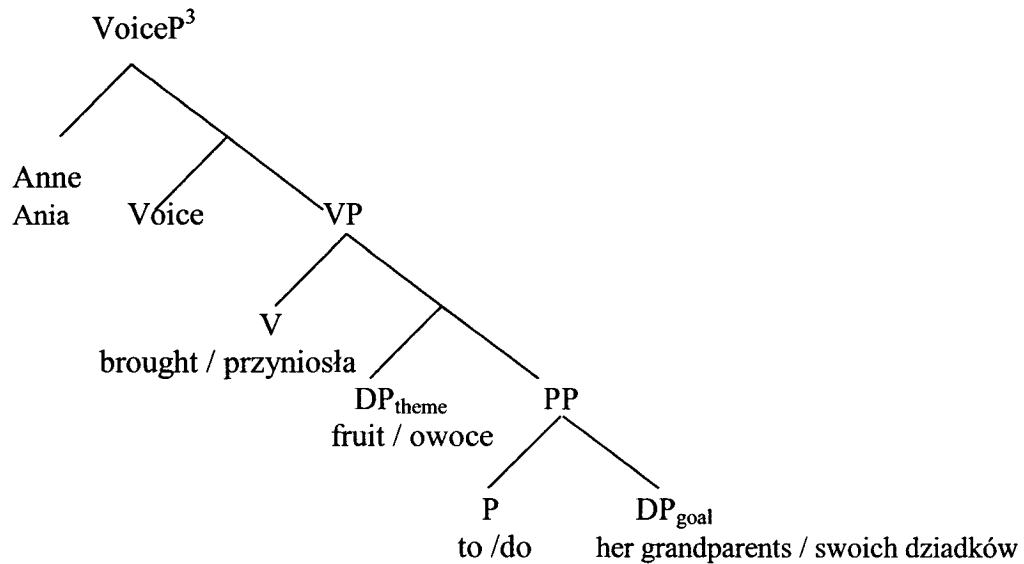
- (31) a. *Entregamos su_i cheques a los trabajadores $_i$ (Binding of possessives)
 gave their checks $_{\text{acc}}$ to the workers $_{\text{dat}}$
 ‘We gave their checks to the workers’
 b. *Presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora $_i$
 introduced her patient $_{\text{acc}}$ to the doctor $_{\text{dat}}$
 ‘We introduced her patient to the doctor’
- (32) a. Les entregamos su_i cheques a los trabajadores $_i$
 Cl $_{\text{dat}}$ gave their checks $_{\text{acc}}$ to the workers $_{\text{dat}}$
 ‘We gave the workers their checks’
 b. Le presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora $_i$
 Cl $_{\text{dat}}$ introduced her patient $_{\text{acc}}$ to the doctor $_{\text{dat}}$
 ‘We introduced the doctor her patient’

Consequently, Cuervo provides different underlying structures for the non-doubled and the clitic doubled alternates, which are reminiscent of the dative alternation in English. Namely, the prepositional configuration (PPD) in English, as in (33a), correlates with that of the non-doubled clitic construction in Spanish, as in (34), where the theme, *fruta*, is higher than the goal DP, *a los abuelos*.

(33) a. Anne brought fruit to her grandparents

(Cuervo 2003)

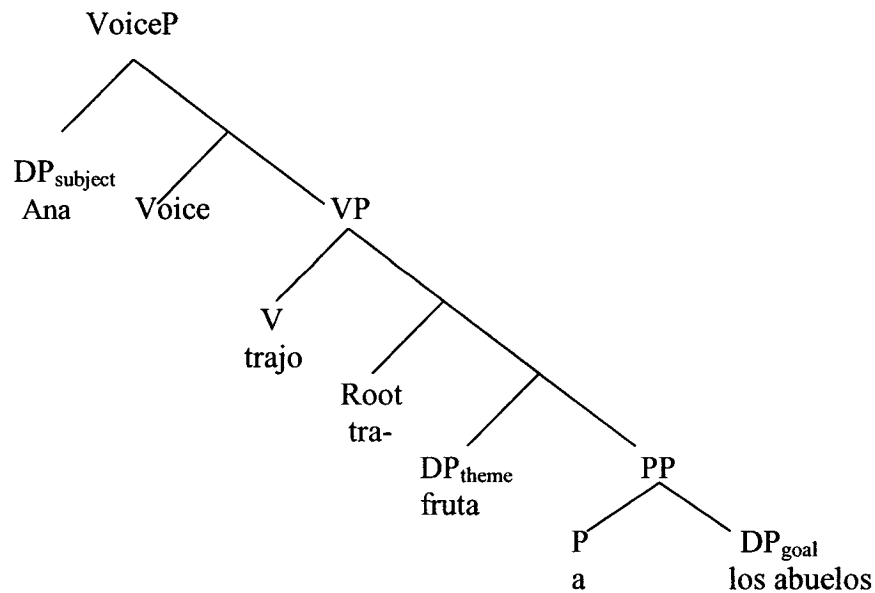
b. Ania przyniosła owoce dla (do) swoich dziadków
 A_{nom} brought fruit_{acc} for (to) her grandparents
 ‘Anne brought fruit to her grandparents’



[Taken from Cuervo (2003): in the framework of Kratzer (1994, 1996)]

³ In recent frameworks it has been proposed that there is an additional node above VP: VoiceP (Kratzer 1994, 1996), EventP (Harley 1995), VP (Koizumi 1993), TrP (Collins 1997), small/little *v* (Larson 1988; Chomsky 1995, 1998). It is widely accepted also that this node is directly related to the external argument.

- (34) Ana trajo fruta a sus abuelos
 A_{nom} brought fruit_{acc} to her grandparents_{dat}
 ‘Ana brought fruit to her grandparents’



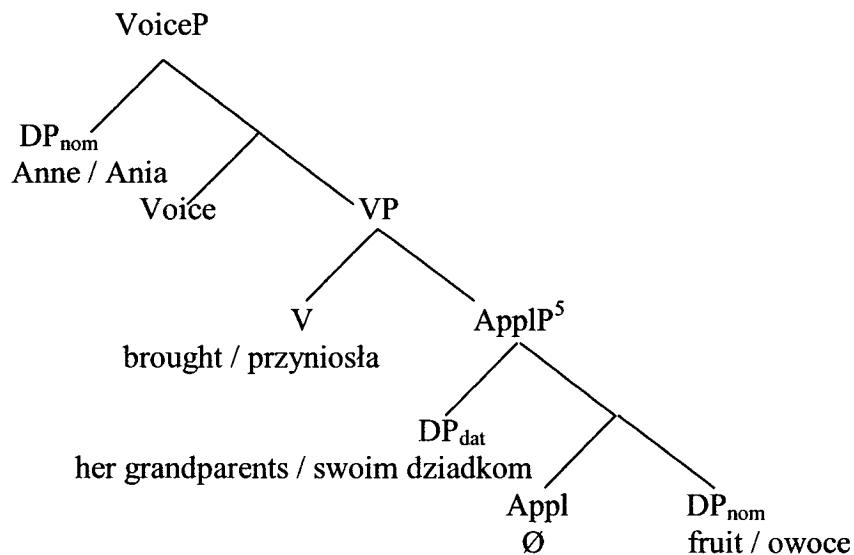
[Taken from Cuervo (2003): in the framework of Kratzer (1994, 1996)]

The clitic doubled construction resembles the English DOC structure; where, the dative DP, *a los abuelos*, is higher than the theme, *fruta*, as shown in (36).

(35) a. Anne brought her grandparents fruit ⁴

(Cuervo 2003)

b. Ania przyniosła swoim dziadkom owoce
 A_{nom} brought her_{dat} grandparents_{dat} fruit_{acc}
 ‘Anne brought her grandparents fruit’



[Taken from Cuervo (2003): in the framework of Kratzer (1994, 1996)]

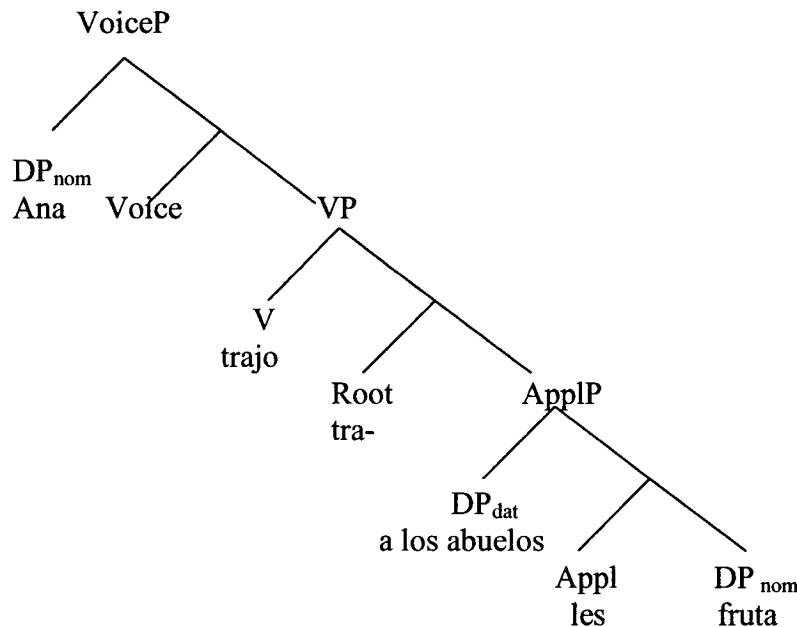
⁴ The do-so test shows this clearly:

- (i) I brought flowers for Sue and jack did so for Ann.
- (ii) *I brought Sue flowers and jack did so Ann.

⁵ The Appl head in English is phonetically null, whereas in Spanish there is a dative clitic.

- (36) Ana les trajo fruta a los abuelos
 A_{nom} Cl_{dat} brought fruit_{acc} to her grandparents_{dat}
 ‘Ana brought her grandparents fruit’

(Cuervo 2003)



[Taken from: Cuervo (2003): in the framework of Kratzer (1994, 1996)]

Cuervo argues that there exists a structural difference between constructions with and without a dative clitic and that the difference is related to different syntactic positions of the arguments, resulting in contrasts that involve asymmetries in c-command relations.

In what follows, we review a series of syntactic asymmetries between the objects in the two constructions first noted by Demonte (1995), which Cuervo uses as the basis of her later analysis.

1.1.1. *Binding of anaphors*

Barss and Lasnik (1986) observed that the two structures in the English dative alternation exhibit c-command asymmetries. In the PPD construction, the direct object binds an anaphor in the PP, as in (37a), but the PP cannot bind into the direct object, as in (37b).

- (37) a. I showed/presented [Anne_{DP1}] to [$\text{herself}_{\text{DP2}}$]
b. *I showed/presented herself to Anne

Pesetsky (1995) analyzes asymmetries in the DOC that parallel those observed in the PPD. He notes that in the DOC the dative object can bind an anaphor, as in (38a), or a possessive in the direct object, as in (39a), but that the direct object cannot bind into the dative object, as illustrated in (38b) and (39b).

- (38) a. I showed John himself in the mirror
b. *I showed himself John in the mirror
(39) a. I denied/gave every worker_i his_i paycheck_i
b. *I denied/gave its_i worker every paycheck_i

Cuervo (2003), following Demonte, argues that parallel asymmetries in binding relations can also be observed in Spanish between the clitic doubled construction and the non-doubled construction. In the construction without the clitic, the direct object can bind an anaphor in the *a*-PP, as in (40a), but not vice versa, as shown in (40b).

- (40) a. Valeria mostró el maestro a sí mismo
Valeria_{nom} showed the teacher_{acc} to himself
‘Valeria showed the teacher to himself’
b. *Valeria le mostró a sí mismo al maestro
Valeria_{nom} Cl_{dat} showed himself_{acc} to the teacher_{dat}
‘*Valeria showed himself to the teacher’

Demonte (1995) provides evidence that the clitic doubled dative can bind an anaphor in the direct object, as in (41). By embedding the anaphor in the direct object she avoids the problem of the double *a*, where there is the personal *a* that introduces the direct object and the *a* that assigns dative case in Spanish.

- (41) El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima de sí misma a María
 the therapy psychoanalytic Cl_{dat} returned the esteem of herself to María_{dat}
 ‘The psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary her self-esteem’

In sum, in the non-doubled constructions, a direct object can bind an anaphor in the indirect object, but not vice versa. The opposite is true for the clitic-doubled configuration, which suggests that the dative is higher than the accusative object.

1.1.2. *Binding of possessives*

In section 1.1.1., we have seen that in the non-clitic doubled sentences a direct object can bind an anaphor in the indirect object, but not vice versa. The opposite is true for the clitic-doubled configuration, which suggests that the dative is higher than the accusative objects.

It follows from the structure in (34) above that in the prepositional double object (PPD) construction the possessive *su* in the string *su* > PP will be ungrammatical, but in the string DP > *su* it will be grammatical. Whereas, in the DOC, the string *su* > DP_{Dat} will be grammatical and the string DP > *su* will be ungrammatical. The predictions for the DOC are accounted for by a structure where the dative DP is higher than the theme, as in (36b above) (Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2000, 2003). In the PPD, a possessive *su* in the direct object cannot be bound by the goal, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (42).

- (42) a. *Entregamos su_i cheques a los trabajadores_i
 gave their checks_{acc} to the workers_{dat}
 ‘We gave their checks to the workers’
 b. *Presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i
 introduced her patient_{acc} to the doctor_{dat}
 ‘We introduced her patient to the doctor’
 c. *La profesora entregó su_i dibujo a los niños_i
 the teacher_{nom} gave their drawing_{acc} to the children_{dat}
 ‘The teacher gave their drawing to all children’

In contrast, Cuervo (2003), following Demonte, argues that if the possessive *su* is part of the DP (complement of the preposition *a*), the sentences are grammatical in the reading where the DP binds the possessive, as in (43).

- (43) a. La policía entregó los bebés_i a su_i (respectivos) padres
 the police_{nom} gave the babies_{acc} to their respective parents_{dat}
 ‘The police gave the babies to their (respective) parents’
 b. Presentamos (a) la doctora_i a su_i paciente
 introduced the doctor_{acc} to her patient_{dat}
 ‘We introduced the doctor to her patient’

In Spanish a possessive in the theme object can be bound by a clitic-doubled dative even when the dative appears to the right of the direct object, as in (44).

- (44) a. Les entregamos su_i cheques a los trabajadores_i
 Cl_{dat} gave their checks_{acc} to the workers_{dat}
 ‘We gave the workers their checks’
 b. Le presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i
 Cl_{dat} introduced her patient_{acc} to the doctor_{dat}
 ‘We introduced the doctor her patient’

The grammaticality of (44) contrasts with the unacceptability of the sentences in (45) with a reading where the possessive *su* in the dative DP is bound by the theme DP.

- (45) a. ??La policía_{nom} les_{dat} entregó los bebés_i a sus_i (respectivos) padres_{dat}
 The police_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave the babies_{acc}ⁱ to their_i (respective) parents_{dat}
 *‘The police gave their parents the babies’
- b. ??Le presentamos (a) la doctora a su_i paciente_{dat}
 Cl_{dat} introduced the doctor_{acc} to her patient_{dat}
 *‘We introduced her patient the doctor’

The difference in acceptability between (45) and (43) is important, because the only surface difference between these two sentences is the absence versus presence of the dative clitic. It is also fundamental to note that a possessive in the dative phrase cannot be bound by the direct object but can, in principle, be bound by the subject.⁶ In the absence of such factors, binding by the subject is grammatical as seen in (46).

- (46) Valeria_i les entregó el libro a sus_i padres_{dat}
 Valeria_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave the book_{acc} to her parents_{dat}
 ‘Valeria gave her parents the book’

In sum, binding of a possessive determiner is consistent with binding of anaphors by providing evidence that in the clitic doubled configuration the dative argument c-commands the theme DP. Cuervo (2003) points out that these facts could not be captured by a theory that does not make reference to the hierarchical structures or a theory that assumes the linear order [Acc > Dat] to be a direct reflection of the hierarchical position of arguments. Namely, the binding of anaphors and possessives implies that word order (Accusative > Dative) in the Spanish clitic-doubled configuration does not reflect the hierarchical relationship between object and dative.

⁶ In (45a), this reading is barred by the abstract nature of *policía* and the presence of the distributive, *respectivos*.

1.1.3. *Weak cross-over effects*

Weak cross-over effects arise when a possessive determiner is co-indexed with a lower constituent that undergoes *wh*-movement, as illustrated in (47).

(47) * $[wh_i \dots [his_i \dots] \dots t_i \dots]$

In the English PPD construction, weak cross-over effects are brought about when the goal DP *wh*- moves across a theme DP that contains a possessive co-indexed with the goal DP, as in (48a).

(48) a. *Who_i did Mary give his_i check to t_i?

The structure is grammatical when the possessive is in the prepositional phrase (48b).

b. What_i did Mary give t_i to its_i owner?

In the DOC, weak cross-over effects occur when there is a possessive pronoun in the dative bound by a raised *wh*- theme object (49a). The effect does not happen if the possessive is in the direct object and the dative is a *wh*-word (49b).

(49) a. *What_i did Mary give its_i owner t_i?

b. Who_i did Mary give t_i his_i check?

If the Spanish clitic-doubled ditransitive is a DOC, and the non-doubled ditransitive corresponds to the PPD, then weak cross-over effects will reproduce the same weak cross-over effects found in English. The sentences in (50) show that weak cross-over effects arise if the possessive is bound by a raised *wh*-PP, but not when the possessive is contained in the PP.

(50) a. *¿A quién_i entregamos su_i cheque t_i?
to whom_{dat} gave his check_{acc}
‘*To whom did we give his check?’

- b. ¿Qué (libro) entregamos t_i a su_i dueño_i?
 what (book)_{acc} gave to its owner_{dat}
 ‘What (book) did we give to its owner?’

If it is the case that the clitic-doubled dative is higher than the theme object, weak cross-over effects should be reversed with respect to the effects in the PPD (51), and parallel those found in the English structures in (48).

- (51) a. *¿Qué (libro) le entregamos a su_i dueño?
 what (book)_{acc} Cl_{dat} gave to its owner_{dat}
 ‘What (book) did we give to its owner?’
 b. ¿A quién_i le entregamos su_i cheque?
 to whom_{dat} Cl_{dat} gave his check_{acc}
 ‘Who did we give his check?’

In order to account for the structures in (51), Cuervo (2003) states that it must be assumed that the trace of the *wh*- object in (51a) is lower than the position of the dative DP; in (51b) the trace of *a quién* ‘to whom’ must be higher than the position of the object DP.

Binding and weak cross-over effects provide evidence for the tree structures presented in (34) and (36); that is to say that the clitic-doubled configurations have the structure of a DOC, while the non-doubled configurations correspond to that of a PPD.

1.1.4. *Scope*

Aoun & Li (1989) observed that the possible scopal relations between theme and goal are different in the English double object ditransitive construction (DOC) and the prepositional double object construction (PPD). These authors showed that there is free scope between the theme object and the *to*-dative in the PPD, whereas in the DOC the

dative can take scope over the theme object, but not vice versa. In the double object construction scope is “frozen”.

- (52) a. Mary gave some book to everyone some > every; every > some
b. Mary gave someone every book some > every; *every > some

Bruening (2001) made similar observations for the relative scope of *a* and *each*.

- (53) a. Mary gave a doll to each girl a > each; each > a
 b. Mary gave a doll each girl a > each; *each > a

Similarly, frozen scope has been shown to occur in other languages. In Spanish, Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003) show that scope is free in the PPD, as in (54).

- (54) a. Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto) cada > un
 Andrés_{nom} sent each painting_{acc} to a museum different
 ‘Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum’
 b. Carolina llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista cada > un
 Carolina_{nom} took an article_{acc} different to each magazine
 ‘Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine’

In (54), *cada* ‘each’ takes scope over an indefinite independently of whether it is in the direct object or in the goal PP. In contrast, in the double object construction *cada* cannot take scope over the indefinite when it is in the direct object, as in (55a) as opposed to (55b).

- (55) a. Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto) *cada> un
 Andrés_{nom} Cl_{dat} sent each painting_{acc} a museum_{dat} different
 ‘Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting’
 b. Carolina le llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista cada > un
 Carolina_{nom} Cl_{dat} took an article_{acc} (different) each magazine_{dat}
 ‘Carolina took each magazine a (different) article’

Cuervo (2003) argues that in the structures of (55) the scope is frozen in a way that is inconsistent with word order. More specifically, the direct object cannot take scope over the dative even when it precedes it in linear order. She claims that the word order [Accusative > Dative] is the neutral word order. This is evidenced in the PPD structures with *todo* ‘every’ and *algún* ‘some’, as in (56).

- (56) a. Tenéis que llevar a todo candidato a algún buen restaurante *todo > algún*
 have that take every candidate to some good restaurant
 ‘You have to take every candidate to a good restaurant’
- b. Tenéis que llevar a algún candidato a todo buen restaurante *todo > algún*
 have that take some candidate to every good restaurant
 ‘You have to take some candidate to every good restaurant’

Restaurants can vary with candidates in (56a), or there can be the same one for every candidate. In (56b), the obligation is to visit every restaurant, be it with the same or different candidates.

In the DOC, the universal quantifier in the theme object cannot take scope over *algún* in the dative argument. That is, in (57a), the obligation consists in recommending every candidate to some particular professor; the reading where every candidate is recommended to one or other professor is not available.

- (57) a. Tenéis que recomendarle todo candidato a algún buen profesor **todo > algún*
 have that to recommend-CI every candidate to some good professor
 ‘You have to recommend every candidate to a good professor’
- b. Tenéis que recomendarle algún candidato a todo buen profesor *todo > algún*
 have that to recommend-CI some candidate to every good professor
 ‘You have to recommend some candidate to every good professor’

Scope facts show that that word order is not a direct reflection of the hierarchical relation between accusative and dative marked objects (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003).

Facts from binding and weak cross-over effects have been shown to argue in the same direction. Namely, in Spanish the non-doubled construction is a PPD and the clitic doubled construction corresponds to the English version of the DOC, where the dative is higher than the accusative theme.

1.2. The Double Object Construction in Polish (Owczarzak 2004)

Owczarzak (2004) argues that Polish has proven to be problematic for syntactic analyses as it displays “free” word order. A simple Polish double object sentence contains four lexical items, as in (58a), 20 well-formed structures are possible, as in (58b-t).

- (58) a. Jan dał Marii kwiaty
J_{nom} gave M_{dat} flowers_{acc}
‘John gave Mary flowers’
- b. Jan Marii dał kwiaty
c. Jan dał kwiaty Marii
d. Jan kwiaty dał Marii
e. Jan Marii kwiaty dał
f. Jan kwiaty Marii dał
g. Marii Jan dał kwiaty
h. Marii dał Jan kwiaty
i. Marii Jan kwiaty dał
j. Marii kwiaty Jan dał
k. Marii kwiaty dał Jan
l. Marii dał kwiaty Jan
m. Kwiaty Jan dał Marii
n. Kwiaty dał Jan Marii
o. Kwiaty Marii dał Jan

- p. Kwiaty dał Marii Jan
- q. Kwiaty Jan Marii dał
- r. Kwiaty Marii Jan dał
- s. Dał Jan Marii kwiaty
- t. Dał Jan kwiaty Marii
- u. Dał Marii Jan kwiaty (as a rhetorical question)

Owczarzak argues that the sentences in (58) reveal that different word orders coincide with different pragmatic/context information conveyed by the sentences in question. She adopts the terminology used in functional approaches to language, and states that sentence-initial positions are usually occupied by ‘given’ or ‘old’ information, which is often referred to as *topic*. Sentence-final positions are often associated with ‘new’ information, that is, in functional terms, *focus*.

Owczarzak proposes that on the basis of binding facts both the topic position and the focus position are realized syntactically in Polish. Namely, the movement to these positions is motivated by features: the topic carries a [+topic] feature that can be checked by multiple XPs that adjoin to the maximal projection. Owczarzak claims that there can be more than one [+focus] feature in the structure and each of them will project its own phrase.

1.3. Three Types of Low Applicatives in Spanish: ‘TO’, ‘FROM’ and ‘AT’

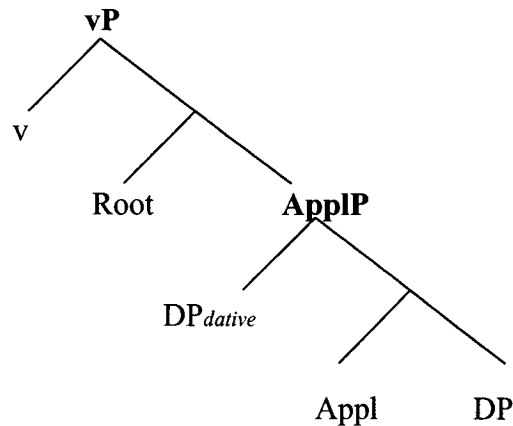
Pylkkänen (2002) proposes two kinds of dynamic low applicative constructions, the low applicative-‘TO’ and the low applicative-‘FROM’, whereas Cuervo (2003) argues that in Spanish there exist three kinds of Low applicative constructions: two dynamic and one

stative. Cuervo states that the dative argument in the Spanish clitic doubled construction has three kinds of meanings: it can be a recipient (a low applicative-‘TO’ construction), as in (59a); it can be a source (a low applicative-‘FROM’ construction), shown in (60a), but that it can also be a possessor (a low applicative-‘AT’ construction) as in (61a). In the third case, the clitic doubled construction expresses a static relation of possession. From the pattern in sentences (59b), (60b) and (61b) it seems that in Polish there also exist three types of low applicative constructions of the Spanish type.

- (59) a. Juan le dio rosas a María (dynamic-‘TO’)
 J_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave roses_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘John gave Mary roses’
 b. Janek dał Marii róże
 J_{nom} gave Mary_{dat} roses_{acc}
 ‘John gave Mary roses’
- (60) a. El ladrón le robó los cuadros de Monet a María (dynamic-‘FROM’)
 the thief_{nom} Cl_{dat} stole the paintings by Monet_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘The thief stole the paintings by Monet from Mary’
 b. Złodziej ukradł obrazy malowane przez Monet Marii
 thief_{nom} stole paintings painted by Monet_{acc} Mary_{dat}
 ‘The thief stole the paintings by Monet from Mary’
- (61) a. Ana le admira la americana a Marta (stative-‘AT’)
 Ana_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the jacket_{acc} to Marta_{dat}
 ‘Ana admires Marta’s jacket’
 b. Ania podziwia kurtkę Marcie
 Anne_{nom} admires jacket_{acc} Marta_{dat}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’

Based on Pylkkänen's (2002) analysis of low applicative constructions, Cuervo (2003) argues that the dative noun is not an argument of the verb; instead it is introduced by a specialized head, called the applicative head, which merges below the verb and relates the dative to the direct object, as in (34), repeated here as (62) for reader's convenience.

(62) (Cuervo 2003)



The applicative head is responsible for the syntactic and semantic licensing of the dative argument. For Spanish, Cuervo (2003) claims that the head assigns inherent dative case to the argument it licenses, and the dative clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head. In other words, the clitic spells out the person and number features of the DP licensed by the head in its specifier position.

Low applicatives are defined as heads that relate an individual to the internal argument of the verb, the direct object (Pylkkänen 2002). Namely, the low applicative head licenses the “extra” argument, the applied argument, both semantically and syntactically. Thus, the relationship is defined as a dynamic transfer of possession. Pylkkänen points out that there exist two types of low applicative heads that specify

either a transfer ‘TO’ or a transfer ‘FROM’. Depending on which of the heads licenses the applied argument, this argument is interpreted as the recipient or the source of the theme object, the direct object. Cuervo argues that a language can select one or both of these heads from the universal inventory of functional elements. English, unlike Spanish and Polish, for instance, only has the ‘TO’ applicative head as seen by the examples in (63) and (64).⁷

(63) a. Daniel handed Stephanie the magazine

b. Daniel wreczył Stefanii magazyn

D_{nom} handed S_{dat} magazine_{acc}

‘Daniel handed Stephanie the magazine’

(64) a. *Daniel stole Stephanie a magazine (intended meaning: Daniel stole a magazine from Stephanie)

b. Daniel ukradł Stefanii magazyn

D_{nom} stole S_{dat} magazine_{acc}

‘Daniel stole the magazine from Stephanie’

Cuervo (2003) claims that Spanish, unlike English, has the two kinds of dynamic low applicatives discussed by Pykkänen: the Low Applicative-‘TO’, as in (65a) and the Low Applicative-‘FROM’, as in (66a).

(65) a. Pablo le regaló una bici a Andreína

P_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave a bike_{acc} to Andreína_{dat}

‘Paul gave (as a gift) a bike to Andreína’

b. Paweł podarował rower Anecie

P_{nom} gave bike_{acc} A_{dat}

‘Paul gave (as a gift) a bike to Aneta’

⁷ The low applicative head-‘TO’ implies a transfer of possession relation between the direct object and an applied argument. The example *I baked him a cake*, is a DOC with a benefactive meaning that exemplifies the recipient variety of low applicatives (Pykkänen 2002) which can be illustrated with the preposition FOR as in *I baked a cake for him*.

(66) a. Pablo le robó la bici a Andreína
 P_{nom} Cl_{dat} stole the bike_{acc} to Andreína_{dat}
 ‘Paul stole the bike from Andreína’⁸

b. Paweł ukradł rower Anecie
 P_{nom} stole bike_{acc} A_{dat}
 ‘Paul stole the bike from Aneta’

Cuervo also points out that a dative argument in Spanish can be interpreted as the possessor of the theme object. In (67a), *Valeria* is the inalienable possessor of the forehead. She states that the action expressed by the verb falls on the forehead and thus on *Valeria*.

(67) a. Pablo le besó la frente a Valeria
 P_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the forehead_{acc} to Valeria_{dat}
 ‘Paul kissed Valeria on the forehead’ (Lit. ‘Paul kissed Valeria the forehead’)

b. Paweł pocałował czoło Anecie
 P_{nom} kissed forehead_{acc} A_{dat}
 ‘Paul kissed Anete on the forehead’ (Lit. ‘Paul kissed Anete the forehead’)

Possessor datives typically appear with verbs that are not considered ditransitive. Pylkkänen (2002) claims that possessor datives in Hebrew are an expression of the dynamic Low Applicative-Source. For Cuervo (2003) possessor datives are better analyzed as an applied argument licensed by a Low Applicative head that is stative, not dynamic. As we said above, a possessor dative under a stative predicate (such as *admirar* ‘admire’, *envidiar* ‘envy’, *conocer* ‘know’) or a non-directional activity verb (such as

⁸ Some verbs in Spanish have underspecified directionality, thus resulting in the dative argument to be ambiguous between being in a Low Applicative-‘TO’ construction (a recipient) or in a Low Applicative-‘FROM’ (a source). Among such verbs we find *vender* ‘to sell’, *alquilar* ‘to rent’, *comprar* ‘to buy’.

besar ‘kiss’, *mirar* ‘look at’, *sostener* ‘hold’) is an applied argument licensed by a low applicative head with a static meaning.

Cuervo further argues that as with the dative arguments in the DOC, these possessor dative arguments are related to the theme object, the direct object, and bear no direct relation with the verb or event. As opposed to recipients and sources, these datives are basically interpreted as the possessor of the object. She accounts for this by proposing a third kind of low applicative, the Low Applicative-‘AT’. The head of the Low Applicative-‘AT’ establishes a “static” relation of possession rather than a dynamic one. The dative argument does not get or lose anything as a result of the event; it is just a participant in the event, as the possessor of the theme DP.

It is also argued that dative marked nominals can act simultaneously as possessors, i.e. as a subpart of a larger nominal phrase, and complement to verbs (Guéron 1985; Landau 1999; Payne & Barshi 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld 2005), as in (68), (69) and (70).

- (68) J’ai coupé les cheveux a Pierre (French)
 I have cut the hair_{acc} to P_{dat}
 ‘I cut Pierre’s hair’
- (69) a. ha-yalda kilkela le-Dan et ha-radio (Hebrew)
 the-girl spoiled to-Dan_{dat acc} the-radio
 ‘The girl broke Dan’s radio’
- b. Tim hat der Nachabarin das Auto gewaschen (German)
 Tim has the neighbour_{dat.fem} the car washed
 ‘Tim washed the neighbour’s car’

- (70) a. Ściąłam włosy Piotrowi (Polish)
 Cut_{1st.fem} hair_{acc} P_{dat}
 ‘I cut Peter’s hair’
- b. Dziewczynka zepsóła Danielowi radio
 girl_{nom} broke D_{dat} radio_{acc}
 ‘The girl broke Dan’s radio’
- c. Tomek umył sąsiadce samochód
 Tim_{nom} washed neighbour_{dat.fem} car_{acc}
 ‘Tim washed the neighbour’s car’

In (69b) and (70c), *neighbour* is interpreted as both possessor of car and affectee (here beneficiary) of car-washing event. Possessor dative movement is strictly case driven, not driven by thematic needs; it might be for this reason why Cuervo (2003) puts possessor datives in the category of low applicative arguments. In either analysis there is no risk of overgenerating double theta-role scenarios.

Like in Hebrew (Landau 1999) and in German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2005), it could be argued that the sentence in (67a) is not a low applicative construction in Spanish, but should be best analyzed as a Possessor Dative Construction, which is defined as the movement of a possessor dative from specifier of possessed nominal (where possessor role is assigned) into verbal argument slot (where affectee role is assigned) (Allen et al. 1990).

1.4. Conclusion

We have reviewed syntactic tests such as binding, weak cross-over effects and scope that show that Spanish clitic-doubled configurations parallel English double object constructions and adopted Cuervo's view that they are low applicative constructions. However, besides having dynamic constructions like English, in Spanish there exists a Low Applicative stative construction. These three possibilities exist because the dative argument in the Spanish clitic- doubled construction can have three kinds of meanings: (i) it can be a recipient, resulting in a low applicative-‘TO’ construction; (ii) it can be a source, resulting in a low applicative-‘FROM’ construction; and, (iii) it can be a possessor where it constructs a low applicative-‘AT’ construction.

Chapter 2

L1 / L2 acquisition of the English Double Object Construction and Spanish Clitic Doubled Dative Construction

2.0. Introduction

In Chapter 1 we have seen that in Spanish the structure with a clitic corresponds to the English DOC, while the non-clitic doubled indirect object corresponds (*a*-PP) to the English prepositional phrase construction (*to*-PP). Recall that in the PPD the goal is merged lower than the theme object, as the complement of the directional preposition *a*; whereas in the DOC the dative argument is structurally higher than the theme object. Thus, we took the position that the Spanish DOC is a low applicative construction (Cuervo 2003). It follows from this analysis that the dative constituent is not an argument of the verb; rather, the dative argument is introduced by the applicative head, which merges below the verb and relates the dative to the direct object, as illustrated in (36) in section 1.1.

Our intention is to discover if different types of predicates render the acquisitional process more arduous for English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish. In other words, we will investigate the acquisition of the Spanish DOC, the low applicative construction, with different types of predicates (unergative and unaccusative verbs, verbs of creation/construction, and non-transfer predicates). In principle, the dative argument with

each of the above mentioned classes of verbs should cause the same learnability issue, since in the low applicative construction the dative argument is regarded as not being part of the verb's argument structure.

We aim to discover whether certain verbs impede the acquisitional process of the different low applicative constructions that are possible in Spanish. We are also interested in answering the question that is always debatable whether non-native speakers at the high advanced level show signs of native-like intuitions with respect to these subtle syntactic and semantic differences in Spanish. In what follows, we present the acquisitional process of the double object construction in English and Haitian Creole speakers, as well as, the L2 acquisition of English double objects by L2 speakers of French, Korean and Japanese.

2.1. L1 acquisition of the English Double Object Construction (DOC)

During the past two decades considerable attention has been devoted to the dative alternation and its acquisition in English (Baker 1979; Roeper 1981; Pinker 1982, 1984, 1989; Bowerman 1983, 1987a; Mazurkewich & White 1984; Fodor 1985; Fodor & Crain 1987; MacWhinney 1987; White 1987; Jackendoff 1990, among others).

Research conducted on the dative alternation in English shows that there exist restrictions on the double object construction in that not all structures with prepositional datives, i.e. *to*-datives, correspond to a double object structure. For instance, in English there are verbs that permit both the prepositional construction, as in (71a), and the double object construction, as in (71b).

However, there also exist verbs that allow only the prepositional form, as illustrated in (72a) and (72b) respectively.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (71) a. John gave a gift to Mary
John told a story to Mary
John baked a cake for Alice
John baked Alice a cake
John built a dog house for Rex | b. John gave Mary a gift
John told Mary a story
John told Mary a story
John baked Alice a cake
John built Rex a dog house |
| (72) a. *Max washed Kate the car
*Mom buttoned Tom the coat
*John pushed Mary a donut
*Mary whispered John the story | b. Max washed the car for Kate
Mom buttoned the coat for Tom
John pushed a donut to Mary
Mary whispered the story to John |

Argument structure alternations represent an interesting learnability problem in language acquisition (Baker 1979; Pinker 1989). Namely, verbs are ‘choosy’ about the syntactic environments in which they occur and this in turn poses a problem for language acquisition: how can restrictions to the dative alternation be learned? In English, the dative alternation applies to a particular group of verbs: the verb has to be ditransitive (*send*); the morphological root cannot be Latinate (**donate*); and one of the arguments has to be a [+human] possessor (John send Mary a postcard / *John send Madrid a postcard). The question put forth is how do language acquirers learn the semantic and morphological restrictions that constrain the alternation without access to negative evidence?

L1 studies on children’s dative constructions argue that in English children have more difficulty imitating and comprehending double object constructions (DOC) than the prepositional object construction (PPD) (Pinker 1984, 1989; Gropen et al. 1989). Pinker’s

(1984) research showed that the DOC is not acquired later than the PPD but rather the two structures seem to be acquired more or less simultaneously when measured in terms of children's first spontaneous productions of verbs requiring a dative argument. He also noted that it was not surprising that children had problems when acquiring certain DOC constructions, since in the experiments that were used they were typically confronted with DOCs that contained two full DPs, as in (73). These DOC forms are as hard to process for adults as they are for children.

(73) a. The teacher showed the boy *the girl*.

b. The teacher showed *the girl* to the boy.

Inspired by Pinker (1984), in this thesis we will investigate whether L2 learners will have more difficulties with the Spanish low applicative structures relevant to our concerns, since all contain two full DPs, as in (74). Recall that *a* in the Spanish low applicative construction is not a preposition, but a morphological marker for dative case.

(74) a. Juan_{nom} le_{cl_{dat}} reparó el coche_{DP_{acc}} a Pedro_{DP_{dat}}
 J_{nom} Cl_{dat} repaired the car_{acc} to P_{dat}

‘John repaired Peter’s car’

b. A Marisol_{DP_{dat}} le_{cl_{dat}} llegaron dos cartas_{DP_{nom}}
 to M_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}

‘Two letters arrived to Marisol’

More specifically, we seek to determine whether L2 learners will judge the structures in (74) grammatical or whether they will opt for the PPD version, as in (75), where there is only one full DP. Recall that the structures in (75) are not DOC constructions.

- (75) a. Juan reparó el coche_{DP_{acc}} de Pedro_{PP} / para Pedro_{PP}
 J_{nom} repaired the car_{acc} of Pedro / for Pedro
 ‘John repaired Peter’s car / John repaired the car for Peter’
- b. Llegaron dos cartas_{DP_{nom}} de Marisol_{PP} / para Marisol_{PP}
 arrived two letters_{nom} of M for M
 ‘Marisol’s two letters arrived / Two letters arrived for Marisol’

It is argued that dative verbs are frequent in speech to children and both forms, the DOC and the PPD, appear in children’s spontaneous productions by the age of 3;0 (Snyder & Stromswold 1997; Campbell & Tomasello 2001). In the CHILDES database of twelve native monolingual English-speaking children that Snyder and Stromswold analyzed there were over 80, 000 adult utterances that contained a dative verb. Of those utterances that contained the verb *give*, between 33% and 85% were in the DOC. Clearly, children have considerable experience with these verbs in both alternations. Campbell and Tomasello (2001) report that, while the majority of dative verbs in child directed speech were used in the DOC, all children in their study heard both forms of the alternation with multiple verbs. In fact, they found that children produced the double object construction at the same time as they produced the *to*-dative and *for*-dative constructions. They report that the DOC was most often, but not always, the first to appear, since two children in their investigation first produced the *to*-dative construction and the *for*-dative construction, before the DOC emerged. These authors attributed this to the greater frequency with which children heard the *for*-dative construction with specific verbs. In addition, they found that some children used many verbs that, from the point of view of

adult analyses, are not prototypical for the DOC. For instance, they used verbs of creation (*make, cook*) and verbs of communicated message (*tell, show*).

We seek to investigate whether English and Polish L2 learners will also judge as grammatical Spanish DOCs with verbs of creation/construction (*cocinar* ‘cook’), unaccusative (*llegar* ‘arrive’), unergative (*correr* ‘run’) and non-transfer verbs (*besar* ‘kiss’). More specifically, these verbs do not select for a dative argument and are not prototypical for the Spanish clitic-doubled construction. Class input at the advanced and high advanced levels is rich in dative arguments with ditransitive verbs and verbs of creation/construction; however, clitic doubled constructions with unaccusative, unergative and non-transfer verbs are not productive. In our experimental study, we wish to determine whether L2 learners will produce clitic doubled structures with these non-prototypical verbs.

2.2. L2 acquisition of the DOC in Haitian Creole

Bruyn, Muysken and Verrips (1999) show that DOCs occur in Creole languages whose European lexifier language has no DOC, as for instance in Haitian Creole, (76a), and Seychelles Creole, (76b), with a French lexical base.

- (76) a. Li rakonte papa-li istwa sa-a
 3sg tell father-3sg story this
 ‘He told his father this story’
- b. Mo pu deman mo papa morso larzan
 1sg mood marker ask 1sg father bit money
 ‘I shall ask my father for a little money’

They explain the presence of DOCs in Haitian Creole as well as the absence of DOCs in child French by assuming that markedness in the case of DOCs is a relative term. They suggest that DOCs were part of the input to Haitian children, even though they were not part of the grammar of the French adult speakers that provided this input. Namely, the first generation of Haitian Creole speakers misanalyzed certain strings as DOCs. These authors argue that the first input that was misanalyzed was found in affirmative imperatives of the type in (77).

- (77) Donne-**moi** du pain
give me some bread
'Give me bread'

Utterances such as the one in (77) were misanalyzed according to these authors because pronominal clitics could not enter the Creole system. Loss of pronominal clitics has long been known to be a widespread phenomenon in the genesis of Creole languages (Schuchardt 1890, 1914). Specifically, phonologically weak clitics are lost in creolization, whereas strong clitics are reanalyzed as pronouns. Children confronted with input such as (77) could either disregard it or assign a non-adult like structure in which the pronominal clitic *moi* filled an NP position. Bruyn, Muysken and Verrips (1999) propose that in this manner the DOCs entered Haitian syntax though they do not provide any historical data to support this proposal.

Concerning our research, recall that in English the low applicative construction has no morphological markings and the applicative head is null (Pylkkänen 2002), as in (78a). Owczarzak (2004) argues that in Polish there also exists the DOC construction and

that there are specific morphological markings, as in (78b); however, unlike Spanish the construction is not clitic doubled, as in (78c).

(78) a. Daniel handed Sara the magazine

b. Daniel wręczył Saze magazyn
 D_{nom} handed S_{dat} magazine_{acc}
 ‘Daniel handed Sara the magazine’

c. Daniel le entregó la revista a Sara
 D_{nom} Cl_{dat} handed the magazine_{acc} to S_{dat}
 ‘Daniel handed Sara the magazine’

It is argued that in the Spanish low applicative construction, the low applicative head assigns inherent dative Case to the argument it licenses and the clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head. This clitic spells out the person and number features (i.e. phi-features) of the DP licensed by the applicative head in its specifier position. If speakers of Haitian Creole were able to incorporate an element that is not part of their L1 grammar, then along the same lines we should seek to determine whether English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish will be able to spell-out the clitic in the low applicative constructions, which is also not part of their L1.

In addition to the L2 acquisition of the DOC constructions, L2 research sought to determine whether the DOC as opposed to the PPD counterpart created more learnability issues for second or foreign language learners (Mazurkiewicz and White 1984; White 1991; Bley-Vroman and Yoshinaga 1992; Whong-Barr and Schwartz 2002; Oh and Zubizarreta 2004). Lastly, L2 studies investigated whether L2 learners were aware that not all English verbs enter in the dative alternation.

Mazurkewich and White (1984) propose a semantic criterion for ‘dativizable’ verbs. They argue that the referent of the first object, being the indirect object, must be the prospective possessor of the referent of the second object, i.e. the direct object. More specifically, the first object of double-object verbs must be a possessor and goal in the case of *to*-datives, or a possessor and beneficiary in the case of *for*-datives. These authors claim that *John gave Mary a car* is acceptable, but **John washed Mary a car* is not, because *Mary* is asserted to be only the beneficiary, but not the possessor of the *car*. They hypothesize that English-speaking children are unaware of the semantic and morphological constraints of the lexical redundancy rule, and as a consequence, children overgeneralize the construction to verbs that disallow it, producing sentences such as **Mary donated him a present*.

Cuervo (2003) following Pylkkänen (2002) provides a syntactic account of this semantic criterion in terms of a particular syntactic structure, the low applicative construction. Similarly as in the semantic criterion of Mazurkewich and White (1984), in the low applicative structure, the direct object establishes a transfer of possession relation with the applicative (applied) argument, i.e. the dative argument. She notes that languages vary cross-linguistically as to the possibility of constructing a low applicative structure. For instance, unlike English, in Spanish low applicative constructions are productive with verbs of creation/construction, unergative, unaccusative and non-transfer verbs (whether they be stative or non-directional activity verbs). The sentence in (79) is

ungrammatical in English but acceptable in Spanish and Polish, as illustrated in (80) and (81) respectively.⁹

(79) *John washed Mary the car¹⁰

(80) Juan le lavó el coche a María
 J_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the car_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘John washed the car for Mary’ or ‘John washed Mary’s car’

(81) Janusz umył samochód Marii
 J_{nom} washed car_{acc} M_{dat/gen}
 ‘John washed the car for Mary’ or ‘John washed Mary’s car’

Some studies in L2 acquisition investigate the emergence of the English dative alternation with real and nonce verbs in adult Japanese speakers (Bley-Vroman & Yoshinaga 1992). The question is whether adult L2 learners whose language does not have a DOC like English could learn to extract the rules underlying the alternation in English. According to these authors, the results fully support the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989), which predicts that L1 and L2 acquisition are radically different and UG ceases to be accessible. Their investigation was based on the assumption that in English there are two kinds of constraints on the dative alternation: (i) the ‘broad-range constraint’ - that the double object form involves causation of change of possession; and, (ii) the ‘narrow-range constraint’ - that restricts ‘dativization’ to

⁹ The sentences in (80) and (81) have two interpretations: (i) the *car* belongs to *Mary* and John washed it for her. In Polish *Mary* is marked with genitive case and in Spanish this interpretation is found in sentences with the preposition *de*, as in (a). The second interpretation is that the *car* may belong to someone else but as a favour to Mary John washed it. In Polish *Mary* is marked with dative case and in Spanish this interpretation is also found in sentences with the preposition *para* is used, as in (b).

a. Juan lavó el coche de María
 b. Juan lavó el coche para María

¹⁰ John washed Mary her car

subclasses of verbs with similar meaning structures.¹¹ It is argued that the class of verbs which is compatible with a given thematic core is the “Broad Conflation Class” of that thematic core. More specifically, the alternation between the prepositional and the double object datives are expressed as a rule which relates the two thematic cores. Such rules are called ‘Broad Range Rules’.

Pinker (1989) argues that the narrow verbal semantic constraints, the ‘narrow range rules’, complement ‘broad range rules’ to define which of the verbs that are cognitively compatible with possession change will undergo the dative alternation. ‘Broad range rules’ relate to core thematic structure, while ‘narrow range rules’ refer to more detailed aspects of semantics. In particular, ‘narrow range rules’ make reference to specific “linguistically relevant manners and properties”, among which are ballisticness (differentiating between *push* and *throw*). Narrow verbal semantics stipulate additional properties which a verb must have in order to undergo the dative/prepositional alternation.

Jackendoff (1990) notes that ‘the broad range constraint’, i.e. ‘possession constraint’, is expressed in the theta grid associated with verbs which can occur in the double object construction. Such verbs assign a Recipient role to the first object, i.e. the indirect object. Certain verbs inherently assign a Recipient role (such as *give*); while

¹¹ ‘Broad range rules’ are operations on semantic structure whose effects on syntactic argument structure are mediated by linking rules. The linking rules are near-universal, so they may be innate or very easily learned (Pinker 1989). The ‘broad range constraint’ is associated with theta theory and the linking of theta-roles to syntactic functions (or positions in syntactic structure). Universal Grammar provides a limited set of roles (Agent, Theme, Recipient, Goal, etc.) or, otherwise expressed, a limited set of basic semantic predicates (Act, Move, Cause, Have, etc.). Roles are associated with particular syntactic functions (Subject, Object, etc.). All languages have realizations of the universally given system, both with respect to the sorts of roles available and the possible ways of linking them with syntax.

others, in particular verbs of causation of motion (such as *send*), do not inherently assign A Recipient role, but they can have their theta grids ‘augmented’ so as to include a Recipient role.

Jackendoff (1990) further argues that the theta grid of a predicate can be ‘augmented’. Following this idea, within the theory of applicative constructions (Cuervo 2003) in Spanish various types of constituents can be marked with dative morphology and display the complement properties even though they are not theta-marked by the verb. In this sense the applicative argument is ‘augmenting’ the theta-grid. For example, in (70b) the theta grid of the unaccusative verb *llegar* has been augmented when the dative argument, *A Marisol*, has been added to the configuration.

In view of these ideas on augmentation, in this thesis we seek to investigate whether L2 learners will be sensitive to the fact that in Spanish certain verbs allow clitic doubling constructions. When the verb carries no information about the dative argument, we will investigate whether L2 learners will reject such structures or whether they will insert the dative clitic to successfully double the dative argument in such situations and in turn show that within the analysis we have adopted, the dative constituent is an applicative argument.

2.3. L2 acquisition of the English DOC

Other studies have focused on the issue of transfer in L2 acquisition. White (1991) investigated whether learners whose L1 has a dative alternation (English) transfer the alternation to the L2 which does not allow the dative alternation (French). Results

showed that the English-speaking learners (120 children and 27 adults) accepted illicit DOC forms in French. Similarly, Inagaki (1997) who tested adult Chinese and Japanese learners of English found evidence of L1 transfer in Chinese speaking learners of the English dative alternation.

Whong-Barr and Schwartz (2002) have compared the acquisition of English *to*- and *for*-dative alternation by L1 English, L1 Japanese and L1 Korean children. These languages have different properties: Japanese disallows all DOC constructions and Korean has the equivalent of *for*-dative verbs but disallows the *to*-dative verbs. The results showed that all groups allowed illicit *to*-DOC, evidencing overgeneralization, like in L1 acquisition. Furthermore, the Japanese, but not the Korean L2 learners, allowed illicit *for*-DOC, which is consistent with L1 influence. These results support the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996), which proposes that the initial state of L2 acquisition is the grammar of the L1 and that the L2 development occurs through UG.

Recall that Cuervo (2003) argues that every verb that can appear in the DOC in English can do so too in Spanish, but the reverse does not hold. This contrast does not imply any structural differences, but rather it is attributed to the three meanings that the low applicative has in Spanish (i.e. recipient, source and “static” possessor). It is argued that in English there is only one type of low applicative construction, the low applicative-‘TO’, which has the recipient interpretation.

Given this view, we research whether the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b) holds by investigating English- and Polish- L2 learners of Spanish whose

L1s do have the DOC. This hypothesis predicts that, in principle, acquisition of all the properties related to DOC constructions is possible in Spanish. The Partial Access Hypothesis states that principles are still instantiated in the L2 language, but the learner is somehow restricted to the categories, features and feature values of the L1. Thus, even though the dative clitic doubled construction in Spanish is similar to the English and Polish DOCs, the differences lie in the features of the applicative head and for this reason the English and Polish L2 learners might reject the applicative marker in the constructions (i.e. the dative clitic).

2.4. The role of morphology in the L2 acquisition of the English DOC

More recently, Oh and Zubizarreta (2004) investigated the role of overt morphology in L2 acquisition through a case study of the goal (i.e. *Give someone something*) and benefactive (i.e. *Buy someone something*) DOC in the English interlanguage of 65 adult L1 Korean speakers. Unlike Whong-Barr and Schwartz (2002), they argue that Japanese and Korean have a DOC, as illustrated in (82) and (83) respectively.

- (82) Hanako-ga Taro-ni hagaki-o oku-tta (Japanese)
 Hanako_{nom} Taro_{dat} postcard_{acc} send_{past}
 ‘Hanako sent Taro a postcard’
- (83) John-i Mary-eykey kulimyepse-lul ponay-ss-ta (Korean)
 John_{nom} Mary_{dat} postcard_{acc} send_{past.declarative}
 ‘John sent Mary a postcard’ (Oh and Zubizarreta 2004)

Korean differs from English with respect to the type of licensing in the case of benefactive-Double Object constructions. English lacks morphological licensing, but it has recourse to lexical licensing for the benefactive/goal DOCs. The results from the

study show that illicit benefactive-Double Object Construction are more strongly rejected than illicit goal-Double Object Construction. The authors point out that this rejection asymmetry is also observed in the acquisition of licit Double Object Constructions. Namely, licit benefactive-Double Object Constructions are less accepted than licit goal-ones. They interpret their results as a possible L1 transfer of overt verbal morphology which has a blocking effect on the acquisition of English benefactive-Double Object Constructions, thus delaying the acquisition of licit benefactive-Double Object Construction with respect to that of licit goal-Double Object Construction.

Their study relates to our investigation in that we should research whether morphology in the Spanish clitic doubled construction will impede the acquisition process of the different types of low applicative constructions. Recall that the English DOC has no morphology differentiation between the two objects, but that in Spanish the dative argument is introduced by *a* and this argument is clitic doubled. Polish L2 learners in principle should not be totally constrained in the acquisitional process of the low applicative constructions in Spanish, since Polish is morphologically rich. However, the difference lies in the morphological representations of Spanish and Polish DOCs. We investigate whether this morphological difference will affect the Polish L2 learners' acquisitional process of the Spanish DOCs.

2.5. Conclusion

Most second language acquisition studies focus on issues of transfer and access to UG, investigating few 'dativizable' verbs. For instance, the existing studies on the acquisition

of the dative alternation, i.e. the DOC, have investigated the acquisition of argument structure and other morpho-syntactic aspects of the alternation. The converging results of all these L2 studies suggest that L2 learners transfer morphological and argument realization properties from their L1. In this sense the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994) seems to be supported. In our research, we propose to investigate the L2 acquisition of Spanish low applicative constructions with verbs that are not considered to be prototypical ‘dativizable’ verbs, such as unaccusative verbs *llegar* ‘arrive’, unergative verbs *correr* ‘run’, verbs of creation/construction *cocinar* ‘cook’ and non-transfer predicates *admirar* ‘admire’.

L1 acquisition has shown that children by the age of 3;0 successfully produce the double object construction in that there is no overgeneralization of the ‘broad and narrow range rules’. Recall that the ‘broad range rules’ are governed by a constraint that indicates that the recipient is a potential (animate) [+human] possessor. It is argued that this constraint is universal. On the other hand, for L2 learners it is argued that ‘narrow range rules’ are more difficult to acquire since these rules are not universal and thus not part of the L1. ‘Narrow range rules’ regulate dative alternation. Bley-Vroman and Yoshinaga (1992) conclude that L2 learners successfully acquired the possession constraint on the double object construction because they transfer it from their L1 (the ‘broad range rules’); however these learners were unable to acquire the ‘narrow range rules’ that determine which nonce verbs permit the dative alternation. These authors argue that their L2 learners failed to acquire the ‘narrow range rules’ because they are language specific and

thus they argue that the results support the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989).

We place our investigation within the Minimalist Framework (Chomsky 2000; Pylkkänen 2002; Cuervo 2003) and through our L2 data we seek to investigate the No-Access Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989); the Partial Access Hypothesis (Hawkins and Chan 1997) and the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b for a discussion on the literature).

The No-Access hypothesis states that UG is totally inaccessible to the adult L2 learner and that learning takes place in terms of non-linguistic strategies. The Partial Access hypothesis predicts that UG is partially available to the learner, but only those parametric values characterizing the L1 grammar are available and that the rest must be learnt in terms of non-linguistic learning strategies.¹² For instance, according to Partial Access grammatical features are subject to a critical period and cannot be acquired beyond childhood unless they are instantiated in the L1. This will apply to the acquisition of high applicative constructions, which we discuss in Chapter 3. The Full Access Hypothesis states that UG is fully available and that differences in patterns of acquisition between L1 and L2 learners and the lack of completeness can be accounted for in other ways (White 2003b). Therefore, in principle, the English and Polish L2 learners of

¹² Parameters determine the ways in which a language varies with respect to the absence or presence of a feature, which leads to the lack of projection of a given functional category. Parametric differences may also be due to the specific values of a given feature. More specifically, the way in which applicative heads license “non-core arguments” in Spanish will constitute parametric differences in English. Recall that in Spanish there are the low- and high- applicative heads, whereas in English there is only the low-applicative head.

Spanish should show native-like competence regarding the three kinds of Spanish Low
Applicative constructions.

Chapter 3

‘Quirky’ Subjects as arguments of *Applicative* Constructions

3.0. Introduction

There exist constituents that appear in the structural subject position and yet are marked other than with nominative case. In traditional grammar these constituents are known as indirect objects, while others refer to them as dative experiencers (Bosque et al 1999; Montrul 1997); and more recently as ‘quirky’ subjects (Chomsky 2000) or ‘*subjects*’ (Sigurðsson 2000). Research conducted in Icelandic (Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 1991, 1996; Freidin and Sprouse 1991) has shown that these constituents behave like ordinary nominative subjects with respect to a series of syntactic phenomena such as subject position in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), Control, Raising, Reflexivization (i.e. Variable Binding). Thus, a language is said to have ‘quirky’ subjects if the syntactic phenomena of ‘subjecthood’ test criteria are met.

In Icelandic, as in (84), ‘quirky’ subjects can be marked with Dative, Genitive or Accusative case (Zaenen et al. 1985; Freidin & Sprouse 1991).

- (84) a. *Honum* var hjálpað
He_{dat} was helped
‘He was helped’

- b. *Hennar* var saknað
She_{gen} was missed
'She was missed'
- c. *Mig* vantar peninga
I_{acc} lacks money
'I lack money'

It has been also shown that 'quirky' subjects are found in a wide variety of constructions with almost any predicate (active, passive, adjectival, prepositional, nominal, particle-headed) (Zaenen et al. 1985; Sigurðsson 1991, 1996).

Masullo (1992); Fernández-Soriano (1999) and Cuervo (1999) have shown that 'quirky' subjects are not particular to Icelandic, but that, unlike English (Lightfoot 1999), Spanish, as in (85), also shares this type of quirky DPs. Dziwirek's (1994) arguments can be interpreted to conclude that Polish, as in (86), has the same properties as Spanish in the relevant domain.

- (85) *A Marta* le gustan las flores (Spanish)
to Marta_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the flowers_{nom}
'Marta likes flowers'
- (86) *Marcie* podobają się duże miasta (Polish)
Marta_{dat} like Refl.Cl big cities_{nom}
'Marta likes big cities'

In Spanish a dative nominal can combine with stative predicates that express a psychological experience (*gustar* 'like', *repugnar* 'disgust', *interesar* 'be interested', *encantar* 'like a lot = love'), as in (85 and 87), or with existential predicates (*faltar* 'be lacking'), as in (88).

(87) *A Daniela y a Paco les gusta la comida china*
 to D_{dat} & to P_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes the food Chinese_{nom}
 ‘Daniela and Paco like Chinese food’

(88) *A Paco le falta dinero*
 to P_{dat} Cl_{dat} lacks money
 ‘Paco lacks the fountain-pen’

Cuervo (2003) argues that the semantic and syntactic properties of ‘quirky’ subjects of psychological and existential predicates indicate that they are arguments of applicative constructions. In fact, she maintains that with psychological and existential predicates the dative DP is introduced by an applicative head instead of being licensed by the psychological or existential predicates.

In this chapter, we provide a description of this type of ‘quirky’ subject in both Spanish and Polish. We also follow Cuervo in adopting the idea that the applicative heads that introduce the dative DP with psychological predicates, as in (87), and the applicative head that introduces dative possessors (or locatives) with existential predicates, as in (88), are not identical (Cuervo 2003).

3.1. Quirky subjects in Old and Modern English: Diachronic Change

Lightfoot (1999) points out that Old English had a three way distinction in the pronominal system (nominative, accusative and dative), both at the morphological and the structural levels. By the Middle English period, starting with the case endings of nouns and continuing with pronouns, dative case as a syntactic and morphological entity

was lost from the language, resulting in syntactic innovations such as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), as in (89a), preposition stranding (89b), prepositional passives (89c), double object constructions (89d) and indirect passives (89e).

- (89) a. Paul believes John to be a good friend.
 b. What is this book about?
 c. This bed was slept in
 d. Mary bought John a bike
 e. Mary was given a present.

Lightfoot notes that the above mentioned structures were ungrammatical in Old English, since Old English had inherent dative Case. The loss of dative case in English also affected some parts of the lexicon, such as the lexical entry of verbs like *like* and *think*. These verbs occurred with dative experiencers (i.e. ‘quirky’ subjects) in subject position that had subject properties and nominative objects (themes). However, in Middle English structures with dative experiencers, as in (90), became outmoded. Dative case lost its functions and such structures became reanalyzed in English as transitive structures, with a nominative subject and an accusative object, as in (91).

(90) þam cynge licodon peran (Old English)
 the_{dat} king_{dat} like pears_{nom}

(91) The king_{nom} liked pears_{acc} (English)

Dative and nominative experiencers in subject position co-existed in Middle English grammar for three hundred years. Lightfoot interprets this occurrence as a kind of internal

“diglossia”, explaining that two grammars existed in the speech community at that time: one with lexical entries of inherent dative Case and one with lexical entries with no inherent dative Case.¹³

In sum, English moved from system A (with inherent dative case) to system B (without inherent dative case). A change in morphology produced the loss of an abstract element, and syntactic structures emerged and disappeared. As a result English differs from Spanish in that it no longer has inherent dative case.

3.2. Subjecthood Test Criteria: Evidence of ‘quirkiness’ in Spanish and Polish

As we have said above, ‘quirky’ subjects behave like ordinary nominative subjects with respect to a series of syntactic phenomena in Icelandic (i.e. Subject position in Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), Control in infinitives, Raising, Reflexivization, etc.) and yet are marked other than with nominative case.

Several studies have examined the status of dative DPs in preverbal position in Spanish, classifying them as ‘quirky’ subjects rather than as fronted objects, i.e. left-dislocated constructions (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Cuervo 1999). The properties and behaviour of Spanish ‘quirky’ subjects are shown via three subjecthood tests: Raising, Variable Binding and Bare NPs. In the case of Polish, Dziwirek (1994) working within the Relational Grammar framework applies four subjecthood tests to datives: Reflexivization (= variable binding), Temporal Gerundive Adjunct Clauses, The Participial Adjunct Clause Construction and Adversative Adjunct Clauses. In this thesis

¹³ “Diglossia” is a sociolinguistic term originally used by Ferguson (1959) to refer to a situation in which two varieties of a language exist side by side in a community (Kroch 1994).

we take the position that Dziwirek's tests demonstrate that such Polish datives can be called 'quirky' subjects in a pre-theoretical sense, as we show in the next sections.

3.2.1. *Reflexive (=Variable) Binding*

In Icelandic, Zaenen et al. (1985) show that only subjects can be the antecedents of possessive reflexive pronouns, as illustrated in (92).

- (92) *Sigga_i barði mig með dúkkunni sinni_i / *hennar_i*
 *Sigga_{nom} hit me_{acc} with doll_{dat} her / *her*
 'Sigga hit me with her doll'

These authors argue that just like nominative subjects, quirky subjects can control variable binding (= reflexive binding = anaphora binding), as shown in (93).

- (93) *Hverjum_i þykir sinn_i fugl fagur*
 Everyone_{dat} thinks his bird_{nom} beautiful
 'Everyone thinks that his bird is beautiful'

Similarly in Spanish, Fernández-Soriano (1999) points out that a quantifier, in the dative phrase with unaccusative predicates, can bind a possessive pronoun in the theme, as in (94), but the opposite does not hold, as in (95). This shows that the dative argument is higher than the theme object.

- (94) a. *A cada cocinero_i se le quemó su pescado_i*
 to each cook_{dat} SE Cl_{dat} burned his fish
 'His fish burned on each / to each cook'
- b. *A cada participante_i en el concurso se le escapó su canario_i*
 to each participant_{dat} in the contest SE Cl_{dat} escaped his canary
 'His canary escaped on each / to each participant in the contest'
- (95) a. **Cada pescado_i se le quemó a su cocinero_i*
 each fish_{nom} SE Cl_{dat} burned to its cook_{dat}
 'Each fish burned on his / to his cook'

- b. *Cada canario_i se le escapó a su propietario_i
 each canary_{nom} SE Cl_{dat} escaped to its owner_{dat}
 ‘Each canary escaped on his / to his owner’

The “*” indicates that there can be no binding relation since the sentences in (95a) and (95b) are ungrammatical if the dative DP is not bound by the quantifier in the theme. More specifically, in (95a) and (95b) it is shown that the theme cannot bind the dative nominal. The theme is an ‘internal’ argument with no doubling and it is internal to the VP, which explains the impossibility of binding.

A similar situation holds for Polish. Dziwirek (1994) argues that in Polish only subjects can antecede possessive reflexive pronouns. This is the case with both non-nominative constituents, as in (96), and nominative subjects, as in (97).

- (96) [Każdemu kuchażowi]_i spalił się swój_i kotlet
 Each_{dat} cook_{dat} burnt Refl.Cl his pork chop
 ‘To each cook his pork chop burned on him’
- (97) [Każde dziecko]_i woli swoją_i zabawkę
 Each_{nom} child_{nom} prefers his/her toy
 ‘Each child prefers his/her toy’

In (96) the quantifier, *każdemu*, in the dative phrase binds the possessive reflexive pronoun, *swój*. The theme cannot be the binder and thus the dative is higher than the theme. Not all constituents marked with dative case can antecede such reflexive possessives, as illustrated in (98); since it is a property of subjects, both nominative and what we are dubbing here ‘quirky’.

- (98) *Janek dał Ewie_i swoje_i książki
 John_{nom} gave Eve_{dat} his books_{acc}
 ‘John gave Eve his books’

In (98) the goal, *Ewie*, cannot be the binder nor antecede the pronoun, *swoje* since it is not the subject of the sentence.

In sum, the subjecthood test based on variable binding accounts for the fact that the dative marked constituent in Spanish and Polish is a ‘quirky’ subject.

3.2.2. Raising

One of the arguments presented by Masullo (1992); Fernández-Soriano (1999) and Cuervo (1999) in favour of calling pre-verbal datives ‘quirky’ subjects is that, unlike fronted objects, ‘quirky’ subjects, in constructions with psychological and unaccusative predicates, pattern with nominative subjects, given that they can raise when originating within the complement of a raising predicate such as *empezar* ‘begin’, as in (99) or *parecer* ‘seem’, as in (100).

- (99) *A Marcos_i le empezó a interesar el ajedrez t_i*
 to Mark_{dat} Cl_{dat} began to interest the chess_{nom}
 ‘Mark began to be interested in chess’

- (100) a. *A Juan parece habersele roto el coche t_i*
 to John_{dat} seems to have-SE-Cl_{dat} broken the car_{nom}
 b. *A María parece perdersele el niño continuamente t_i*
 to Mary_{dat} seems to lose-SE-Cl_{dat} the child_{nom} all the time

[Fernández-Soriano 1999: (ex. 10a&c)]

In (99) and (100) it is the dative that raises to [Spec, TP]. Masullo (1992); Fernández-Soriano (1999) and Cuervo (1999) claim that raising of the theme, *el ajedrez*, *el coche* and *el niño*, into the [Spec, TP] is impossible when the dative argument is present.

In Icelandic, *byrja* ‘begin’ can either be a main verb, as in (101a), or a raising predicate, as in (101b).

- (101) a. Ólafur byrjaði of seint
 Olaf_{nom} began too late
- b. það byrjadði að rigna
 it began to rain

As a raising predicate, *byrja* allows raising of both nominative subjects, as in (102b), and of quirky subjects, as in (103b).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(102) a. Ólafur las bókina
 Olaf_{nom} read book.the_{acc}
 ‘Olaf read the book’</p> <p> b. Ólafur byrjaði að lesa bókina
 Olaf_{nom} began to read book.the_{acc}
 ‘Olaf began to read the book’</p> | <p>(103) a. Ólafí leiddist
 Olaf_{dat} bored
 ‘Olaf was bored’</p> <p> b. Ólafí byrjaði að leiðast
 Olaf_{dat} began to bore
 ‘Olaf began to get bored’</p> |
|---|--|

Sigurðsson (2002) argues that the dative in (103b) must have raised, and cannot be generated in the upper clause as seen by the ungrammaticality of example (104) where *byrja* appears as a main verb.

- (104) Ólafur / *Ólafí byrjaði
 Olaf_{nom} / *Olaf_{dat} began

In Spanish, Fernández-Soriano (1999) argues that the structures in (105a) and (105b) are odd unless pronounced with marked intonation.

- (105) a. *El coche_i parece habersele roto t_i a Juan
 the car_{nom} seems to have-SE-Cl_{dat} to John_{dat}
 ‘It seems that the car has broken on John’

- b. *El niño_i parece perdersele t_i a María continuamente¹⁴
 the child_{nom} seems to lose-SE-Cl_{dat} to Mary_{dat} all the time

‘It seems that the child constantly get lost on Mary’

She indicates that for some speakers the structures with raising of the dative are not perfect and that all speakers agree that raising of the theme is impossible if the dative is present. This author claims that this contrast shows that the dative arguments, in (99 and 100), are closer to the matrix T than the theme argument.

3.2.3. *Bare NPs*

Spanish, unlike English, cannot have bare nouns as subjects. Sorace (1995), Bever and Sanz (1997) point out that, in Spanish, NPs can appear without an expletive article when they are grammatical objects of an unaccusative verb, as in (106), but this is not possible with NPs that are grammatical subjects of transitive and unergative verbs, as in (107). On the other hand, Torrego (1989), Lois (1987) and Rodríguez (1992) justify this phenomenon by arguing that bare NPs are grammatical when the position they occupy is a governed position, as in (106).

- (106) Crecen rosas
 grow roses_{nom}
 ‘Roses grow’

- (107) a. *Gatos comen ratones
 cats_{nom} eat mice_{acc}
 ‘The cats eat mice’

¹⁴ There are native speakers that judge the construction given in (101) as grammatical.

- b. *Hablarían representantes mañana
would speak representatives tomorrow
'Representatives would speak tomorrow'

In what seems to be a structural parallel to nominative subjects, dative constituents with psychological predicates such as *gustar* cannot be bare, i.e. without an expletive article, as in (108).

- (108) a. *A bebés les gusta la leche
to babies_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the milk_{nom}
'Babies like milk'
- b. *A chicos les gusta el fútbol
to boys_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the soccer_{nom}
'Boys like soccer'

Masullo (1992), Cuervo (1999), among others, claim that the ungrammaticality of the bare dative DPs in (108) evidences them to behave like canonical subjects.

This subjecthood test supports the stipulation that in Spanish there exist 'quirky' subjects because only grammatical objects of verbs can appear bare.

3.2.4. Temporal Gerundive Adjunct Clauses

Dziwirek (1994), within the framework of Relational Grammar, argues that in Polish only subjects can control temporal gerundive adjunct clauses, as in (109) and (110).

- (109) Ewa_i płakała [w czasie oglądania filmu]_i
E_{nom} cried in time watching movie
'Eve cried while watching the movie'
- (110) Ewie_i zachciało się płakać [podczas oglądania filmu]_i
E_{dat} felt like Refl.Cl cry_{inf} while watching movie
'Eve felt like crying while watching the movie'

As the example in (110) shows, the dative constituent functions just like the nominative subject in (109). More specifically, the dative nominal is controlling the temporal adjunct clause containing the gerunds, which are action nominalizations, whereas goals cannot be controllers of gerundive adjunct clauses, as illustrated in (111).

- (111) *Marta dała kolację Jankowi_i [po odrobieniu lekcji]_i
 M_{nom} gave supper_{acc} J_{dat} after done homework
 ‘Marta gave John supper after having done the homework’

Within the framework adopted in this thesis, this argues that the dative nominal in (110) is a ‘quirky’ subject, since it behaves syntactically like the nominative subject in (109), while the dative nominal in (111) is an indirect object because it cannot control the temporal gerundive adjunct clause.

3.2.5. *The Participial Adjunct Clause Construction*

In Polish, the participial adjunct clause differs from the gerundive adjunct clause both in the form of the predicate and in control characteristics. Dziwirek (1994) claims that dative nominals just like nominative nominals can act as a controller in the participial adjunct clause construction as in (112) and (113) respectively.

- (112) a. [Pisząc te słowa,]_i Jance_i chciało się płakać
 writing these words, Joanne_{dat} felt like Refl.Cl cry_{inf}
 ‘Joanne felt like crying, when writing those words’
 b. [Siedząc przy kominku,]_i Jankowi_i czytało się tę książkę z przyjemnością
 sitting by fireplace, John_{dat} read Refl.Cl this book with pleasure
 ‘When sitting by the fireplace, John read the book with pleasure’

c.[Usłyszawszy o tym,]_i Marcie_i zachciało się śmiać
 heard about this, Marta_{dat} felt like Refl.Cl laugh_{inf}

‘Having heard about it, Marta felt like laughing’

d.[Wróciwszy z zagranicy,]_i Ewie_i lepiej współpracowało się z kolegami
 returned from abroad, Eve_{dat} better collaborated Refl.Cl with colleagues

‘Having returned from abroad, Eve collaborated better with her colleagues’

(113) a.[Pisząc te słowa,]_i Janka_i płakała
 writing those words, Joanne_{nom} cried

‘When writing those words, John cried’

b.[Siedząc przy kominku,]_i Janek_i czytał tę książkę z przyjemnością
 sitting by fireplace, John_{nom} read this book with pleasure

‘When sitting by the fireplace, John read the book with pleasure’

c.[Usłyszawszy o tym,]_i Marta_i zaśmiała się
 heard about this, Marta_{nom} laughed Refl.Cl

‘Having heard about it, Marta laughed’

d.[Wróciwszy z zagranicy,]_i Ewa_i współpracowało lepiej z kolegami
 returned from abroad, Eve_{dat} collaborated better with colleagues

‘Having returned from abroad, Eve collaborated better with her colleagues’

Dziwirek (1994) argues that the ungrammaticality of example (114) shows that only dative nominals that are subjects can serve as controllers of present and past participial adjunct clauses, while goals cannot. In (114) *Ewie* is a goal not a dative subject.

(114) *Janek [pokazując swoje rany]_i Ewie_i, zemdląa
 John_{nom} showing his scars, Eve_{dat} fainted

‘While John was showing his scars to Eve, she fainted’

The participial adjunct clause construction used as a subjecthood test successfully differentiates between dative marked goals and what we call ‘quirky’ subjects.

3.2.6. *Adversative Adjunct Clauses*

In Polish, a nominal adjunct clause is an adversative clause which usually begins with the word *mimo* ‘in spite of’ and includes a deverbal nominal which refers to a property of a controller in the main clause (Dziwirek 1994), as in (115) with nominative subjects and in (116) with dative nominals.

- (115) a. [Mimo długiego pobytu zagranicą]_i, Ewa_i nie tęskniła do rodziny
 Despite long stay abroad Eve_{nom} not miss to family
 ‘Despite a long stay abroad, Eve didn’t miss her family’
- b. [Mimo usilnych starań]_i, Ewa_i nie pracowała dobrze z Jankiem
 Despite persistent tries E_{nom} not work well with John
 ‘Despite repeated efforts, Eve did not work well with John’
- (116) a. [Mimo długiego pobytu zagranicą]_i, Ewie_i nie tęskniło się do rodziny
 Despite long stay abroad Eve_{dat} not. miss Refl.Cl to family
 ‘Despite a long stay abroad, Eve didn’t miss her family’
- b. [Mimo usilnych starań]_i, Ewie_i nie pracowało się dobrze z Jankiem
 Despite persistent tries E_{dat} not work Refl.Cl well with John
 ‘Despite repeated efforts, Eve did not work well with John’

Dziwirek (1994) claims that the grammaticality of the structures, in (116), shows the dative nominal to be a ‘quirky’ subject as opposed to the structure in (117).

- (117) *[Mimo poważnej choroby]_i, Ewa codziennie wysyłała Jankowi_i listy
 Despite serious illness E_{nom} everyday sent J_{dat} letters_{acc}
 ‘Despite a serious illness, Eve sent letters to John everyday’

In other words, the “*” in (117) indicates that there can be no co-relation between the adversative adjunct clause and the DP marked dative, *Jankowi*, since the dative DP is not a subject but a goal, i.e. an indirect object. The fact that such dative constituents, in

(116), can control adversative adjunct clauses distinguishes them from goals and puts them in the same class as subjects and not as indirect objects.

The data discussed in §3.2 provide evidence that there exist in Spanish and Polish ‘quirky’ subjects. Since ‘quirky’ subjects no longer exist in English, it is important to determine whether they will only create problems for the English L2 learners as opposed to the Polish L2 learners of Spanish. In what follows, we present data which argue that ‘quirky’ subjects, i.e. dative experiencers, are not core arguments of psychological and existential predicates, but rather are licensed via two distinct applicative heads and as a result are Low and High Applicative constructions (Cuervo 2003).

3.3. ‘Quirky’ subjects revisited

Several studies have argued that in Spanish dative nominals with psychological and existential predicates behave like nominative subjects with respect to a number of syntactic/semantic properties: the dative nominal is ungrammatical as a Bare NP; it is able to Variable Bind and to Raise (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Cuervo 1999, 2000) and thus are true subjects.

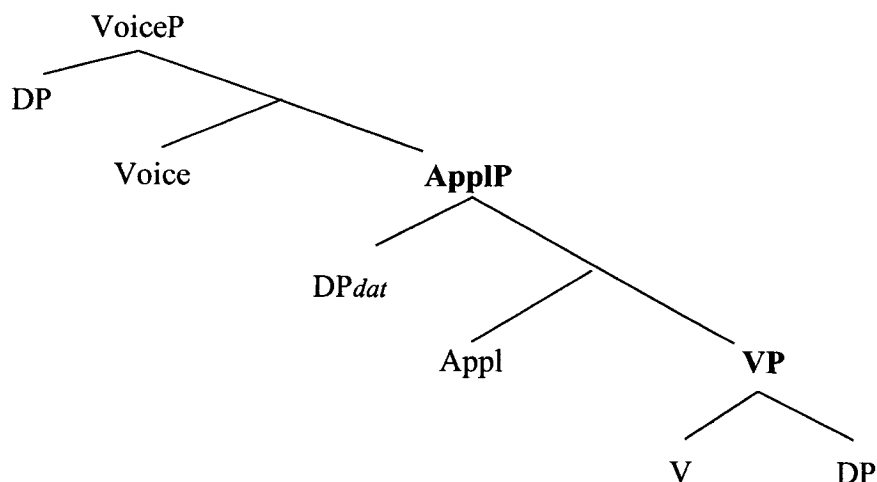
Cuervo (2003) states that the semantic and syntactic properties of these ‘quirky’ subjects, to which she refers as dative experiencers, with psychological - *gustar* ‘like’ - and existential predicates - *faltar* ‘lack’ - can be interpreted as arguments of high and low applicative constructions. Dative experiencers with *gustar* are interpreted as arguments of

a high applicative construction, whereas dative experiences with *faltar* are interpreted as those of a low applicative construction.

More specifically, in both cases she claims that the dative DP is introduced by an applicative head and that the dative DP is not an argument which is licensed by the verb. She further argues that the dative DP only exhibits subject-like properties because in the configuration it is the higher argument and also because it moves to subject position.¹⁵

Following Pylkkänen (2002), Cuervo (2003) maintains that a high applicative construction establishes a relation between an individual (the dative experiencer) and an event (the psychological predicate) as opposed to the complement (the direct object). For this reason, in contrast to the low applicative structure, the applicative head in the high applicative construction is merged above and not below the event, as in (118).

(118)



[Cuervo (2003) within the framework of Kratzer (1996) and Pylkkänen (2002)]

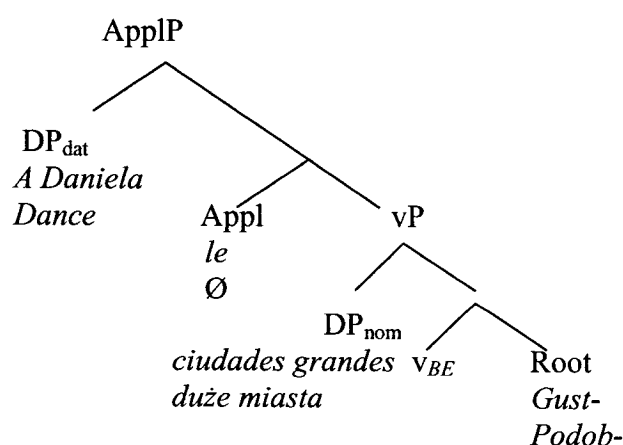
¹⁵ Selectional restrictions have traditionally been taken as evidence for argument status, in recent frameworks (Kratzer 1996; Pylkkänen 2002; Cuervo 2003) it is argued that dative arguments are always licensed by an applicative head, never by the verb.

Cuervo argues that we can distinguish between three kinds of ‘high applicative arguments’ through the kind of event predicate that they are applied to. According to her, there are three sub-types of high applicative heads which are distinguished depending on whether they take as their first argument: (i) a stative *v*PBE such as *gustar* ‘like’, (ii) a dynamic non-agentive *v*PGO such as *suced*er ‘occur’, or (iii) a dynamic agentive *v*PDO such as *caminar* ‘walk’.

Applicative heads that introduce dative experiencers with psychological predicates, as in (119a), and those that introduce dative possessors (or locatives) with existential predicates, as in (120a) are two different kinds of applicative constructions.

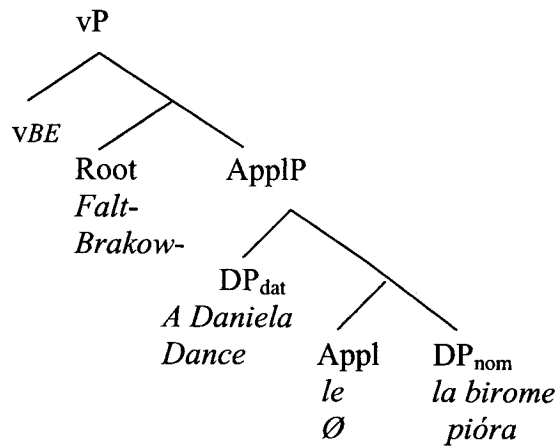
(119) High Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003)

- a. A Daniela le **gustan** ciudades grandes
to Daniela_{dat} Cl_{dat} like cities_{nom} big_{nom}
‘Daniela likes big cities’
- b. Dance **podobają się** duże miasta
D_{dat} like Refl.Cl big cities_{nom}
‘Diane likes big cities’



(120) Low Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003)

- a. A Daniela le **falta** la birome
 to Daniela_{dat} Cl_{dat} lacks the pen
 ‘Daniela lacks the pen’
- b. Dance brakuje pióra
 D_{dat} lacks fountain pen
 ‘Diane is lacking (is missing) a fountain pen’



Based on the low applicative construction analysis, where the direct object establishes a transfer of possession relation with the applied argument, Cuervo argues that the structure in (120a) is also a low applicative construction because this transfer of possession relation is established by the existential predicate *faltar* ‘lack’ between the dative experiencer, *A Daniela*, and the theme, *la birome*. This is not present with *gustar* ‘like’. In other words, in (119a), there is no transfer possession relation implied between the dative experiencer, *A Daniela*, and the nominative DP, *ciudades grandes*. This author claims that there is no transfer of possession established because the dative experiencer is ‘external’ to the

predication relation between the verb and the nominative DP. She supports this by maintaining that the nominative DP is the ‘inner’ subject of the structure because it cannot be a bare noun, irrespective of whether it appears post-verbally or pre-verbally, as in (121). This is based on the “Bare Noun Phrase Constraint”.¹⁶

- (121) a. A Daniela le gusta **(el) vino*
 to Daniela_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes (the) wine_{nom}
 ‘Daniela likes wine’
- b. **(Las) estampillas* le gustan a Daniela
 (the) stamps_{nom} Cl_{dat} like to Daniela_{dat}
 ‘Daniela likes stamps’¹⁷

In addition, Cuervo illustrates, as in (122), that most psychological verbs of the *piacere*-class are grammatical without a dative experiencer. This further evidences the property of the theme, in other words, for it being the ‘inner’ subject.

- (122) Las películas japonesas gustaron mucho
 the movies Japanese_{nom} liked a lot
 ‘The Japanese movies were very much liked’/‘Many people liked the Japanese movies’

Pylkkänen (2002) proposes a transitivity restriction on low applicative constructions where she states that for a low applicative construction to exist there must be a direct object. Cuervo challenges this transitivity restriction and shows that simple unaccusative and unergative verbs are instances of low applicative constructions. She argues that dative nominals are licensed as the Specifier of a low applicative phrase that takes the

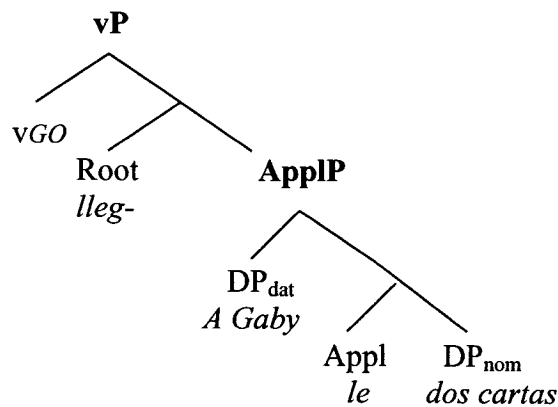
¹⁶ The Bare Noun Phrase Constraint states that an unmodified common noun cannot be the subject of a predicate under conditions of normal stress and intonation.

¹⁷ Native speakers’ judgments vary as to the grammaticality of sentences in (120a).

theme DP as its first argument in a configuration with an event of change or movement, such as *llegar* ‘arrive’, *floreecer* ‘bloom’ that is a vGO head (Cuervo 2003), as in (123a).

(123) Low Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003):

- a. A Gaby le **llegaron** dos cartas
 to Gaby_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}
 ‘Gaby got two letters’
- b. *Marcie przyjechały dwa listy¹⁸
 M_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}
 ‘Marta got two letters’



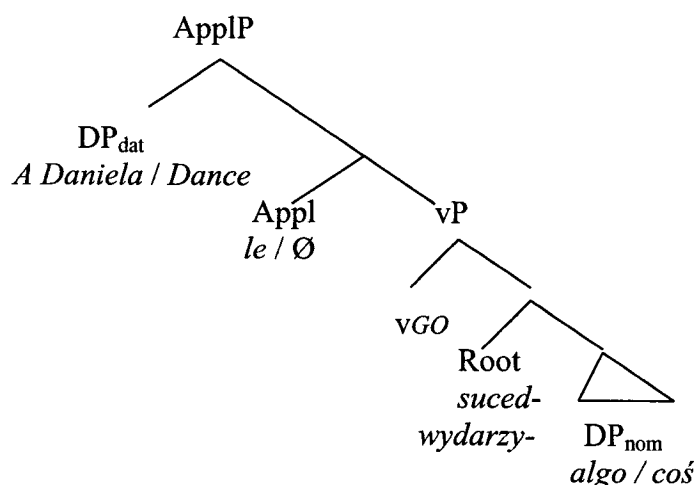
In (123a) the dative argument, *A Gaby*, is the recipient of the theme, *dos cartas*. In the low applicative construction with ditransitive verbs (i.e. the double object construction), the direct object establishes a transfer of possession relation with the applied argument. Cuervo (2003) maintains that with simple dynamic unaccusative verbs the dative argument is licensed as the Specifier of a low applicative phrase and has the structure in (123a).

¹⁸ The example (123b) is ungrammatical in Polish because *letters* cannot arrive, that metaphorical meaning is not entailed by *przyjechać* ‘arrive’.

Conversely, dative experiencers with unaccusative verbs such as *suceder* ‘occur/happen’ are argument DPs that are licensed as the Specifier of a high applicative phrase that takes a dynamic non-agentive head as its complement, as in (124a).

(124) High Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003):

- a. A Daniela le **sucedió** algo **buenísimo**
to Daniela_{dat} Cl_{dat} happened something_{nom} very good
‘Something great happened to Daniela’
- b. Coś **bardzo dobrego wydarzyło się** Marcie
Something_{nom} very good happened_{neut} Refl.Cl M_{dat}
‘Something great happened to Marta’

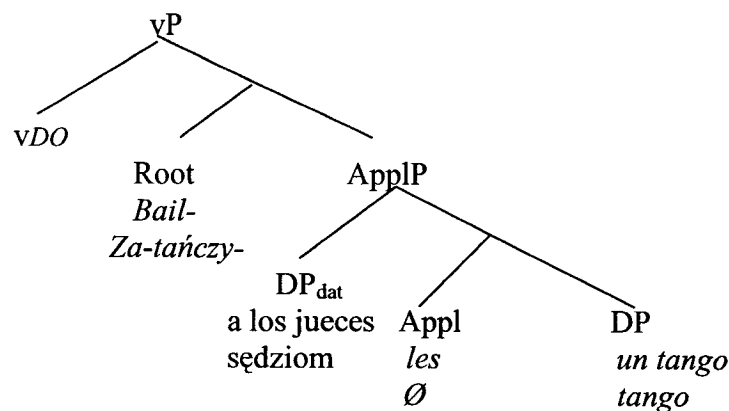


Cuervo further argues that unergative verbs such as *caminar* ‘walk’, *bailar* ‘dance’, *cantar* ‘sing’, *correr* ‘run’ can be used as transitive and intransitive verbs. When these verbs are used transitively they act as verbs of creation (such as *construir* ‘build’, *cocinar* ‘cook’). The object is not a canonical object since it is not licensed by the event structure, but by the root (Levin 1999). Cuervo indicates that when the applicative head licenses an applied argument, this argument is interpreted as a recipient and it has a

benefactive reading. Consequently, these structures are instances of low applicative constructions, as in (125a).

(125) Low Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003):

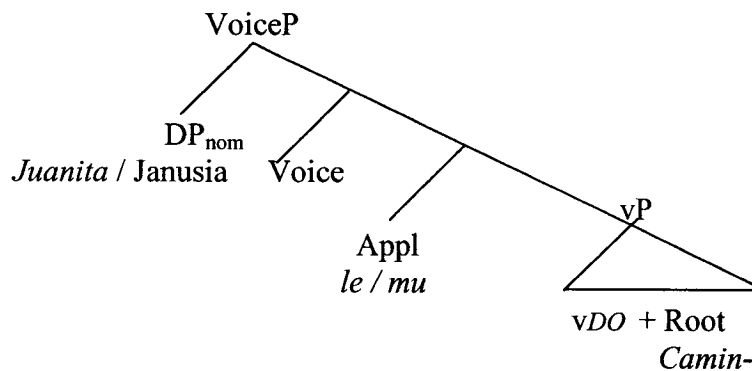
- a. Hugo y Marta les **bailaron** un tango a los jueces
 H & M_{nom} Cl_{dat} danced a tango to the judges_{dat}
 ‘Hugo and Marta danced a tango for the judges’
- b. Robert i Marta zatańczyli tango sędziom
 R & M_{nom} danced tango judges_{dat}
 ‘Robert and Marta danced a tango for the judges’



In contrast, in their intransitive use there is no implicit object and these verbs express an activity. Since there is no overt or implicit object to apply to the dative nominal can only be applied to the event - the verb - resulting in a high applicative structure. Cuervo (2003) points out that these high applicative constructions can only be expressed with the insertion of an ethical dative clitic and for that reason these constructions become defective high applicative structures. They are defective in the sense that their head only introduces the semantics of an argument, but do not project the Specifier of ApplP (hence the unavailability of a full dative DP), as seen in (126a).

(126) Defective High Applicative¹⁹ (Cuervo 2003):

- a. Juanita ya le camina
 J_{nom} already Cl_{ethicaldat} walks
 ‘Juanita already walks on him/her’
- b. Janusia już mu chodzi²⁰
 J_{nom} already Cl_{ethicaldat} walks
 ‘Janusia already walks for him’



Ethical datives appear as clitics but not as full DPs in argument position and are argued to be the expression of a high applicative head that takes a dynamic agentive event (vPDO: *caminar* ‘walk’, *bailar* ‘dance’) as its complement. In Spanish, ethical dative clitics can co-occur with verbs that take direct and indirect objects, as seen in (127a).

¹⁹ When the ethical dative clitic, *le*, is removed, it is now a Low Applicative construction.

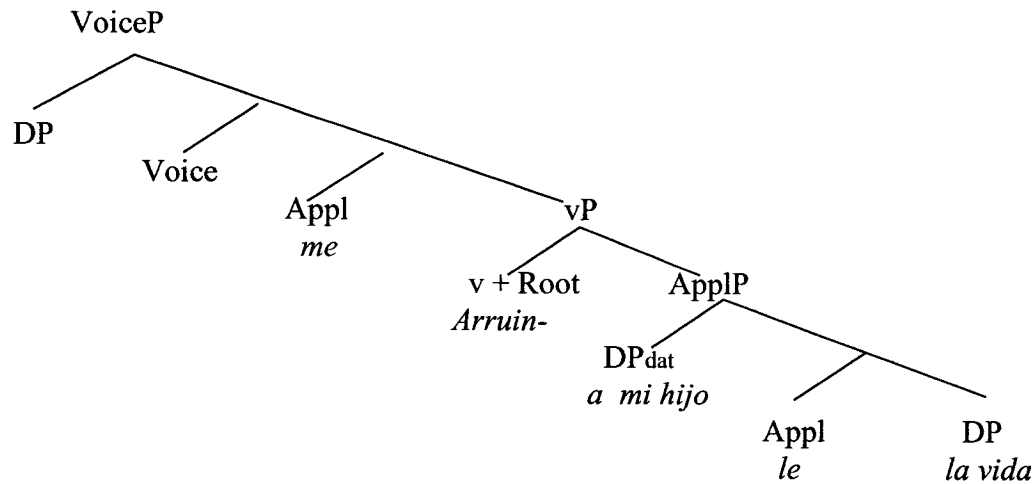
²⁰ As opposed to Spanish, in (126b) *mu* can either be an ethical dative clitic or just a dative clitic.

(127) Defective High Applicative Construction (Cuervo 2003):

- a. Me le_i arruinaron la vida [a mi hijo]_i
 Me_{ethicaldatCl} Cl_{dat} ruined the life to my son_{dat}
 ‘They ruined my son’s life’

- b. Ona ci mu wtedy nagadała
 She_{nom} you_{ethicaldatCl} Cl_{dat} then told-off
 ‘And then she gave him a piece of her mind’

[Franks 2000: ex. (162a)]



In (127a), *arruinar* takes a direct object, *la vida*, and an indirect object, *a mi hijo*, plus an ethical dative clitic, *me*, which cannot appear as a full dative DP.

In sum, the analysis presented in this section shows that dative nominals are arguments, licensed by different applicative heads that relate to an event and consequently are high applicative arguments instead of ‘quirky’ subjects. According to which kind of event predicate the applicative argument applies to, we can distinguish between three kinds of high applicative arguments. In other words, there exist three subtypes of high applicative heads which are differentiated by what type of first argument they take, whether it is a stative vP *gustar* ‘like’, a dynamic non-agentive vP *suceder*

‘occur’ or a dynamic agentive vP *caminar* ‘walk’. It is argued that from the universal inventory of these three types, particular languages can, in principle, select none or all three types of the high applicative heads. In this thesis we adopt Cuervo’s analysis of high applicative constructions to see whether it holds for Polish.

3.4. Conclusion

In Spanish, dative nominals that appear with psychological and existential predicates are analyzed as ‘quirky’ subjects (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Cuervo 1999, 2000). This was evidenced through the various subjecthood test criteria where we have shown that dative nominals are arguments of the verb and behave like ordinary nominative subjects. For instance, the dative nominal is ungrammatical as a Bare NP; it is able to Variable Bind and to Raise (Masullo 1992, Fernández-Soriano 1999, Cuervo 1999, 2000) and thus behaves like canonical subjects do.

In a recent analysis, Cuervo (2003) argues that these dative nominals are high applicative arguments that relate to an event predicate. More specifically, that the dative DPs are not part of the verb’s argument structure, but are licensed by different applicative heads. Dative experiencers with psychological (*gustar* ‘like’) and unaccusative (*parecer* ‘seem’) predicates are analyzed as argument DPs licensed as the specifier of a high applicative phrase that takes a stative predication relation as its complement. Dative experiencers with existential predicates (*faltar* ‘lack’) are shown to be low applicative constructions, whereas ethical datives, which in Spanish appear as clitics but not as full DPs in argument position, are argued to be the expression of a high applicative head that

takes a dynamic agentive event (*caminar* ‘walk’) as its complement. This kind of high applicative is shown to be available in Spanish only as a ‘defective’ high applicative since the head introduces the semantics of an argument, but does not project a specifier. It is argued that the omitted applicative argument is definite and its person and number features are expressed by the clitic (Cuervo 2003).

Chapter 4

L1 / L2 acquisition of dative ‘experiencers’ / ‘dative’ subjects / ‘quirky’ subjects

4.0. Introduction

In this chapter we discuss a selection of available data on L1 / L2 acquisition of dative subjects and address learnability issues related to the L2 acquisition of dative DPs that are argued to be ‘quirky’ subjects and ‘applicative’ arguments.

In Spanish, dative ‘experiencers’ or ‘quirky’ subjects are common with a subset of psychological and unaccusative predicates. These dative nominals look like indirect objects on the surface due to their morphosyntax. As we have seen in Chapter 3, one proposal is that ‘quirky’ subjects behave syntactically as nominative subjects do and also come to occupy the canonical position of nominative subjects, [Spec, TP]; these datives are part of the verb’s argument structure (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999; Cuervo 1999). In another analysis, it has been argued that these dative nominals are applicative arguments, which occupy the [Spec, ApplP], and are licensed by different applicative heads (Cuervo 2003).

It is hypothesized that if a thematic hierarchy (a component of UG) is operative in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) then English and Polish learners will have no

difficulty interpreting experiencers as the higher argument in Spanish, but that English learners will experience greater difficulty with dative case, since there is no inherent dative case in English.²¹ However, even if general properties of the thematic hierarchy are given as part of a general language capacity, language particular instantiations of the thematic hierarchy must be learned, and these have implications for the syntax as well as the semantics. For instance although the applicative can be used with most verb types, the arguments they introduce (Experiencer, Benefactive) differ with the class of verb they appear with.

In our thesis we wish to shed light on adult L2 acquisition strategies at the syntax/semantic interface. To our knowledge there is no L2 study on the acquisition of ‘applicative’ arguments by English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish and thus we propose to investigate the acquisition of these non-core arguments within the Minimalist Framework (Chomsky 2000).

4.1. The L1 Acquisition of ‘quirky’ subjects in Tamil and Telugu

We have chosen to present studies on the L1 acquisition of dative nominals in Tamil and Telugu since Lakshami Bai (2004), Usha Rani and Sailaja (2004) argue that in these languages there co-exist dative DPs that are ‘quirky’ subjects, i.e. applicative arguments, and dative DPs that are goals, i.e. true indirect objects; and, in particular, because they look at the acquisitional process of dative subjects.

²¹ Thematic Hierarchy is a language-independent ranking of possible semantic roles, which establishes prominence relations among them and is formulated because it figures in the statement of linguistic generalizations (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005).

In Tamil, the dative does not function as subject in all its occurrences, for example, in (128) *avan-ukku* ‘to him’ is a subject, but not in (129).

(128) *avan-ukku* *pasi-kkar-tu*
 he_{dat} hunger_{pres.3.neut.sg}
 ‘He is feeling hungry’

(129) *nii avan-ukku eTam kuTu*
 you he_{dat} place give_{imperative}
 ‘You give him place!’

The dative is used mainly to encode the indirect object of a ditransitive verb and it realizes the following theta-roles: (i) experiencer of a mental process or state, (ii) possessor, (iii) goal of motion, (iv) purpose, (v) point in time or duration of time, and (vi) benefactor of an action or event.

Subbarao (2001) shows that there exist dative subjects in Telugu through the subjecthood test criteria. Both nominative and dative subjects can be antecedents of an anaphor, as in (130).

(130) *siita-ku tana-miida tana-ku koopam vacc-in-di*
 Sita_{dat} self-on self_{dat} anger come_{past.3sg.non-human male}
 ‘Sita got angry at herself’

Subbarao (2001) argues that like nominative subjects, the dative subject can be a controller of PRO in an infinitival clause, as in (131).

(131) *kavita-ki [PRO udyoogam dorakaDam] caalaa sulabham*
 kavita_{dat} job getting very easy
 ‘It is very easy for Kavita to get a job’

Lakshami Bai (2004) investigates through longitudinal data how young children acquire the dative-subject constructions in Tamil while Usha Rani and Sailaja (2004) investigate

whether elicited data of children would help in understanding the nature of dative-subject constructions in Telugu. In both studies it is noted that children's early speech is characterized by the absence of dative markings on the dative nominals. In the early stages of speech development the Tamil children omitted the dative marker even when it was supplied in the input speech, as in (132).

(132) Father: *yaar-ukku kuTu-kkar-a kis*
 who_{dat} give_{press.2sg} kiss
 'To whom are you giving the kiss'

Ramya: *akkaa*
 Elder sister

Father: *akkaa-kk-aa*
 Elder.sister_{dat.question}
 'To elder sister?'

Ramya: *akkaa*
 Elder sister

Once the Tamil children started marking the datives, a clear tendency was observed on their part to differentiate the syntactic function of dative nominals as subjects of a sentence from the dative nominals that are used to encode different case-like roles, such as goal. For instance, Deepa kept this distinction by resorting to the strategy of selective marking of the datives for certain roles and leaving it out from others, as in (133).

(133) a. *naa-ki cappal illa*
 I_{dat} sandal not
 'I do not have sandals'

- b. *paapaa poTTu illa²²
 baby dot not

‘The baby does not have the dot on the forehead’

Chetan’s data show that he adopted a different strategy from his sister to distinguish between the subject and the non-subject properties of the dative. He marked this preference in his early speech to use datives exclusively for an experiencer subject. He avoided overt expression of the dative markings to encode recipient or benefactive roles, as in (134).

- (134) a. *adi kaaTTu maa
 that show_{imp.} mother
 ‘Mother, show (me) that!’
 b. *adi taa maa
 that give_{imp.} mother
 ‘Mother, give (me) that!’

Lakshami Bai’s (2004) L1 data show that children pay attention to the syntactic-semantic properties of the dative DP. They are aware when the dative argument is a subject and when it has non-subject roles, such as possessor, goal of motion, benefactor of an action or event. This in turn supports the analysis that certain dative DPs are best analyzed as ‘quirky’ subjects.

As opposed to analyzing spontaneous data, Usha Rani and Sailaja (2004) investigated experimental data. The elicited data consisted of an imitating task. There were 3 groups and each group was represented by 12 children. In the repetition task, the child was asked to ‘imitate’ the target sentence immediately after the investigator

²² The author does not tell us in his example which N is marked dative in adult Tamil. We assume that the dative marking is missing on *paapaa*.

produced it. The target sentence was uttered clearly and only once, so that the child could repeat it as s/he comprehended it. The first set of sentences were dative constructions, as in (135); the second type were nominative-accusative sentences with indirect objects, as in (136); and, the third type were nominative subject constructions with the verb *be*, as in (137) (Usha Rani and Sailaja 2004).

(135) aame-ku baagaa jvaram vacc-in-di
 she_{dat} very fever come_{past-3sg non-human-male}
 ‘She had high fever’

(136) neenu vaaDi-ki pennu icc-EE-un
 I he_{dat} pen give_{past-1sg}
 ‘I gave a pen to him’

(137) vaaLLu santooSam-gaa unn-aa-ru
 they happy_{adverb} be_{past-3pl human}
 ‘They were happy’

Usha Rani and Sailaja’s (2004) results shows that in their ‘imitation task’ deletion of the subject and substitution are the primary devices in the acquisitional process of dative DPs in Telugu. For instance, the dative subject was dropped when it appeared in subject position, as in (138b), whereas datives in non-subject position were substituted with the locative marker, as in (139b). Namely, the dative case marker *ki* in the directional relation was substituted by the locative marker *loo*.

(138) Adult sentence:

a. nii-ku reNDu kaarlun unnaayi
 you_{dat} two cars have_{past-3pl non-human-male}
 ‘You had two cars’

Child sentence in the ‘imitation’ task:

- b. * Ø reNDu kaarlu unn-aa-yi
two cars have_{past-3pl non-human-male}

‘Had two cars’

(139) **Adult form:**

- a. skuuli-ki poota
school_{dat} go
‘I’ll go to school’

Child form:

- b. *skull-loo poota
school_{loc} go
‘I’ll go to school’

These authors argue that, through this deletion and substitution process, children showed a distinction between dative case marked Noun Phrases in subject position and non-subject position. This gives support for their hypothesis that dative subjects behave like nominative subjects in Telugu in that children also would drop/delete nominative subjects in intransitive constructions, as in (140b).

(140) **Adult form:**

- a. neenu entoo koopam-gaa unn-aa-nu
I very angry_{adj} be_{past-1sg}
‘I was very angry’

Child form:

- b. Ø entoo koopam-gaa unn-aa-nu
very angry_{adj} be_{past-1sg}
‘Was very angry’

Following these studies, we will investigate if L2 acquisition of dative subjects is similar to that of L1. More specifically, in a preference grammaticality judgment task we will test whether English L2 learners of Spanish will recognize that dative nominals behave like ‘quirky’ subjects with psychological and simple unaccusative predicates. English is a system without inherent dative case and has no ‘quirky’ subjects; thus L1 transfer in this sense is improbable to the target language (Lightfoot 1999). The L1 data of the above mentioned studies showed that children at their early acquisitional stage failed to insert the dative case marker with ‘quirky’ subjects and dropped the ‘quirky’ subject when it appeared in the canonical subject position. We will investigate whether English L2 learners will behave similarly in that at first they will reject nominals in dative case in canonical subject position and will use nominative case markings with psychological and unaccusative predicates.

4.2. The L1/L2 Acquisition of Dative Case and Dative Experiencers in Spanish

What is interesting in the studies on Tamil and Telugu is that these authors investigate the acquisition of full dative DPs, such as dative subjects, benefactives, goals, and argue that the production of dative morphology by children is a clear marker of the acquisition of dative case in these languages. The L1 acquisition of clitic pronouns has been investigated in many languages and has been shown to be acquired at the early stages of child acquisition (Varela 1988; Friedemann 1992; Guasti 1993; Kaiser 1993; Jakubowicz et al. 1995; Torrens 1995); however, dative pronouns or dative clitics have not been

analyzed in these studies as the trigger for the acquisition of dative case in Spanish, Italian or French.

Fox and Grodzinsky (1994) and Fox et al. (1995) claim that clitic doubling constructions are not found in the early L1 acquisition stages in Spanish. They account for this by stating that passives in English and clitic doubling in Spanish are the same type of construction. Thus the delay in the acquisition of passives parallels with the delay in the acquisition of clitic doubling. These authors indicate that in passive constructions children do not apply the process that transmits the agent theta-role to the *by*-phrase. According to them, children cannot construct a theta-chain because they did not transfer the thematic role of the agent to the *by*-phrase. This type of transfer is considered the same structure as that of clitic doubling. Torrens and Wexler (1996, 2000) investigate the relation between the acquisition of Spanish clitic doubling with dative experiencers, clitic left-dislocation, as well as scrambling in Dutch, floating quantifiers and passives in English. Unlike what Fox et al. propose, these authors show that children produce clitic doubling in the correct contexts; acquire floating quantifiers, dative experiencers, clitic left-dislocation and scrambling in Dutch at the same age because these constructions have the same underlying structure.

Hyams (1986), Lakshami Bai and Sailaja (1994) have demonstrated that children's early syntax is characterized by subjectless sentences. In a recent study, Torrens, Escobar and Wexler (2006) argue that children take structures with defective *v* as ungrammatical (External Argument Requirement Hypothesis, Wexler 2004). Defective *v* is a light verb of passives and unaccusatives that does not select an external argument.

They present evidence that children have difficulty with the Spanish psychological verbs that do not project the subject as the external argument. Their findings support the External Argument Requirement Hypothesis (EARH), according to which children until 5 or more have trouble with base structures that don't assign a subject/external argument. On the basis of their results, these authors argue that acquisition of the entire class of psychological verbs depends on the acquisition of one linguistic property that allows the L1 grammar to generate structures with no external argument.

Studies on second language acquisition of dative experiencers show that while L2 learners observe prominence relations among arguments they have much more difficulty with psychological verbs than with agentive verbs (Montrul 1996, 1998). English lacks the class of psychological verbs that take dative experiencers (*piacere*-like). In English experiencers only surface as nominative or accusative. Montrul argues that since French, like Spanish and Italian, also has morphological dative case manifested in the clitic system, dative experiencers are possible in this language. Nevertheless, French differs from Spanish in that it is neither a pro-drop nor a clitic-doubling language. She points out that English, French and Spanish are the same at the D-structure level, where experiencers are projected higher than themes. At the S-structure level, the three languages differ with respect to (i) whether case is assigned to the experiencer; (ii) the position where case is assigned and (iii) the need for a clitic. In her study, she seeks to answer whether L2 learners know that dative experiencers in Spanish are dative subjects that appear in the structural subject position and control PRO in adjunct clauses, as in (141).

- (141) A Juan_i le gusta María sin PRO_i saber por qué
 To John_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes Mary without know_{inf} why
 ‘Juan likes Mary not knowing why’

To test her hypotheses Montrul administered an interpretation task and a preference task that was adapted from White (1991). The interpretation task consisted of control structures with adjunct clauses and its aim was to test whether learners interpreted dative experiencers as the highest argument in the clause, choosing them as controller of PRO in adjunct clauses. Both agentive and psychological verbs were included in order to decide if the L2 subjects would observe the thematic hierarchy. The adjunct clause described something that could in principle be attributed to either of the two arguments in the main clause, as in (142).

- (142) A Juan_i le gusta María sin PRO_i saber por qué
 To John_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes Mary without know_{inf} why
 ¿Quién no sabe por qué?
 Who doesn’t know why?
 a. Juan b. María c. cualquiera de los dos (Juan o María)
 a. Juan b. María c. either one (Juan or María)

The preference grammaticality task consisted of paired sentences, the two sentences in each pair varying with respect to only one syntactic feature. The main purpose of this task was to investigate knowledge that (i) experiencers of unaccusative predicates appear marked with dative case and that (ii) Spanish allows clitic-doubling in the structures in question.

This study shows that, while L2 learners observe prominence relations among arguments, they have much more difficulty with psychological verbs than with agentive

verbs. With respect to dative experiencers, the author reports that unexpected differences were found between English- and French-speaking learners. The difference was mainly due to the performance of a minority of English learners. Possibly, these learners were confused about the dative case at the beginning. The results showed that English learners opted more for nominative subjects rather than dative experiencers. Montrul observes that the fact that the English learners improve over time with the interpretation of the dative experiencers as the higher argument is also directly linked with their acquisition of the Spanish dative morphology.

These studies show that L2 learners eventually overcome their L1 influence by restructuring their grammars and acquiring structures that are not part of their L1 (White 1996).

Montrul's (1998) study relates to our own investigation of 'quirky' subjects. In a more recent work (Chomsky 2000), dative experiencers have been considered 'quirky' subjects. Our intention is to investigate whether English-speaking learners of Spanish are aware that there exist non-nominative and nominative subjects in Spanish. L1 transfer and learnability considerations (White 2003b) will lead us to hypothesize that English-speaking learners of Spanish will have difficulty acquiring the L2 representations due to the lack of such representations in their L1. Recall that there are no 'quirky' subjects in English and that English lacks the class of psychological verbs that take dative experiencers.

In a different study, Montrul (1997) concentrates on the dynamic aspect of the diachronic-interlanguage connection by tracing parallels between developmental stages in

Spanish interlanguage grammars and in the history of the English language. Upon the loss of morphological dative case in English, a series of syntactic innovations emerged in English (listed in (143)), that are ungrammatical in Spanish, as in (144). Spanish differs from English in that there is morphological dative case.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (143) a. Paul believes John to be a good friend | (144) a. *Pablo cree Juan ser un buen amigo. |
| b. What is this book about? | b. *¿Qué es el libro sobre? |
| c. This bed was slept in. | c. *Esta cama fue dormida en. |
| d. Mary bought John a bike. | d. *María compró Pablo una bicicleta. |
| e. Mary was given a present. | e. *María fue dada un regalo. |

In two separate studies, this author tests whether dative pronouns are the trigger for the acquisition of dative case in Spanish and the syntactic structures related to it. Her first study, consisting of a grammaticality judgment task, investigates the acquisition of double objects, preposition stranding, indirect passives and exceptional case marking (ECM) constructions of English and French learners of Spanish. In her second study, she investigates clitic-doubling with verbs with dative subjects and indirect objects using a preference task. These two studies consisted of two different sets of participants.

English learners are constrained by their L1 at the beginning but move through a stage of optionality with some structures (when two distinct grammars co-exist) before arriving at the correct mental representation of the L2 grammar. The author states that similar trends are found in the historical development of English (Lightfoot 1991), suggesting that diachronic syntax can offer new insights to explain transfer effects in interlanguage grammars. Montrul observes significant differences between the English-

speaking and French-speaking subjects in both experiments. She attributes this to the richer case system in French as opposed to English. At the morphological level, French has a three-form system (*il, le, lui*) and has a nominative, accusative and dative distinction at the structural (syntactic) level.

Montrul (1996, 1997) suggests that dative pronouns/clitics trigger the acquisition of dative case in Spanish. Following this idea, we will investigate whether L2 learners of Spanish are aware that dative clitics trigger the necessity of dative arguments with unaccusative, unergative verbs, verbs of creation/construction and non-transfer predicates. More specifically, will L2 learners be sensitive to the fact that even when a Spanish verb does not take a dative argument, the structure is grammatical if the dative argument is clitic doubled?

4.3. Research Questions for the Spanish Low and High Applicative Constructions

One of the issues raised in L2 acquisition research is the extent to which properties of the L1 influence the acquisition of a second language. Namely, whether or how L2 learners perceive the difference between L1 and L2, and once they recognize the lack of a particular property of an L1 during the acquisition of an L2, how do they resolve these differences. These questions are of particular interest to various issues regarding the acquisition of argument structure and the lexical semantic components around which a verb's argument structure is built.

The thematic hierarchy by its very nature encodes prominence relations among a set of semantic theta roles. Therefore, even if general properties of the thematic hierarchy

are given as part of a general language capacity, for instance the argument of a verb bearing the highest ranked role is its subject, language particular instantiations of the thematic hierarchy must be learned, and these have implications for the syntax as well as the semantics. More specifically, although the applicative can be used with most verb types, the arguments they introduce (Experiencer, Recipient, Source) differ with the class of verb. This is because a verb in Spanish and its equivalent in English and Polish do not always exhibit the same pattern in projecting their argument onto syntax, which may be attributed to the architecture of the syntactic component which each language adopts. In Spanish, applicative constructions are realized morphologically by the presence of a dative clitic. In Polish, in a pre-theoretical approach, we assume that they are indicated by overt morphological case on the noun or by a dative clitic when the noun is not present. The marking is overt in both languages.

In our study, we consider the challenges that the English- and Polish-speaking L2 learners of Spanish encounter when acquiring the various constraints on Low and High Applicative constructions with unaccusative verbs (*llegar* ‘arrive’, *faltar* ‘be lacking’, *salir* ‘exit’, *venir* ‘come’, *floreecer* ‘bloom’); unergative verbs (*jugar* ‘play’, *bailar* ‘dance’, *cantar* ‘sing’, *correr* ‘run’, *sonreír* ‘smile’); verbs of creation/construction (*reparar* ‘repair’, *mecanografiar* ‘type’, *lavar* ‘wash’, *cocinar* ‘cook/bake’, *guisar* ‘cook’); and, non-transfer predicates (*admirar* ‘admire’, *pisar* ‘step on’, *besar* ‘kiss’, *examinar* ‘examine’, *manchar* ‘stain’) as well as with psychological predicates (*gustar* ‘like’, *molestar* ‘bother’, *encantar* ‘like a lot’, *repugnar* ‘disgust’, *interesar* ‘interest’).

We intend to investigate three opposing views of L2 acquisition and their implications: the No-Access Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989), the Partial Access Hypothesis (Hawkins and Chan 1997) and the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b). We compare the acquisition of L2 Spanish by native English and Polish speakers with respect to applicative features, namely, [low appl] and [high appl].

1. No-Access Hypothesis: The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1988):

The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis predicts that L1A and adult SLA are distinct from a variety of viewpoints, all boiling down to the fact that adults no longer have access to the learning mechanisms and innate knowledge source (UG) that L1 acquirers have. Namely, in adults UG ceases to operate; instead knowledge of the L1 and the cognitive skills of general ‘problem solving’ serve as a substitute. Bley-Vroman argues that the second language learners’ knowledge of their L1 tells them a lot about what languages are like and that all absolute universal principles are given to the L2 learner through his L1.

In chapter 1, we have shown that the English Double Object construction and the Spanish Clitic-Doubled Ditransitive construction are instances of different kinds of Low applicative construction. Owczarzak (2004) argues that in Polish there also exist DOCs of the English type with ditransitive verbs. In light of the No-Access Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1988), English- and Polish- L2 learners should acquire the Spanish applicative constructions (DOCs), since these are part of their L1s. However, the English L2 learners

will have to be aware that in Spanish unlike English there exist three kinds of Low applicative constructions: the Low applicative-‘TO’, which is shared by both English and Spanish, as in (145), the Low applicative-‘FROM’ and ‘AT’, as in (146) and (147) respectively, which are only instantiated in the target language.

(145) Juan le dio rosas a María
 J_{nom} Cl_{dat} gave roses_{acc} to M_{dat}

‘John gave Mary roses’

(146) El ladrón le robó los cuadros de Monet a María
 the thief_{nom} Cl_{dat} stole the paintings by Monet_{acc} to M_{dat}

‘The thief stole the paintings by Monet from Mary’

(147) Ana le admira la chaqueta a Marta
 Ana_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the jacket_{acc} to Marta_{dat}

‘Ana admires Marta’s jacket’

In principle, the Polish L2 learners will acquire all three variants of the DOC in Spanish since all three constructions are productive in their L1, as seen by the examples in (145’), (146’) and (147’).

(145’) Paweł dał Anecie rower
 P_{nom} gave A_{dat} bike_{acc}

‘Paul gave Aneta a bike’

(Low applicative-‘TO’)

(146’) Paweł ukradł rower Anecie
 P_{nom} stole bike_{acc} A_{dat}

‘Paul stole the bike from Aneta’

(Low applicative-‘FROM’)

(147’) Paweł pocałował czoło Anecie
 P_{nom} kissed forehead_{acc} A_{dat}

‘Paul kissed Aneta on the forehead’

(Low applicative-‘AT’)

Secondly, English- and Polish- L2 learners must be aware that low applicative constructions in Spanish have morphosyntactic implications such as:

- (i) clitic doubling is obligatory in the presence of a dative argument with unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates (stative and non-directional activity verb) as well as verbs of creation/construction:

a. A Daniela le llegaron dos cartas. (unaccusative verb)
to D_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}

‘Daniela got two letters’ / ‘Two letters arrived for Daniela’

b. Pedro le corrió un maratón a Luca. (unergative verb)
P._{nom} Cl_{dat} run a marathon to L_{dat}

‘Pedro ran a race against Luca’

c. La novia le besó la mejilla a su padre (non-transfer activity predicate)
the bride_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the cheek to her father_{dat}

‘The bride kissed her father’s cheek’

d. Lola le preparó pollo asado a Manuel (verb of creation)
L_{nom} Cl_{dat} prepared chicken roasted to M_{dat}

‘Lola prepared roasted chicken for Manuel’

- (ii) in low applicative constructions [a + DP_{dative}], *a* is a case assigner and thus cannot be changed to a full preposition:

e. Mi madre le lavó los pantalones *(para) mi hermano
My mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the pants for my brother

‘My mother washed the pants for my brother’

- (iii) in the absence of the dative clitic, [a + DP_{dative}] needs to be changed with the correct preposition (*para* ‘for’):

f. Lola cocinó pollo asado *(a) Manuel
L_{nom} cooked chicken roasted to M_{dat}

‘Lola cooked roasted chicken for Manuel’

Lastly, Spanish low applicative constructions are productive with a wide range of verbs, as in (148), whereas in English this is more restricted, as in (149), and somewhat restricted in Polish, as in (150).

- (148) a. A Marta le llegaron dos cartas
to Marta_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}
‘To letters arrived for Marta’
b. Juan le lavó el coche a Marta
J_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the car to M_{dat}
‘John washed Marta’s car’ / ‘John washed the car for Marta’

- (149) a. *Arrived Marta two letters
b. *John washed Mary the car

- (150) a. *Marcie przyjechały dwa listy
M_{dat} arrived two letters
‘Two letters arrived for Marta’
b. Janek umył auto Marcie
J_{nom} washed car_{acc} M_{dat}
‘John washed Marta’s car’ / ‘John washed the car for Marta’

This might add an additional ‘burden’ for them in that if the English L2 learners fail to recognize the semantic differences between L1 and the target language, then these learners will not acquire the different types of low applicative constructions that are possible in Spanish.

Concerning the L2 acquisition of High applicative constructions, as in (151), what the No-Access hypothesis predicts is that only Polish L2 learners of Spanish will be able to acquire this type of construction, since it is instantiated in their L1. In contrast, the

English L2 learners will fail to acquire these constructions since they have no previous knowledge of such structures in their L1.

(151) *A Marta le gustan ciudades grandes*
to Marta_{dat} Cl_{dat} like cities_{nom} big_{nom}
‘Marta likes big cities’

(151') *Marcie podobają się duże miasta*
M_{dat} like Refl.Cl big cities_{nom}
‘Marta likes big cities’

In sum, English- and Polish- L2 learners need to be aware of those areas of linguistic knowledge where the L2 differs from their L1 in order to produce high applicative constructions in Spanish.

2. The Partial Access Hypothesis: Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (Hawkins&Chan 1997):

The Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFH) advocates that functional features are subject to a critical period and cannot be acquired beyond childhood unless they are instantiated in the L1 and that L2 syntactic representations will be different from their native counterparts where the speaker's L1 does not have the same functional features as the L2. Thus by this hypothesis, the L2 speaker is limited to the functional feature inventory of the L1, and can only acquire categorical knowledge of the areas of the L2 grammar that his L1 functional features inventory allows.

By this hypothesis, we assume that the difference will lie in the features of the applicative head, namely [low appl-‘to’] and [low appl-‘at’] features, since in English and in Polish, the features of the applicative head are phonetically null (Pylkkänen 2002),

whereas in Spanish they are spelled out by the dative clitic (Cuervo 2003), which shows the [person] and [number] features of the dative DP argument. This stipulates that English- and Polish- L2 learners will not produce the applicative marker due to their L1s.

Similarly, English L2 learners of Spanish will not acquire the high applicative constructions with psychological predicates and with the ethical dative clitic, since the [high appl] feature is not instantiated in their L1, as in (152) and in (153) for Polish.

(152) a. A Daniela le gustan ciudades grandes
to Daniela_{dat} Cl_{dat} like cities_{nom} big_{nom}
‘Daniela likes big cities’

b. Me le_i arruinaron la vida [a mi hijo]_i
Me_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} ruined the life to my son_{dat}
‘They ruined my son’s life’

(153) Ona ci mu wtedy nagadała
She_{nom} you_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} then told-off
‘And then she gave him a piece of her mind’ [Franks 2000: ex. (162a)]

This kind of high applicative is shown to be available in Spanish only as ‘defective’, because it does not project [Specifier, ApplP], since ethical datives appear as clitics but not as DPs in argument position (Cuervo 2003). We test this knowledge of L2 learners of Spanish, pointing out that ethical datives are considered to be colloquial in the target language.

3. The Full Access Hypothesis: White (2003b)

In light of the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b), English- and Polish- L2 learners will be able to acquire the L2 representations such as the [low appl] and [high appl] features in their L1s because of their availability through UG. According to the Missing Inflections Hypothesis, these L2 learners of Spanish will have difficulty producing the morphosyntactic L2 representations, i.e. the applicative marker, due to their L1s.

To summarize, the three hypotheses being compared here make different predictions about performance relating to Spanish applicative features. These predictions are tested in the experiments described in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

THE STUDY:

The L2 Acquisition of Spanish Low and High Applicative Constructions

5.0. Introduction

In order to determine whether non-native speakers of Spanish are able to differentiate between Low and High Applicative Constructions, we carried out three experimental tasks that are described in this chapter. More specifically, we investigated (1) to what extent, if at all, the L1 affects the acquisitional process of the Spanish applicative constructions; (2) whether English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish violate the constraints proposed for the different types of applicative constructions possible in the target language; and, (3) if these L2 learners judge dative clitic-doubled constructions with unaccusative and unergative verbs, verbs of creation/construction and non-transfer predicates as Spanish Low applicative constructions, and, with psychological predicates as Spanish High applicative constructions.

5.1. Participants

A total of seventy four participants took part in this investigation. There were twenty four English and twenty-six Polish-speaking learners of Spanish. Twenty four native speakers of Spanish, from Spain and Latin America, acted as the control group. The English L2

learners were recruited at the University of Western Ontario, at the University of Ottawa and at the Spanish Heritage School in Ottawa. The Polish L2 learners were recruited at the *Instituto Cervantes* in Warsaw, Poland.

In order to ensure comparability of subjects at the proficiency level, the L2 learners were divided into Intermediate (n=10), Advanced (n=21) and High Advanced (n=23) groups on the basis of an independent proficiency measure, which was adapted from the *Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera* (DELE) (Salamanca, Spain) consisting of a vocabulary test and a cloze test. We chose to employ this placement test since it is a reliable one and it is also used by the Instituto Cervantes worldwide (Appendix II). All participants were asked to complete a questionnaire outlining their personal, educational and language background (Appendix III).²³ These questions were intended to obtain information on their language experience, L1s and L2s, languages used in childhood, in school or other institutions, as well as, languages used in their daily life.

5.2. Hypotheses for the L2 Acquisition of Spanish Low Applicative Constructions

In chapter 1, we argued that in Low applicative constructions the dative noun is not an argument of the verb and that it is introduced by a specialized head, called the applicative head, which merges below the verb and relates the dative to the direct object. Depending on which of the heads licenses the applied argument, this argument is interpreted as the recipient, the source or the possessor of the theme object, i.e. the direct object.

²³ The questionnaire is from the Language Acquisition Lab, University of Ottawa (Dept. of Modern Languages and Literatures).

We investigate whether English and Polish L2 learners of Spanish will be aware that the applicative head assigns inherent dative case to the argument it licenses and that the dative clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head. In other words, the clitic spells out the phi-features of the dative argument DP.

We propose that a language can select one or all of these heads from the universal inventory of functional elements. We intend to find out whether English L2 learners will be able to incorporate the ['AT' applicative] and [high applicative] features of the applicative head from the universal feature inventory of functional elements into their native language and if the Polish L2 learners will recognize that in Spanish there exist different applicative heads.

5.2.1. Unaccusative and Unergative verbs as Low Applicative Constructions

It has been proposed that every type of verb that appears in the English Double Object construction (DOC), which is the Low Applicative-‘TO’, also appears in the Spanish clitic-doubled construction, but the reverse does not hold. It is argued that there is no DOC and thus no Low applicative construction in Polish.

There exist constraints for the Spanish Low applicative construction to be grammatical with unaccusative and unergative verbs. One of the constraints stipulates that in the presence of a dative marked applicative argument clitic doubling is obligatory, as in (154) and (155).

- (154) A Marisol_i le_i llegaron dos cartas (unaccusative verb)
to M_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}
‘Marisol got two letters’ (Lit. Two letters arrived to Marisol)

- (155) La pareja les_i bailó un tango a los jueces $_i$ (unergative verb)
 the pair $_{nom}$ Cl $_{dat}$ danced a tango to the judges $_{dat}$
 ‘The dancing pair danced a tango to the judges’

The second constraint is attributed to *a*. Cuervo (2003) states that in the Spanish Low applicative constructions *a* is not a preposition but a case assigner, i.e. dative case assigner, and thus cannot be changed to a full fledged preposition as shown by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (156) as opposed to the grammatical structure in (155).

- (156) * La pareja les_i bailó un tango **para los jueces $_i$**
 the pair $_{nom}$ Cl $_{dat}$ danced a tango for the judges
 ‘The dancing pair danced a tango for the judges’

We hypothesize that English and Polish L2 learners, due to their L1, will violate these constraints proposed for the Low applicative-‘TO’ construction with unaccusative and unergative predicates. In principle, the English L2 learners will reject such structures since they are not part of their L1, whereas the Polish L2 learners will judge such structures as grammatical, because a similar structure exists in their L1. However, Polish L2 learners will have to be aware of the special morphological marker that differentiates applicative structures with unaccusative and unergative verbs in Spanish from the similar structures that are productive in their L1.

We claim that if the English L2 learners transfer their L1 knowledge of the DOC construction into the target language but do not restrict the DOC to certain types of predicates in Spanish, then these L2 learners will judge unaccusative and unergative verbs as Spanish Low applicative-‘TO’ structures.

5.2.2. Non-transfer predicates as Low Applicative Constructions

In Spanish, a dative argument can relate to a direct object in the context of a non-transfer predicate. The non-transfer predicate can be either stative (*admirar* ‘admire’, *envidiar* ‘envy’), as in (157), or dynamic (activity verbs such as *besar* ‘kiss’, *examinar* ‘examine’, *manchar* ‘soil’), as in (158).

- (157) Marta le admira la paciencia a Pedro
 M_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the patience to P_{dat}
 ‘Marta admires Pedro’s patience’

- (158) La abuela les besa la frente a sus nietos
 the grandmother_{nom} Cl_{dat} kisses the forehead to her grandchildren_{dat}
 ‘The grandmother kisses her grandchildren’s forehead’

It is concluded that non-transfer predicates have the same basic structure as a low applicative construction with ditransitive, unaccusative and unergative verbs. With non-transfer predicates the dative argument is understood to be the possessor of the direct object as opposed to being the recipient or source. Thus these structures are referred to as Low applicative-‘AT’ constructions.

In English and Polish, stative predicates allow a dative argument to be part of the structure even though this argument is not selected by the verb, as in (159a) and (160) respectively; yet, in English the direct object must be accompanied by a possessive determiner because otherwise the structure is ungrammatical, as in (159b).

- (159) a. Robert envies John his job
 b. *Robert envies John job

- (160) Robert zazdrości pracę Jankowi
 R_{nom} envies work J_{dat}
 ‘Robert envies John’s job’

We propose that due to the similarities between the Spanish Low applicative-‘AT’ constructions, as in (157-158), the English structure, as in (159a), and the Polish structure, as in (160), English and Polish L2 learners will judge sentences with non-transfer predicates as possible Spanish low applicative structures. All the same, we maintain that, due to their L1, English L2 learners of Spanish might judge the structures in (157-158) as ungrammatical because the sentences lack a possessive adjective, which is required in English.

In addition, we argue that since English and Polish are not clitic doubling languages, these learners will not be aware of the subtle syntactic differences that constitute a Spanish low applicative-‘AT’ structure. More specifically, these L2 learners at first will not be sensitive to the fact that *a* is a case assigner and not a preposition; and, that when there is a dative applicative argument with non-transfer predicates it must be clitic doubled and *a* cannot be substituted with *de* ‘of’.

5.2.3. *Verbs of Construction/Creation as Low Applicative Constructions*

Dative arguments can appear in clitic doubled ditransitive structures with verbs that express an activity - verbs of creation/construction - such as *reparar* ‘repair’, *mecanografiar* ‘type’, *lavar* ‘wash’, *cocinar* ‘cook/bake’, *guisar* ‘cook’. When an activity verb takes a theme object and then a dative argument is added to the construction, the

dative argument is usually interpreted as a benefactive or intended recipient of the created object and clitic doubling is obligatory.

The English DOC with this kind of activity verb (i.e. accomplishment verbs) is possible as long as the object is overtly expressed, as in (161).

(161) John baked Caroline a cake

However, not all English activity verbs permit the DOC with verbs of creation/construction, as seen by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (162) and (163).

(162) *Mike washed Barbara car

(163) *The mechanic repaired John bike

In Polish, this construction is productive with a variety of verbs of creation/construction, as in (164), but unlike Spanish it is not clitic-doubled, where the pattern looks like an English DOC.

(164) a. Jan upiekł ciastko Karolinie

J_{nom} baked cake_{acc} K_{dat}

‘John baked Caroline a cake’

b. Jan umył samochód Karolinie

J_{nom} washed car_{acc} K_{dat}

‘John washed Caroline’s car’ / ‘John washed the car for Caroline’

c. Mechanik naprawił Jankowi rower

mechanic_{nom} repaired J_{dat} bike_{acc}

‘The mechanic repaired John’s bike’ / ‘The mechanic repaired the bike for John’

We maintain that when the Polish L2 learners of Spanish transfer L1 knowledge to the target language, then these learners will readily accept verbs of construction/creation with

dative applicative arguments as grammatical Spanish applicative-‘TO’ constructions. Conversely, due to lack of clitic doubling in Polish these learners might interpret the dative argument as a possessor instead of it being the intended recipient. Namely, the Polish L2 learners will treat *a* as a preposition instead of it being a case assigner.

We propose that English L2 learners will be able to produce low applicative constructions with verbs of construction/creation; however, these learners will be restrained by their L1 as to the variety of these verbs that are grammatical in the Spanish applicative construction. In other words, if these L2 learners do not restrain the type of activity verb that is correct in the Spanish applicative construction as opposed to the English DOC construction, then these learners will judge verbs of creation/construction as grammatical Spanish low applicative-‘TO’ structures.

5.2.4. Spanish Low Applicative Construction and The Non-Clitic Doubled Variant

It has been argued that whether there is successful transfer of possession depends on the individual verb. More specifically, that the recipient (has something) is part of the meaning of ‘give’ (both in the DOC and the ‘to’- construction), but it is not entailed with verbs such as ‘send’, ‘throw’, ‘bake’ or ‘write’, as in (165).

(165) a. I sent Bill the letter, but he never got it.

b. I wrote Susan a letter but she never got it.

c. I threw Joe the ball, but he didn’t catch it due to the strong wind.

We have assumed that syntactically the Spanish Low applicative construction resembles the English DOC, as was discussed in Chapter 1. We maintain that as in the English DOC

there is also a semantic difference between the Low applicative construction and the non-clitic doubled construction with ditransitive verbs in Spanish. We hypothesize that English- and Polish- L2 learners will be aware of this semantic difference due to their L1s.

5.3. Hypotheses for the L2 Acquisition of Spanish High Applicative Constructions

As we have seen above, in Spanish, dative nominals with psychological and existential predicates behave like nominative subjects with respect to a number of syntactic/semantic properties and thus are true subjects.

It has been argued that dative nominals that appear with psychological and existential predicates are not ‘quirky’ subjects but rather are applicative arguments of high and low applicative constructions. In our research, through L2 data we seek to investigate the acquisition of these applicative arguments by English- and Polish- L2 learners of Spanish.

5.3.1. The L2 Acquisition of ‘Quirky’ Subjects

It follows from the language properties of English, a system without ‘quirky’ subjects, that English-speaking learners of Spanish will encounter difficulties acquiring a system with ‘quirky’ subjects. If L2 learners are originally totally constrained by their L1, we expect to find only incorrect acceptances of the subjecthood tests (Raising, Bare NPs and Reflexive Binding) with psychological and existential predicates. In addition, due to the

L1 these learners will produce nominative subjects instead of dative subjects in their interlanguage grammar with the above mentioned predicates.

In the Raising construction, as in (166), L2 learners must be aware that (i) the uninterpretable [EPP] feature of T is valued through the phi-features of the dative nominal (*A Juan*) and not through the ones of the nominal *el ajedrez*; and (ii) that the theme (*el ajedrez*) agrees with the raising verb (*empezó*) through long distance feature valuation via the Agree operation.

- (166) *A Marcos_i le empezó a interesar el ajedrez t_i*
 to Mark_{dat} Cl_{dat} began to interest the chess_{nom}
 ‘Marcos began to become interested in chess’

In the Bare NPs subjecthood test, it is proposed that only grammatical objects of verbs can appear without an expletive article; however, NPs that are grammatical subjects cannot, as seen by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (167).

- (167) * *A niños les gusta comer dulces*
 to children_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes eat sweets
 ‘Children like to eat sweets’

English L2 learners need to be aware that Spanish, unlike their L1, cannot have bare nouns as subjects. In other words, since Spanish (but not English) requires an expletive article in subject position both for nominative and for ‘quirky’ subjects, L2 learners may transfer the English construction and judge structures with Bare NPs, as in (167), as grammatical.

In the variable binding subjecthood test we will determine whether L2 learners interpret dative constituents as the constituent that structurally speaking is most

prominent in the clause. In other words, in (168), a quantifier (*cada*) in the dative phrase can bind a possessive in the theme, but the opposite does not hold (169). We propose that if L2 learners are guided by the thematic restrictions on binding which are shared by English and Spanish, they will reject structures like the ones in (169). Alternatively, this rejection will show that L2 learners recognize that, in Spanish, the dative argument, in this case, *a cada niño*, is higher than the nominative theme.

(168) A cada niño le gusta su juguete
to each child_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes his toy_{nom}
‘Each child likes his toy’

(169) *Cada juguete le gusta a su niño.
each toy_{nom} Cl_{dat} likes to his child_{dat}

In sum, the correct valuation and deletion of uninterpretable features will in turn guide the acquisition of all the correct structures associated with quirky subjects, in Spanish.

5.4. Tasks

The tasks consisted of two written grammaticality judgment tasks and a picture task.

The grammaticality judgment task tested the Low and High applicative constructions with unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer verbs, verbs of creation/construction and psychological predicates. Subjects were asked to judge pairs of sentences, which were distributed randomly in the task. For each sentence, subjects had to indicate whether the sentences were grammatical Spanish sentences.²⁴ The task included 84 test sentences, of which 50 were test items and 34 were distractors. Test

²⁴ In the GJ-task we asked the subjects (native and non-native) to provide the “correct” version of the sentences that they believed to be ungrammatical. We believe that this is more informative in terms of their competence than just having a scale from 1 to 7 or 1 to 5.

items consisted of clitic doubled structures with the above mentioned predicates. In each case, a grammatical sentence with the relevant morphology of the applicative construction in Spanish was contrasted with an ungrammatical sentence lacking this morphological marker, as in (170) and (171).²⁵

- (170) a. Elena le manchó los zapatos a Elisa (Low Applicative Construction)
 E_{nom} Cl_{dat} soiled the shoes_{acc} to E_{dat}
 ‘Elena soiled Elisa’s shoes’
 b. *Elena manchó los zapatos a Elisa
 E_{nom} soiled the shoes_{acc} to E_{dat}
 ‘Elena soiled Elisa’s shoes’
- (171) a. A Marta le gusta la música (High Applicative Construction)
 to M_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes the music_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes music’ (Lit. Music appeals to Marta)
 b. *A Marta le gusta música²⁶
 to M_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes music_{nom}
 ‘Marta likes music’
 c. El perro me le_i comió la salchicha al niño_i (High Defective Applicative Construction)
 the dog_{nom} me_{ethicaldatCl} Cl_{dat} ate the sausage to the child_{dat}
 ‘The dog ate the sausage of the child on me’
 d. *El perro me_i comió la salchicha al niño_i
 the dog_{nom} me_{Ethical.datCl} ate the sausage_{acc} to the child_{dat}
 ‘The dog ate the sausage of the child on me’
 e. *El perro me le_i comió la salchicha a mí_i
 the dog_{nom} me_{Ethical.datCL} Cl_{dat} ate the sausage_{acc} to me_{dat}
 ‘The dog ate the sausage of the child on me’ (*with the intended meaning)

²⁵ See Appendix IV for a sample Grammaticality Judgment task.

²⁶ The sentence in (171b) is ungrammatical, because the theme, *música*, is unmodified.

The advantage of this methodology is that it ensures that any judgments are indeed concerned with the phenomenon at issue, in this case presence versus absence of a morphological marker (i.e. the dative clitic) with a variety of predicates. Due to the possibility of drawing the learners' attention to similar structures, we isolated the test item sentences from their ungrammatical counterparts so that the L2 learners' judgments would reflect as much as possible their unconscious knowledge of the target language. In Table 1, we present the verbs used in the grammaticality judgment task.

Table 1. Verbs tested in the Grammaticality Judgment Task

Unaccusative Verbs	Unergative Verbs	Non-Transfer Predicates	Verbs of Creation Construction	Psychological Predicates
Faltar 'be lacking' Llegar 'arrive' Salir 'exit' Venir 'come' Florecer 'bloom'	Jugar 'play' Bailar 'dance' Cantar 'sing' Correr 'run' Sonreír 'smile'	Admirar 'admire' Pisar 'step on' Besar 'kiss' Examinar 'examine' Manchar 'stain'	Reparar 'repair' Mecanografiar 'type' Lavar 'wash' Cocinar 'cook/bake' Guisar 'cook'	Gustar 'like' Encantar 'like a lot' Interesar 'interest' Molestar 'bother' Repugnar 'disgust'

The Picture Task was intended to test whether the hypothesized constraint on the semantics for the English Double Object Construction holds for the Spanish clitic-doubled ditransitive construction, i.e. the Low applicative construction. In cases where

there is possibility of alternation between the DOC and the to-PP variants in English, the DOC favours a successful transfer reading.²⁷ The verbs selected for this experiment alternate between the clitic and non-clitic doubled constructions. If the stipulation for the English DOC holds, we should see similar results with the Spanish low applicative construction. The verbs that were used in the Picture task are: *inyectar* ‘inject’, *mandar* ‘send’, *servir* ‘serve’, *entregar* ‘hand in’, *regalar* ‘give as a present’. The participants were asked to circle the sentence that described the picture by following these criteria:

- 1 **el dibujo no interpreta el significado de la frase**
1 the picture does not interpret the meaning of the sentence
- 2 **el dibujo interpreta el significado de la frase**
2 the picture interprets the meaning of the sentence
- 3 **el dibujo interpreta el significado PERO la frase es agramatical**
3 the picture interprets the meaning BUT the sentence is ungrammatical

In the Preference Task the English L2 learners of Spanish and the control group were asked to complete short stories in a way which required the use of the subjecthood tests described in section 5.3.1.²⁸ The participants were asked not to correct the ungrammatical sentences, since we wanted them to rely on their intuition in giving grammaticality judgments within this task. The correction of the test items in the task would impose an additional burden on their competence and would defeat the intuitive nature of this task. The objective set for this task was to determine whether English L2 learners of Spanish identify dative nominals as ‘quirky’ subjects rather than as fronted objects.

²⁷ See Appendix V for a sample of the Picture task.

²⁸ See Appendix VI for a sample Preference task.

5.5. Group and Item Results from the Grammaticality Judgment Task

Recall that in the grammaticality judgment task there are sentences testing each of the following morphosyntactic implications as proposed for the Spanish grammatical low applicative construction with the following predicates:

(1) clitic doubling is obligatory in the presence of a dative argument with unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates (stative and non-directional activity verb) as well as verbs of creation/construction:

- a. A Daniela le llegaron dos cartas. (unaccusative verb)
to D_{dat} Cl_{dat} arrived two letters_{nom}
'Daniela got two letters' / 'Two letters arrived for Daniela'
- b. Pedro le corrió un maratón a Luca. (unergative verb)
P.nom Cl_{dat} run a marathon to L_{dat}
'Pedro ran a race against Luca'
- c. La novia le besó la mejilla a su padre (non-transfer activity predicate)
the bride_{nom} Cl_{dat} kissed the cheek to her father_{dat}
'The bride kissed her father's cheek'
- d. Lola le preparó pollo asado a Manuel (verb of creation)
L_{nom} Cl_{dat} prepared chicken roasted to M_{dat}
'Lola prepared roasted chicken for Manuel'

(2) in low applicative constructions [a + DP_{dative}], *a* is a case assigner and thus cannot be changed to a full preposition:

- e. Mi madre le lavó los pantalones *(para) mi hermano
My mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the pants for my brother
'My mother washed the pants for my brother'

(3) in the absence of the dative clitic, [a + DP_{dative}] needs to be changed with the correct preposition (*para* 'for'):

f. Lola cocinó pollo asado *(a) Manuel
 L_{nom} cooked chicken roasted to M_{dat}
 'Lola cooked roasted chicken for Manuel'

5.5.1. Unaccusative Verbs as Low Applicative Constructions

In low applicative constructions with unaccusative verbs the dative argument must be clitic doubled. The person and number features of the dative nominal are spelled-out through the dative clitic. In addition, since the dative nominal is selected by an applicative head, it is considered as an applicative (i.e. applied) argument and not as an argument of the predicate. Recall that a low applicative takes two arguments: the applied argument, which is clitic doubled, and a verb.

As Figure 1 shows, both L2 groups are not as accurate as the control group at judging clitic doubled structures with unaccusative verbs as grammatical Spanish Low applicative-'to' constructions.

Figure 1. Unaccusative Verbs (ANOVA by L1)

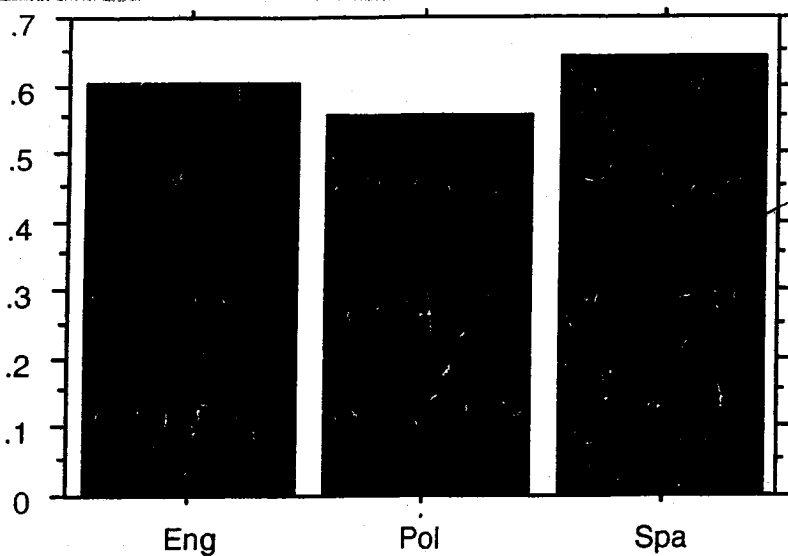


Table 2 reports production of overt morphology in obligatory contexts, i.e. the production of the dative clitic with unaccusative verbs that have a dative applied argument. Recall that whenever there is a dative argument in Spanish, there is a clitic that doubles it. If there is no clitic, there is no dative argument, but a PP introduced by the preposition *a*. This claims that, in Spanish, clitic doubling is obligatory with unaccusative verbs.

Table 2. **GJT. Unaccusative Verbs as a Low Applicative Construction**²⁹

	Grammatical Clitic-doubled	Ungrammatical
Adv. ENG (n=9)	53.89%	46.11%
Adv. POL (n=12)	60.00%	40.00%
High Adv. ENG (n=9)	66.67%	33.33%
High Adv. POL (n=14)	51.43%	48.57%
CONTROL (n=14)	64.29%	35.71%

Although the native speakers and L2 learners seem to be aware of the constraint proposed for low applicative constructions with unaccusative verbs, the results in Table 2 indicate

²⁹ % refers to the acceptance of grammatical and ungrammatical structures in the GJ-task

that clitic doubling is not obligatory with unaccusative verbs. In sum, group results reveal that L2 learners and native speakers do not treat the dative argument as the argument of the low applicative head, due to the consistent replacement of [... CL ... a + DP_{dat}] with [... CL... de/para + DP] and removal of the dative clitic in the clitic doubled constructions, [...CL... a + DP_{dat}], which constitutes the Spanish low applicative construction. English and Polish L2 learners reject the proposition that with unaccusative verbs a dative argument must be clitic doubled, because it is an applied argument (Masullo 1992; de Garavito 2000; Cuervo 2003). We hypothesized that due to a similar construction in Polish, as in (160), that these L2 learners as opposed to the English L2 learners would be more accurate in judging, as grammatical, dative arguments with unaccusative verbs in Spanish. To our knowledge, it is not argued that the Polish DOCs are low applicative constructions with unaccusative verbs, but that the Polish DOC is part of Topic or Focus Phrase (Owczarzak 2004).

In view of sentences in (172), which look like Cuervo's Low Applicative-'TO' constructions in Spanish, it could be that Cuervo is wrong and that the parallel structures are in fact not low applicatives in Spanish.

- (172) a. Jankowi *brakuje* pieniędzy (faltar 'be lacking')
 John_{dat} lacks money
 'John lacks money'
- b. Jankowi *wyszły* pryszczyki (salir 'exit')
 J_{dat} exit pimples
 'John got pimples'
- c. Jankowi *zakwitły* piękne tulipany (floreecer 'bloom')
 J_{dat} bloomed beautiful tulips
 'Beautiful tulips bloomed for John'

However, we did not expect that the Polish L2 learners would transfer not only syntactic but also semantic L1 knowledge into the target language. More specifically, the Polish equivalent of *llegar* ‘arrive’, *venir* ‘come’, *salir* ‘exit’ do not permit dative arguments with inanimate and animate themes, as is seen by the ungrammaticality of (173).

- (173) a. *Jankowi *przyjechały* dwa listy (llegar ‘arrive’)
 J_{dat} arrived two letters
 ‘Two letters arrived for John’
 *Jankowi *przyjechała* mama
 J_{dat} arrived mom
 ‘John’s mom arrived’
- b. *Jankowi *wyszła* książka (salir ‘exit’)
 J_{dat} came out book
 ‘John’s book got published’
 *Jankowi *wyszła* mama
 J_{dat} came out mom
 ‘John’s com came’
- c. *Jankowi *przyszła* paczka (venir ‘come’)
 J_{dat} came parcel
 ‘John received a parcel’
 *Jankowi *przyszła* mama
 J_{dat} came mom
 ‘John’s mom came’

In addition, in Polish the verb *salir* is acceptable with some inanimate themes such as ‘pimples’, but it is rejected with an inanimate theme such as ‘book’, since a book cannot exit on its own and a pimple can. In Polish this ‘exiting’ of a pimple is interpreted as an involuntary action, which cannot be attributed to a book, not even metaphorically. This shows that Polish L2 learners are sensitive to the subtle semantic differences in Spanish

unaccusative verbs, since the same is true in Spanish where *A Juan le salió un libro* (Juan's book came out (= published)) can only be interpreted metaphorically.

So far we have been considering group results, but the question at issue is whether and how applied arguments are interpreted in the grammars of L2 speakers with specific lexical items. Group results can only be suggestive in this regard; hence, it is worth considering item results for those cases where group results suggest a poorer performance, namely omission of the dative clitic and suppliance of different types of prepositions with unaccusative verbs. To investigate the degree of similarity between the experimental groups at different levels and between the native speakers, we studied the class of simple unaccusative predicates as low applicative constructions instead of teasing them apart semantically. It can be inferred from the item results, in Table 3, that *llegar* is the least favoured predicate to appear with a clitic doubled dative applied argument.

Table 3. GJ-task. Unaccusative Verbs

Subjects	faltar 'lack'	llegar 'arrive'	salir 'exit'	venir 'come'	florecer 'bloom'
English (n=18)	88.89%	38.89%	77.78%	50.00%	44.44%
Polish (n=26)	69.23%	7.69%	84.62%	34.62%	84.62%
Control (n=14)	42.86%	35.71%	92.86%	64.29%	85.71%

Most English and Polish L2 learners with the test sentences, as in (174a), would keep the dative clitic, but change *a* to *de*, as in (174b). Recall that in clitic doubled constructions with unaccusative verbs, *a* is argued to be a morphological marker of dative case and not a preposition.

- (174) a. El verano pasado **le** florecieron todos los rosales **a** mi vecino → Test sentence³⁰
 the summer past Cl_{dat} bloomed all the rose bushes to my neighbour_{dat}
 ‘Last summer, all the rose bushes bloomed for my neighbour’
- b. El verano pasado **le** florecieron todos los rosales **DE** mi vecino → L2 sentence
 the summer past Cl_{dat} bloomed all the rose bushes of my neighbour
 ‘Last summer, all my neighbour’s rose bushes bloomed’

There were instances where L2 learners would remove the dative clitic from the construction and keep the sequence [*a* + DP], as in (175b). This further suggests that for them *a* is a full fledged preposition.

- (175) a. A causa del accidente **le** llegó tarde la novia **a** Víctor → Test sentence
 to cause of accident Cl_{dat} arrived late the girlfriend to V_{dat}
 ‘Due to the accident, Victor’s girlfriend arrived late’
- b. A causa del accidente [**ø**] llegó tarde la novia **a** Víctor → L2 sentence
 yo cause of accident arrived late the girlfriend to V_{dat}

Lastly, in the absence of the dative clitic with unaccusative verbs, most L2 learners would again substitute *a* with a different preposition, as in (176b)

- (176) a. No lo sabías, ya [] salió el libro **a** Gloria → Test sentence
 not it know, already came out the book to G_{dat}
 ‘You didn’t know about it, that Gloria’s book was published’
- b. No lo sabías, ya [] salió el libro **DE** Gloria → L2 sentence
 not it know, already came out the book of G

³⁰ Test sentence: sentences that were included in the Grammaticality Judgment task
 L2 sentence: this means that L2 learners corrected our test sentences

A total of four L2 learners in both experimental groups would add the missing dative clitic, as in (177b).

- (177) a. Después de la muerte de la abuela falta alegría al abuelo → Test sentence
 after of the death of the grandmother lacks joy to the grandfather
 ‘After the death of grandmother, grandfather lacks joy’
- b. Después de la muerte de la abuela **LE** falta alegría al abuelo → L2 sentence
 after of the death of the grandmother Cl_{dat} lacks joy to the grandfather_{dat}
 ‘After grandmother’s death, the grandfather is lacking joy’

The English speaking group only shows strong native like intuitions with *salir* (77.78%) and *faltar* (88.89%). The item results for the Polish L2 learners is low, since due to L1 transfer Polish speakers rejected those unaccusative verbs whose dative arguments were inanimate and animate, as in (173). The control group accepted most clitic doubled structures with *salir* (92.86%) and *floreecer* (85.71%), as in (178).

- (178) a. Por comer tanta langosta **le** salieron granitos a Matilde → Test sentence
 because of eating so much lobster Cl_{dat} came out pimples to M_{dat}
 ‘Because of eating so much lobster, Matilde got pimples’
- b. El verano pasado **le** florecieron todos los rosales a mi vecino → Test sentence
 the summer past Cl_{dat} bloomed all the rose bushes to my neighbour_{dat}
 ‘Last summer all the rose bushes bloomed for my neighbour’

We argue that the constructions presented with some of the unaccusative verbs, such as *llegar* sounded ‘artificial’ and were not considered as ‘natural’ for the native speakers and therefore judged ungrammatical.

5.5.2. *Unergative Verbs as Low Applicative Constructions*

Unergative verbs can be used as transitive or intransitive verbs. In their intransitive use, these verbs express an activity and there is no implicit object. When these verbs are used transitively, there is a cognate object that names a particular dance, a song, a distance, and bounds the event. In the grammaticality judgment task we aimed at investigating whether L2 learners of Spanish are aware of the dual usage of unergative verbs.

In Polish dative arguments are salient with unergative verbs, either as dative clitics, dative full pronouns or dative DPs, as in (179). This property is not part of English.

- (179) a. Zatańczyli mu walca
 danced_{3pl} Cl_{dat} waltz
 ‘They danced a waltz for him’ / *‘They danced him a waltz’
- b. Zatańczyli jemu walca
 danced_{3pl} him_{dat} waltz
 ‘They danced a waltz for him’ / *‘They danced him a waltz’
- c. Zatańczyli Jankowi walca
 danced_{3pl} John_{dat} waltz
 ‘They danced a waltz for John’ / *‘They danced John a waltz’

In the test sentences we used unergative verbs transitively. Namely, there were two objects in the test sentence, as in (180).

- (180) Pedro le corrió un maratón a Luca
 P_{nom} Cl_{dat} run a marathon to L_{dat}
 ‘Pedro ran a race against Luca’

As Table 4 and Figure 2 illustrate, while native speakers are aware of obligatory clitic doubling with unaccusative verbs, they consider examples like (181) significantly worse

than those where the dative clitic is omitted with unergative verbs, as in (182). The same is true for the advanced and the high advanced L2 learners.

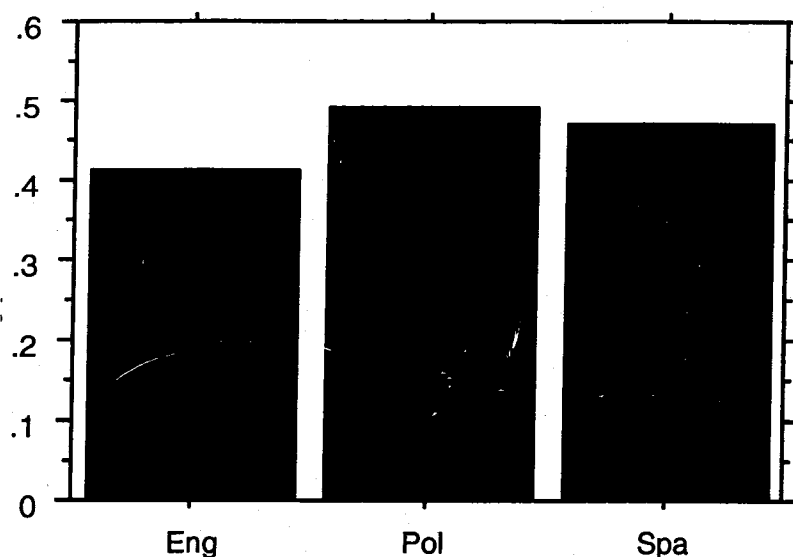
- (181) *Esta tarde Miguel **le** ha jugado un partido de tenis a Eduardo → Test sentence
 this afternoon M_{nom} Cl_{dat} has played a game of tennis to E_{dat}
 ‘This afternoon Miguel played a tennis match against Eduardo’
- (182) Esta tarde Miguel ha jugado un partido de tenis a Eduardo → L1 sentence
 this afternoon M_{nom} has played a game of tennis to E_{dat}
 ‘This afternoon Miguel played a tennis match against Eduardo’

Table 4. GJT. Unergative Verbs as a Low Applicative Construction

	Grammatical Clitic-doubled	Ungrammatical
Adv. ENG (n=9)	42.22%	57.78%
Adv. POL (n=12)	48.94%	51.06%
High Adv. ENG (n=9)	41.17%	58.83%
High Adv. POL (n=14)	41.43%	58.57%
CONTROL (n=14)	47.14%	52.86%

As Figure 2 shows, the Polish L2 group is more accurate than the English L2 group and the controls at judging clitic doubled structures with unergative verbs as grammatical Spanish Low applicative-‘to’ constructions.

Figure 2. Unergative Verbs [ANOVA by L1]



As group results in Table 4 reveal, the native speakers and L2 learners reject the proposal that in Spanish a dative nominal is only grammatical and possible with unergative verbs when it is clitic doubled, since it is an applied argument and the clitic is its morphological applicative marker. It is proposed that in the absence of this applicative marker, the structures with unergative verbs are infelicitous, as in (184) (Cuervo 2003).

- (184) *Pedro [] corrió un maratón a Luca
 P_{nom} run a marathon to L_{dat}
 ‘Pedro ran a race against Luca’

In the syntactic structure of low applicative constructions, in Chapter 1; ex. (36), the applicative head assigns inherent dative case and the dative clitic is the spell-out of the applicative head, which in English is null and does not exist in Polish. In turn, the clitic spells out the person and number features of the applied argument, i.e. the dative nominal (Cuervo 2003). Our group results show that the clitic is not spelled out since the native speakers and L2 learners are judging, as grammatical, structures where the clitic is not present, as in (182), or they consistently remove it from the structure, as in (183b).

- (183) a. Esa pareja **les** bailó un tango magnífico **a** todos los asistentes → Test sentence
 this pair Cl_{dat} danced a tango magnificent to all the public_{dat}
 ‘This pair danced a magnificent tango for the public’
- *b. Esa pareja **Ø** bailó un tango magnífico **a** todos los asistentes → L1/ L2 sentence
 this pair danced a tango magnificent to all the public_{dat}
 ‘This pair danced a magnificent tango for the public’

This would suggest that the phi-features are not spelled-out via the dative clitic and the native speakers’ and L2 learners’ results indicate that the clitic is not an instance of an applicative structure. It is claimed that the clitic is a morphological marker for applicative constructions, i.e. it has free morphology as opposed to being a bound morphological marker, as is exemplified in languages such as Bantu or Finnish (Pylkkänen 2002).³¹

Group results for the L2 learners are consistent with those of the Control group. It can be concluded that L2 learners display similar intuitions as do the native speakers when confronted with unergative verbs in clitic doubled constructions. However, group results for unergative verbs may be concealing some tendencies that can only be uncovered by looking at the individual items, which are presented in Table 5.

³¹ It has ‘free’ morphology in that the verb is finite and it does not attach.

Table 5. GJ-task. Unergative Verbs

Subjects	jugar 'play'	bailar 'dance'	cantar 'sing'	correr 'run'	sonreír 'smile'
English (n=18)	5.56%	55.56%	72.22%	11.11%	61.11%
Polish (n=26)	15.39%	53.85%	69.23%	30.77%	76.92%
Control (n=14)	57.14%	71.43%	71.43%	35.71%	0.00%

As we have seen with the clitic doubled structures with unaccusative verbs, the native speakers and the L2 learners in the absence of the applicative marker (i.e. the dative clitic) with unergative verbs switch *a* with *para* 'for someone', *en frente de* 'in front of someone', *con* 'with someone' and *contra* 'against someone', as in (184b).

- (184) a. Esta tarde Miguel [Ø] ha jugado un partido de tenis **a** Eduardo → Test sentence
 this afternoon M_{nom} has played a game of tennis to E
 'This afternoon Miguel played a tennis match against Eduardo'
- b. Esta tarde Miguel [Ø] ha jugado un partido de tenis **con** Eduardo → L1/L2 sentence
 this afternoon M_{nom} has played a game of tennis with E
 'This afternoon Miguel played a tennis match with Eduardo'

The item results show that the predominant errors involved omission of the dative clitic. Non-native speakers show a similar range of variation as the control group, though they do not always agree on which verb is grammatical and which is not with clitic doubling (ex. *smile*: native speakers 0%; non-native speakers 61% and 77%). We stated that due to

L1 transfer, Polish L2 learners will fare better than the English L2 learners at accepting unergative verbs with clitic doubled dative nominals. However, the item results show that responses of the Polish- and English- L2 learners are very similar with *cantar* ‘sing’ and *bailar* ‘dance’, whereas with the other verbs, judgments vary.

Although the L2 learners seem to be aware of the restrictions with unergative verbs as low applicative constructions even more than the native speakers with the verb *sonreír* ‘smile’, their results may be misleading, as in (185).

- (185) En la fiesta Juan les sonrió una risa de tonto a los amigos → Test sentence
 at the party J_{nom} Cl_{dat} smiled a smile of a fool to the friends_{dat}
 ‘At the party, John smiled a foolish smile to his friends’

We suspect that these L2 learners do not judge *le/les* as an applicative marker and for this reason produce it with some verbs and not with others, as seen in Table 5.

In conclusion, it is stipulated that unaccusative and unergative verbs and datives form low applicative constructions, i.e. that they are like the English Double Object Construction, in that with unaccusative verbs there is transfer of possession and with unergative verbs in their transitive use there exists an intended recipient. Nevertheless, not all unaccusative verbs imply a transfer of possession relation (ex. ‘salir’ *exit*).

Our results show that native speakers’ intuitions do not confirm this hypothesis in a clear way. We have seen that unaccusative verbs in the clitic doubled construction are more readily accepted than unergative verbs with clitic doubled dative nominals. With both types of verbs, in the proposed analysis the predicate does not select for the dative argument and as our results illustrate, native and L2 learners reject this type of construction by substituting the [a + DP_{dat}] with other prepositions and by eliminating the

dative clitic altogether from the structure. It is arguable that the L2 learners' grammar converges towards rather than diverges from the native grammar when these learners are confronted with unaccusative and unergative verbs in clitic doubled constructions.

5.5.3. *Non-transfer Predicates as Low Applicative Constructions*

Recall that a dative nominal can relate to a direct object in the context of non-transfer predicates, whether they are stative or dynamic. In English and Polish, a dative nominal is felicitous in the context of stative non-transfer predicates, as in (186) and (187) respectively. There is the restriction that in English the possessive adjective must accompany the direct object, otherwise the structure is ungrammatical.

(186) Robert envies John his job

(187) Robert zazdrości pracę Jankowi
 R_{nom} envies job J_{dat}
 'Robert envies John's job'

Polish, but not English, allows dynamic non-transfer predicates to appear with dative nominals, as in (188) and (189) respectively, which resemble Possessor Dative Constructions.

(188) Janek poplamił bluzkę Marcie
 J_{nom} stained blouse_{acc} M_{dat}
 'John stained Marta's blouse'

(189) *John stained Marta blouse

We tested, with non-transfer predicates, whether L2 learners are aware that, unlike with unaccusative and unergative verbs, the dative nominal is understood to be the possessor of the direct object as opposed to being the intended recipient.

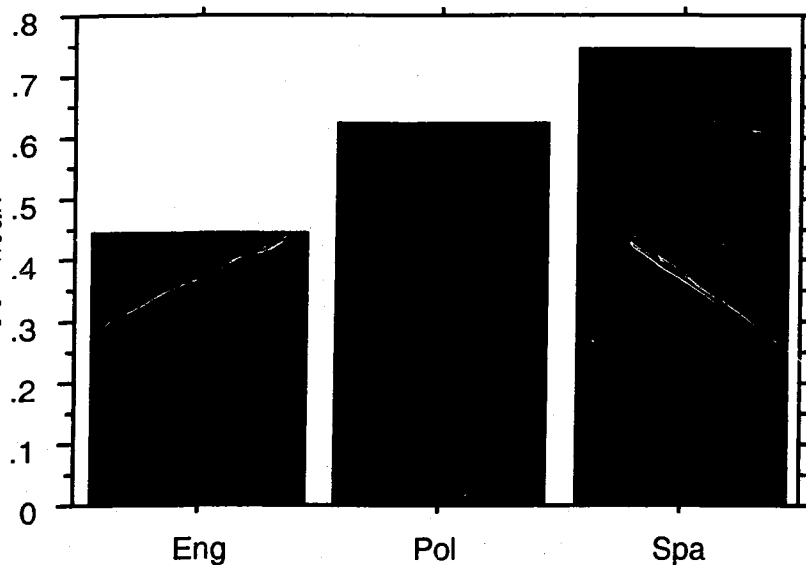
As Table 6 shows, the Polish L2 group (62.3%) is more accurate than the English L2 group (44.4%) in judging that a dative nominal with non-transfer predicates must be clitic doubled.

Table 6. GJT. Non-transfer Predicates as Low Applicative Structures

	Grammatical Clitic-doubled	Ungrammatical
English (n=18)	44.44%	55.56%
Polish (n=26)	62.31%	37.69%
Spanish (n=14)	74.29%	25.71%

A Fisher's PLSD by language group revealed significant differences between the English and Polish experimental groups, ($p < .0288$), and the English and the Control group, ($p < .0021$) with respect to the structure where in Spanish it is argued that the dative nominal with non-transfer predicate is an argument of a low applicative head, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Non-Transfer Predicates [ANOVA by L1]



The group results confirm that the English-speaking learners overgeneralized the English DOC structure, as in (186), into the target language. Namely, English L2 learners rejected non-transfer predicates with the clitic doubled dative argument as possible structures in Spanish in the absence of a possessive adjective, as in (190).

- (190) Está claro que le examinaron los dientes al caballo → Test sentence
 is clear that Cl_{dat} examined the teeth_{acc} to the horse_{dat}
 ‘It is clear that they examined the horse’s teeth’

The tendency was to accept only those structures where the possessive adjective was present, as in (191).

- (191) La abuela siempre les besa la frente a sus nietos → Test sentence
 the grandmother_{nom} always Cl_{dat} kisses the forehead to her grandchildren_{dat}
 ‘The grandmother always kisses her grandchildren’s forehead’

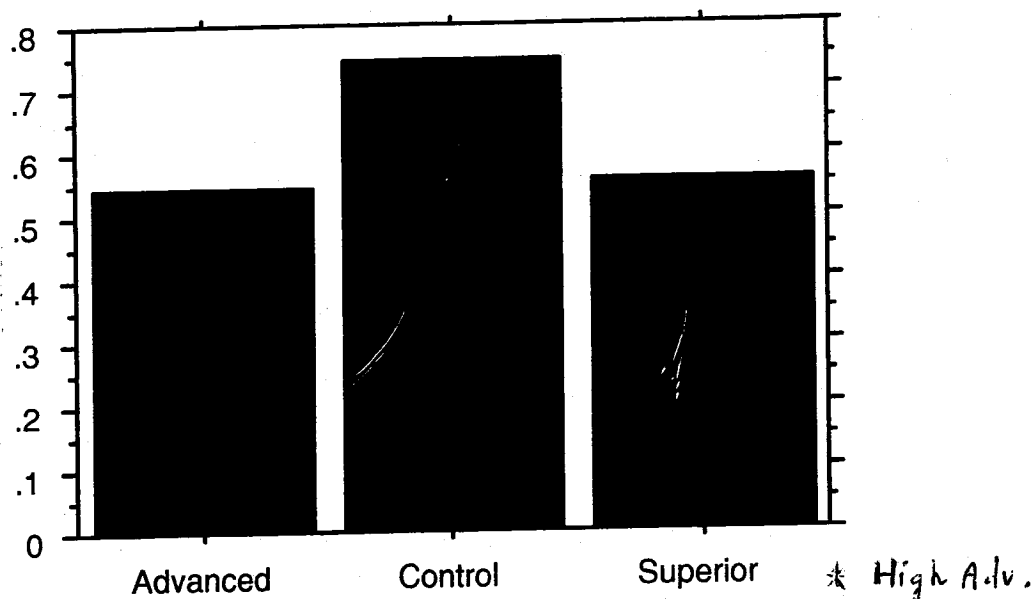
Recall that in Polish there is no clitic doubling, but the dative argument can appear with non-transfer predicates, stative and dynamic, resembling a Possessor Dative Construction; where the dative marked nominal acts simultaneously as possessor and complement to verb (Landau 1999). Due to L1 interference, the Polish L2 learners show a tendency for consistently taking out the dative clitic from the low applicative structure, as in (192b), and judging as grammatical test sentences where there was no clitic, as in (193).

- (192) a. Cuando estaban jugando en el patio, Roberto **le** pisó la cola **al** gato → Test sentence
 when were playing in the patio, R_{nom} Cl_{dat} stepped the tail_{acc} to the cat_{dat}
 ‘When they were playing in the patio, Roberto stepped on the cat’s tail’
- b. Cuando estaban jugando en el patio, Roberto **ø** pisó la cola **al** gato → L2 sentence
 when were playing in the patio, R_{nom} stepped the tail_{acc} to the cat_{dat}
 ‘When they were playing in the patio, Roberto stepped on the cat’s tail’
- (193) a. *Como siempre Ana admira la ropa **a** Marta → Test sentence
 As always A_{nom} admires the clothes_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘As always, Ana admires Marta’s clothes’
- b. *Elena manchó los zapatos **a** Elisa → Test sentence
 E_{nom} soiled the shoes_{acc} to E_{dat}
 ‘Elena stained (soiled) Elisa’s shoes’

The group results of the native speakers show that some would reject the notion that a dative clitic be inserted with non-transfer predicates in the presence of a dative nominal. Their judgments vary with respect to the different types of non-transfer predicates and for this reason we will discuss this matter in the item analysis, since it seems that the native speakers’ feel that some structures are grammatical without the clitic, whereas some need be clitic doubled.

A Fisher's PLSD by level revealed significant differences between the Advanced groups and the Control group, ($p < .0370$), as well as the Control group and the High Advanced groups, ($p < .0475$), as shown graphically in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Non-Transfer Predicates [ANOVA by level]



Group results by level in Table 7 show that there is a significant difference between the Polish advanced group (70%) and the English advanced group (33.3%), whereas the Polish and the English High advanced groups behave similarly in that their responses are at 55.56%. The 70% of correct answers for the Polish advanced group reveals that they are closer to the Control group.

Table 7. GJT. Non-Transfer Verbs

	Grammatical Clitic-doubled	Ungrammatical
Adv. ENG (n=9)	33.33%	66.67%
Adv. POL (n=12)	70.00%	30.00%
High Adv. ENG (n=9)	55.55%	44.45%
High Adv. POL (n=14)	55.71%	44.29%
CONTROL (n=14)	74.29%	25.71%

We speculate that the High advanced groups fare poorly since they are analyzing this low applicative construction as a genitive construction. Namely, in the semantic interpretation of the Low Applicative-‘AT’ construction there are two variables for individuals that relate to the event: the theme (i.e. direct object) and the possessor (i.e. dative argument). In the interpretation of a genitive construction there is only one, the theme. We claim that due to morphological transfer from their L1, the Polish L2 learners judge structures that are only particular to Spanish as low applicative constructions, as in (146), repeated here

as (194), whereas those that are productive in their L1 and in Spanish, as the genitive construction, as in (147), repeated as (195), for the reader's convenience.

(194) Marta le admira la paciencia a Pedro
M_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the patience_{acc} to P_{dat}

'Marta admires Peter's patience'

(195) La abuela les besa la frente a sus nietos
the grandmother_{nom} Cl_{dat} kisses the forehead to her grandchildren_{dat}

'The grandmother kisses the grandchildren's forehead'

We conclude that the English L2 learners at the advanced and high advanced stage still transfer L1 knowledge to the target language, and thus reject the non-native structures with stative and dynamic non-transfer predicates as ungrammatical in the absence of a possessive adjective. They fail to recognize that this possession is established through the clitic doubled dative nominal.

The group results mentioned for non-transfer predicates may be misleading and consequently it is necessary to consider item results for the Low Applicative-'AT' construction for those cases where group results may suggest a depressed performance, namely rejecting grammatical Spanish structures. Item results are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. GJ-task. Non-transfer Verbs

Subjects	admirar 'admire'	pisar 'step on'	besar 'kiss'	examinar 'examine'	manchar 'stain/soil'
English (n=18)	22.22%	72.22%	38.89%	55.56%	38.89%
Polish (n=26)	42.31%	73.01%	57.69%	76.92%	61.54%
Control (n=14)	28.57%	100.0%	78.57%	92.86%	71.43%

Item results support our predictions for the acquisitional process of the Low Applicative-‘AT’ construction. We argued that since Polish and English are not clitic doubling languages, these L2 learners might not be aware of the subtle syntactic differences that constitute the Spanish construction as opposed to the similar versions in their corresponding languages. Namely, these learners will not be sensitive to the fact that *a* is not a preposition and therefore cannot be substituted with *de*.

As stipulated in our hypotheses, the English speaking L2 learners changed structures with non-transfer predicates, whether they were clitic doubled or not, as in (196a); and, used the preposition *de* to demonstrate the possession relation, as in (196b).

- (196) a. Como siempre Ana **le** admira la ropa **a** Marta
as always A_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the clothes_{acc} to M_{dat}
‘As always, Ana admires Marta’s clothes’

- b. Como siempre Ana admira la ropa **de** Marta
 As always A_{nom} admires the clothes_{acc} of Marta
 ‘As always, Ana admires Marta’s clothes’

More specifically, for these L2 learners this possession relation was not entailed by the clitic doubling of the dative argument with non-transfer predicates. Their responses are native-like in cases where the low applicative construction includes a possessive adjective, as in example (191).

English L2 learners failed to be sensitive that with non-transfer predicates the dative argument is understood as the possessor and that the clitic promotes the DOC construction interpretation. These L2 learners would classify the sentence in (197a) as ungrammatical, not due to the absence of the clitic, but to the presence of *a*, and in turn they would correct the sentence by using *de*, as in (197b).

- (197) a. *Cada seis meses, el dentista examina los dientes **a** Jorge → Test sentence
 every six months, the dentist_{nom} examines the teeth_{acc} to George_{dat}
 ‘Every six months, the dentist examines George’s teeth’
 b. Cada seis meses, el dentista examina los dientes **de** Jorge → L2 sentence
 every six months, the dentist_{nom} examines the teeth_{acc} of George
 ‘Every six months, the dentist examines George’s teeth’

Polish speaking L2 learners display almost native-like intuitions. However, these L2 learners had most difficulties with the verb *admirar*.³² In Polish, unlike Spanish, the genitive case is used. The semantics of the structure are the same; however case assignment is different, as in (198b); with dative case it is more unusual, as in (198c).

³² A reviewer points out that this is also unusual in Spanish in the case of *admirar*.

- (198) a. Ana le admira la chaqueta a Marta
 A_{nom} Cl_{dat} admires the jacket_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’
- b. Ania podziwia kurtkę Marty
 A_{nom} admires jacket_{acc} M_{gen}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’
- c. ?Ania podziwia Marcie kurtkę
 A_{nom} admires M_{dat} jacket_{acc}
 ‘Anne admires Marta’s jacket’

Native speakers would use the preposition *de* with *admirar* to indicate the possession relation with the direct object instead of inserting the dative clitic into the structure, as in (199b).

- (199) a. *Como siempre Ana admira la ropa a Marta → Test sentence
 as always A_{nom} admires the clothes_{acc} to M_{dat}
 ‘As always, Ana admires Marta’s clothes’
- b. Como siempre Ana admira la ropa de Marta → L1 sentence
 as always A_{nom} admires the clothes_{acc} of Marta
 ‘As always, Ana admires Marta’s clothes’

These native speakers also felt that it was unnecessary to clitic-double sentences with *besar* and *manchar*, as in (200) and (193b).

- (200) Antes de casarse, la novia besó la mejilla a su padre → L1 sentence
 before of marry, the bride_{nom} kissed the cheek_{acc} to her father_{dat}
 ‘Before getting married, the bride kissed the father’s cheek’

To sum up, as hypothesized, English and Polish L2 learners treated the Low Applicative-‘AT’ construction as a genitive construction due to L1 transfer. In particular, this is because Polish has Possessor Dative constructions, which explains why Polish speakers have native like intuitions in some instances. This is supported in the group and

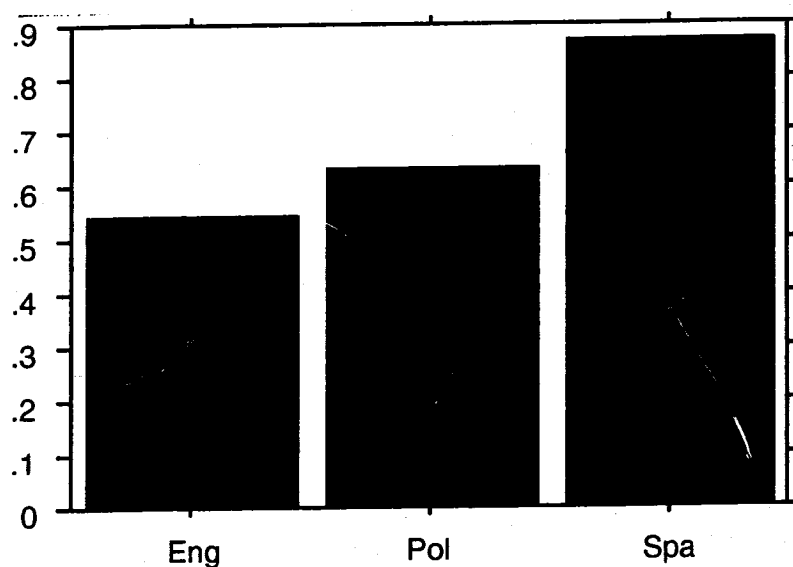
individual results where L2 learners interpreted the clitic doubled construction with non-transfer predicates as a genitive construction by removing the dative clitic and by changing *a* to *de*.

5.5.4. *Verbs of creation/construction as Low Applicative Constructions*

Recall that in English the double object construction is possible with some verbs of creation/construction, whereas in Polish the double object construction does not exist, yet a dative nominal is grammatical when added to verbs of creation/construction.

As Figure 5 illustrates, both the native speakers and the Polish L2 learners demonstrate reliable knowledge of the clitic doubled construction with activity verbs, while the English learners show a significant outcome, but in the wrong direction, i.e. when the dative nominal is not clitic doubled.

Figure 5. Verbs of Creation/Construction [ANOVA by L1]



The native speakers and the Polish Advanced learners are aware of the constraint proposed for dative nominals with activity verbs, unlike the English Advanced and the Polish and English High Advanced learners, as shown in Table 9.

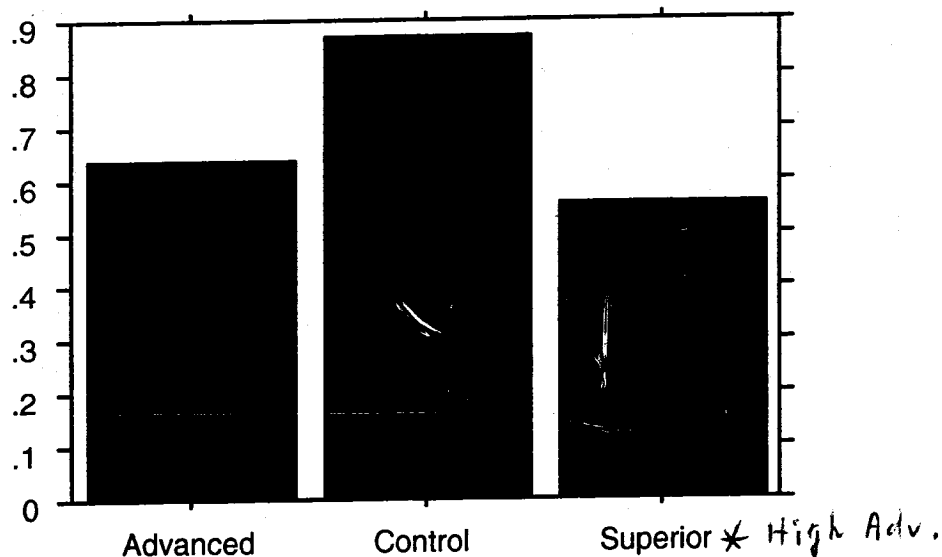
Table 9. GJT. Verbs of creation/construction

	Grammatical Clitic-doubled	Ungrammatical
Adv. ENG (n=9)	48.89%	51.11%
Adv. POL (n=12)	75.00%	25.00%
High Adv. ENG (n=9)	60.00%	40.00%
High Adv. POL (n=14)	52.86%	47.14%
CONTROL (n=14)	87.14%	12.86%

Substitution of *a* with *de* was quite high in the High Advanced English and the High Advanced Polish groups, higher in the case of the Advanced English speakers (48.9%). The contingency between L1 and the suppliance of a different preposition is significant, as Figure 6 illustrates. A Fisher's PLSD by level revealed significant differences between

the Advanced and the Control groups ($p < .0310$) and between the Control and the High Advanced groups ($p < .0036$).

Figure 6. Verbs of Creation/Construction [ANOVA by level]



Most Polish L2 learners at the High Advanced level ignored the applicative morphology that in Spanish is the dative clitic, and they interpreted the dative argument as the possessor, rather than the intended recipient, as in their L1. Recall that the inherent meaning of a low applicative construction is that it establishes a possession relation between the direct object and the dative nominal, yet these L2 learners felt that the non-clitic and clitic doubled structures were infelicitous constructions with *a* and that the possession relation had to be illustrated through the preposition *de*. Examples showing the switch from *a* to *de* are given in (201b) and (202b). This can be accounted for in terms of Case Theory (McFadden 2004). McFadden argues that whatever syntactic

Case/DP-licensing is, it has no empirical connection to case morphology. There is no single syntactic feature (complex) which is responsible for both DP-licensing and the determination of morphological case. The implication is that syntactic ‘Case’ is a “misnomer”. True case is a phenomenon of the post Spell-out PF branch of the derivation, as is the post Spell-out of the dative clitic. Therefore Polish L2 learners in the absence of any morphological case markings in (201a) will not treat *a* in *a Benito* as an instance of overt morphological case marker of dative case, but as a full fledged preposition.

- (201) a. *Después de un mes el mecánico reparó el coche **a** Benito → Test sentence
 after of a month the mechanic_{nom} repaired the car_{acc} to B_{dat}
 ‘After a month, the mechanic repaired Benito’s car’
- b. Después de un mes el mecánico reparó el coche **de** Benito → L2 sentence
 after of a month the mechanic_{nom} repaired the car_{acc} of Benito
 ‘After a month, the mechanic repaired Benito’s car’
- (202) a. Mi madre le lavaba la ropa **a** mi hermano cuando él vivía en casa → Test sentence
 my mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the clothes_{acc} to my brother_{dat} when he lived at home
 ‘My mother used to wash my brother’s clothes when he lived at home’
- b. Mi madre le lavaba la ropa **de** mi hermano cuando él vivía en casa → L2 sentence
 my mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the clothes_{acc} of my brother when he lived at home
 ‘My mother used to wash my brother’s clothes when he lived at home’

As predicted, due to L1 the Polish L2 learners at both levels would remove the dative clitic from the constructions, as in (203b).

- (203) a. Mi madre **le** lavó los pantalones **a** mi hermano → Test sentence
 My mother_{nom} Cl_{dat} washed the pants_{acc} to my brother_{dat}
 ‘My mother washed my brother’s pants’
- b. Mi madre **[Ø]** lavó los pantalones **a** mi hermano → L2 sentence
 My mother_{nom} washed the pants_{acc} to my brother_{dat}
 ‘My mother washed my brother’s pants’

The English L2 learners at the High Advanced level scored higher due to the fact that these learners would not see the dative argument as the possessor, but as the intended recipient. However, the percentage is not close to native-like competence because some L2 learners at this level would inaccurately classify sentences, as in (204a), as ungrammatical and switch *a* with *para*, as in (204b). This shows L2 learners interpret *a* as a preposition instead of a case assigner in the clitic doubled structures (Cuervo 2003). In the English DOC with activity verbs the two objects do not differentiate morphologically and this is applied to the Spanish low applicative construction.

- (204) a. En *Don Alfonso* **les** cocinaron una paella deliciosa **a** los Pérez → Test sentence
in *Don Alfonso* Cl_{dat} cooked a paella_{acc} delicious to the P_{dat}
‘At *Don Alfonso* they cooked a delicious paella for the Pérez family’
- b. En *Don Alfonso* **les** concinaron una paella deliciosa **para** los Pérez → L2 sentence
in *Don Alfonso* Cl_{dat} cooked a paella_{acc} delicious for the P
‘At *Don Alfonso* they cooked a delicious paella for the Pérez family’

In conclusion, our group results show that the Polish L2 learners produce more correct structures than the English speaking L2 learners. The reason for this might be that in Polish there is no DOC, unlike in English, and therefore the same restriction does not apply to verbs of creation/construction. Due to the lack of clitic doubling in Polish, these L2 learners interpreted the dative argument as a possessor instead of it being the intended recipient and these L2 learners treated *a* as a preposition.

We hypothesized that the English L2 learners would produce grammatical low applicative constructions with a variety of activity verbs that are grammatical in the Spanish low applicative construction, but ungrammatical in their L1. Our group results

show that these L2 learners restrained the type of activity verb that is felicitous in the Spanish low applicative construction due to L1 transfer.

Since group results may be misleading because they hide variability by subject and by lexical item, it is important to take a closer look at responses on individual verbs to establish whether L2 learners and the native speakers treat verbs of creation/construction as low applicative structures in the presence of a dative nominal.

Table 10. GJ-task. Verbs of Creation/Construction

Subjects	reparar 'repair'	mecanografiar 'type'	lavar 'wash'	cocinar 'cook/bake'	guisar 'cook'
English (n=18)	58.82%	50.00%	50.00%	50.00%	66.67%
Polish (n=26)	65.39%	61.54%	57.92%	53.85%	76.92%
Control (n=14)	85.71%	92.86%	85.71%	85.71%	85.71%

As Table 10 shows, Polish L2 learners are only accurate with the verb *guisar* 'cook', whereas with the other predicates these L2 learners' judgments are similar to those of the English L2 learners. Thus, even though in Polish there exists the possibility of adding a dative nominal with activity verbs and the structure is almost identical to the one in Spanish, we speculate that due to L1 transfer the Polish L2 learners' intuitions are far from native-like with respect to the remaining verbs of creation/construction.

It is interesting to note that both experimental groups accepted more structures with *guisar* than with *cocinar*, where both verbs mean ‘cook’. Semantically these verbs mean the same thing, and yet syntactically these L2 learners felt that it was necessary to keep the dative clitic with *guisar*, as in (205), but remove it with *cocinar*, as in (206).

- (205) En Santiago *le* guisaron un cocido gallego a Pablo → L2 sentence
in Santiago Cl_{dat} cooked a stew_{acc} Galician to P_{dat}
‘In Santiago, they cooked a Galician stew for Pablo’
- (206) En *Don Alfonso* cocinaron una paella deliciosa a los Pérez → L2 sentence
in *Don Alfonso* Cl_{dat} cooked a paella_{acc} delicious to the P_{dat}
‘At *Don Alfonso* they cooked a delicious paella for the Pérez family’

While the native speakers are aware of obligatory clitic doubling with unaccusative and unergative verbs, and non-transfer predicates, they still consider examples as in (207) grammatical when not clitic-doubled.

- (207) Te digo que Rosa mecanografió el examen a la compañera → Test sentence
you say that R_{nom} typed the exam_{acc} to the colleague_{dat}
‘I am telling you that Rose typed the colleague’s exam’

It has been stipulated that a low applicative selects three elements: the verb, the direct object and the dative. In Spanish, a low applicative is represented through the clitic doubling of the dative argument with such predicates. Judgments of native speakers’ are challenging for this proposal, since many believe that it is not obligatory to clitic double the dative nominal with verbs of creation/construction because there also exists the prepositional construction without the clitic; therefore judgments are consistent with the possibility of having two types of constructions, one with the clitic and one without it.

5.6. Group Results from the Picture Task

It is stipulated that in cases where in English there is possibility of alternation between the DOC and the to-PP variants, it is the DOC that seems to favour a successful transfer reading. Recall that in this task there are sentences testing the following: whether there exists a semantic constraint on the clitic doubled and the non-clitic doubled constructions with ditransitive verbs.

The results in Table 11 indicate that English L2 learners and native speakers detect a semantic difference between the clitic and the non-clitic doubled construction with ditransitive verbs, as in (208) and (209):

- (208) Susana les sirve vino a los invitados
S_{nom} Cl_{dat} serves wine_{acc} to the guests_{dat}
'Susana serves the guests wine'



- (209) El camarero sirve vino al cliente
the waiter_{nom} serves wine_{acc} to the client
'The waiter serves the client wine'



The sentence in (208) is interpreted that a successful transfer of possession was achieved in that the *wine* was served, whereas in example (209) the client was not served the *wine* yet.

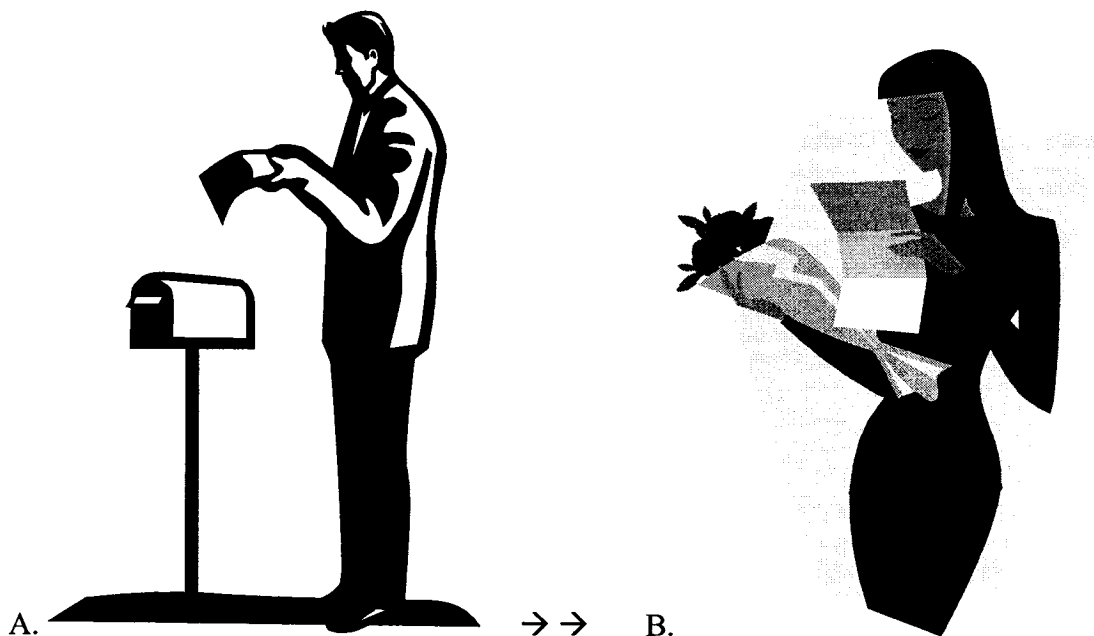
Although group results in Table 11 suggest that the English L2 learners seem to be aware of the semantic constraint proposed for the clitic-doubled construction, almost as do the native speakers, this result may be misleading.

Table 11. Picture-task. Ditransitive Verbs

Successful Transfer in the Clitic-doubled Construction	
English (n=18)	73.11%
Polish (n=26)	55.77%
Spanish (n=14)	73.21%

We suspect that these L2 learners have not acquired the semantic constraint but that they judged whether the pictures and the sentences matched in meaning. In other words, the participants would judge a sentence as ungrammatical when they believed that the picture was unclear and therefore it mismatched the sentences and not whether it was clitic or non-clitic doubled, as in (210):

- (210) Marco le manda flores y una carta a su novia³³ → Test sentence
 M_{nom} Cl_{dat} sends flowers_{acc} and a letter_{acc} to his girlfriend_{dat}
 ‘Marco sends his girlfriend flowers and a letter’



In the picture task the participants indicated that the sentence in (210) was not depicted by the picture.

It is argued that in the English DOC with ditransitive verbs rather than the *to*-PP variant transfer of possession is always successful. Only a couple of the native speakers and the Polish L2 learners added the dative clitic to the structures where apparent transfer of possession was shown by the picture, as in (211b).

³³ In the Picture Task, all the pictures appeared one per page to ensure good visibility.

- (211) a. El médico inyecta morfina al paciente → Test sentence
the doctor_{nom} injects morphine_{acc} to the patient
'The doctor injects the patient with morphine'



- b. El médico LE inyecta morfina al paciente → L1 / L2 sentence
the doctor_{nom} Cl_{dat} injects morphine_{acc} to the patient_{dat}
'The doctor injects the patient with morphine'

In this specific case, we were unable to test via this Picture Task whether there is a subtle semantic difference between the clitic and the non-clitic doubled construction with ditransitive verbs in Spanish. There were no significant results.

5.7. Part II: The L2 Acquisition of High- Applicative & Defective Applicative Constructions

Dative arguments with psychological predicates are argued to be ‘quirky’ subjects and also to be high applicative arguments in separate theoretical approaches. In section 5.7.1., we present the L2 acquisition of ‘quirky’ subjects, i.e. high applicative arguments; and, in section 5.7.2. the L2 acquisition of high- defective applicative arguments.

5.7.1. ‘Quirky’ Subjects: Group Results for the Preference GJ Task

In Sikorska (2005), we studied the L2 acquisition of ‘quirky’ subjects; i.e. constituents that appear in the structural subject position and yet are marked other than with nominative case. We sought to determine whether English L2 learners would be able to incorporate into their non-native grammar the specific characteristics of the target grammar with respect to “quirky” subjects.

The L2 learners who participated in the study were recruited from classes in Spanish as a foreign language in the Continuing Education School Program in Ottawa. All participants were selected according to their L1, that is only English speaking participants were recruited. Participants had started learning Spanish from kindergarten on and at the time of recruitment, they were completing grade 8.

The experimental and the control groups were presented with a preference grammaticality judgment task (Appendix VI) that consisted of a written list of short situations. The L2 learners and the control group were asked to continue the story by selecting one ending. The objective of this task was to determine whether English-

speaking L2 learners of Spanish could identify dative nominals as ‘quirky’ subjects rather than as fronted objects.

5.7.1.1. *Raising*

Recall that in the Raising construction there are sentences testing each of the following:

(i) the uninterpretable [EPP] feature of T is valued through the phi-features of the dative nominal (*A Juan*) not through the ones of the nominal *el ajedrez*; and (ii) that the theme (*el ajedrez*) agrees with the raising verb (*empezó*) through long distance feature valuation via the Agree operation.

- (212) *A Marcos_i empezó a interesarle el ajedrez t_i*
 to Mark.dat began to interest-Cl_{dat} the chess_{nom}
 ‘Marcos began to become interested in chess’

Results in Table (12) show that contrary to what is theoretically proposed (Masullo 1992; Fernández-Soriano 1999) English L2 learners (33.3%) and native speakers (20.0%) would raise the nominative theme and not the dative DP in the construction with the raising predicate *parecer* ‘seem’ when followed with *gustar* ‘like’, as in (204).

- (213) *El fútbol parece gustarle a Pedro → L1 / L2 sentence*
 the soccer_{nom} seems to like-Cl_{dat} to P_{dat}
 ‘It seems that Peter likes soccer’

Table 12. **PGJ-task. Raising**

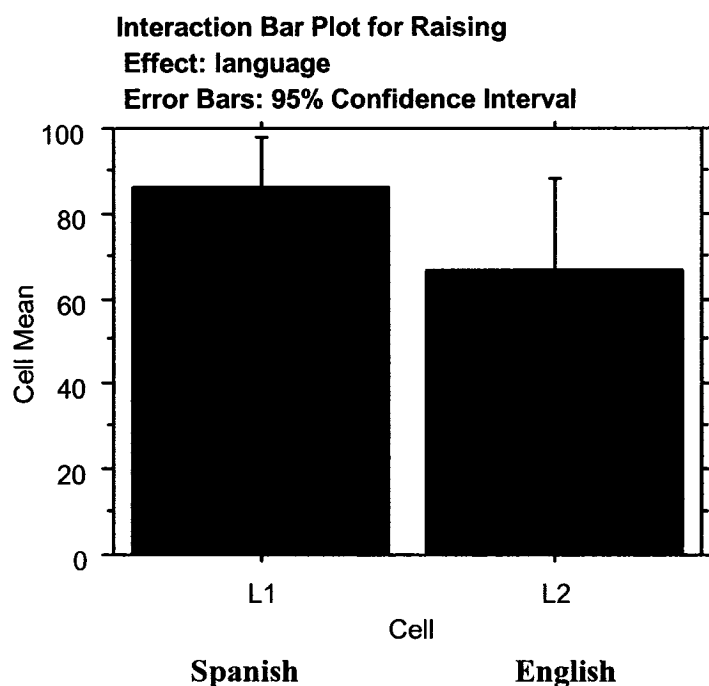
	Raised Dative DP Grammatical	Raised Theme DP Ungrammatical
English (n=6)	66.70%	33.30%
Spanish (n=10)	80.00%	20.00%

Native speakers raised the theme with the raising verb *empezar* ‘begin’ that was followed by *gustar*, as in (214b).

- (214) a. A Marta empezó a gustarle la música clásica → Test sentences
to M_{dat} started to like- Cl_{dat} the music classic_{nom}
‘Marta started liking classical music’
- b. La música clásica empezó a gustarle a Marta → L1 sentence
the music classic_{nom} started to like- Cl_{dat} to M_{dat}
‘Marta started liking classical music’

The results for the English L2 learners are similar to those of native speakers resulting in a one way ANOVA that showed no significant differences between the groups, ($F = 4.291, p < .0573$), as seen in Figure 7.

Figure 7. **Raising Construction [ANOVA]**



As far as L2 learners are concerned, the results suggest that they are aware that there exist ‘quirky’ subjects in Spanish and that there exists a possibility of raising the nominative theme DP in the presence of a dative DP provided that there is special intonation. Since the L2 learners read the test sentences by themselves, we need to consider the possibility that when they read these sentences they might have also changed the intonation.

However, in Spanish, unlike in the case of Icelandic, Raising is not the most suitable subjecthood test to determine that in addition to nominative subjects there are ‘quirky’ subjects in Spanish.

5.7.1.2. Bare NPs

Recall that grammatical objects of verbs can appear without an expletive article; however, NPs that are grammatical subjects cannot, as seen by the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (215).

- (215) a. *Niños comen dulces
 children_{nom} eat sweets_{acc}
 ‘Children eat sweets’
- b. * A niños les gusta comer dulces
 to children_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes eat sweets_{nom}
 ‘Children like to eat sweets’

Table 13 reports production of the expletive article in obligatory contexts. When a form was supplied, it was almost always accurate; in other words, the predominant errors involved the omission of the expletive article with ‘quirky’ subjects.

Table 13. PGJ-task. Bare NPs

	Expletive Article Grammatical	Bare NPs Ungrammatical
English (n=6)	91.70%	8.30%
Spanish (n=10)	100.00%	0.00%

These results show that the English L2 learners are not relying on their L1. These learners rejected bare dative NPs in pre-verbal position, as in (216), and bare nominative NPs, as in (217).

(216) *A niños les gustan los juguetes *LEGO*
to children_{dat} Cl_{dat} like the toys *LEGO*_{nom}

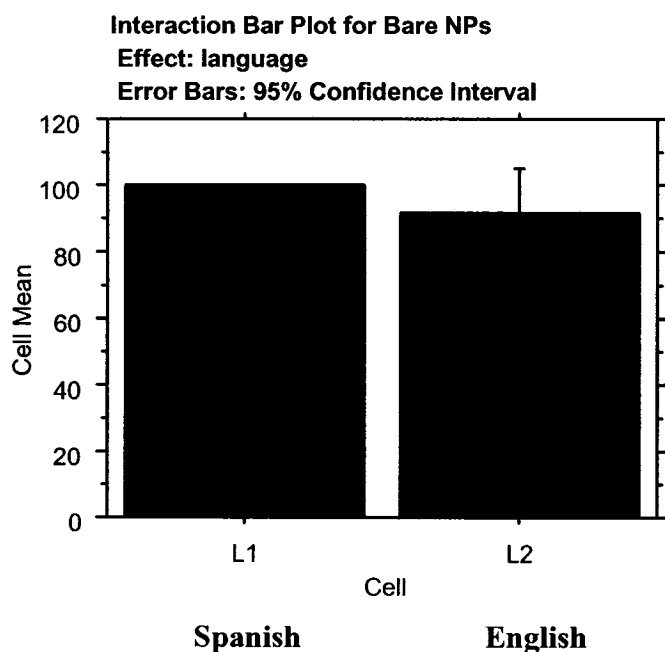
‘Children like the *LEGO* toys’

(217) *Niños beben mucha leche
children_{nom} drink a lot milk_{acc}

‘Children drink a lot of milk’

A one way ANOVA revealed no significant differences between the English group and the Spanish group ($F = 4.375, p < .0552$), as illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Bare NPs [ANOVA]



In sum, the results from the Bare NPs subjecthood test supports the stipulation that there exist ‘quirky’ subjects in Spanish since the native speakers and the English L2 learners treat dative DPs in structural subject position as they would nominative subjects by choosing structures with the expletive article.

5.7.1.3. *Variable Binding*

Our group results confirm the hypothesis that L2 learners are guided by the thematic restrictions on binding which are shared by English and Spanish, and that they will reject structures as in (218). Alternatively, this rejection will show that L2 learners recognize that, in Spanish, the dative argument, in this case, *a cada niño*, is higher than the nominative theme.

- (218) A cada niño le gusta su juguete
to each child_{dat} Cl_{dat} likes his toy_{nom}
‘Each child likes his toy’

As Table 14 shows, the L2 group and the native speakers are accurate on the properties of variable binding.

Table 14. **PGJ-task. Variable Binding**

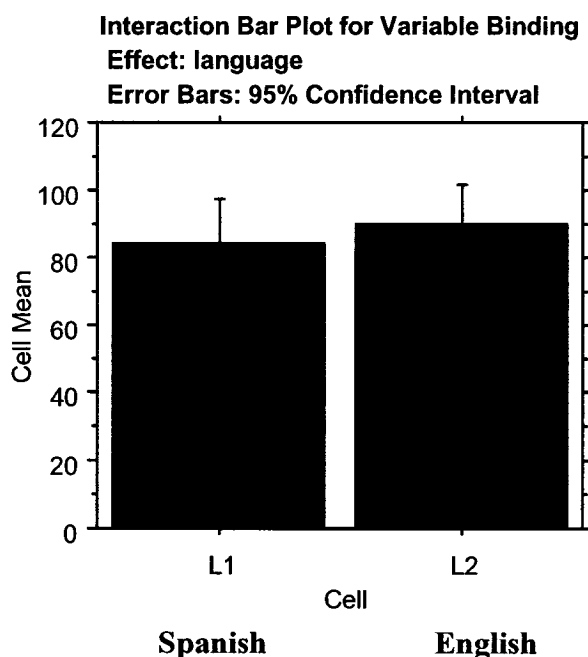
	Grammatical	Ungrammatical
English (n=6)	90.00%	10.00%
Spanish (n=10)	94.00%	6.00%

The English L2 learners judged the structure, as in (218), as grammatical, where the dative was the highest argument as opposed to the theme, as in (219).

(219) *Cada juguete le gusta a su niño.
 each toy_{nom} Cl_{dat} likes to his child_{dat}

A one way ANOVA by language group showed no significant differences between the Spanish group and the English group ($F = .519, p < .4830$), as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Variable Binding [ANOVA]



In sum, overall results from the subjecthood tests show that the English L2 learners of Spanish are sensitive to the fact that constituents that appear in the structural subject position need not be marked with nominative case to be considered the subject of that

structure. However, these learners had difficulty with the Raising test (66% accuracy). We interpret these results as evidence that establishing the valuation of the uninterpretable [EPP]-feature of T via the quirky subject is more difficult than extrapolating the need for expletive articles from nominative to quirky subjects (92% accuracy) or Variable Binding (90% accuracy).

In conclusion, we researched whether L2 learners would recognize that in Spanish subjects are marked with nominative and dative case. This experiment gives us a glimpse that English L2 learners are aware that in Spanish there exist ‘quirky’ subjects. In Polish, as was discussed in chapter 4, quirky subjects are productive. Our next step in the study is to investigate whether English and Polish L2 learners at the Advanced and High Advanced levels, are receptive to the fact that the ‘quirky’ subject is a high applicative argument, it has subject-like properties.

5.7.2. *The L2 Acquisition of Ethical Dative CLs as High Defective Applicative Arguments*

Recall that, in Spanish ethical dative clitics appear only as clitics but not as full DPs. The ethical dative clitic can co-occur with verbs that take direct and indirect objects, as seen in (220).

- (220) El perro me le_i comió la salchicha al niño_i
 the dog_{nom} me_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} ate the sausage_{acc} to the child_{dat}
 ‘The dog ate the child’s sausage on me’

In this case, the ethical dative, *me*, precedes the dative argument, *al niño*. Just as in Spanish, Polish also is productive in ethical dative clitics, as in (221). In both languages this use is colloquial.

- (221) Ona ci mu wtedy nagadała [Franks 2000: ex. (162a)]
 She_{nom} you_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} then told-off
 ‘And then she gave him a piece of her mind’

We hypothesized that the Polish L2 learners rather than the English L2 learners will demonstrate less difficulty in the acquisitional process of this default high applicative construction, due to their L1. For the English L2 learners this might be of a greater challenge since these learners will have to acquire a new concept, namely, that there exist not only dative clitics, but also ethical dative clitics in Spanish in the same structure.

As Table 15 shows, both the native speakers and the L2 learners do not demonstrate reliable knowledge of the ethical dative clitic.

Table 15. GJ-task. Ethical Dative Clitic

	Grammatical Ethical dat. Cl	Ungrammatical
English (n=18)	11.11%	88.89%
Polish (n=26)	7.69%	92.31%
Spanish (n=14)	2.86%	97.14%

The grammatical target sentences, as in (222), were corrected by the native speakers and the L2 learners by removing the ethical dative clitic *me*.

- (222) a. Manuel me le arruinó la vida a esa chica → Test sentence
 M_{nom} me_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} ruined the life_{acc} to this girl_{dat}
 ‘Manuel ruined the life of this girl on me’
- b. Manuel ø le arruinó la vida a esa chica → L1 / L2 sentence
 M_{nom} Cl_{dat} ruined the life_{acc} to this girl_{dat}
 ‘Manuel ruined the life of this girl’

In addition, when the dative argument was not clitic doubled as in (222c), some L2 learners would replace the ethical dative clitic with *se*, as in (222c), and remove the dative argument altogether.

- (222) c. Manuel me arruinó la vida a esa chica → Test sentence
 M_{nom} me_{Ethical.datCl} ruined the life_{acc} to this girl_{dat}
 ‘Manuel ruined the life of this girl on me’
- d. Manuel se arruinó la vida → L2 sentence
 M_{nom} Cl_{refl} ruined the life_{acc}
 ‘Manuel ruined his life’

The characteristic of the construction in (222a) is that the ethical dative clitic is a non-argument dative clitic. The native speakers and the L2 learners are aware of this and therefore remove the ethical dative clitic from the structures.

We assume that due to the lack of appropriate context within the GJ-task these sentences resulted artificial and for these reasons the experimental groups and the control group would consistently remove the ethical dative clitic from these structures. In addition, we claim that due to the colloquial nature of ethical dative clitics in Spanish, non-native speakers reject the structures.

Table 16 shows the percentage of correct responses by level. When Polish L2 learners are separated by level of proficiency, it is the High Advanced group that accepted 10% of grammatical ethical dative clitic in clitics doubled structures. The English speaking group at both levels judged the same percentage of correct target sentences, which is (11.1%).

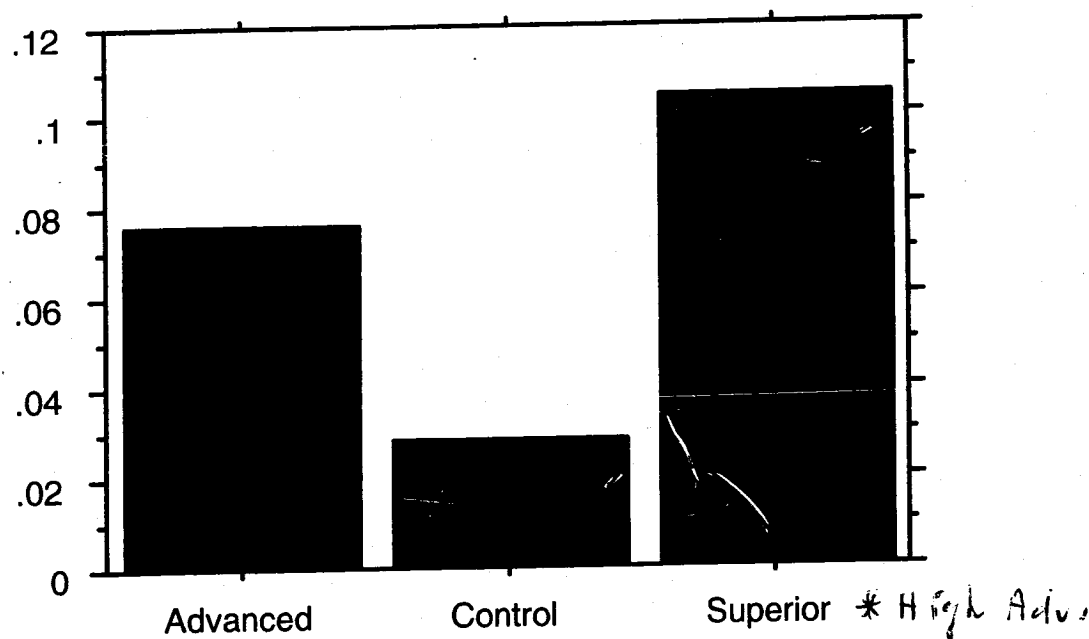
Table 16. GJ-task. Ethical Dative Clitic

	Grammatical Ethical dat. Cl	Ungrammatical
Adv. ENG (n=9)	11.11%	88.89%
Adv. POL (n=12)	5.00%	95.00%
High Adv. ENG (n=9)	11.11%	88.89%
High Adv. POL (n=14)	10.00%	90.00%
CONTROL (n=14)	2.86%	97.14%

In short, in the Grammaticality Judgment Task the group results for Ethical Dative Clitic have not given us any significant result as for the L2 acquisition of ethical dative clitics in conjunction with argument dative clitics. As Figure 12 illustrates, there is no significant differences between the Experimental groups and the native speakers with respect to the

structures where an ethical dative clitic is inserted in clitic doubled structures. This argues that such structures are highly dispreferred.

Figure 10. Ethical Dative Clitic [ANOVA by level]



In sum, we proposed that English L2 learners would be challenged by structures with ethical datives due to the lack of such clitics in their L1; in turn, our results show that at both levels, Advanced and High Advanced, English L2 learners accepted the same amount of correct structures. In general we can conclude that L2 learners and native speakers are sensitive to ethical dative clitics and that they classify ethical dative clitics as non-argument datives, which do not occupy an argument position, since in the results there was no doubling of ethical dative clitics.

Thus far, we have been considering group results. The question at issue is whether the ethical dative clitic structures are pragmatically infelicitous constructions or whether

ethical dative clitics are disappearing from every day Spanish. In a future study we will examine a corpus to see how frequent/infrequent ethical dative clitics are and to discover if there exists a gap between the structures that are used by linguists and whether what is grammatical in Spanish is not necessarily acceptable by native speakers.

Table 18 shows the individual verbs with ethical dative clitics and the subjects' acceptance of such structures.

Table 18. GJ-task. Ethical Dative Clitic

	comer 'eat'	arruinar 'ruin'	complicar 'complicate'	dar 'give'	poner 'put'
English (n=18)	5.56%	11.11%	00.00%	16.67%	22.22%
Polish (n=26)	00.00%	11.54%	00.00%	11.54%	15.39%
Spanish (n=14)	00.00%	00.00%	7.14%	00.00%	7.14%

Native speakers rejected ethical dative clitics in all structures except for some that appear with *complicar* and *poner*. As can be seen from the low percentages, native speakers correct structures with ethical dative clitics by removing them from the sentence, as in (223b).

- (223) a. Me les pusieron malas notas a los hijos → Test sentence
 me_{Ethical.datCl} Cl_{dat} put bad marks_{acc} to the children_{dat}
 ‘They gave bad marks to the children on me’
- b. ø les pusieron malas notas a los hijos → L1 sentence
 Cl_{dat} put bad marks_{acc} to the children_{dat}
 ‘They gave bad marks to the children’

Although the L2 learners seem to accept the grammaticality of ethical dative clitics with certain predicates, even more than the native speakers, this result may be misleading. We suspect that these L2 learners accept structures at chance.

In conclusion, item results reveal that native speakers and L2 learners interpret the ethical dative clitic as a non-argument clitic. The individual results suggest the test sentences used by linguists, which were reproduced in the Grammaticality Judgment task, are grammatical, but not accepted by native speakers. It is fundamental to keep in mind, that what is grammatical in a language is not always acceptable to native speakers.

Structures with ethical dative clitics are briefly taught at the advanced grammar stage of an L2 learner; consequently, it seems that the L2 learners refrain from using these sentences, which seem odd to them, and they strive to be as grammatically correct as possible in their interlanguage grammar.

5.8. Discussion of Results for Low and High Applicative Constructions

We now turn to consider how the three hypotheses (the No-Access Hypothesis, the Partial Access Hypothesis and the Full Access Hypothesis) fare with respect to the results reported above.

The No-Access Hypothesis states that second languages are learned by noticing and constructing patterns and that L2 knowledge is limited by the surface properties of the input. This is because UG is no longer accessible after a certain age and therefore L2 learners must resort to another method for accomplishing the language learning task (Bley-Vroman 1989). In this view, both experimental groups exhibited the knowledge on usage of clitic doubling with unaccusative/unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates, verbs of creation/construction with the Spanish Low Applicative-‘TO’ construction; however, English L2 learners did not exhibit this knowledge with the Spanish Low Applicative-‘AT’ constructions, which are no part of their L1. Group results for the three types of Spanish Low Applicative constructions with the above mentioned predicates in the Grammaticality Judgment-task (GJ-task) show that Polish L2 learners judged 58% of the sentences as grammatical Low Applicative constructions, whereas the English L2 learners judged 50% of them grammatical.

A radical interpretation of the No-Access Hypothesis would predict that with respect to the Spanish Low applicative-‘AT’ and High applicative constructions, adult English L2 learners should not have produced any of these structures. [ESTO NO ES LO QUE DIRIA EL NO-ACCESS VIEW. LO QUE DIRIA ES QUE NO LAS Recall that in

Spanish, unlike English, there exist three kinds of Low Applicative constructions; secondly, that these constructions in Spanish are productive with a variety of verbs, namely, unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates and verbs of creation/construction and third that these constructions have a morphological marker, the dative clitic.

According to the No-Access view, with respect to the Spanish Low applicative-‘AT’ and High applicative constructions, English L2 learners should not have produced any of these structures. Recall that in Spanish, unlike English, there exist three kinds of Low Applicative constructions; secondly, that these constructions in Spanish are productive with a variety of verbs, namely, unaccusative and unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates and verbs of creation/construction and third that these constructions have a morphological marker, the dative clitic.

In these terms the No-Access Hypothesis is not supported since the results from the GJ-task show that English L2 learners show that they accepted 50% of the grammatical Spanish low applicative constructions that are not part of their L1.

The Partial Access Hypothesis (Hawkins and Chan 1997) states that principles are still instantiated in the second language, but the L2 learner is somehow restricted to the categories, features and feature values of his L1. This would imply that native English speakers should not have [low applicative-‘FROM’], [low applicative-‘AT’] and [high applicative] features in their L2 syntactic representations and should fare worse than the

Polish L2 learners who do have these features. Recall that the DOCs in English and in Polish are very similar to the Spanish clitic doubled constructions, i.e. the Low Applicative-‘TO’ constructions. Nevertheless, English and Polish DOCs differ in that the features of the applicative head are phonetically null in English and in Polish. In contrast, in Spanish the features of the applicative head are phonetically realized as a dative clitic that doubles the DP [Cl_{dat} + a DP_{dat}]. In addition, the verbs that participate in the English DOCs are far more restricted than those in Spanish and Polish.

Our results disconfirm the predication that Polish L2 learners accepted more clitic doubled constructions as grammatical Low Applicative-‘TO’ and Low Applicative-‘AT’ constructions with unaccusative/unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates and verbs of construction/creation than the English L2 learners. Since English- and Polish-L2 learners fared similarly in accepting as grammatical constructions without the morphological marker, i.e. the dative clitic. We interpret these results from the GJ-task to indicate that English- and Polish- L2 learners are not using the applicative morpheme (i.e. dative clitic) as a productive morphological element (i.e. as a feature of the applicative head) but rather as an unanalyzed form, which appeared in semantically appropriate contexts in the experiment, but which was either removed by L2 learners or judged ungrammatical. There is some evidence in the GJ-task that L2 learners insert this applicative marker, there are five examples out of the 84 test sentences.

Recall that in Spanish a low applicative argument bears no semantic relation to the verb whatsoever; it only bears a transfer of possession relation to the direct object. In addition, a low applicative takes a verb phrase as one of its arguments. The results from

the GJ-task show that Polish L2 learners do not recognize this subtle syntactic characteristic of Spanish. They consistently remove the applicative morphological marker, the dative clitic, and treat *a* as a full fledged preposition by changing it to *de* ‘of’ in order to establish the possession relation with verbs of creation/construction, such as *reparar* ‘repair’. This can be accounted for in terms of Case Theory (McFadden 2004). McFadden argues that whatever syntactic Case/DP-licensing is, it has no empirical connection to case morphology. There is no single syntactic feature (complex) which is responsible for both DP-licensing and the determination of morphological case. The implication is that syntactic ‘Case’ is a “misnomer”. True case is a phenomenon of the post Spell-out PF branch of the derivation, as is the post Spell-out of the dative clitic. Therefore Polish L2 learners in the absence of any morphological case markings, (*Después de un mes, el mecánico reparó el coche a Benito* ‘After a month, the mechanic fixed Benito’s car’) will not treat *a* in *a Benito* as an instance of overt morphological case marker of dative case, but as a full fledged preposition. English L2 learners, due to their L1, treat the applicative marker as an ‘intruder’ since in their L1 such a marker is phonetically null; thus, just like Polish L2 learners these learners reject structures where the dative nominal is clitic doubled or is introduced by *a*.

Our results show that native speakers did not treat the dative clitic as an applicative marker either, but rather as an extra element that was unnecessary in the structures. Interestingly, some of the Spanish linguistic structures which have generated a lot of theoretical discussion turned out to be not accepted by the native speakers in our GJ-task. The various structures studied provide key insights into L2 acquisition that bear

on competence matters and on usage matters, as well as on the production of certain Spanish linguistic structures, which may prove critical for understanding intuitions of ordinary speakers against those of linguists.

Contrary to the No-Access and the Partial Access Hypotheses, Full Access (White 2003b) predicts that, in principle, the acquisition of all the properties related to applicative constructions is possible due to UG. Our results show that most of the answers of the experimental groups are 50%. Since it is a quantitative difference only and there is variability among native speakers with verb-specific constructions, in particular with unaccusative and unergative verbs, we argue that it is not that the English- and Polish- L2 learners have not been able to acquire all the properties of clitic doubling with unaccusative/unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates, verbs of construction/creation and psychological verbs, but that some individual verbs sounded strange in the test sentences and as a result native and non-native speakers judged these structures ungrammatical.

Our findings from the Preference Task for the L2 data on the acquisition of ‘quirky’ subjects by English speakers are not consistent with the predication claimed by the No-Access Hypothesis since English L2 learners produce grammatical structures which are not part of their L1. In terms of the Access Hypotheses, the Full Access Hypothesis is supported. Our findings suggest that English L2 learners, due to UG, are able to produce structures that are no longer part of their L1, such as ‘quirky’ subjects, even though the accuracy of their results is not perfect. In addition, our results confirm

our hypothesis and the Partial Access Hypothesis in that English L2 learners of Spanish are constrained by their L1 and will produce nominative subjects instead of ‘quirky’ subjects when required in their interlanguage grammar with psychological and simple existential predicates.

We first observe this in the *Raising* construction where these L2 learners raised the nominative theme, and not the dative argument, with psychological predicates. The English L2 learners accepted 66.7% of constructions where the dative nominal was raised. We also hypothesized that since Spanish, unlike English, requires an expletive article in subject position both for nominative and for ‘quirky’ subjects; English L2 learners may transfer the English construction, without the article, and judge structures with Bare NPs grammatical. Results from the Preference task show that English L2 learners rejected bare ‘quirky’ subjects and this suggests that they are not relying on their L1 (91.7%). The Full Access hypothesis is only supported by the results from the *Bare NPs* subjecthood test where L2 learners’ intuitions are native-like when rejecting structures where the subject is a bare NP.

Lastly, we hypothesized that if L2 learners are guided by the thematic restrictions on binding, which are shared by English and Spanish, they will reject structures where the nominative theme binds into the dative phrase. This is known as the *Reflexive Binding* subjecthood test. Alternatively, this rejection will show that L2 learners recognize that, in Spanish, the dative argument is higher than the nominative theme. Results show that L2 learners have intuitions that approximate those of native speakers since the difference between their correct responses and those of native speakers differs by 6%.

Finally, we sought to shed light on the L2 acquisition of ethical dative clitics in Spanish. While native Polish speakers are perfectly capable of producing ethical dative clitics in their L1, they do not readily transfer this to the L2 (7.69%), whereas English L2 learners produced more such structures (11.1%). The test sentences with ethical dative clitics lacked any context and sounded ‘artificial’ for non-native and native speakers of Spanish; therefore, the clitic doubled high defective-applicative constructions that had the ethical dative clitic were more difficult to process in that these test sentences made no sense without an appropriate context, as opposed to those that only included a dative DP that was clitic doubled, i.e. the Low Applicative-‘TO’ and the Low Applicative-‘AT’.

There are certain shortcomings of this study that need to be addressed in future research in order to determine whether our findings are significant in terms of applicative constructions in adult L2. First, it is important to create a more detailed experiment that will analyze not only L2 acquisition of applicative constructions, but also L1 acquisition of these structures. Secondly, the Polish data were far more extensive than the data from the other subjects, which clearly needed to be supplemented. Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, we believe that the L2 data examined here are suggestive that non-native intuitions at the advanced and high advanced levels are native like with respect to verb-specific constructions, but that there also exist two types of acquisition that bears on competence matters of clitic doubling and on usage matters.

Conclusion

In this dissertation we investigated the L2 acquisition of applicative heads that are responsible for introducing additional arguments into verbal argument structures. Universal Grammar, by hypothesis, makes available an inventory of functional elements from which each particular language makes its selection. When it comes to cross-linguistic variation, the explanation lies wholly in the nature of the primitive building blocks of syntactic derivations. More specifically, in this dissertation we adopted the view that in Spanish there are specialized functional heads, such as the low applicative head and the high applicative head that introduce non-core arguments.

We based our investigation on testing three opposing views in language acquisition: the No-Access hypothesis (Bley-Vroman 1989); the Partial Access Hypothesis (Hawkins & Chan 1997) and the Full Access Hypothesis (White 2003b). Overall, the two experimental groups performed as predicted by the Partial and Full Access hypotheses in that they were able to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical sentences.

It has been argued that every type of verb that appears in the English Double Object Construction (DOC), i.e. Low Applicative-‘TO’, also appears as the Spanish clitic-doubled construction, but the reverse does not hold. The DOCs are ungrammatical with unaccusative and unergative verbs in English, whereas the Spanish Low Applicative-‘TO’ construction are productive with unaccusative and unergative verbs and

differ in that there is a dative clitic, which is analyzed as a morphological applicative marker.

Results show that English L2 learners reject the dative clitic by removing it or judge *cliticless* structures grammatical. Recall that, the English DOCs are not only restricted to certain verbs, but also do not have an overt morphological marker. In English this element is analyzed as phonetically null. Polish L2 learners remove the dative clitic from structures that are productive in their L1, but leave the clitic in structures that are not part of their L1, as with *llegar* ‘arrive’.

In English and Polish, non-transfer predicates, whether they are stative or an activity verb, allow a dative argument to be part of the structure. However, in English the direct object must be accompanied by a possessive adjective for the structure to be grammatical. The results show that English- and Polish- L2 learners rejected clitic doubled structures in Spanish with these predicates and would consistently change [Cl_{dat} ... a + DP_{dat}] to [Ø...de + DP] or [... a + DP] to [Cl_{dat} ...de + DP], thus treating *a* as a preposition and not as a case assigner (Cuervo 2003).

Lastly, our results show that the acquisition of Spanish ethical dative clitics was most problematic for the English- and Polish- L2 learners at the Advanced and High advanced levels. Ethical dative clitic falls within the realm of the syntax-pragmatics interface, and therefore without an appropriate context for these sentences in the GJ-task the L2 learners and native speakers removed the ethical dative clitic from grammatical test structures since it was unnecessary without an appropriate context.

The findings from our study hold both methodological and theoretical implications for the field. First, they suggest that we as second language researchers must become more aware of the larger linguistic context (syntactic/pragmatic interface) in which the constructions we investigate are typically used. In this manner, we will be able to design more effective experiments and be able to interpret the results in a more prudent way.

Our results suggest that proposals that advocate that there is no access to UG (Bley-Vroman 1989) at all are probably too strong. There exists evidence that L2 learners are sensitive to aspects of the input and are using their L1 knowledge to construct their interlanguage grammars (need be acknowledged) (Hawkins and Chan 1997; White 2003b).

In addition to the implications for theories of language acquisition, our results contribute to linguistic theory in general and Spanish syntax in particular. If we consider the results reflecting ordinary native speaker intuitions, these results show that Demonte's (1995) and Cuervo's (2003) proposals may not be entirely accurate. Many of our native speakers did not answer according to the judgments reported by these linguists. Thus given the variability among the native speakers, we propose that the performance of the L2 learners can be attributed to a matter of "usage acquisition" with unaccusative/unergative verbs, non-transfer predicates and verbs of creation/construction, which is separate from the acquisition on competence needed for clitic doubling in Spanish.

Our results give very interesting lines of research to pursue. For instance, it would be of interest to deepen the exploration of the relationship between morphology and

syntax in second language acquisition, particularly in view of proposals such as Lardiere's (2003, 2005) and White's (2003). In order to do so, it would be interesting to test the general level of processing of verbal morphology (clitics) in all types of clitic constructions in Polish and English speakers at different stages of development of Spanish as a second language. If what impedes their full acquisition of the applicative constructions is their inability to process verbal morphology one would expect that as that general ability develops and increases, their capacity to identify applicatives that require verbal morphology as grammatical would also increase. If, on the other hand, the ability to process clitics is specific to each construction and it progresses from argument clitics to clitics involved in applicatives then we would have to explore the relative weight of argument structure versus morphology as clues for syntactic development.

APPENDIX I
SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD
CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL
FILE # 01-06-15
(ATTACHED)

University of Ottawa - 2006³⁴

Nombre Real o Ficticio: _____

PARTE A:

En esta sección usted encontrará frases con expresiones en **negrita** para las que deberá seleccionar la equivalencia léxica más ajustada, y otras con huecos para completar con la opción correcta.

1. Me llamaba por teléfono **cada dos por tres**.
 - a. raramente
 - b. frecuentemente
 - c. acompasadamente
2. Se le entiende fatal porque es **un poco tartaja**.
 - a. es muy tímido
 - b. habla muy rápido
 - c. es algo tartamudo
3. Después de las vacaciones de Navidad nos hemos quedado **a dos velas**.
 - a. sin luz eléctrica
 - b. sin dinero
 - c. sin veladas
4. Pues parece que el jefe me tiene **entre ceja y ceja**.
 - a. aversión
 - b. en el pensamiento
 - c. entre sus preferidos
5. Iba con su traje nuevo **más chulo que un ocho**.
 - a. muy ufano
 - b. muy avasallador
 - c. muy cuidadoso

³⁴ ³⁴ Gálvez, D., Natividad Gálvez, Teresa Infante, Isabel López, Amelia Montiel. 1999. *Diploma Superior: Preparación para el Diploma Superior de Español Lengua Extranjera*. Edelsa: Madrid, España.

6. El argumento de la película era un **embrollo**.
a. rollo
b. lío
c. barullo
7. No seas tan **timorata**, a ti todo te parece escandaloso.
a. temerosa
b. maliciosa
c. pudorosa
8. Llevaba los zapatos muy **lustrosos**.
a. limpios
b. brillantes
c. polvorientos
9. La policía estuvo a punto de detenerlo, pero al final **escurrió el bulto**.
a. se resbaló
b. se zafó
c. se deslizó
10. **Estoy muy liado**, así que no me esperes.
a. Estoy confundido
b. Estoy hecho un lío
c. Estoy ocupado
11. María está muy gordita _____ lo poco que come.
a. por
b. contra
c. para
12. Se me acaba de _____ una idea estupenda.
a. discurrir
b. ocurrir
c. incurrir
13. No creáis que todo lo que os está diciendo _____ verdad.
a. está
b. esté
c. es
14. Nunca _____ cómo me llamo.

- a. se recuerda
 - b. se acuerda
 - c. recuerda de
 - d. se acuerda de
15. Niños, no _____ mucho ruido al entrar.
- a. haced
 - b. hagáis
 - c. haríais
16. Antes _____ viniera, yo ya me había ido.
- a. de – él
 - b. de – Ø
 - c. de – que
17. María trata a Carlos _____ fuera su hermano.
- a. como
 - b. si
 - c. como si
 - d. tal como
18. Te dejaré mis apuntes _____ me los devuelvas el martes.
- a. excepto que
 - b. siempre que
 - c. si
 - d. como
19. Iré a tu casa _____ nunca te encuentro en la oficina.
- a. por qué
 - b. como
 - c. que
 - d. dado que
20. Cuando _____ una fiesta no le vamos a invitar, nos cae tan mal.
- a. organizamos
 - b. organizaremos
 - c. organicemos

PARTE B:

A continuación le presentamos dos textos. Entre los dos textos, usted debe detectar un total de 5 errores. Subraye los errores.

TEXTO 1

Ayer te veía: tú entrabas en una cafetería y yo pasaba en la acera de enfrente. No te saludé porque tenía mucha prisa.

TEXTO 2

Ella dijo que había llegado aquella mañana en Galicia, que carecía de alojamiento y que desea que la encaminasen a una pensión decente que no estuviera muy cara.

APPENDIX III
Questionnaire (English version)

1. Name _____
2. Age group (please circle)
12-17 18-25 26-40 +40
3. Address and telephone _____
4. Mother's dominant language _____
Father's dominant language _____
5. Language(s) spoken at home as a child _____
6. Language(s) you spoke during the first 5 years of your life _____
7. Language(s) studied in:
Primary school: _____
High school: _____
University: _____
Other institutions: _____
8. What other language(s) do you presently speak?
9. What languages do you speak?
-at home:
-at school:
-at work:
-while you dream:
10. What language do you feel most comfortable with at this time?
11. Why are you studying Spanish?
-B.A. in Spanish _____ -Professional Reasons _____
-Double Major _____ -Personal Reasons _____
-Other _____
12. Contact with Spanish outside the classroom:
A. Present Contact:
-approximate hours per week:
-Context (friends, clubs, family, etc.):

Participants³⁵

Experimental group # 1. ADVANCED (A)					
#	AGE	L1	L2(s)	L(s) at work	Exposure to SPA at the Instituto Cervantes/ University/ outside of the classroom
A1PL	26-40	PL	GER, EN	PL, EN	5-10hrs/w
A2PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL, SPA	5-10hrs/w
A3PL	-	PL	GER, EN	-	5-10hrs/w
A4PL	+40	PL	GER, RUS	PL	5-10hrs/w
A5PL	26-40	PL	EN	PL, EN, SPA	5-10hrs/w
A6PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL, EN	5-10hrs/w
A7PL	17-25	PL	EN, RUS	PL	5-10hrs/w
A8PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL, EN	5-10hrs/w
A9PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL	5-10hrs/w
A10PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL	5-10hrs/w
A11PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL	5-10hrs/w
A12PL	26-40	PL	EN, FR	PL	5-10hrs/w
A1ENG	-	EN	POR	EN	5-10hrs/w
A2ENG	17-25	EN	-	EN	5-10hrs/w
A3ENG	17-25	EN	FR	EN,FR	5-10hrs/w
A4ENG	17-25	EN	FR	EN	5-10hrs/w
A5ENG	17-25	EN	KIRUNDI	EN	5-10hrs/w
A6ENG	17-25	EN	POR	EN	5-10hrs/w
A7ENG	26-40	EN	FR	EN,SP	5-10hrs/w
A8ENG	17-25	EN	FR	EN	5-10hrs/w

³⁵ En=English, SP=Spanish, FR=French, GER= German, It=Italian, POR=Portuguese, PL=Polish, RUS=Russian

**Experimental group # 2.
HIGH ADVANCED (HA)**

#	AGE	L1	L2(s)	L(s) at work	Exposure to SPA at the Instituto Cervantes/ University/ outside of the classroom
HA1PL	17-25	PL	FR, EN	PL, EN, FR	10-15hrs/w
HA2PL	26-40	PL	GER, RUS	PL	10-15hrs/w
HA3PL	17-25	PL	FR, EN	PL, EN	10-15hrs/w
HA4PL	-	PL	RUS, EN	PL, EN	10-15hrs/w
HA5PL	17-25	PL	EN,FR,RUS	PL	10-15hrs/w
HA6PL	17-25	PL	EN,FR	PL,FR,EN	10-15hrs/w
HA7PL	17-25	PL	EN	-	10-15hrs/w
HA8PL	17-25	PL	EN	PL	10-15hrs/w
HA9PL	26-40	PL	EN	PL, SPA	10-15hrs/w
HA10PL	26-40	PL	EN	PL,EN	10-15hrs/w
HA11PL	26-40	PL	EN	PL,EN	10-15hrs/w+6months in Spain
HA12PL	26-40	PL	EN	PL,EN	10-15hrs/w
HA13PL	-	PL	EN	PL,EN	10-15hrs/w
HA14PL	-	PL	EN	PL,EN	10-15hrs/w
HA1ENG	26-40	EN	FR	-	10-15hrs/w
HA2ENG	17-25	EN	FR	EN,FR,SP	10-15hrs/w
HA3ENG	17-25	EN	-	-	10-15hrs/w
HA4ENG	26-40	EN	ITA	EN,SP	10-15hrs/w
HA5ENG	17-25	EN	-	EN	10-15hrs/w
HA6ENG	26-40	EN	-	EN,SP	10-15hrs/w
HA7ENG	17-25	EN	POR,GER	EN,SP	10-15hrs/w
HA8ENG	17-25	EN	FR	EN/SP	10-15hrs/w

APPENDIX IV

(Sample Grammaticality Judgment Task)

University of Ottawa. 2006

Nombre Real o Ficticio: _____
'Name Real or Fictitious:'

Utilice siempre el mismo nombre, real o ficticio, en las pruebas y en el Cuestionario.

'Always put the same name, real or made-up, on the tests and on the Questionnaire'

Por favor, lea cada una de las frases cuidadosamente y luego:

'Please, read each sentence carefully and then':

A. Ponga un círculo alrededor del número **1** cuando la oración le parezca **gramatical** y un círculo alrededor del número **2** si le parece que es **agramatical**.

A. 'Circle number 1 when a sentence seems to you grammatical and circle number 2 when a sentence seems to you ungrammatical'

1 = gramatical
'grammatical'

2 = agramatical
'ungrammatical'

B. **SUBRAYE** lo que le parezca agramatical o **AÑADA** si le parece que falta algo.

B. 'Underline whatever seems to you ungrammatical or add if you decide that something is missing from a sentence'

C. Cuando haya terminado con una frase, siga con la siguiente y **no vuelva a leer o a hacer cambios en las anteriores. MUCHAS GRACIAS por su colaboración.**

C. 'When you have finished with a sentence, follow with the following ones and do not re-read or make any changes in the previous sentences. Thank you for your cooperation.'

POR EJEMPLO: 'For example:'

(i) **Lola come mucho ayer.** 'Lola eats a lot yesterday'

(a) [¿es gramatical?]
'[is it correct?]

No, no es gramatical.
No, it is not correct'

(b) [pongo un círculo alrededor del número 2]
'[put a circle around number 2]

1 2

(c) [y ahora subrayo la parte agramatical]

Lola **come** mucho ayer.

'[and now underline the ungrammatical part]

Lola **eats** a lot yesterday.

(ii) Hablo español. 'I speak Spanish'

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| (a) [¿es gramatical?] | Sí, es gramatical. |
| '[is it grammatical?] | Yes, it is.' |
| (b) [pongo un círculo alrededor del número 1] | 1 2 |
| '[put a circle around number 1]' | |
| (c) [no subrayo ni añadido nada porque la frase es gramatical] | |
| '[I don't underline anything because the sentence is correct]' | |

(iii) Vivo Ottawa. 'I live Ottawa'

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| (a) [¿es gramatical?] | No, no es gramatical. |
| '[is it grammatical] | No, it is not' |
| (b) [pongo un círculo alrededor del número 2] | 1 2 |
| '[put a circle around number 2]' | |
| (c) [y ahora añadido la preposición 'en'] | Vivo EN Ottawa. |
| '[and now add the preposition 'en']' | I live IN Ottawa. |

LA PRUEBA EMPIEZA

'THE TEST STARTS'

1. Elena manchó los zapatos a Elisa.
'Elena soiled the shoes to Elisa'
1 2
2. Ya sé que me les pusieron malas notas a los hijos.
'I know that they put bad marks to the children on me'
1 2
3. La anfitriona guisó un conejo a los invitados.
'The hostess cooked rabbit to the guests'
1 2
4. Con mucha emoción, Enya cantó la canción *Amarantine* a los espectadores.
'With a lot of emotion, Enya sang the song *Amarantine* to the audience'
1 2
5. Graciela me está complicando la vida a la pobre Lola.
'Graciela is complicating the life to the poor Lola on me'
1 2
6. La abuela siempre le besa la frente a sus nietos.
'The grandmother always kisses the forehead to her grandchildren'
1 2
7. Juegan niños en este patio.
'Play children on this patio'
1 2
8. No sé si sabes que me dieron un premio a mi hija.
'I don't know whether you know that they gave a prize to my daughter on me'
1 2

9. En *Don Alfonso* les cocinaron una paella deliciosa a los Pérez.
'At the restaurant *Don Alfonso* they cooked a delicious paella to the Perez'
1 2
10. Manuel me arruinó la vida a esa chica.
'Manuel ruined the life of this girl on me'
1 2
11. Pepe les reparó la tele a sus padres para ahorrarles dinero.
'Pepe repaired the TV to his parents to save them money'
1 2
12. Una vez partido el autobús, no hay nada que podamos hacer para detenerlo.
'Once the bus is gone, there is nothing we can do to stop it'
1 2
13. Finalmente florecieron los tulipanes a Claudia.
'Finally the tulips bloomed to Claudia'
1 2
14. El perro me comió el bocadillo al niño.
'The dog ate the sandwich to the child on me'
1 2
15. Cada seis meses, el dentista examina los dientes a Jorge.
'Every six months, the dentist examines the teeth to Jorge'
1 2
16. Tú no te acuerdas, pero se lo regalamos para su cumpleaños.
'You do not remember, but we gave it for his/her birthday'
1 2

APPENDIX V
(Sample Picture Task)

University of Ottawa. 2006

NOMBRE Real o Ficticio: _____
'NAME real or made-up'

- A. Utilice siempre el mismo nombre, real o ficticio, en las pruebas y en el Cuestionario.** 'Always put the same name, real or made-up, on the tests and on the Questionnaire'
- B. Fíjese en cada dibujo e indique si la frase describe lo que ve.** 'Pay attention to each picture and indicate if the sentence describes what you see'
- C. NO VUELVA hacia atrás. Una vez que usted decida sobre lo que ve en un dibujo que se abstenga de volver hacia los que ya ha completado.** 'Do not go back. Once you have decided what you see, try not to go back to the pictures that you have seen'
- D. Utilice este criterio:** 'Use this criteria'
- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1 | el dibujo <u>no interpreta</u> el significado de la frase |
| 1 | the picture does not interpret the meaning of the sentence |
| 2 | el dibujo <u>interpreta</u> el significado de la frase |
| 2 | the picture interprets the meaning of the sentence |
| 3 | el dibujo <u>interpreta</u> el significado PERO la frase es <u>agramatical</u> |
| 3 | the picture interprets the meaning BUT the sentence is ungrammatical |
-

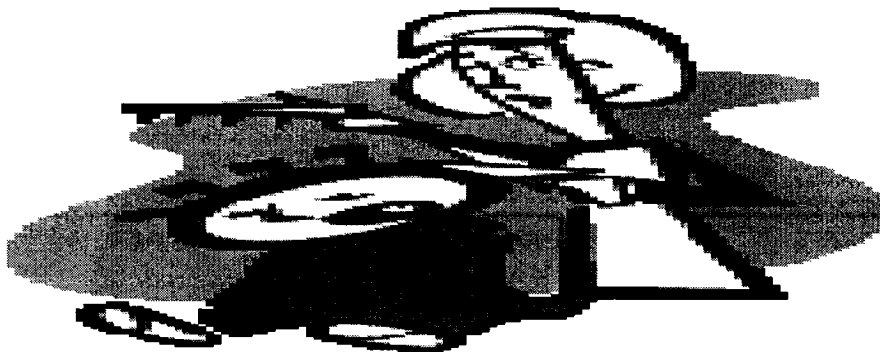
Ejemplos: 'Examples'

- 1. Al niño le disgusta hacerse peinar el pelo.** 'The child dislikes having his hair cut'

1

2

3



2. **El sofá que tiene cama para dormir es un cama sofá, ¿no?**
The sofa that has a bed to sleep in is a bed sofa, isn't that right?

1

2

3



LA PRUEBA EMPIEZA
THE TEST STARTS

1. Susana les sirve vino a los invitados. 'Susan serves wine to the guests'

1

2

3

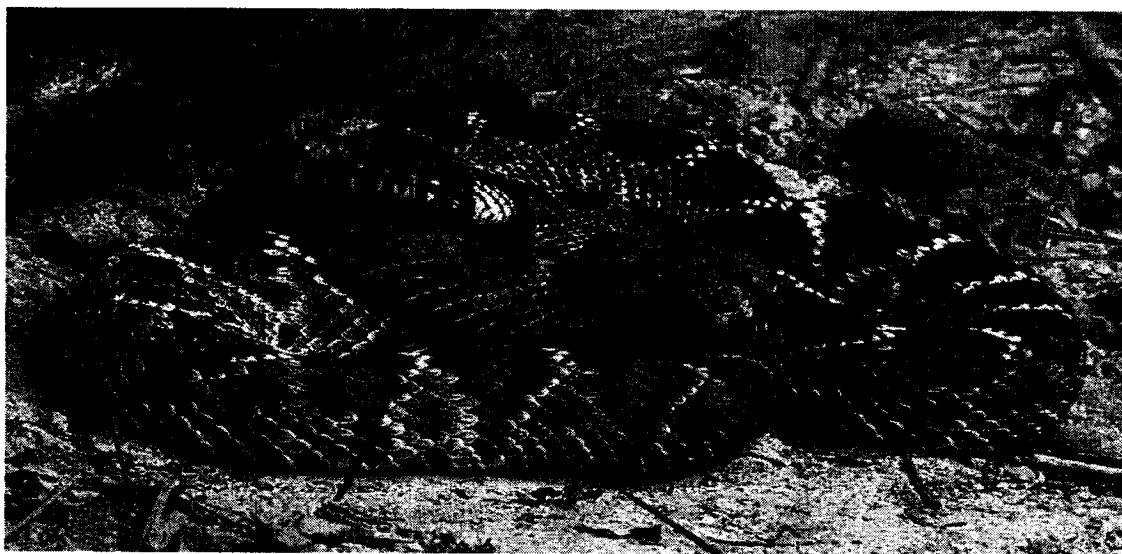


2. En el desierto vi una serpiente cascabel. 'In the desert I saw I rattle snake'

1

2

3

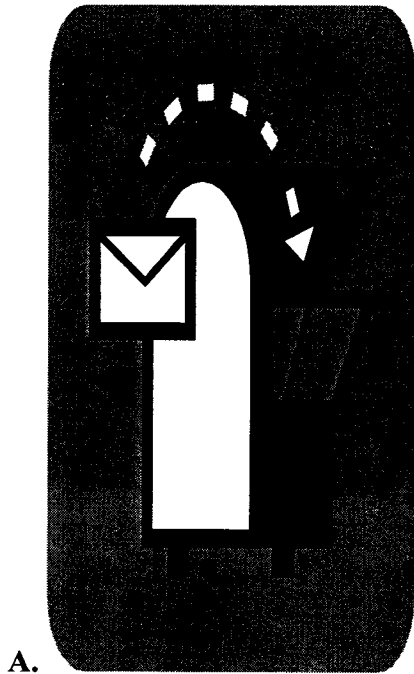


3. Luis manda una carta a Patricia. 'Luis sends a letter to Patricia'

1

2

3

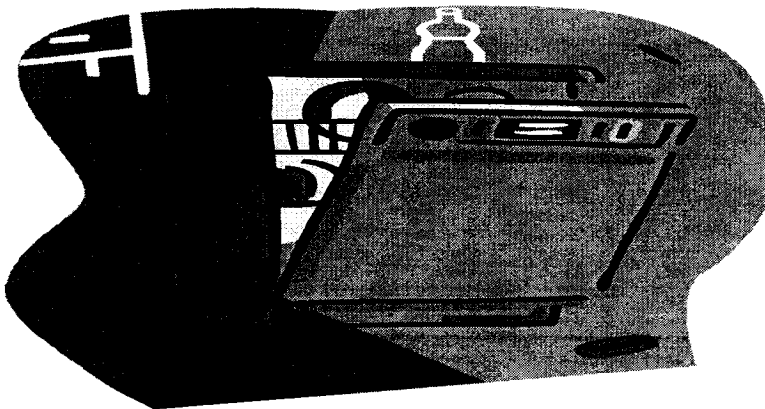


4. Tenemos que vaciar el vajillaslava. 'We have to empty the washerdish'

1

2

3



APPENDIX VI
(Sample Preference Task)

University of Ottawa. 2005

Nombre Real o Ficticio: _____

Name real or made-up: _____

POR FAVOR, NO REVISE SUS RESPUESTAS.
PLEASE, DO NOT REVISE YOUR ANSWERS

1.

Juanito juega mucho al fútbol porque es su deporte favorito. Todas las tardes, después de hacer sus deberes, Juanito practica con su equipo. El sueño de Juanito es llegar a ser un famoso jugador de fútbol y jugar para el “Real Madrid”.

‘Johnny plays a lot of soccer because it is his favourite sport. Every afternoon, after doing his homework, Johnny practices with his team. Johnny’s dream is to become a famous soccer player and play for “Real Madrid”’

¿Qué resumen de esta información te parece más adecuado, el (A) o el (B)?
Which summary of this information seems to you more correct, (A) or (B)?

(A) El fútbol parece gustarle mucho a Juanito y por eso quiere jugar para el “Real Madrid”.

‘Soccer seems to be liked by Johnny and because of it he wants to play for the team “Real Madrid”’

(B) A Juanito parece gustarle mucho el fútbol y por eso quiere jugar para el “Real Madrid”.

‘To Johnny it seems that soccer appeals a lot and because of it he wants to play for the team “Real Madrid”’

2.

El coche de Pedro tiene algunos problemas mecánicos y ya se le ha roto varias veces. A pesar de ello, cada fin de semana va a Montreal en coche para visitar a sus amigos de la Universidad de McGill. Ayer uno de sus amigos me llamó para preguntarme si Pedro había salido ya de casa porque eran las tres y todavía no había llegado.

‘Pedro’s car has a few mechanical problems and has already broken down many times on him. Nevertheless, every weekend he drives his car to Montreal to visit his friends from McGill University. Yesterday one of his friends called me to ask if Pedro had already left home because it was 3 and he had still not arrived’.

¿Qué contestación te parece más adecuada, la (A) o la (B)?
Which answer would seem to you most appropriate, (A) or (B)?

- (A) A Pedro parece habersele roto el coche, como muchas veces antes y, llegará, pero tarde.
- (B) El coche parece habersele roto a Pedro, como muchas veces antes y llegará, pero tarde.

‘It seems that Peter’s car had broken down just like many other times before and, he’ll arrive, but late’

3.

La niñera sabe como cuidar a los niños. Cuando se aburren siempre intenta hacer algo divertido. Por ejemplo, empieza con una frase y los niños tienen que seguir añadiendo información para crear un cuento.

“The babysitter knows how to take care of children. When they are bored she always tries to do something fun. For example, she starts a sentence and the children have to follow by adding information to make-up a story.”

¿Cuál de las dos conclusiones resume mejor la información?

‘Which one of the two conclusions best summarizes the information?’

(A) Esto a niños les gusta mucho

(B) Esto a los niños les gusta mucho

‘The children like this a lot’

4.

Martita tiene un peluche muy mono y como le gusta mucho no se separa de él. Martita sólo juega con éste. Cuando come, el peluche está a su lado también comiendo, cuando se baña también y, claro, los dos duermen juntos. A veces Marta juega con el peluche de su hermanita, pero prefiere el suyo.

“Marta has a very cute teddy bear and since she likes it so much it never leaves her sight. Marta only plays with this one. When she eats, the teddy-bear is by her side also eating, and also when she baths and, of course, both sleep together. Sometimes Martha plays with her sister’s teddy-bear, but she prefers hers.”

¿Cuál de las dos conclusiones resume mejor la información, la (A) o la (B)?

“Which one of the two conclusions best summarizes the information, the one in (A) or in (B)?

(A) a cada niño le gusta su juguete.

(B) cada juguete le gusta a su niño.

‘Each child prefers/likes his toy’

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