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The L2 Acquisition of Spanish Reflexive Passives and Reflexive Impersonals by French- and English-Speaking Adults: Does Explicit Grammatical Instruction Make a Difference?

M. A. Thesis in Hispanic Linguistics

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Abstract

This Master thesis examines the L2 acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals by French and English-speaking adults at the University of Ottawa. Reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals have been chosen over other constructions because they are superficially very similar and possess an idiosyncratic lexical, morphological, and syntactic behavior: no equivalent of these constructions exist in English or French, which may entangle their acquisition. Subjects in this study included two experimental groups made up of 13 native speakers of English and 16 native speakers of French, and one control group made up of 27 native speakers of Spanish. The two experimental groups were first administered a grammaticality judgment tasks of 64 questions, after which they were provided with 3 hours of explicit grammatical instruction on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. A second grammaticality judgment task was administered one week after instruction. The results of the two grammaticality judgment tasks were compared to the results of one grammaticality judgment task completed by the Control group. The performance of subjects on both tasks indicated that explicit grammatical instruction had some impact on the L2 acquisition of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, though this influence was not found to be significant on every sentence type. The findings also revealed that the subjects' L1 (French and English) had an effect on the L2 acquisition of both constructions on items where transfer from L1 to Spanish was possible.

Résumé

Cette thèse de maîtrise examine l'acquisition de la passive réfléchie et de l'impersonnelle réfléchie de l'espagnol, langue étrangère, chez des adultes francophones et anglophones qui étudient l'espagnol à l'Université d'Ottawa. La passive réfléchie et l'impersonnelle réfléchie ont été choisies, car elles adoptent une structure superficielle très similaire et elles constituent une idiosyncrasie de la langue espagnole, que ce soit au niveau du lexique, de la morphologie ou de la syntaxe : il n'existe aucun équivalent de ces structures en anglais ou en français, ce qui peut rendre le processus d'acquisition davantage difficile. Les sujets qui ont participé à cette étude comprennent deux groupes expérimentaux formés de 13 anglophones et 16 francophones, et un groupe de contrôle formé de 27 hispanophones. On a tout d'abord administré un test de jugements grammaticaux de 64 questions aux deux groupes expérimentaux, à la suite duquel on leur a fourni 3 heures d'enseignement explicite de la grammaire de la passive réfléchie et de l'impersonnelle réfléchie. On leur a administré un deuxième test de jugements grammaticaux une semaine après l'enseignement. On a ensuite comparé les résultats de ces deux tests aux résultats du groupe de contrôle au premier test de jugements grammaticaux. Les résultats des groupes expérimentaux aux deux tests ont indiqué que l'enseignement explicite de la grammaire a influencé l'acquisition de la passive réfléchie et de l'impersonnelle réfléchie, bien que cet effet ne soit pas significatif pour tous les types de phrases. Les résultats ont également démontré que la langue maternelle des sujets (soit le français et l'anglais) a influencé l'acquisition des deux structures en question, plus précisément, quand le transfer de la langue première à l'espagnol était possible.

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Juana M. Liceras, for her constant personal and professional support. Professor Liceras is extremely knowledgeable in the area of first and second language acquisition. She is a reputed linguist who dedicates time and passion in helping her students carrying out their research project. Juana, your comments on my work have been invaluable. Under your supervision, I have grown as a researcher and learned beyond expectations.

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Paul Hirschbuler and Professor Helmut Zobl for accepting to evaluate this thesis. Your review has been most useful in improving the quality of this work.

A very special thanks must go to Cristina Senn and Alberto Villamandos, who were the instructors of the two experimental groups, and to Raquel Fernandez Fuertes, who collected the data for the control group in Spain. Your collaboration in this experiment has been crucial to its realization.

A special thanks must also go to Cristina Senn (a second time), Rocío Pérez-Tattam, Ioana Winnicki, the other members of the L2 Links Lab, and my very good friends Isabelle Geoffrion and Marie-Claude Hurens, who have always been there to support me in good times and cheer me up in less good times. Without your encouragements, it would have been more difficult to make it through.

I would also like to thank my parents for their endless devotion and support through my studies. As a child, you have taught me an essential value: to believe in myself. I would not be where I am today if it was not because of you.

Last but not least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to a very important person in my life, Jason Price, for his unconditional support, generosity, and patience. You are a constant source of inspiration. With you by my side, I could move mountains.

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À Louise et à Gérard.

Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment, full effort is full victory.

– Ghandi

0. Introduction

Spanish *se* constructions have been the object of a considerable amount of research in descriptive linguistics, theoretical linguistics, and second language acquisition. Their complexity and exceptional behavior have received the attention of researchers, educators, and pedagogues. While reflexive constructions adopt similar surface structures, they diverge in their underlying representations. Rivero (2001) identifies 5 categories under which *se* constructions should be classified: (1) the reflexive-reciprocal *se*, where the presence of a singular [+animate] NP leads to a reflexive interpretation and where the presence of a plural [+animate] NP leads to either a reflexive or a reciprocal interpretation:

(1) a. El niño se lavó (a sí mismo). [reflexive]
the kid SE washed-sg (himself)
'The kid washed himself.'

b. Los niños se lavaron (a sí mismos/entre ellos). [reflexive/reciprocal]
the kids SE washed-pl. (themselves/each other)
'The kids washed themselves/each other.'

(2) the middle/passive *se*, where the verb is accompanied by an adverb that indicates some intrinsic property of the [+/- animate] NP (middle), or where the [+/- animate] NP undergoes the consequences of a verb whose Agent is [+animate] (passive):

(2) a. Estos libros se venden fácilmente. [middle]
these books SE sell-pl. easily
'These books sell easily.'

b. Estos libros se vendieron rápidamente. [passive]
these books SE sold-pl. quickly
'These books were sold quickly.'

(3) the anticausative/inchoative *se*, where the [- animate] NP undergoes the consequences of a verb whose Agent is [-animate] (hence, the Cause of the event):

(3) La ventana se rompió.
the window SE broke-sg
'The window broke.'

(4) the inherent/intrinsic *se*, where *se* is an intrinsic part of the lexical verb, i.e., it is indispensable to the structure of the verb, which becomes ungrammatical without it:

(4) a. María se acuerda de este hombre (*a sí misma).
Mary SE remembers of this man (to herself)
'Mary remembers this man.'

b. *María acuerda de este hombre.
Mary remembers of this man
'Mary remembers this man.'

and (5) the impersonal *se*, which appears freely with intransitive verbs:

(5) Aquí se come muy bien.
here SE eats very well
'Here people eat very well.'

Among the other uses of *se* that have been identified, we find (6) the *se* of inalienable possession (Rivero 1998), (7) *se* of unexpected occurrence (Whitley 1986; Liceras 1999), and (8) a meaning-changing *se* (Whitley 1986), whose idiosyncratic properties slightly modify the meaning of the verb involved[1]:

(6) Ana se lavó el pelo. [inalienable possession]
Ana SE washed-sg. the hair
'Ana washed her hair.'

[1] This *se* is in fact closely related to the *se* of unexpected occurrence (Liceras 1999).

(7) Carlos se apareció en la fiesta. [unexpected occurrence]
Carlos SE appeared at the party
'Carlos appeared at the party.'

(8) a. María se bebió el café (*a sí misma). [meaning changing]
Mary SE drank-sg the coffee (to herself)
'Mary drank up the coffee.'

b. María bebió el café.
Mary drank-sg the coffee
'Mary drank the coffee.'[2]

What these examples show is that *se* may not only be an argument of the verb (1-6), it may also add a semantic value to the predicate (7-8) (Liceras 1999). In a second language environment, subtle nuances of this kind may engender difficulties on the part of language learners and subsequently affect their comprehension and production of such structures. Hence, the multiple functions and uses of Spanish *se* may be responsible in part for the general problem of its learnability.

In this thesis, I analyze two of the above constructions: passive *se* constructions (2b) and impersonal *se* constructions (5). More specifically, I examine the acquisition of such structures by English- and French-speaking adults in a foreign language environment, where Spanish is most commonly not spoken outside the classroom.[3] Reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals have been chosen over other reflexive constructions not only for their very similar superficial structures, but also for their particular lexical, morphological, and syntactic behavior: they are realized in distinct ways in both English and French, which may entangle their acquisition.

This research project has three major goals. First, it aims to provide an approximation of the influence of the first language (L1) when acquiring reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. By carrying out a theoretical (and contrastive) analysis of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals in comparison to their English and French counterparts, we may predict what aspects of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals may be problematic in the acquisition process. Second, it attempts to measure the impact of explicit grammatical

[2] For a more detailed analysis of *se* constructions, see Bosque and Demonte (1999) and Mendikoetxea (1999).
[3] Note that for reasons of convenience, the term 'second language' will be used throughout this thesis to refer to 'foreign language' learners, settings and learning.

instruction on their second language (L2) acquisition. When the difference between two structures is not salient in the input data, explicit grammatical instruction may contribute to enhance those structures and facilitate their acquisition. Last but not least, it seeks to link linguistic theory to the actual learning of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals in the classroom. Linguistic theory and teaching practices have been too often considered independently. We need to establish a narrower connection between these two disciplines to have a better comprehension of the second language acquisition phenomenon and to facilitate its realization. In meeting such objectives, this work is an endeavor to contribute to the theoretical/descriptive, empirical, and applied level of linguistics and the theory of second language. Not only does it make available a description of passive and impersonal *se* in relation to the learnability proposal that is tested, it also provides native and non-native judgments of the two constructions, which may be useful for descriptive and pedagogical grammars.

Chapter 1 deals with the morpho-syntactic properties of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, and their French and English counterparts, within Chomsky's *Binding Theory* (1981) and the *Minimalist Program* (1995). It provides a review of a few important proposals on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, and suggests a possible representation for both structures. Chapter 2 reviews some of the research carried out on the influence of Universal Grammar in the acquisition process, on the impact of explicit grammatical instruction upon L2 learning, and on the acquisition of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. By relating the findings of a few studies to the present work, we may hypothesize on the outcomes of the experiment conducted in the context of this research project. Finally, Chapter 3 provides a description of the experiment and interprets its results in relation to the influence of L1 and the impact of L2 on the L2 acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. The substantial amount of data included in this work allows us to draw realistic conclusions about the influence of L1 and the impact of explicit grammatical instruction over L2 acquisition.

1. An Account of the Native-Speaker's Competence

1.0 Introduction

The efficiency of second/foreign language pedagogy relies partly upon the understanding of what has been termed the (L2) speaker-hearer's *competence*, i.e., the "mental representation of linguistic rules that constitute the speaker-hearer's internal grammar" (Chomsky 1965 in Ellis 1994, 12). This tacit knowledge of the structure of language is often contrasted to the (L2) speaker-hearer's *performance*, i.e., the use of this internal grammar through the comprehension and production of an infinite number of sentences or statements. While performance is accessible to researchers, pedagogues, and teaching specialists through comprehension or production exercises, its abstract counterpart cannot be examined so directly. Over the last decades, the main goal of second language acquisition research has been to describe and explain the learner's competence in the L2 (Ellis 1994), which has also been termed the learner's *interlanguage* (Selinker 1969, 1972). Prior to attempting such a description, it is however essential to understand the fundamentals of the native speaker's competence, both in the cases of the first language and the language being acquired, by developing a thorough analysis of the native speaker's linguistic system. The following attempts to provide an account of Spanish native speakers' competence, developed through a cross-linguistic analysis of the morpho-syntactic representations of reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal constructions. The

chapter is organized as follows: Section 1 summarizes within a Chomkian *G(overnment) and B(inding)* framework (1981) several proposals on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals in Spanish and their French and English counterparts; Section 2 introduces the basic assumptions of Chomsky's *Minimalist Program* (1995), within which reflexive passive and impersonal constructions are re-analyzed; finally, Section 3 looks at how the developed analysis may contribute to our understanding of the differences between the three languages involved.

1.1 *Si/se* within a Government and Binding Framework

1.1.1 The Core Notions of GB

Chomsky's *G(overnment) and B(inding)* framework (1981) has postulated two principles to account for the position of arguments in a sentence: the Theta(θ)-Criterion (1) and the Case Filter (2):

(1) θ-Criterion: Each argument bears one and only one θ-role and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument.
(Chomsky 1981a, 36)

(2) *[NP α] if α has no Case and α contains a phonetic matrix or is a variable.
(Chomsky 1981a, 175)

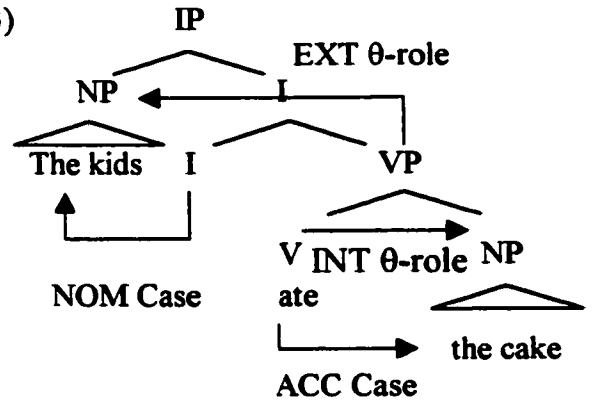
As stated by the θ-Criterion, each argument in a sentence must receive a thematic role (henceforth θ-role) from the verb. A θ-role expresses the semantic value of each argument with respect to the verb and to other arguments. For example, in a sentence such as *The kids ate the cake, the kids* is assigned the θ-role of Agent while *the cake* receives the θ-role of Theme by the verb. Only one θ-role is associated with each argument, and conversely: *The kids* may only be interpreted as the Agent in the sentences, while *the cake* may not be considered as anything else, but the Theme.

A sentence must also follow the wellformedness conditions of the Case-Filter, according to which each argument must receive a structural Case from Case-Assigners, either nominative from the head I of the governing I(nflectional) P(hrase), or accusative from the head V of a V(erb) P(hrase) or P of a P(repositional) P(hrase). The assignment of structural Case determines the grammatical function of arguments in the sentence. In the same sentence *The kids ate the cake, the kids* is assigned nominative Case by I, which establishes its status of subject of the sentence; if nominative Case is not released, the sentence will not be licensed (Chomsky 1981a).

In the same sentence, *the cake* is assigned accusative Case by the verb *ate*, which establishes its status of direct object of the verb.

(3) illustrates the process by which structural Cases and theta-roles are assigned to arguments in *The kids ate the cake*:[1]

(3)



The assignment of θ-roles and structural Cases is a "dynamic" process (to borrow Haegeman and Guéron's terminology (1999)): the former occurs at D(eep)-structure and the latter, at S(urface)-structure. The D-structure consists of the underlying representation of a sentence before any transformations take place, while the S-structure is the actual representation after transformations. Any arguments (or their trace) in a sentence must appear in a θ-position (henceforth an A-position). Essentially, an A-position is a position where the argument is expressed at least at D-Structure and where it may receive a θ-role, usually the positions occupied by the subject and the object of a verb or preposition (Chomsky 1981a, 47).

1.1.2 An Account of English Passive Morphology

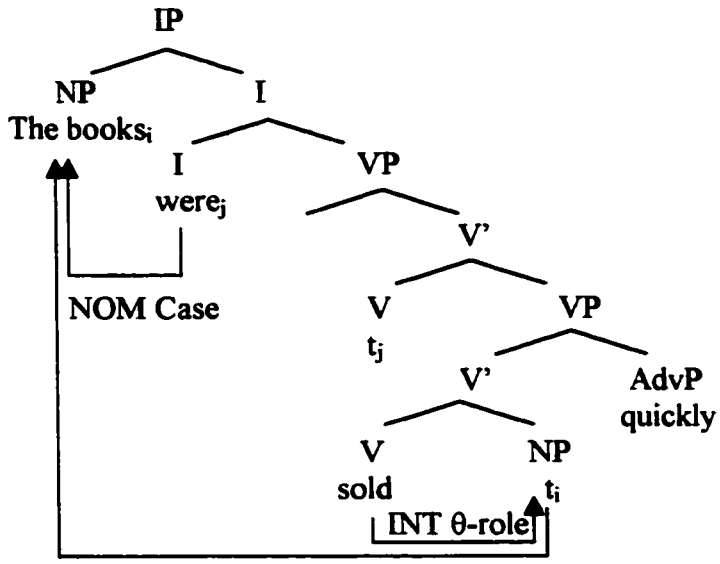
Chomsky's GB framework (1981a) has accounted for the passive construction of English and other languages in terms of a movement approach, where the movement of NP from the direct object position to the subject position is governed by θ-Criterion and the Case Filter. Passive sentences are particular in that the θ-role usually assigned to the external argument of the verb in [Spec, IP], henceforth external θ-role, may never be assigned to the subject position. This means that what is considered the subject of the sentence (or doer of the action) in an active

[1] Taking into account that this is a review of the earliest versions of the Government and Binding Theory, I did not adopt the position that the external argument is base-generated in the specifier position of VP before moving to the specifier of IP. While I do not reject such position, I did not include it in the above representation, because it was neither essential nor economical to account for simple "active" sentences such as in (3).

construction may never be the subject of a passive sentence. Meanwhile, the passive morphology of the verb "absorbs" the accusative Case, thus prohibiting the internal argument from remaining in its base-position in [V', NP].[2] (4) is an example of English passives and (5) is its S-structure representation:

(4) The books$_i$ were sold t_i quickly.

(5)



In (4-5), the verb *sold* fails to assign accusative Case to its internal argument *the books*: its passive morphology impedes it from assigning accusative Case to its internal argument. Move α must then apply so that *the books* may receive a structural Case: thus, the internal argument leaves its base-position [V', NP] for the subject position, where it receives nominative Case.[3] As stated in the Chomskian GB framework, a chain may only bear one θ-role and may be assigned no more than one structural Case (1981a). In (5), *The books* forms the chain [N_i, t_i] with its trace, where the foot of the chain (t_i) receives its internal θ-role from the verb and no structural Case, while the head (*The books*) receives nominative Case from I and an internal θ-role from the foot of the chain. The chain is licensed, as it bears only one θ-role in its foot and one structural

[2] Note that passivization is not restricted to internal arguments only, as the subject of an infinitival clauses in Exceptional Case Marking may be passivized, such as in *She$_i$ was believed t_i to have stolen the money.* In this sentence, *she* constitutes the external argument of the verb *have stolen* and must move as it may no longer be assigned accusative Case by the verb *was believed.*

[3] There exists some controversy on whether NP moves to the subject position in order to satisfy the Case-Filter or the Subject Requirement (see Hirschbüler and Labelle (1998) for more details). We will not adopt a specific position regarding this controversy, but assume that, in English, both come into play.

Case in its head. Chomsky (1981a) summarizes this process by stating two crucial properties for passives:

(6) Passive constructions

a. [Spec, IP] does not receive θ-role

b. [V', NP] does not receive Case within VP

(Chomsky 1981a, 124)

In all derivations, it is assumed that the stem of the verb is base-generated under V, while its morphological endings are generated under I through the feature of agreement. In English and as illustrated in (5), it is proposed that auxiliaries and modals are base-generated directly under I where they receive their agreement features.

1.1.3 The Passive Morphology of Spanish and French

Romance languages allow for the realization of passive morphology in a few distinct ways, one of which is equivalent to the English passive construction, combining the copula *be* with a past-participle V-*en*. The term 'full passive' will be used to refer to this construction (Perlmutter and Postal 1984). Sentences (7a-b) are examples of the full passive construction in Spanish and French, within a GB framework:

(7) a. Los libros$_i$ fueron vendidos t_i rápidamente.

b. Les livres$_i$ ont été vendus t_i rapidement.

the books have-3rd pers. pl. been sold-masc.pl. quickly

'The books were sold quickly.'

In the two Romance languages as in English, a similar process is involved: V assigns a θ-role to its internal argument (*los libros, les livres*), but the verb's passive morphology impedes V from assigning accusative Case to it; NP must therefore move to the subject position, where it can be assigned nominative Case by I and have its internal θ-role transmitted via the chain. No external θ-role is assigned directly to the subject position and movement is licensed as the chain bears only one θ-role and one structural Case.

On the other hand, full passive constructions are not as productive in Romance languages as they are in English. Instead, the passive voice is expressed through a construction that does not involve the combination of copula *be* and V-*en*, referred to by Belletti (1982, 4) as the "Morphological" Passive ("distinct from the 'copular' passive"), formed with the reflexive clitic

pronoun *si* in Italian and *se* in Spanish. To avoid confusion with possible interpretations of the word "morphological," I will use the term 'reflexive passive' to refer to such constructions (Hernanz and Brucart 1987). Sentences (8a-b) are the reformulation of examples (7a-b) into reflexive passive constructions:

(8) a. Los libros$_i$ se vendieron t_i rápidamente.

b. Les livres$_i$ se sont vendus t_i rapidement.
the books SE sell-masc.pl quickly
'The books were sold quickly.'

Belletti (1982) argues that for Italian (and Spanish) reflexive passive constructions to be licensed, *si* (henceforth *si/se*) must satisfy the conditions of the θ-criterion and Case-Filter. She first claims that *si/se* is base-generated under I, together with the features that are included under such a node, Tense and Agreement. However, I does not correspond to what has been defined in Section 1.1.1 as an A-position: it consists of a functional position which, under normal circumstances, is not assigned a θ-role (given that θ-roles are only assigned to [Spec, IP], [V', NP], and [PP, NP]). She accounts for this problem by stating the following principle:

(9) If I is pronominal, I has Case and θ-role.

As far as the θ-Criterion is involved, Belletti (1982) argues that VP first assigns its external θ-role to I, which retains it or transmits it to [Spec, IP], depending on whether or not it is pronominal, while the internal θ-role is assigned independently to [V', NP]. The assumption under this principle is namely that *si/se* in reflexive passives receives the external θ-role transmitted by V. The close relationship between *se* and the external argument must indeed be acknowledged, as it may nowhere else be expressed overtly in the sentence such as, for example, in an agentive PP:

(10) a. *Los libros de la conferencia se vendieron por algunos estudiantes.

b. *Les livres de la conférence se sont vendus par quelques étudiants.
the books of the conference SE (are) sold by a few students
'The conference books were sold by a few students.'

Yet, the presence of a covert Agent in the sentence is also attested, as it may control PRO in an infinitival clause of purpose:

(11) a. Los libros de la conferencia se vendieron PRO para promover la investigación en el medio académico.

b. Les livres de la conférence se sont vendus PRO pour promouvoir la recherche en milieu académique.
the books of the conference SE (are) sold to promote the research in academic environments
'The conference books were sold to promote research in academic environments.'

Indeed, the external θ-role in passives may only be assigned to *si/se* so that sentences such as (11) may be possible. In fact, the presence of a (covert) Agent differentiates passive from "middle" *si/se*, as pointed out by Cinque (1988). In the case of the latter, "the sentence predicates an inherent property of the subject" (559) rather than a property of an external Agent, such as in the following sentence:

(12) a. Estos libros se venden facilmente.
b. Ces livres se vendent facilement.
these books SE sell easily
'These books get sold easily.'

In (12), the internal argument (*Estos libros, Ces livres*) has the intrinsic property of getting sold easily. Such a sentence could not for example co-occur with an infinitival clause of purpose, as no Agent is expressed in the sentence (i.e., *se* is not assigned the external θ-role of the verb):

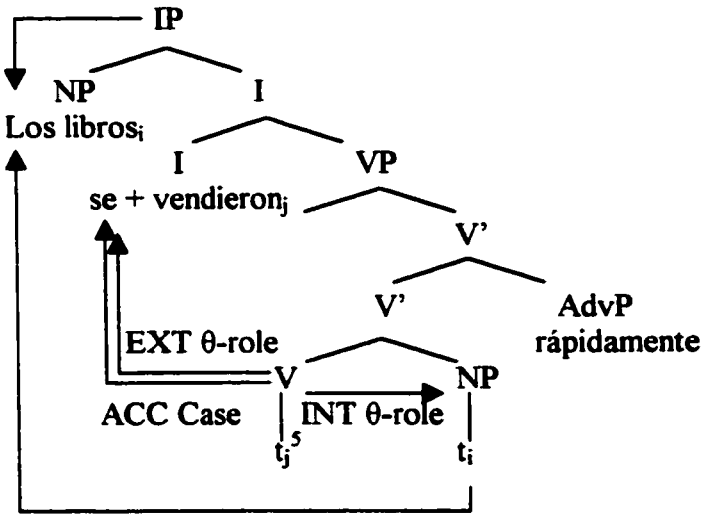
(13) a. *Estos libros se venden facilmente PRO para promover la investigación en el medio académico.
b. *Ces livres se vendent facilement PRO pour promouvoir la recherche en milieu académique.
these books SE sell easily to promote the research in academic environments
'These books are easily sold to promote the research in academic environments.'[4]

[4] One reviewer suggested that what differentiates "passive" from "middle" constructions is the presence of an adverb in the case of the latter, such as *facilmente* and *facilement* in (13a-b), rather than the absence of an association between *se* and the external θ-role. For example, sentences (13a-b) would turn out grammatical if no adverb was present in the constructions:
(i) Estos libros se venden PRO para promover la investigación en el medio académico.
(ii) Ces livres se vendent PRO pour promouvoir la recherche en milieu académique.
While this argument is valid, sentences (i-ii) are no longer "middle" constructions without the presence of the adverb *facilmente/facilement*, but "passive" constructions, which explains their grammaticality. Hence, not only does the presence of an adverb (indicating an inherent property of the subject) differentiate "middle" from "passive"

Indeed, reflexive passives host a covert Agent, which is not assigned to [Spec, IP] as opposed to the subject position in active sentences. [Spec, IP] in reflexive passives is then no longer a θ-position if it has no θ-role. As a result, the internal argument may move to it.

In terms of the Case Filter, Belletti (1982) argues that reflexive passive *si/se* absorbs the accusative Case and intransitivizes the verb. The incapacity for the verb to assign accusative Case triggers the movement of the internal argument to [Spec, IP], where it receives nominative Case by I and an internal θ-role via the chain, such as in full passive constructions. (14) is the S-structure representation of (8a) within Belleti's (1982) proposal, assuming that (8b) would adopt a similar structure:

(14) NOM Case



In (14), *si/se* absorbs the accusative Case otherwise released by the verb *vendieron* and as a result, impedes it from assigning the accusative Case to its internal argument *los libros*. As a consequence, *los libros* may not remain in its base-generated position and must move to a position where it may be assigned a structural Case. Meanwhile, the subject position [Spec, IP] is no longer a θ-position as *se* has withheld the external θ-role. *Los libros* may therefore move to it and receive the nominative Case. This is confirmed by the fact that the NP may be dropped in (15a) but not replaced by an accusative (or direct object) clitic pronoun in (15b):

(15) a. ¿Los libros$_i$? pro$_i$ Se vendieron.
the books? SE sold

---

constructions, but also, the fact that in the former, the external θ-role is not associated with *se*, as opposed to the latter.

[5] In Spanish, all verbs move to I as Tense and Agreement are [+Strong].

'The books? They were sold.'

b. ¿Los libros$_i$? *Se los$_i$ vendieron.
the books? SE THEM sold
'The books? *They were sold them.'

This also applies to French, where the internal argument may be replaced by a nominative clitic pronoun but not by an accusative one:

(16) a. Les livres$_i$? Ils$_i$ se sont vendus.
the books? They SE are sold
'The books? They were sold.'

a. Les livres$_i$? *Il(s) se les$_i$ sont vendus.
the books? It/They SE THEM are sold
'The books? *They were sold them.'

The assumption that *si/se* absorbs the accusative Case is also confirmed by the fact that unergative, unaccusative, and copulative verbs are not permitted in such environments, as illustrated in (17-19), respectively:

(17) a. *Ayer, Juan se lloró.

b. *Hier, Jean s'est pleuré.
yesterday John SE (is) cried-3rdpers.sg
'Yesterday John cried.'

(18) a. *Ayer, los libros se llegaron.

b. *Hier, les livres se sont arrivés.
yesterday the books SE (are) arrived-3rdpers.pl
'Yesterday the books arrived.'

(19) a. *Ayer, Juan se estaba furioso.

b. *Hier, Jean s'était furieux.
yesterday John SE was furious
'Yesterday John was furious.'

Hence, *si/se* is not licensed in unergative, unaccusative, and copulative environments, as it has no accusative Case to absorb, given that those verbs in general do not assign accusative Case.[6] Belletti (1982) summarizes this process by stating two properties for *si/se:*

(20) Properties of [*si/se*]

a. [*Si/se*] is assigned the θ-role otherwise assigned by VP to the subject NP.

b. [*Si/se*] absorbs objective Case otherwise assigned by V to its direct object NP. (Belletti 1982, 5)

By receiving the external θ-role of the verb, *si/se* absorbs the accusative Case and intransitivizes the verb. As a result, verbs in reflexive passives may not assign accusative Case to their internal argument.

In terms of movement, it seems that what triggers the NP-movement from the internal argument to [Spec, IP] is the incapacity for the verb to assign the accusative Case. This assumption could apply to French, where the absence of NP-movement in reflexive passive constructions would turn the sentence ungrammatical:

(21) *Se sont vendus les livres.
SE are sold quickly the books
'The books were sold.'

As a language that does not allow null subjects, French [Spec, IP] must always be projected.[7] On this particular point, French reflexive passives seem to behave in a close fashion to French and English full passives, where the movement of the internal argument to [Spec, IP] is obligatory. However, this is not the case of Spanish, which as a null-subject language allows subject-verb inversion:

(22) Se vendieron los libros.
SI/SE (are) sold quickly the books
'The books were sold.'

In (22), the internal argument seems to remain in the direct object position. Nonetheless, some process must allow the internal argument to trigger agreement onto the verb: nominative Case must be accessed from [V', NP] or in a position X after or before the verb.

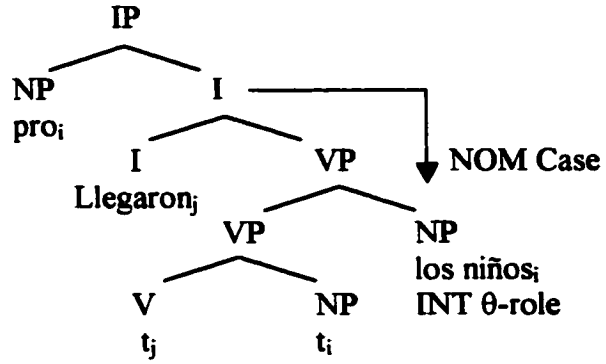
---

[6] While unergatives do have the capacity to assign accusative Case, they will not do so when no object is present in the construction.

[7] Note that some researchers assert that French patterns with other Romance languages with respect to the null-subject parameter (Roberge 1990; Authier 1992). Yet, it will be assumed in this work that French is not a null-subject language.

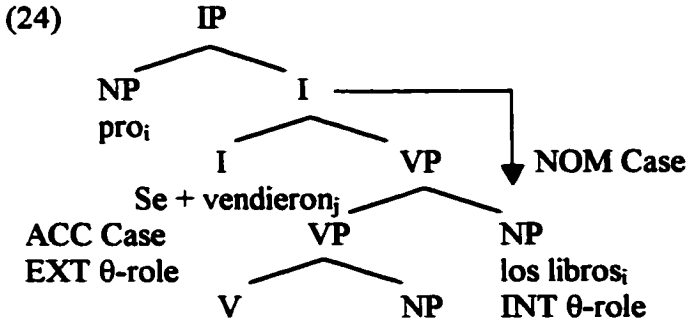
Earlier analyses have proposed that the internal argument enters into a chain relation with a null (pleonastic) *pro* in [Spec, IP] (Chomsky 1986; Burzio 1986; Belletti 1988, Cinque 1988), to which it transmits its features of agreement.[8] Belletti (1982) does not address the question of agreement with post-verbal subjects in reflexive passives, but in unaccusative and unergative constructions (1988). More specifically, she postulates a "possible variable position" within a second VP-shell to account for unaccusative constructions with post-verbal subjects.[9] Such a position may be "*directly* Case-marked by the governing I in the VP-adjoined position" (21), where the internal argument can move from its base-position to the "variable position" to receive its nominative Case and trigger agreement upon the verb, as in (23):

(23)



In (23), the internal argument *los niños* is directly assigned nominative Case under I, before transmitting it to an empty category (probably *pro*) in the subject position. A chain is formed between *los niños* and *pro*, which may receive its nominative Case through Case transmission and be licensed within [Spec, IP]. While Belletti's (1988) proposal in (23) was put forward to account specifically for unaccusative constructions, it may as well apply to reflexive passives where the subject often appears in a post-verbal position, as in (24):

(24)



[8] Note here that we are discussing of the possibility for [V', NP] to transmit its agreement features via a covert chain created from coindexation, as opposed to an overt chain where NP leaves a trace in its base position.

[9] A second VP-shell was also put forward by Burzio (1986), among others, to account for verbs (namely, unaccusative verbs) whose internal argument is located in a post-verbal position and assigned nominative Case.

t_j t_i

In (24), the internal argument *los libros* is directly assigned nominative Case under I, before transmitting it to *pro* in the subject position. A chain is formed between *los libros* and *pro*, which may receive its nominative Case through Case transmission and be licensed within [Spec, IP].

One advantage of this position is that nominative Case can be accessed from two distinct positions: [Spec, IP] and an adjoined position. Also acknowledged by a number of researchers (Contreras 1991; Liceras 1994; among others), this possibility seems to be the most realistic option, given that Spanish allows for subject inversion in many more instances.[10]

1.1.4 The Case of Reflexive Impersonal Constructions

In addition to reflexive passives, *si/se* may appear in impersonal contexts where the subject of the sentence is not the internal argument of the verb (if any). I will use the term 'reflexive impersonals' to refer to such constructions (Hernanz and Brucart 1987). Reflexive impersonals first differ from reflexive passives in that they may appear with unergative, unaccusative, copulative, and passive verbs (25a-d, respectively):

(25) a. Siempre se llora en esta película.
always SE cries during this movie
'[One always cries / We always cry] during this movie.'

b. Aquí nunca se llega con retraso.
here, never SE arrives late
'Here, [one never arrives / we never arrive] late.'

c. No se es traicionado por los buenos amigos.
not SE is betrayed by the good friends
'[One is / We are] not betrayed by good friends.'

d. Ayer se estaba furioso después del discurso del presidente.
yesterday SE was furious after the speech of the president
'Yesterday [one was / we were] furious after the president's speech.'

[10] See Burzio (1986) and Belletti (1988) for details on how unergative and unaccusative constructions are frequently the object of subject-verb inversion.

Some varieties of Spanish also allow reflexive impersonals to appear with transitive verbs without triggering agreement on it, as in (26): [11]

(26) Aquí se vende libros de lingüística.
here SE sells books of linguistics
'Here linguistics books are sold.'

It has been suggested that this exceptional behavior could be the result of a phonological phenomenon, where the mark for plural (-n) in reflexive passives would be dropped in spoken language (Liceras, personal communication). While this could be the case, reflexive impersonals with transitive verbs have now become "active" sentences since they require the presence of the object-marking preposition *a* if the internal argument is [+human/animate] as in (27a), and can host a direct object complement as in (27b) (Hernanz and Brucart 1987; Bruhn de Garavito 1999):

(27) a. Aquí se encuentra a muchos autores.
here SE meets A many authors
'Here [one meets / we meet] many authors.'

b. Aquí se los encuentra.
here SE LES meet-3rd pers.sg
'Here [one meets / we meet] them.'

Naturally, if the internal argument is marked with accusative Case, it may not be dropped, as illustrated in (28):

(28) *Aquí se encuentra.
here SE meets
'Here one meets.'

The substitution of the internal argument for a direct object clitic pronoun, the insertion of the Spanish object-marking preposition *a*, and the impossibility for the internal argument to be dropped are direct consequences of the fact that the internal argument (thus not *si/se*) bears the accusative Case.

[11] Spanish reflexive constructions followed with a [-human] NP are subject to dialectal variation: speakers of Colombia and certain speakers of Argentina will accept a construction such as (26) while speakers of Spain will reject it (Demonte and Bosque 1999, 1676); among the ones who accept it, its use may be restricted to indefinite NPs and NPs not modified by an adjective or separated from the verb (Bruhn de Garavito 1999a).

Spanish reflexive impersonals possess a syntactic structure very similar to their English and French counterparts. On one hand, English requires the use of the pronoun *we* or *one* as the subject of the sentence (standing for *se*), depending upon whether the speaker is included as part of the subject or not, respectively. Likewise, French uses the pronoun *nous* 'we' or *on* 'one,' exhibiting the same pragmatic phenomenon. In the case of reflexive impersonals used transitively, they are often translated as full passive constructions, given that this variety of constructions seems to be the result of a phonological phenomenon, where the plural mark *–n* would have disappeared in spoken language. In terms of syntactic restrictions, English and French impersonals adopt a very similar representation to Spanish reflexive impersonals. First, they can be expressed with any verb category, from unergative, to unaccusative, copulative, and passive verbs, also including transitive verbs though not as an exceptional behavior (29-33, respectively):

(29) a. On pleure toujours durant ce film.
b. One always cries during this movie.

(30) a. Ici, on n'arrive jamais en retard.
b. [One never arrives / We never arrive] here late.

(31) a. On n'est pas trahi par les bons amis.
b. [One is / We are] not betrayed by good friends.

(32) a. Hier, on était très fâché après le discours du président.
b. Yesterday, [one was / we were] very mad after the president's speech.

(33) a. Ici, on a vendu les livres de linguistique.
b. Here one sold linguistic books.

As in the case of reflexive impersonals with transitive verbs, it is not the internal argument that triggers agreement upon the verb, but the subjects *one/we* and *on/nous*. The internal argument (if present) is assigned the accusative Case at all time. As such, it may be replaced by an object pronoun (34), but not by a subject pronoun (35):

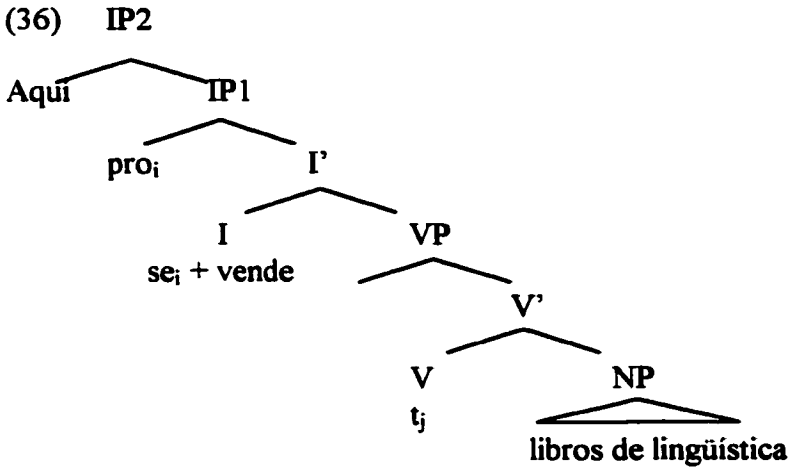
(34) a. Ici, on a vendu les livres de linguistique. On les a vendus.
b. Here one sold linguistic books. One sold them.

(35) a. *On ils a vendu.
b. *One sold they.

Hence, Spanish reflexive impersonals possess a very similar syntactic structure to English and French impersonals, perhaps with the exception that Spanish reflexive impersonals used with transitive verbs are subject to an exceptional behavior.

Belletti (1982) proposes that reflexive impersonal *si/se* differs from its reflexive passive counterpart in terms of Case assignment. She argues that *si/se* in the former is assigned nominative Case under I, rather than absorbing accusative Case as in the latter. Like reflexive passives, reflexive impersonal *si/se* receives the external θ-role of the verb that would otherwise be assigned to [Spec, IP] if I was not pronominal. She also claims that *si/se* is coindexed with an empty category (probably *pro*) in [Spec, IP], to which it transfers its Case feature for agreement purposes. (36) is the representation of example (24) within Belletti's proposal:

(36)



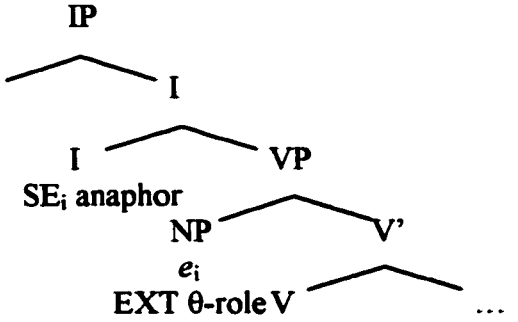
Belletti's (1982) assumption that both types of *si/se* differ in terms of Case assignment explains why the internal argument has to leave it base-position in the former, whereas such a movement is not necessary in the latter, since accusative Case is still available to the internal argument.

1.1.5 On the Nature of *Si/Se*

One question that comes into play when analyzing reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals is whether *si/se* is subject to Principle A of the Binding Theory, according to which an anaphor must be bound within its governing category (Chomsky 1981a). A distinction first needs to be made between anaphors which are bound locally and long-distance anaphors, also referred to by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) as SELF anaphors and S(implex) E(xpressions) anaphors, respectively. SELF anaphors are universally local, "complex expressions" that are found in languages such as English (e.g., *himself*) and Dutch (e.g., *zichself*), while SE anaphors

are found in languages like Duch (e.g., *zich*), and Italian (e.g., *si*) (Reinhart and Reuland 1993). Like most Romance languages, Spanish *se* is a SE-anaphor. In the case of the former, the SELF-part of the anaphor consists of a noun which combines with a pronoun determiner (or a SE determiner) to form the covert chain [Pron/SE_i, $self_i$] (Reinhart and Reuland 1993, 658). SE anaphors, on the other hand, act more or less like pronouns in terms of structural representation: they appear in the Determiner position of a full NP, whose head consists of an empty category, forming the covert chain [$Pron_i$, e_i] or [SE_i, e_i] (Reinhart and Reuland 1993, 658). As pronouns, SE anaphors may not project an argument of independent interpretation. Instead, they are attached to a defective (null) NP where no other element may appear. As SELF anaphors, SE anaphors lack full specification of phi-features, that is, features of gender, number, and often person, and they are considered to be an argument of the verb. Reinhart and Reuland (1993) take this lack of specification to be responsible for their anaphoric nature. They argue that the argument nature of SE anaphors may be captured by adjoining SE to I, more specifically under Agreement, in order to inherit the subject's phi-features, while the defective N serves as the external argument of the verb within VP (thus receiving the external θ-role):

(37)



In addition to their different syntactic representations, SELF and SE anaphors must be distinguished as they possess distinct grammatical functions: SELF anaphors possess a reflexivizing function of SELF-N, which "[imposes] the identity of two arguments of the predicate, one of which is the pronoun determiner embedded in the SELF anaphor" (Reinhart and Reuland 1993, 59). SE anaphors, on the other hand, lack such a function as it does not project an argument of its own. At last, Reinhart and Reuland (1993) claim that only SELF anaphors should submit to Principle A and be bound within their local domain, hence the reflexive domain (where SE anaphors are excluded). As binding must not occur across Tense, the movement of SE- in SE anaphors to I prevents any possible binding within the local domain. They conclude that as far as the Binding Theory is concerned, SE anaphors should pattern with

pronouns and be regulated by Principle B, where they must be free in their local domain.[12] Further considerations should be made under movement theory. Reflexive passive and impersonal *se* will therefore not be analyzed as subject to the Binding Theory.

1.2 Reflexive Passive and Reflexive Impersonal *Se* within a Minimalist Framework

1.2.1 The Core Notions of Minimalism

Chomsky's *M(inimalist) P(rogram)* (1995) has brought some important modifications to GB in terms of general assumptions and also with respect to the principles governing NP movement in passivization.[13] MP accounts for Case assignment in terms of a "static" relation (as opposed to "dynamic" in the case of GB) in which a head enters in a *checking* relation with another element (Haegeman and Guéron 1999). In contrast to GB, it is suggested that the verb is *merged* (base-generated) under V with its morphological endings, T(ense) (replacing I) governing the verb's abstract features of Tense. Agreement is no longer represented as a head, but as a formal feature that must enter into a checking relation with another feature. Abstract features are identified as [+/-interpretable] and must enter into a *checking* relation within the closest *checking domain*, i.e., a head whose features match the features of the element being checked. [+interpretable] features include categorical features and phi-features of nominals. Other features (e.g., feature of Case) are considered [-interpretable]. All [-interpretable] features are to (and must) be deleted by L(ogical) F(orm) (the D-Structure being eliminated from the theory), or else the derivation will not converge. For checking to be successful, the features of a category (for example, a D(eterminer) P(hrase) (replacing definite NPs)), here also referred to as the *checker*, must match the features of the head (for example, T), the *checking domain*, within the specifier-head relation (here, subject-verb agreement and nominative Case) (Haegeman and Guéron 1999). [-interpretable] features are deleted by LF after checking has taken place to satisfy what has been termed the *Principle of Full Interpretation* (Chomsky 1995). On the other hand, the [+interpretable] features of a head may but do not need to be checked; if checked, they remains visible at LF and available for other features to check against them. Categories are sub-labeled for four different types of features: categorical features (e.g., [D], [N], etc.), Case features (e.g. nominative), phi-features (e.g., gender and number), and [±Strong] F(eatures)

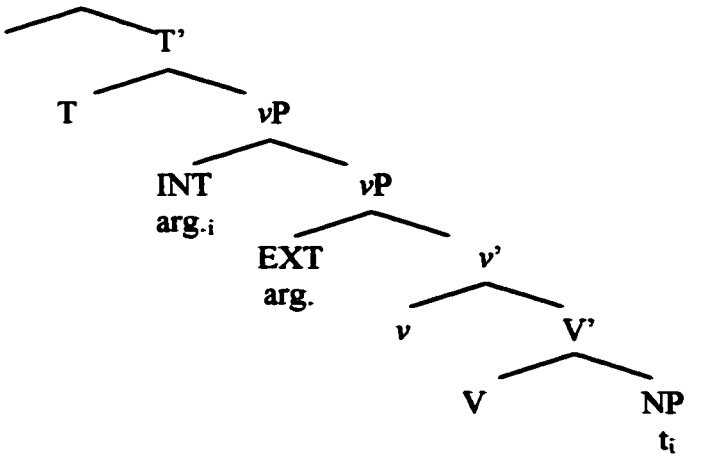
[12] See Reinhart and Reuland (1993) for more details.
[13] Further developments of the MP will not be included in the analysis herein.

(where a [+Strong] F is categorical). The checking domain must match those features prior to P(honetic) F(orm) (replacing S-structure), or else the derivation will crash (if features cannot check) or be cancelled (if features do not match).

The timing of checking is determined by the property [± Strong] of the head: A [+Strong] head leads to the overt checking of a category, whereas the feature-checking of a [-Strong] head is covert. In the case of the former, the whole category moves to the head against which it checks, which may result in substitution or adjunction. As for the latter, only the features of the target move (at LF) and check against the features of the head. For example, in order to check for the [+Strong] features of [T] in a language like French or Spanish, V must move overtly to a T(ense) P(hrase) where it may check its feature of Tense, while its features of person and number act as *free-riders* (i.e., they check automatically but do not trigger movement). Similarly, if the position [Spec, TP] of a language is specified [+Strong] for D, DP must move to that position to check for its category, while its phi-features check automatically as free-riders and continue to be available for further checking and interpretation at LF.

Among the formal changes that were adopted, IP (or Tense and Agreement) is converted into TP embedding the features of both Tense and Agreement. The Agr(eement) O(bject) P(hrase) is entirely eliminated from the theory, to the benefit of a *light* *v*(erb) P(hrase). Instead, *v*P dominates VP when an external argument is projected in the inner specifier position of *v*P (for verbs that project an external argument), or when the internal argument moves to the outer specifier position of *v*P to trigger agreement upon the verb, as illustrated in (38):

(38)



Chomsky (1995) assumes that Case features are specified within VP. As we will see, I will depart from this position and adopt Raposo and Uriagereka's (1996) view that Case features are specified within *v*P: such a divergence automatically accounts for why verbs that do not project an external argument may not assign accusative Case (Raposo and Uriagereka 1996).

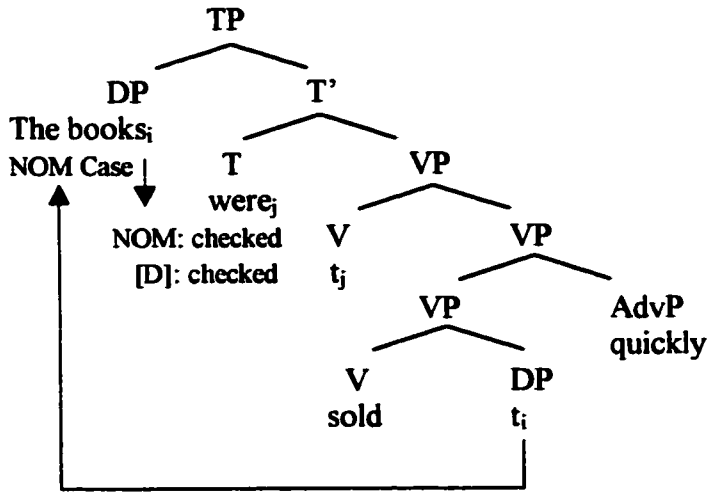
A Minimalist framework seeks in all cases to minimize the number of operations necessary to compute a derivation: movement is restricted to the closest corresponding features in order to satisfy the *Minimal Link Condition* and occurs as a *Last Resort* strategy to "overcome a failure" in the representation (Chomsky 1995, 28); movements at LF are always preferred over movement at PF because they are more economical (called the principle *Procrastinate*) (Chomsky 1995, 198); and the "most economical convergent derivation" blocks all other derivations (called the principle *Greed*) (Chomsky 1995, 201).

1.2.2 A Revised Account of English Passivization

The MP accounts for DP-movement in English passivization in a similar fashion to GB, with nonetheless a distinct theoretical motivation: the internal argument DP moves overtly under Last Resort to the specifier position of TP to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle and checks nominative Case against T, which is specified for {[+Strong] [D]} (the Extended Projection Principle) and [assign nominative Case]. The [-interpretable] features (Case, [D] specification on T)) are deleted at LF, while the [+interpretable] features (phi-features, the DP categorical feature [D]) remain accessible for further computation. For example, in a sentence such as (5) repeated in (39), the internal argument *the books* moves overtly to [Spec, TP] to check both T's [D] and [assign nominative Case] features, because if a [-interpretable] features is not checked, the derivation will crash:

(39)The books$_i$ were sold t_i quickly.

(40)



Similarly, if the DP *the books* was to remain in the position in which it is merged ([V', NP], it would not have its [+Case] feature checked: given that the passive constructions do not hold a *v*P (as no external argument is projected), the verb does not have a specification for [assign accusative Case] features to be checked. DP is therefore not licensed within VP. The only position available where it may move and check its Case features is [Spec, TP]: [+Strong] in English, T attracts under Last Resort the first DP available for checking, as regulated by the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995). By doing so, DP *the books* satisfies its own feature condition as well as the feature conditions of T. As DP is not specified for accusative Case, there is no mismatch between the features in the checking relation.

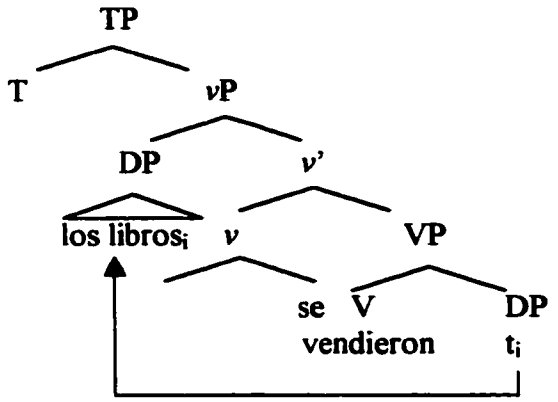
The other features specified within DP (namely, the [+interpretable] feature of number) move along to [Spec, TP] and check against T as free-riders. They remain available for further checking as [+interpretable features] are not deleted. In English, T is always specified {[+Strong] [D]} (the Extended Projection Principle), which justifies why its subject position must be projected: the [+Strong] F of T ([D]) must be checked or otherwise the derivation will crash. In (40), DP moves overtly to the subject position and leaves a trace in its base-position. DP movement to the [Spec, TP] in English passive constructions is overt in all cases, because of the [+Strong] categorical F for [D] of [T].

1.2.3 A Revised Account of Spanish Reflexive Passives

Bruhn de Garavito (1999) proposes a minimalist account for reflexive passives that could be of interest for the purpose of this study. She argues that the distinction nominative/accusative

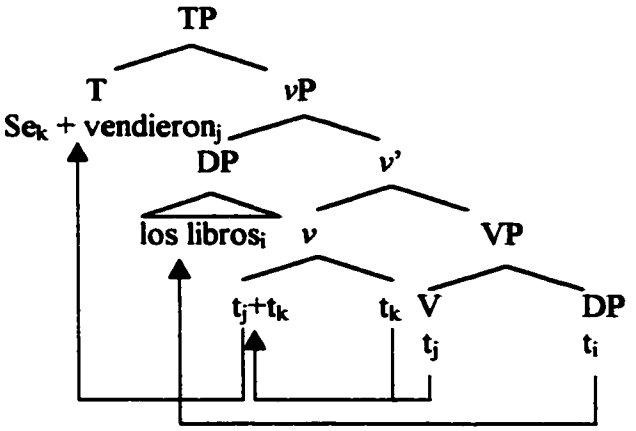
se can be preserved if *se* is merged under different positions. In the case of reflexive passives, she proposes that when the internal argument appears in a post-verbal position, it moves to (another) post-verbal position where it checks for nominative Case directly (as in Belletti's (1982) analysis). Instead of moving to the complement NP of an adjoined VP-shell, the internal argument moves to the specifier position of *v*P:[14]

(41)



In (41), *se* is merged under *v*, which has [+Strong] features. As a result, the NP moves overtly to the specifier position of *v*, where it checks its features and triggers agreement upon the verb, forming the chain [NP$_i$, t$_i$]. Meanwhile, the verb moves from its initial position to *v*, where it can satisfy *v*'s {[+Strong] [V]} feature, before moving to T to satisfy T's {[+Strong] [V]} feature. The reflexive pronoun *se* cliticizes upon the verb while this movement occurs, as illustrated by (42):

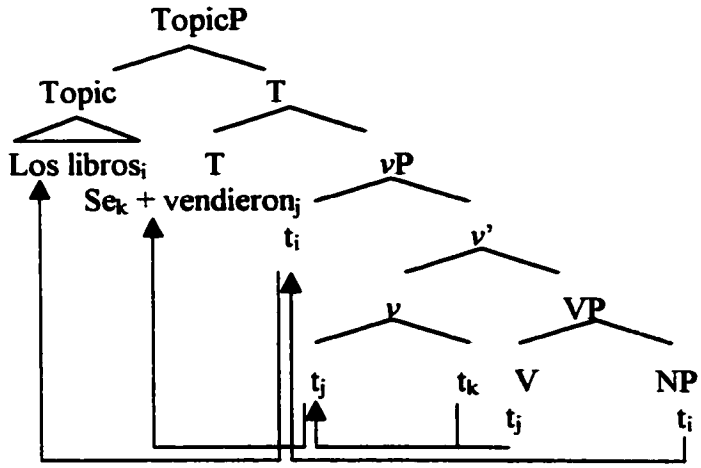
(42)



[14] For the convenience of this discussion, I converted Bruhn de Garavito's (1999) AgrOP into a vP, since AgrO has been formally rejected from the MP.

In the case where the internal argument appears in a pre-verbal position, she assumes along with Raposo and Uriagereka (1996) that it first moves to the specifier position of *v*P, before moving to a Topic Phrase, as illustrated in (43):[15]

(43)



As for reflexive impersonals, she proposes a very similar account, with the exception that the internal argument NP does not move overtly to the specifier position of vP and does not trigger agreement upon the verb. She suggests that the internal argument receives partitive Case *in situ* (as defended by Belletti (1988) and Contreras (1991)).[16] It therefore does not need to move overtly to [Spec, *v*P] and is licensed within VP. She argues that Procrastinate forces it to wait until LF to move to *v*P and check its person features.

While Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) analysis seems in part adequate to account for reflexive passives, it does not differentiate passive *se* from impersonal *se*: both are merged under v and do not receive a structural Case. It was illustrated earlier that both constructions (and both *se*) differ in many respects. For example, if we exclude the possibility that *se* in reflexive passives checks the accusative Case under *v*, the internal argument has no reason to leave the position where it is merged, since it may check the accusative Case directly in is merged position. Given that *v*P is [+Strong] for [D] and that the accusative Case is checked in the first place, the internal argument becomes no longer available for Case-checking of the feature [D] of *v*P and the derivation crashes at LF. Yet, the overt movement of the internal argument is

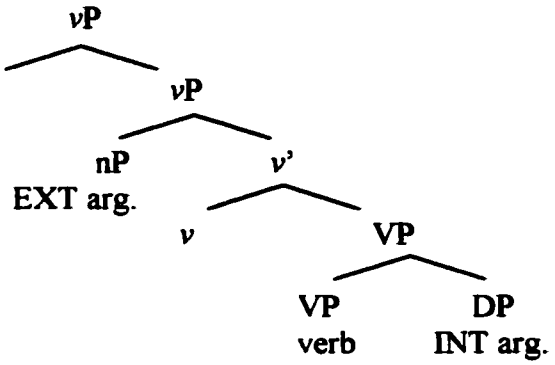
[15] An increasing number of researchers argue that T in Spanish and some other null subject languages does not project a specifier position (Olarrea 1996; Ordóñez 1997). Instead, the subject checks nominative Case *in situ* under [Spec, vP] and moves to a Topic Phrase or Clinic Left Dislocation phrase when it appears in a pre-verbal position. I will assume this position to be an adequate account of the syntactic representation for subjects in Spanish.

[16] Since partitive Case has been fomally rejected from the Minimalist Program, we will not adopt such a position.

obligatory in reflexive passives, as acknowledged by Bonneau *et al.* (1995) and Bruhn de Garavito (1999b).

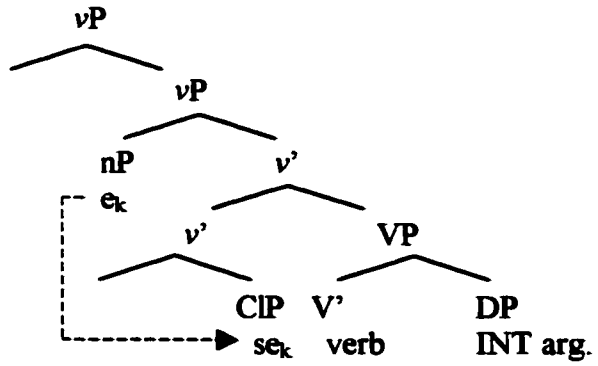
Let us assume instead, along with Chomsky's (1995) proposal, that a light *v*P is postulated with two specifier positions: the inner specifier where the external argument is merged and the outer specifier where the internal argument will later move to trigger object agreement, as illustrated in (44):

(44)



Recall that I assume Case features, phi-features, categorical features and strength of features to be specified within *v*P, as suggested by Raposo and Uriagereka (1996). In the case of object agreement, *v*P has to be {[+Strong] [D]} in the first place so that the overt movement of the internal argument (DP) may be triggered.[17] Now, let us suppose that *se* is merged under a Cl(itic) P(hrase) within *v* and enters into a chain relation with a null (defective) NP distinct from *pro* (henceforth nP) merged in the inner specifier position of *v*P, (i.e., where the external argument is projected, such as proposed by Reinhart and Reuland (1993)), as illustrated in (45):

(45)

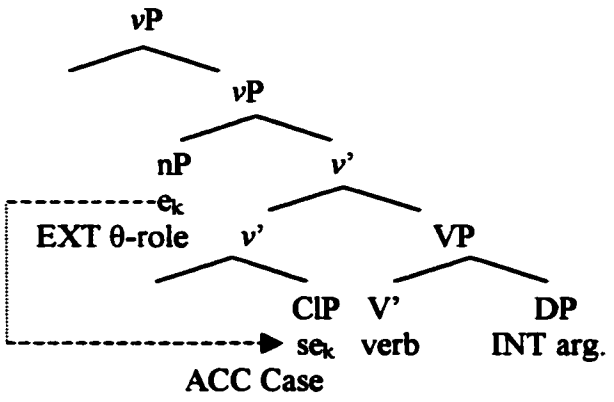


In this case, nP has a [+human] feature specification, no Case specification, and it is associated with the external θ-role of the verb. *Se*, on the other hand, has a [+Case] specification but no θ-role, as it is referentially defective. By moving to *se* at LF under Procrastinate, nP repairs the

[17] See Bonneau et al. (1995) for arguments in favor of an overt movement.

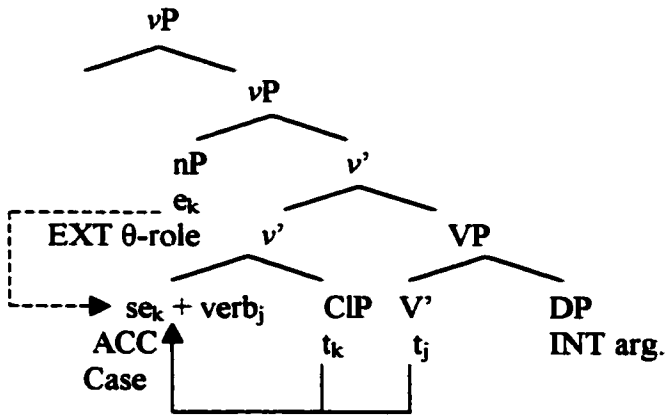
referentiality of *se* and allows it to be an argument in the syntactic structure.[18] Meanwhile, *v*P has a specification for a {[-interpretable] [assign accusative Case]} feature, which is checked *in situ* by *se* as it is the closest argument available for such checking relation, as illustrated in (46):

(46)



The chain [se_k, nP_k] is licensed as it has one structural Case in its head (*se*) and one θ-role in its foot (nP). Now, *v*P is also specified for {[+Strong] [V]} and attracts the verb at PF. This movement triggers the cliticizing of *se* upon the verb, as shown in (47):

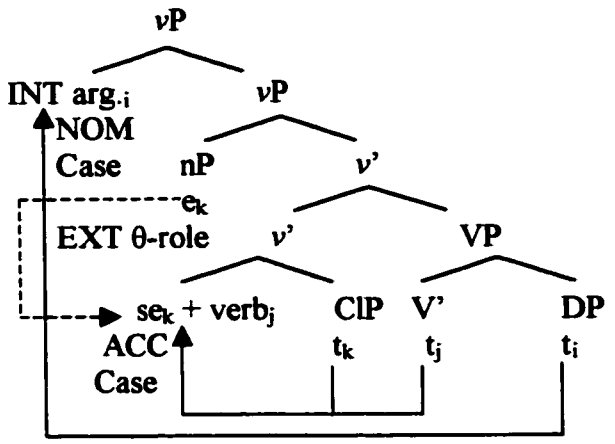
(47)



Since the internal argument DP may not check its Case features, it is no longer licensed in the position where it is merged, [V', DP]. Then, it must move overtly to the closest DP position available for checking, as regulated by the Minimal Link Condition. Indeed, the closest position for such movement is the outer specifier position of *v*P, since *v*P is specified for {[+Strong] [D]}and [assign nominative Case]:

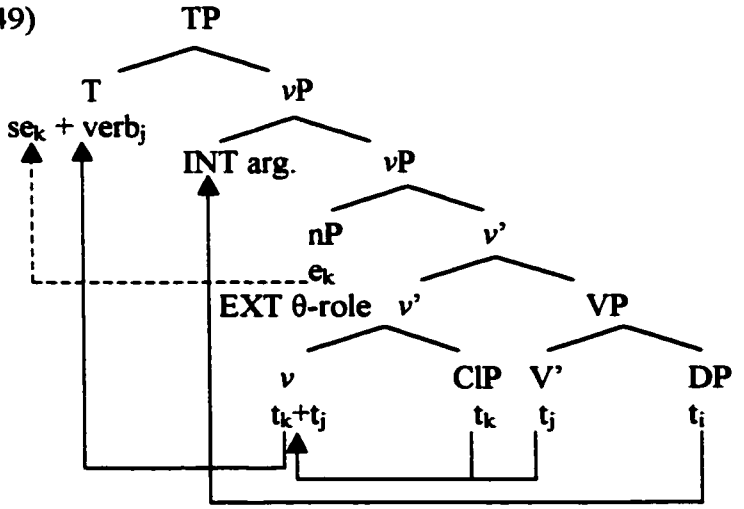
[18] This proposal is actually inspired from Rivero's (2001) account of reflexive impersonals.

(48)



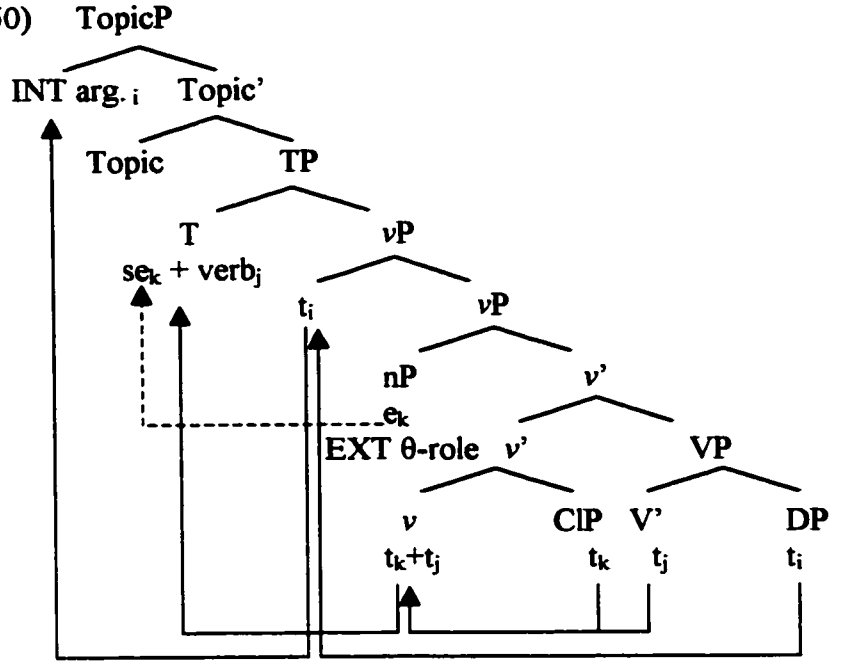
These features are deleted after the overt movement of DP to it. A result of this movement is that the verb under *v* becomes specified for agreement features (that is, the phi-features of the internal argument in the outer specifier position of *v*P). Now, since T is always [+Strong] for [V] in Spanish, to verb must move to check T's features of {[+Strong] [V]}, as illustrated in (49):

(49)



As argued by a number of researchers (Olarrea 1996; Raposo and Uriagereka 1996; Ordóñez 1997) and along with Bruhn de Garavito (1999b), the internal argument moves to the specifier position of Topic when it appears in a pre-verbal position:

(50)



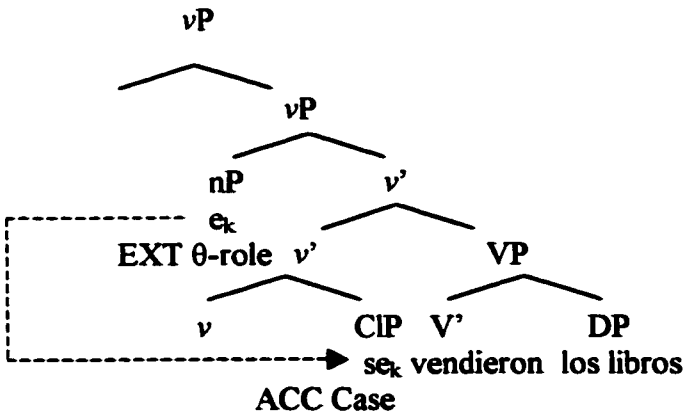
This movement is entirely optional, as the formal features of the internal argument have been checked already under *v*.[19]

Let us take for example sentence (8a) repeated in (51):

(51) Los libros se vendieron rápidamente.

In (51), the internal argument *los libros* is merged in the syntax as the complement of V. *Se*, on the other hand, is merged as the head of ClP under *v* and coindexed with the external argument of the verb (nP) projected in the inner specifier position of *v*P. This coindexation allows *se* to check its own [+Case] feature and *v*P's [assign accusative Case] feature *in situ*, as illustrated in (52):

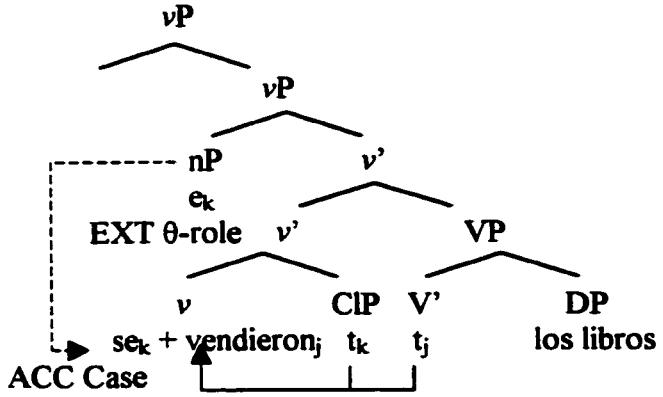
(52)



[19] I assume that the same principles apply to French, with the exception that the internal argument moves directly to the specifier position of TP, given that French reflexive passives do not allow post-verbal subjects.

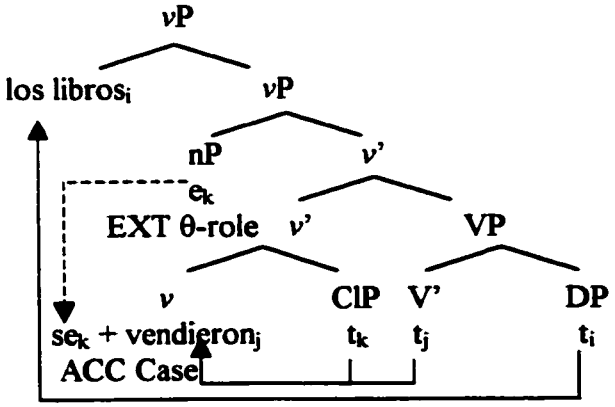
Now, given that *v*P is [+Strong] for [V], ***vendieron*** is automatically attracted to the head *v* to check its categorical feature [V]. *Se* cliticizes upon the verb as this movement occurs, as shown in (53):

(53)



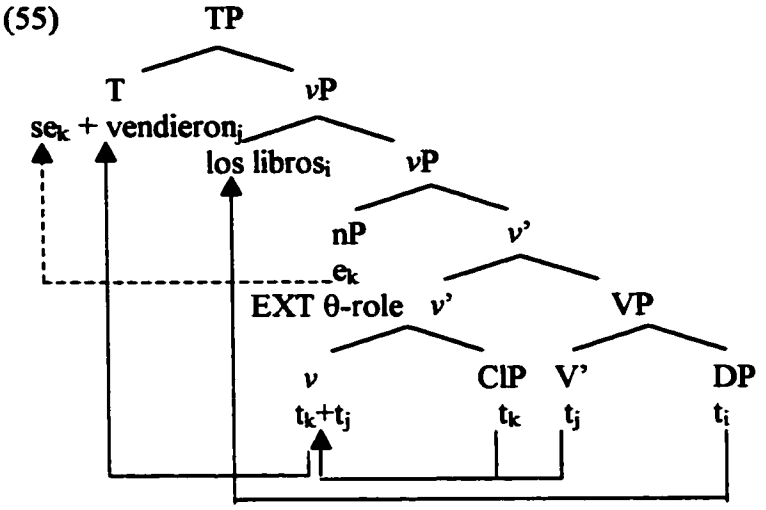
Meanwhile, *los libros* may not remain in its position, given that it may no longer check accusative Case against *v*P. It is thus attracted to the outer specifier of *v*P, given that the latter is specified for {[Strong] [D]} and [assign nominative Case]:

(54)



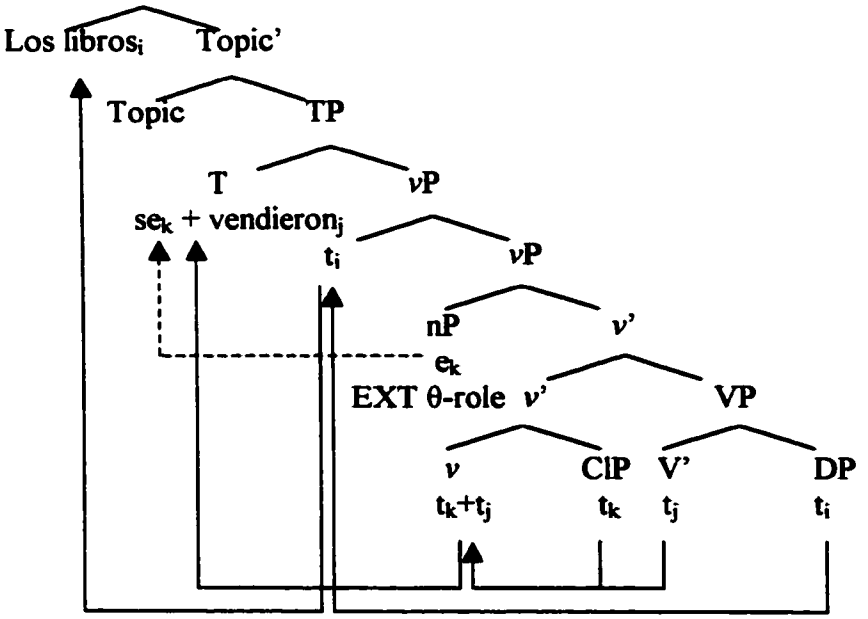
Then, ***vendieron*** (and *se* as it has cliticized to the verb) is automatically attracted to T as T in Spanish is always specified for {[+Strong] [V]}:

(55)



Since the internal argument appears in a pre-verbal position, it moves to the specifier of Topic, as in (56):

(56) Topic P



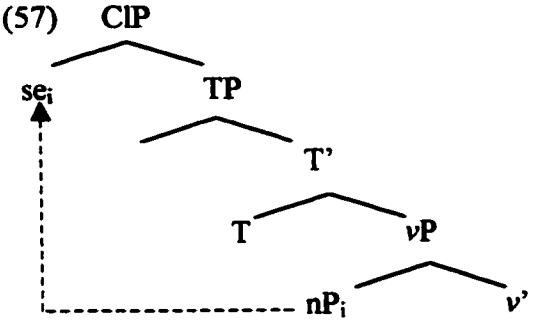
This proposal captures the hypothesis advanced by some researchers (Belletti 1988; Contreras 1990; Liceras 1994; Olarrea 1996; Ordóñez 1997, among others) that subjects in Spanish may appear freely in two distinct positions: [Spec, *v*P] and [Spec, Topic]. The overt movement of the internal argument to the outer specifier position of *v*P coincides with Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) proposal (along with Bonneau et al. 1995) that the movement of the internal argument to a higher position is overt. Finally, this representation is consistent with

Belletti's (1982) idea that *se* is associated with the external θ-role of the verb and receives the accusative Case, while the internal argument is assigned the internal θ-role of the verb and checks for nominative Case.

1.2.4 Revised Account of Spanish Reflexive Impersonals

Rivero (2001) argues along with Reinhart and Reuland (1993) that Spanish reflexive impersonal *se* is a defective pronoun that co-occurs with an nP in the specifier position of *v*P. She claims that it is merged outside VP in a Cl(itic) P(hrase) specified for [assign nominative Case], such as in (57):[20]

(57)



More specifically, she argues that as the external argument of the verb, nP has human features (as opposed to null *pro* which could be [+/- human]), a specification for nominative Case, but no phi-features. T in TP is also defective (lacking phi-features), which impedes T and nP from entering into a checking relation with each other. By checking its {[+Strong] [V]} against (defective) T, V is either neuter or 3rd person singular. The covert movement of nP to the clitic pronoun in ClP allows it to check its structural Case (specified for [assign nominative Case]) and acquire "existential force", while repairing its "referential imperfection" and forming a LF-chain that may "serve as semantic input" (Rivero 2001, 172, 184). The core idea of this is that the reflexive marker *se* is linked to the external argument by the chain it forms with nP in [Spec, *v*P], and it is assigned nominative Case as nP covertly adjoins the clitic pronoun. In this case, nP (but not *se*) is specified for both Case and external θ-role.

Let us take for example sentence (25a) repeated in (58):

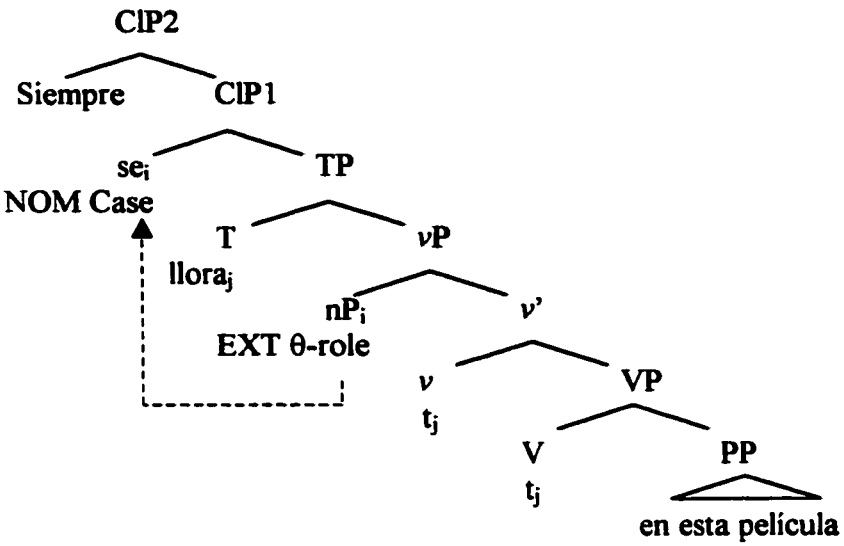
(58) Siempre se llora en esta película.

In a reflexive impersonal such as (57), *se* is merged in a clitic position dominating T and coindexed with a null defective noun phrase (nP) in the specifier of a light verb phrase, where it

[20] I converted Rivero's (2001) VP into a *v*P for reasons of consistency with the previous analyses.

is associated with the external θ-role of the verb. nP moves covertly to *se*, to repair its "referential imperfection" (to borrow Rivero's terminology) and to allow *se* to check nominative Case against ClP, as illustrated in (59):

(59)



As for verbs which may not project an external θ-role (such as unaccusative, passive, and copulative verbs), *se* should be coindexed with an nP located in [V', NP] where it receives the internal θ-role and stands for the internal rather than the external argument. In terms of movement, the principles are the same as in (59): nP adjoins *se* covertly so that the Case features of ClP as well as nP's own Case feature (nominative in both cases) may be checked and deleted.

A tree such as (59) differs from Belletti's proposal namely in the instance that no *pro* is postulated in [Spec, TP]. Since the features [assign nominative Case] and [D] may be checked directly under ClP, the projection of *pro* becomes unnecessary. It also differs from Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) hypothesis, in that impersonal *se* is projected in a different position from passive *se*. Hence, it is crucial to acknowledge the existence of a syntactic difference between both types of *se*, since both constructions behave differently, as illustrated by the analysis carried out in this chapter. Rivero's (2001) analysis of reflexive impersonals satisfies the requirements of the Minimalist Program and it is consistent with the analysis we proposed for reflexive passives.

1.3 Conclusion and Implications

While superficially similar, reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals differ in many respects. The properties of each structure may be summarized as follows:

Table A. Properties of Reflexive Passives and Reflexive Impersonals

Reflexive Passives	Reflexive Impersonals
-Used with transitive verbs only;	-Used with any types of verbs; its use with transitive verbs is subject to dialectal variation;
-*se* co-appears with a null defective noun phrase;	-*se* co-appears with a null defective noun phrase;
-*se* checks the accusative Case;	-*se* checks the nominative Case;
-The internal argument checks the nominative Case.	-In the case where reflexive impersonals are accepted transitively, the internal argument checks the accusative Case.
-The internal argument may appear in a pre- or post-verbal position; the movement of the internal argument is overt in both cases.	-In the case where reflexive impersonals are accepted transitively, the internal argument may only appear in a post-verbal position.

These properties capture within a current syntactic theory the essence of the recent and less recent proposals described in this chapter.

In addition to these properties, reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals differ from their French and English counterparts. Spanish reflexive passives and English full passives converge in terms of NP movement: in both cases, the internal argument must move to a position where it may check its Case feature, that of nominative Case. However, they diverge in that such argument may appear in both a pre- and post-verbal position in Spanish, whereas it is only permitted in a pre-verbal position in English. They also differ in terms of the existence of a SE-type anaphor: English does not have SE anaphors, but only SELF-anaphors which, in contrast to the former, are subject to the Binding Theory.[21] English and Spanish are different also with

[21] While French and Spanish SE-anaphors may be used both passively and reflexively, English SELF-anaphors may only be used reflexively, as illustrated in (i-ii):

(i) a. Juan se lavó. [Spanish]
Juan SE washed-sg.
'Juan washed himself.'

b. Jean s'est lavé. [French]
Jean SE is washed-sg.
'Jean washed himelf.'

c. John washed himself. [English]

(ii) a. Los libros se vendieron rápidamente. [Spanish]
the books SE sold-pl. quickly

respect to the verb morphology: Spanish reflexive passives express the passive voice through an 'active' morphology, where the auxiliary *ser* 'to be' is not combined with a past-participle as in English. In addition, the former may be differentiated from the latter in terms of (obligatory) covert versus (optional} overt presence of an Agent, respectively: Spanish reflexive passives host a covert Agent, with which *se* is associated; English, on the other hand, may (but does not have to) express an Agent within an agentive PP introduced by *by*. As far as French is involved, both languages share the use of reflexive passives, with the distinction that the internal argument may only appear in a pre-verbal position in the case of French, its vP not being specified for [assign nominative Case].

As for reflexive impersonals, Spanish, English, and French converge in terms of their syntactic structure, the status of their internal argument (if present) and the verb morphology. The impersonal construction is expressed within the three languages as an 'active' construction with any verb types. In its transitive use, the internal argument is the object of the verb in all three cases. The verb also adopts a 3rd person singular agreement in the three languages, when the sentence receives an impersonal interpretation (excluding the speaker), either because of the phi-features of the subject pronouns used (*one/on*) or because of the default agreement *se* triggers on the verb (given its lack of phi-features). Yet, if such a sentence receives an existential interpretation (where the speaker is included in the subject), the verb morphology differs from Spanish to English and French, as it adopts a 1st person plural agreement with *we/nous*. Finally, the one crucial point where Spanish is distinct from English and French is with respect to the pronoun used: *se* is more commonly employed as an object in Spanish, whereas *one/we* and *on/nous* are strictly subject pronouns (with the exception of *nous*), in addition to the fact that neither French nor English host a ClP dominating T in the use of such constructions.

Hence, the successful L2 acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive is dependent upon whether learners acquire the strength value of the abstract features involved in the use of such constructions. The specification of {[+Strong] [V]} for T is responsible for the movement of the verb to T in Spanish, which may lead to the eventual resetting of what has been termed the verb-movement parameter (Pollock 1989). In Spanish and French, the head T of TP

'The books were sold quickly.'

b. Les livres se sont vendus rapidement. [French]
the books SE are sold-pl. quickly
'The books were sold quickly.'

c. *The books sold themselves quickly. [English]

has the feature {[+Strong] [V]}, which implies that the verb must move up to that position at PF to satisfy feature checking and so that the derivation converges. In English however, the verb's formal features move to T at LF, as it is specified for {[-Strong] [V]} (excluding the auxiliaries which adjoin to T at PF). This is one of the reasons why Spanish and French have a rich verbal inflection system, in contrast to English. Similarly, the specifications {[+Strong] [D]} and [assign nominative Case] for *v* in Spanish allow the subject to move to the specifier position of *v*P and be licensed in this position, as opposed to French and English, where the subject is most commonly licensed in the specifier position of T. One consequence of this is that the subject in Spanish may appear in a pre- or post-verbal position, i.e., in the specifier position of TopicP or *v*P (where it satisfies its formal needs). Hence, the above two abstract features interact with each other, since the only way to recognize a post-verbal subject is from the agreement it triggers upon the verb.

Working within a minimalist framework, I will take as a point of departure the analysis on reflexive passives developed in Section 1.2.3, and the analysis on reflexive impersonals proposed by Rivero (2001) in Section 1.2.4, to make predictions about the difficulties that may arise in the acquisition of reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal constructions.

2. Research Review

2.0 Introduction

As illustrated in Chapter 1, Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals are superficially similar constructions, but they diverge in their underlying representation. Consider the following example:

(1) Se vendió el libro.
SE sold the book
'The book was sold./ The book got sold.'

(1) could be interpreted as a reflexive passive, where *el libro* consists of the subject of the sentence and where *se* is accusative. Yet, it could also be interpreted as a reflexive impersonal, where *el libro* is the direct object of the verb and where *se* is nominative.[1] In the case where transitive impersonals followed with a [-human] NP are considered as ungrammatical, reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals are still subject to surface similarities when the verb is followed by a [+human] internal argument, as illustrated in (2a-b):

(2) a. Se necesita un estudiante para este proyecto.
SE needs one student for this project
'One student is needed for this project.'

[1]Transitive impersonals followed by a [-human] NP are subject to dialectal variation, as seen in Chapter 1. I therefore assume that sentence (1) is ambiguous only for speakers who accept such constructions.

b. Se necesita a un estudiante para este proyecto.
SE needs A one student for this project
'One needs a student for this project.'

(2a) differs from (2b) only in the presence of the object-marking preposition *a*, which appears in front of [+human] direct objects. Thus, (2a) may only be considered as a reflexive passive and (2b), as a reflexive impersonal: *un estudiante* in (2a) consists of the subject of the sentence, while in (2b) it is the direct object. Nonetheless, both constructions are used with virtually the same meaning.[2] Hence, the superficial similarity of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals may lead learners to some difficulties, namely that of not differentiating between both constructions as the distinction between them is not particularly salient in the L2 input data.

Providing L2 learners with instruction on the discrepancy between the form of reflexive passives and impersonals and their actual meaning could be one way to enhance the L2 acquisition of such constructions and help learners notice those features that would perhaps not be noticed otherwise. Meanwhile, the acquisition of the language specific features involved in reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals (namely that of Case) should be UG-constrained whether instruction is provided or not, i.e., learners will not make "impossible" errors (to borrow White's (1989) terms) or UG violations when acquiring the two constructions, even if their acquisition mechanism does not operate in the same fashion as with children. This chapter reviews research supporting two major claims: one, that L2 acquisition is UG-constrained; two, that explicit instruction is beneficial to L2 acquisition and may contribute to have learners notice those L2 features that are not salient in the L2 input. More specifically, Section 1 reviews the background theory on UG and the various positions adopted with respect to UG access; Section 2 looks at several experiments conducted on the impact of explicit instruction on L2 acquisition. Section 3 reviews one experiment carried out on the acquisition of Spanish *se* and considers its relevance for the present study.

2.1 Background Theory on UG

One much debated question in the SLA literature is whether adults may or may not access what has been termed the U(niversal) G(rammar), i.e., "[a system of] fundamental

[2] The fragility of *a* as [+human] direct object marker is one of the reasons why both sentences actually possess the same meaning: in this case, both could be an instance of reflexive impersonals, whose *a* would have been lost phonologically in one of the cases.

principles that sharply restrict the class of attainable grammars and narrowly constrain their form, but with parameters that have to be fixed by experience." (Chomsky 1981b, 4). More specifically, the term 'parameters' refers to the "dimensions of structural variation across all languages ... [which] determine ... properties of language relevant to the construction of a specific grammar ... [and] by which a particular principle interacts with specific language experience to account for the actual language acquisition process" (Flynn 1996, 123). Chomsky (1988) compares UG parameters to a series of switches that are all turned off prior to L1 exposure. With experience and exposure to the language, the learner will turn some of the switches on while others will remain off, depending on the type of linguistic input involved in the acquisition process.

It is not uncommon to observe a child speaking two or three languages and be as accurate, fluent, and competent, as a native-speaker would be, in spite of both the impoverished input to which s/he is exposed (hence the 'poverty of stimulus') and the stage of cognitive development at which s/he is (i.e., not having reached yet Piaget's (1969) stage of "formal operation" where they can understand abstract concepts and make logical relations). While the perfect mastery of a language is generally achieved by children (excluding cases under pathological conditions), the same results do not always stand for adults learning a language. Maturation seems to be responsible for such a difference, as the capacity for human beings to reach a native-like attainment decreases with age. Penfield and Roberts (1959) and Lenneberg (1967) proposed a Critical Period Hypothesis occurring at puberty, during which the brain hemispheres "lateralize" for language and after which native-like acquisition is impossible. This hypothesis has later been reformulated by Johnson and Newport (1989), who set its occurrence around the age of 6 years old. While most researchers do not agree on the exact period at which L2 acquisition becomes no longer successful (as in L1), there is a general consensus that due to certain cerebral transformations, children and adults differ in the acquisition of a second language.

The question of whether UG is accessible after a certain biologically determined period indeed raises a few controversial positions on the topic: one, that L2 acquisition patterns with L1 acquisition, i.e., that adults have a complete access to UG (*Full Access Hypothesis*); two, that adults have a partial access to UG only (*Partial Access Hypothesis*), thus relying on the LAD/UG and a few other learning mechanisms to acquire a second language; three, that L2 acquisition is

completely distinct from L1 acquisition (the *No-Access Hypothesis*), i.e., that adults may no longer access UG for language learning and must therefore rely on learning mechanisms only to accomplish such a task.

2.1.1 The *Full Access Hypothesis*

It has been argued by many second language researchers (White 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1996a, 1996b; Flynn, Foley, and Lardiere 1991; White, Travis, and Maclachlan 1992; Trahey and White 1993; Uziel 1993; Eubank 1993/1994; Lakshmanan 1993/1994; Lakshmanan and Selinker 1994; Schwartz and Sprouse 1994, 1996; Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono 1996; Flynn 1996; Grondin and White 1996; Duffield and White 1999, among others) that adults have access to principles and parameters of UG when learning a language. This implies that L2 acquisition occurs in the same (or in a very similar) fashion as L1 acquisition, namely that parameters may be reset or attributed a new value, and that lexical and functional categories may be acquired as well as their feature strength. Defenders of the Full Access Hypothesis assume that L1 and L2 acquisition are the result of the "same means of acquisition" (i.e., that language is acquired by the same mechanism (the Language Acquisition Device) and constrained by UG), and lead to the "same competence" (i.e., that L1 and L2 grammars are identical) (White 1996b, 92).

While several researchers who adopt a "full-access position" agree that L1 grammar and L1 parameter settings may influence L2 acquisition at least in the earliest stages of development (White 1990/1991, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Trahey and White 1993; Schwartz and Sprouse 1996; to name a few), there is no consensus on the extent to which L1 grammar may shape L2 acquisition. We find, on one end of the line, researchers who believe that the initial state of the L2 grammar is based on the knowledge of the L1 grammar. Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) (among others) argue that while adult second language acquisition is UG-constrained, reliance on L1 may occur in the learning process: when both L1 and L2 parameters setting are the same, L1 grammar facilitates L2 acquisition, where the learner transfer his/her knowledge from L1 to L2; when they diverge, the parameter must be reset or set to a different value, otherwise a near-native mastery of the language will not be achieved. More specifically, they postulate the *Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis*, according to which "the initial state of L2 acquisition is the final state of L1 acquisition (Full Transfer) and ... failure to assign a representation to input data

will force subsequent restructurings, drawing from options of UG (Full Access)" (40). Other researchers restrict the role of transfer to lexical and functional categories (Eubank 1993/1994, 1994; Eubank *et al.* 1997), or to lexical categories and their linear transformations only (Vainikka and Young-Scholten 1994). On the other end of the line, we find researchers who claim that L1 does not play a significant role in L2 acquisition (Flynn, Foley, and Lardiere 1991; Epstein *et al.* 1996). Other experiments have also turned out to show a negligible effect for L1, especially at more advanced stages of acquisition (White, Travis, and Maclachlan 1992; White and Genesee 1996; Bruhn de Garavito 1999a, 1999b; Duffield and White 1999; to name a few).

2.1.2 The *Partial Access Hypothesis*

Among researchers in L2 acquisition who adopt a partial-access position (Tsimpli and Rousson 1991; Tsimpli and Smith 1991; Hawkins *et al.* 1993; Smith and Tsimpli 1995; Hawkins and Chan 1997; Liceras *et al.* 1997; Liceras 1999a, 1999b, 2002; Liceras *et al.* 2000), most argue that learners may access the abstract principles of language, but they have no access to either parametric options and/or to the abstract features of the language. Researchers who adopt a Partial Access position assume that while L1 and L2 acquisition are UG-constrained, their "means of acquisition" lead to "different competence" (or different grammars – the interlanguage grammar vs. the native speaker grammar) (White 1996b, 93). This implies that L2 acquisition is still UG-constrained (i.e., learners will not manifest 'wild grammars' (or impossible errors)), but L2 values of parameters will not be acquired if they differ from the L1. For example, Tsimpli and Smith (1991) and Smith and Tsimpli (1995) propose a 'Failed Functional Features Hypothesis', according to which features of functional categories are inaccessible in L2 acquisition. This hypothesis was supported by White (1992c), Martohardjono and Gair (1993), and Hawkins and Chan (1997), who investigated the acquisition of English relative clauses and question formation. Their findings suggest that L1 and L2 grammars may project distinct syntactic representations and still appear superficially similar. Similarly, Liceras *et al.* (2000) compared the acquisition of Spanish compound nouns by L1 and L2 children. Their results indicate that the steps involved in L1 acquisition are distinct from those in L2 acquisition, supporting the claim that L1 and L2 acquisition lead to different "competence".

2.1.3 The *No-Access Hypothesis*

Finally, other researchers (namely Bley-Vroman 1989; 1990, 1996, 1997; Clahsen and Muysken 1989; Meisel 1991, 1997; Beck 1997, 1998;) adopt the position that UG is not accessible to adults and that they must rely on some other cognitive mechanism to acquire a language. This view implies that L2 acquisition is not UG-constrained: adults do not have access either to principles, parameters, or abstract features of a given language. One of the most notable papers defending this position is Bley-Vroman (1990) and his *Fundamental Difference Hypothesis*, according to which "[f]irst language development is controlled by an innate language acquisition system which no longer operates in adults. Adult language learning resembles general adult learning." (23) Bley-Vroman bases his hypothesis on what he considers a "general failure" for adults to achieve a native mastery of L2, suggesting that "[the] rare success may have the same 'pathological' status for adult acquisition as the rare failures in first language acquisition are considered to have" (7). Other researchers suggest that this failure is characterized by the impairment of the L2 syntax. Namely, Beck (1997; 1998) postulates the "Local Impairment Hypothesis," according to which only X^0 movement in L2 competence may be defective. This proposal implies that the grammar of a L2 learner may be impaired in its capacity to retrieve and "concatenate" stems and affixes, or that (overt or covert) movement is impaired, so that checking of features is not made possible (317).

2.1.4 General Assumptions on UG

The present work assumes that while the adult L2 grammar is UG-constrained, it differs from that of native speakers, due to the fact that children access the L2 input in a different way than adults (Liceras *et al.* 2000). This implies that learners will not be able to access abstract features directly. They will re-structure the abstract features of L1 via lexical, morphological, and syntactic devices so as to accommodate for the L2 in a superficial way, which will engender a subsequent failure to apply those features to a number of cases. In the acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, this means that learners will not have access to the [+Strong] feature of *v* for [D] responsible for the movement of the internal argument to a position where it can access nominative Case directly. They may not access the abstract features embedded under T (namely, {[+Strong] [V]} or the verb-movement parameter (Pollock 1989)). Similarly, they may not acquire *v*'s specification for [assign nominative Case], which is

responsible for the grammaticality of post-verbal subjects. Finally, they may not project certain syntactic phrases (namely, ClP) that are not projected in L1. They may thus attribute the wrong case or argument structure to elements (either *se* or the internal argument) in the sentence.

2.2 The Impact of Instruction on L2 Acquisition

In second language acquisition environments, learners are more readily exposed to 'ideal learning conditions': the amount of positive evidence (or natural input) provided in such environments highly surpasses the amount of positive evidence available in foreign language acquisition environments. As for the latter, instructional settings and academic institutions must compensate for the lack of L2 input data that may be encountered in the society. In order to do so, they provide learners with direct and indirect negative evidence (corrections and instruction, respectively) (White 1991) on grammatical structures and lexical items that are to be learned, with the intention of enabling them to function in the target language, restructure the same principles, and fix parameters. Instruction becomes essential to this learning process, especially when learners are not in contact with the target language outside the classroom. This is the case for most subjects in the present study: studying in Canada, the probability that learners be exposed to L2 input data outside the classroom is considerably smaller than if the same learners were studying the language in a Spanish-speaking country.

An important body of research on second language teaching points to the fact that L2 learners seem indeed to benefit from classroom instruction. Most recent experiments conducted on the effect of explicit instruction in L2 acquisition research confirm that explicit instruction optimizes L2 acquisition and results in an increased accuracy and proficiency on specific language tasks (VanPatten 1990b; Doughty 1991; VanPatten and Cadierno 1993; Carroll and Swain 1993; Cadierno 1995; DeKeyser 1995; VanPatten and Sanz 1995; VanPatten and Oikkenon 1996; Izumi and Lakshmanan 1998). In many cases, this beneficial effect has been attributed to the role of linguistic awareness in L2 acquisition (Long 1991; Carroll and Swain 1993; Schmidt 1993, 1994, 1995; VanPatten 1990a, 1994; Tomlin and Villa 1994; Robinson 1996; de Graaff 1997; Rosa and O'Neil 1999). Linguistic awareness is defined as the process by which the learner pays attention to specific linguistic forms when being exposed to a language. In the above studies, the factor "instruction" was isolated from the factor "attention". In several cases (namely, Robinson 1996; Rosa and O'Neil 1999), subjects whose attention was brought to

specific linguistic structures during the treatment period (for example through the search for rules) performed as well as subjects who were provided with explicit instruction. This supports the claim that consciousness raising forms an intrinsic part of explicit instruction and is crucial in having learners notice those specific linguistic structures that are not salient in the language.

Another issue that has been the object of a long debate is which of positive or negative evidence is the most effective when it comes to acquiring L2 abstract features and reset or attribute a new value to L1 parameters during the path of acquisition. One parameter that has been explored to support either position is Pollock's (1989) verb-movement parameter. The resetting or setting of a new value to the verb-movement parameter is involved it has a different value in the target language than in L1. We have seen in Section 1.3 that English differs from Spanish and French in terms of the features of T, {[-Strong] [V]} and {[+Strong][V]}, respectively. Such features indicate that in English, the verb moves to T at LF only, whereas in Spanish and French, such movement is overt. The learner will come to reset such parameter if s/he is presented with (positive and/or negative) evidence of the linguistic constructions governed by such a parameter. They include the placement of negation (in French) and adverbs after the verb, verb agreement and subject-verb inversion in question formation. For example, English learners of Spanish or French will come to assign a new value to their parameter as they notice that the adverb may appear between the verb and its direct object in both languages (3a-d), or as they realize that questions are formed by subject-verb inversion (4a-b).

(3) a. Lucía come rápidamente su desayuno. [Spanish]
b. *Lucía rápidamente come su desayuno.
c. Lucie mange rapidement son petit-déjeuner. [French]
d. *Lucie rapidement mange son petit-déjeuner.
Lucy eats quickly her breakfast
'Lucy quickly eats her breakfast.'

(4) a. Cuánto cuesta este sombrero? [Spanish]
b. Combien coûte ce chapeau? [French]
How much cost this hat
'How much does this hat cost?'

The opposite is true for Spanish and French speakers learning English as a second language: they have to reset the verb-movement parameter to its initial value, which also results in a series of

difficulties in the acquisition of the target language. While the verb-movement parameter is not directly involved in the acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, we would like to propose that it may influence learners' grammaticality judgments of such constructions. It may namely affect whether learners are sensitive or not to subject-verb agreement, especially in the case where the subject is found in a post-verbal position. It may also indicate whether subjects rely or not on a word-order strategy to determine verb agreement (assuming that the first DP/NP in the sentence is the subject), in the cases where the subject does not appear in a pre-verbal position.[3]

As far as positive evidence is concerned, Trahey and White (1993) and Spada and Lightbown (1999) conducted an experiment that consisted in providing French-speaking learners of English with a rich input flood, with the intention of resetting the verb-movement parameter. The former experiment analyzed the acquisition of the subject-adverb-verb word order, whereas the latter examined question formation. In both cases, the results showed that positive evidence alone was not sufficient to reset the verb movement parameter: learners especially failed to reject the ungrammatical items on the tasks. On the other hand, White (1990/1991; 1991) and White *et al.* (1991) carried out an experiment on the role of indirect negative evidence on adverb placement and question formation, respectively. In both cases, learners who were instructed prior to testing outperformed learners who were not on a short-term basis. Other experiments have also supported the beneficial impact of indirect negative evidence upon L2 acquisition (namely, White 1990/1991, 1991, 1992a; White *et al.* 1991; Schwartz 1993; Trahey and White 1993; Spada and Lightbown 1999).

These findings suggest that form-focused instruction and input enhancement can have learners notice those linguistic structures that are not particularly salient in the input data and "bring about genuine changes in the learners' interlanguage systems" (White *et al.* 1991, 429). Based on the above findings, it seems reasonable to assume that explicit instruction on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals may also lead learners to better results not only in terms of subject-verb agreement, but also, on the specific abstract features of both constructions.

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[3] This strategy, which consists of assuming that the first noun encountered in a sentence is the subject of the sentence, has received the attention of a number of researchers (LoCoco 1987; Gass 1989; VanPatten and Cadierno 1993, among others).

2.3 The Acquisition of Spanish *Se*

While grammarians and pedagogues have for long devoted entire chapters of their grammars and textbooks to the description of the different types of *se* in Spanish (Bull 1969; Whitley 1986; Demonte 1994; Canteli Dominicis and Reynolds 1998; Demonte and Bosque 1999; King and Suñer 1999), the L2 acquisition of such a construction within a generative framework has only recently received the attention of second language researchers (Montrul 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Toth 1998, 1999; Bruhn de Garavito 1999a; 1999b). In fact, very few studies have been conducted on the acquisition of reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal *se*.

Bruhn de Garavito (1999a; 1999b) investigated the acquisition of impersonal, passive, and causative/inchoative alternating constructions by advanced and near-native French- and English-speaking learners of Spanish. Causative/inchoative alternating constructions differ from reflexive passive and impersonal constructions first in their incapacity to host an underlying Agent. As a result, they may not be followed by a PP indicating a purpose or intention, as opposed to reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals:

(5) a. Se cayó la casa por el huracán. [inchoative]
SE fell the house by the hurricane
'The house fell because of the hurricane.'

b. *Se cayó la casa a propósito.
SE fell the house on purpose
'The house fell on purpose.'

(6) a. Se vendió la casa. [passive]
SE sold the house
'The house was sold.'

b. Se vendió la casa a propósito.
SE sold the house on purpose
'The house was sold on purpose.'
(Bruhn de Garavito 1999a, 252)

In (5), no external θ-role is assigned by the verb, which explains why an Agent may not be expressed in the sentence. In reflexive passives and impersonals, the external argument is associated with *se*, allowing an Agent to control a PP of purpose or intention. Bruhn de Garavito

(1999a) further differentiates inchoatives from passives in that the latter may be modified by a secondary predicate, in contrast to the former:

(7) a. *Se rompieron las tazas ya desportilladas. [inchoative]
SE broke-pl. the cups already cracked
'The cups which were already cracked were bought.'

b. Se compraron las tazas ya desportilladas. [passive]
SE bought-pl. the cups already cracked
'The cups which were already cracked were bought.'
(256)

This phenomenon is due to the fact that the NP in inchoatives behaves more as a subject whereas the NP in passives is considered more as the (underlying) object of the verb (Bruhn de Garavito 1999a).[4]

The subjects in this experiment included a group of 10 English near-native speakers of Spanish, 10 French near-native speakers of Spanish, 10 advanced speakers of Spanish whose L1 was English, and a control group made up of 11 native speakers of Spanish from a variety of Spanish-speaking countries. They were assessed on a grammaticality judgment task of 90 items (50 grammatical and 40 ungrammatical), testing causative/inchoative alternating constructions, reflexive passives, and (non-agreeing) reflexive impersonals with transitive verbs, as accepted in certain varieties of Spanish. The test items included inchoatives, passives, and impersonals with pre- and post-verbal subjects, singular or plural agreement, secondary predication (7), and differential object marking (the use of *a*).

The results show that in general, all the groups could correctly judge grammatical and ungrammatical items, yielding no significant difference between the L1 groups ($p < .1195$). The only group that seems to behave a bit differently from all the others (especially on the ungrammatical items) is the Advanced group. On the reflexive passives versus the reflexive impersonals, all the groups accepted the agreeing passives and inchoatives, whereas they all rejected the non-agreeing inchoatives and impersonals (the English advanced group to a lesser degree in both non-agreeing cases). The Control group also rejected the non-agreeing impersonals to a lesser degree, probably as a result of the possible dialectal variation, which may cause some native-speakers of Spanish to accept impersonals followed with a [-human] direct

[4] See Chapter 1 for further details on the differences between reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals.

object. On secondary predication, all the groups accepted passives whose NP is modified by a secondary predication (although the Advanced group did to a lesser extent). Nevertheless, the four groups did not firmly reject the inchoatives with secondary predication, especially in the case of the Advanced group. There was however no significant difference between the experimental groups. On differential object marking in the case of passives and impersonals versus inchoatives, subjects correctly rejected inchoatives without and with agreement when the NP is preceded by *a*. Similarly, they accepted inchoatives with agreement without the presence of *a*. In the three cases, the only group that differs significantly from the others is the Advanced group. As for impersonals and passives with *a*, subjects do not agree on whether it is grammatical or not, as both are possible in some dialects. All the groups seem to accept impersonals with *a*, while French and English Near-natives reject passives with *a*. The differences between the groups are nonetheless not significant.

Bruhn de Garavito (1999a) concludes the Near-native groups are indistinguishable from native-speakers on most constructions and supports the claim that learners can acquire the abstract features involved in the use of causative/inchoative alternating constructions, reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. The only case where they differ from the Control group is in the case of passives with the object-marking preposition *a*, where some accepted, while others rejected, the use of *a* with passives. Bruhn de Garavito (1999a) argues that the lack of difference between both the French and English group suggests that at the end state of the grammar, L1 may not play a significant role. These results are interesting, because they show that with time and exposure, near-native speakers of Spanish seem to have acquired the intricacies of reflexive passives, reflexive impersonals, and causative/inchoative alternating constructions. They also reveal that at an advanced (not native-like) stage of acquisition, the L2 learners' performance on grammatical items does not vary to a great extent from that of native-speakers, whereas it does in the case of ungrammatical items.[5] Hence, L2 learners seem to experience less difficulty when it comes to judging grammatical items than their ungrammatical counterparts. These findings also show that reflexive impersonals used transitively (followed with a [-human] NP) are not accepted by either the Spanish-speaking group or the experimental groups. This indicates again that the use of such a construction is considered ungrammatical by non-native speakers, with the

[5] This does not imply that the competence of L2 learners necessarily equals that of native speakers, but that their performance at least patterns with the native speakers' performance.

Spanish group being very uncertain about their ungrammaticality (indeed, subject to variation). Finally, this experiment did not reveal a main effect for L1 in the case of near-native speakers, indicating that the influence of L1 automatically decreases as the learners' level of proficiency increases.

2.4 Conclusion

All in all, many of the studies reviewed in this chapter support the claim that L2 acquisition is UG-constrained: subjects are able to restructure L1 properties to fit the L2 grammar and to distinguish between different verb properties and between different types of constructions without receiving instruction on such constructions. This does not imply that their competence equals that of native speakers or that L2 input is processed the same way as in L1 acquisition, but that from lexical, morphological and syntactic devices, they can reach a performance similar to that of native speakers. We have also seen that indirect negative evidence may contribute to enhance the acquisition of the specific linguistic structures that are to be acquired: learners receiving explicit grammatical instruction tend to outperform learners who have not been exposed to such instruction.

Since L2 learners in Bruhn de Garavito (1999a) come to master the intricacies of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals as they reach a near-native level (at least, superficially), one may wonder what is the necessity for explicit instruction, especially if L2 acquisition is only a matter of time and exposure. Explicit instruction is perhaps a means to speed up L2 acquisition, to raise learners' consciousness to specific structures and trigger their acquisition earlier than without such instruction. Most commonly though, explicit instruction is the only source of input to which foreign language learners are exposed. From most findings summarized herein, form-focused instruction has proved to be beneficial to L2 acquisition and results in higher performances by the subjects on specific language tasks than without such instruction. Hence, there is no reason to believe that it will not aid learners acquire reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal constructions, especially since both structures are not salient in the L2 input.

3. The Present Experiment

3.0 Introduction

As illustrated in the previous chapters, Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals may both adopt the *se*-verb-NP word order, leading learners to assume that they belong to the same category. The subjects' sensitivity to the properties (such as categories, Cases, and argument structures) that differentiate one structure from the other may not be acute enough to have them realize that they consist of two distinct constructions, belonging to two different categories. On the one hand, English uses the full passive form to express a sentence where the subject undergoes the action of an external argument. In the case of impersonal constructions, the pronouns *we/one* are used in contexts where the external argument refers to people in general. On the other hand, French patterns with Spanish with respect to reflexive passives, while it coincides with English in the case of impersonal constructions, allowing the use of *nous/on* to refer to an indefinite subject, such as people in general.

Learners may come to use reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal constructions accurately from exposure to the language only. Nonetheless, even if positive evidence were enough, learners in institutional settings may not get as much and as rich evidence as L1 learners or L2 learners in natural settings do. As argued in Section 2.2, it is possible to enhance learner's awareness toward the usage of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals and

(potentially) facilitate their acquisition through explicit instruction. Explicit instruction may help learners recognize the Case feature of the NP in reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals (nominative and accusative, respectively) and realize that, as a consequence, agreement is triggered upon the former but not upon the latter (in fact, that agreement is the key to recognizing those Case features). In this case, instruction may also contribute to eliminate learners' word order strategy, according to which they tend to assume that a post-verbal NP is automatically the (structural) object of the verb. It may also aid them in assigning the right θ-role to the right argument in the sentence (i.e., the external θ-role to *se* and the internal θ-role to the internal argument) and assume that the external argument may therefore never be expressed in such constructions. As for the reflexive marker *se*, it is impossible to determine directly whether subjects will assign it the right Case, since the same phonological form is adopted with both nominative and accusative *se*. Hence, the only way we may suppose that they do is if they attribute the right Case to the internal argument in the sentence.

The general research questions addressed in this study are:

1. May learners access the abstract features involved in the use of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals? If so, they will grasp the [+Strong] feature of T for [V], which will lead them to acquire (in the case of the English group) the verb-movement parameter (Pollock 1989), according to which the verb must move to T to satisfy the requirements of a [+Strong] Tense. Similarly, they will grasp the [+Strong] feature of *v* for [D] and [assign nominative Case], which will lead them to assume that the subject (i.e., the internal argument in reflexive passives) may appear in a pre- or post-verbal position, in [Spec, TopicP] or [Spec, *v*P], respectively. By acquiring the [+Strong] value of these two features, they will come to acquire the Case features and the argument structure involved in the use of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. To put it differently, they will correctly assume that *se* in reflexive passives checks the accusative Case, which forces the internal argument to move to another position where it may receive a Case (the nominative Case), given that the accusative Case is no longer available for checking. Likewise, they will assume that for reflexive impersonals, the internal argument does not need to move to a higher position, given that *se* checks nominative Case in the first place in a Clitic Phrase, and that the accusative Case is thus available for checking. I

hypothesize that while L2 acquisition is UG-constrained, learners may not have access to the abstract features of a language. This implies that they may restructure the L1 constructions via lexical, morphological, and syntactic devices, (e.g., adopting a word-order strategy) so as to accommodate for the L2 in a superficial way, but this may engender a subsequent failure to apply the right strength of feature to a number of cases.

2. Does L1 influence the path and pace of L2 acquisition? At this point in the L2 acquisition process, learners may not be sensitive yet to the difference between certain linguistic structures that are not salient in the target language, especially if those structures differ from their L1 counterparts. I hypothesize that L1 does influence to a certain extent the path and pace of acquisition. This influence decreases as the learners' level of proficiency increases, but is still present. I predict that English learners of Spanish will have greater difficulty in acquiring reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal *se*, in contrast to French learners, because of the typological proximity of French and Spanish as opposed to English and Spanish.
3. Can instruction facilitate the learning of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals? It was shown in Chapter 2 that explicit instruction results in higher performances on specific tasks than no instruction at all. A substantial improvement from the pre- to the post-test would be an indication that instruction may result in genuine changes in the learners' interlanguage grammar. No improvement at all would indicate that either instruction is not beneficial, or that the period of time during which instruction was provided is not sufficient for learners to recognize grammatical and ungrammatical reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. I hypothesize that instruction is beneficial to L2 acquisition and may result in an improvement in learners' performance when judging grammatical and ungrammatical reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants[1]

Two groups of third-year university-level Spanish classes at the University of Ottawa were selected for the present study (total = 38). Absenteeism and L1 backgrounds other than French or English eliminated subjects in each group. The total final number of subjects was 29, including 13 native speakers of English and 16 native speakers of French from 19 to 22 years of age, with one 26 and one 55 years old (mean = 22:3). As the experiment was conducted at the University of Ottawa (a French-English bilingual university), subjects ranged from an advanced to native-like level of proficiency in French or English as a second language (advanced = 7, very advanced = 7, near-native = 12), with three English subjects at a beginner (n = 1) and intermediate (n = 2) levels of proficiency in L2 French. The L2 level of proficiency was determined with the help of a general information questionnaire (Appendix A), a fluency-assessment questionnaire for bilinguals and polyglots (Appendix B), and a personal interview with the subjects prior to the experiment. The personal interview was carried out by a bilingual French-English interviewer, who judged the proficiency level of subjects upon their fluency, accuracy, and phonology in L2 communication. Subjects had a length of stay in a Spanish-speaking country ranging from no stay at all to 14 months (means = 10.8 weeks). The level of proficiency of each group in Spanish corresponded to the university level at which subjects were at the moment of the experiment: given that they were taking the second course of third-year Spanish level, they were classified at an advanced level of proficiency. The program in which subjects were enrolled included 3 hours of instruction weekly, which focused on grammar, written skills, comprehension, and communicative interaction in the classroom. Grammar instruction was limited to textbook exercises, which were completed both during class time and at home. The same textbook was used during the first and second semester of the third-year level courses, which ensured that subjects had not been instructed on reflexive passives or reflexive impersonals prior to the experiment.

The results of the two experimental groups were compared to a Control group, made of 27 native-speakers of Spanish from Valladolid (Spain), ranging from 19 to 30 years of age (means = 24:9). Subjects in the Control group were specialized in other fields than linguistics, started learning a second language only during high school, and had very few contacts with

[1] See Appendix H for a detailed classification of the subjects.

other languages outside academic settings. They had to complete a general information questionnaire (Appendix A), which determined whether languages other than Spanish were learned prior to high school education. No subjects were eliminated from the initial subject pool, as no language other than Spanish was learned prior to high school.

3.1.2 Elicitation Materials

Subjects were administered two grammaticality judgment tasks (Appendix C and D, respectively), based on Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) grammaticality judgment tasks. The tests were administered immediately prior to and one week after treatment. They included 64 questions: 20 grammatical items and 28 ungrammatical items, and 16 distracters. Learners were indicated to circle the number that best corresponded to their judgments with regards to specific sentences: possible judgments included –2 ("sounds bad"), -1 ("sounds bad, but not so much"), 0 ("you cannot decide – try to avoid this answer"), 1 ("sounds relatively good"), and 2 ("sounds good"). Subjects were specifically told not to pay attention to spelling, punctuation, style or elegancy of the sentences. They were also asked to circle only one of the numbers and not change their answers after doing so. The Control group, on the other hand, completed only one grammacality judgment task (Appendix C).[2]

One set of (grammatical and ungrammatical) sentences was used to determine whether subjects were sensitive to the [+human] and [+ACC] features of NPs. They included 8 reflexive passive and 8 reflexive impersonal constructions followed with a plural [+human] NP. In the case of impersonals, the NP following the verb must be marked by *a* as it constitutes the object of the verb and has the feature [+human]. Grammatical items were thus sentences with the object marking preposition *a* (1a), whereas ungrammatical items did no have such preposition (1b). As for reflexive passives, the NP was not preceded by the object marking preposition *a* in the case of grammatical items (2a), given that the subject of the sentence (although [+human]) is never marked by the preposition *a* in this construction (excluding other varieties of Spanish). In the case of ungrammatical items, the subject was preceded by *a* when it should not be the case (2b). Both types of sentence followed a verb-subject order, to eliminate word order as a strategy to identify the subject/object properties of the NP in the sentence. Of course, reflexive

[2] It was suggested by one of the reviewers that the judgments of the native speakers of Spanish could still vary from one task to another, even if no instruction or feedback took place between the two tasks. I acknowledge the validity of this argument and will take it into consideration in further experiments.

passives and reflexive impersonals would also differ in terms of subject-verb agreement, where the plural NP in the former triggers agreement upon the verb as it checks for [+NOM] Case, as opposed to the latter as it checks for [+ACC] Case. The NP in the case of reflexive passives has to be plural, otherwise it will not be possible to distinguish between ungrammatical reflexive passives and grammatical reflexive impersonals.

(1) a. Se consulta a los profesores antes de los exámenes.
SE consults A the professors before the exams
'One consults the teachers before the exams.'

b. *Se conoce los amigos porque están dispuestos a ayudar.
SE meets the friends because they are willing to help
'One meets friends because they are willing to help.'

(2) a. Se necesitan 200 estudiantes para ese proyecto.
SE need-pl. 200 students for this project
'200 students are needed for this project.'

b. *Se arrestaron a los ladrones en menos de dos horas.[3]
SE arrest-pl. A the thiefs in less than two hours
'The thiefs were arrested in less than two hours.'

If subjects are sensitive to the [+human] feature only, they will accept sentences where the post-verbal [+human] NP is preceded by *a* (regardless of its Case), and reject sentences where *a* is not present in front of a [+human] NP. If subjects are sensitive to Case features only, they will accept sentences where the object marking preposition *a* is not present. If subjects are sensitive to both Case and [+human] features, they should correctly assume that *a* is obligatory in the presence of a [+human] [+ACC] NP.

A second set of (grammatical and ungrammatical) sentences tested on one hand whether learners correctly assume that the verb moves to T as a result of [+Strong] T, and on the other, whether they correctly assume that the NP in reflexive passives checks for nominative Case. Items included 4 grammatical and 4 ungrammatical sentences, where the subject triggers agreement upon the verb in the case of the former (3a), and where it does not in the case of the latter (3b). All sentences were in a canonical (subject-verb) order and NPs were singular in 4

[3] Such a sentence is possible in certain varieties of Spanish. We considered them ungrammatical, as they were not part of the instruction learners received in L2 learning settings, in addition to the fact that the control group (from Spain) rejected such sentences.

sentences and plural in 4 others. This set of reflexive passives differs from the earlier set in two respects: it follows a canonical word-order and its NPs are all [-human].

(3) a. Las entradas para ese concierto se venden en todas las tiendas de música.
the tickets for this concert SE sell-pl. in all the stores of music
'The tickets for this concert are sold in all the music stores.'

b. *Muchos martinis se consumió en la fiesta del fin de año.
many martinis SE consumed in the party of the end of year
'Many martinis were consumed at the end of year party.'

If learners correctly assume that the verb in Spanish moves to T, they will accept sentences where agreement occurs between the subject and the verb, and reject sentences where agreement fails to be licensed. If learners are not sensitive to the [+Strong] feature of T, they will not reject ungrammatical sentences where agreement does not occur between the subject and the verb.

A third set of (grammatical and ungrammatical) items concerns the checking of *se* for nominative Case and the verb argument structure. It first assesses whether learners correctly assume that *se* in impersonals is defective and checks the nominative Case (thus triggers a "default" (3rd person singular) agreement upon the verb). It also seeks to measure whether the verb argument structure has an impact on nominative Case-checking for *se*. Items include 8 grammatical and 8 ungrammatical sentences with impersonals, 8 of which are transitive verbs followed with a CP (henceforth, V+CP) (4), and 8 of which are intransitive verbs followed with a PP (henceforth, V+PP) (5).[4] Grammatical items have the correct "default" agreement (4a, 5a), whereas ungrammatical items have a 3rd person plural agreement (4b, 5b).

(4) a. Se aconseja que los estudiantes estudien antes del examen.
SE advises that the students study-pl before the exam
'It is advisable that students study before the exam.'

b. *No se aceptan que los pacientes traigan animales al hospital.
not SE accept-pl. that the patients bring-pl animals to the hospital
'It is not acceptable that patients bring animals to the hospital.'

[4] Impersonals used transitively (other than with a CP), although analyzed in Chapter 1, were not included in the present experiment. While they are part of a variety of Spanish, they are not part of our Control group's discourse. For such reasons, it was decided to limit the items in the present experiment to obvious cases of grammaticality or ungrammaticality, based on standard Spanish and what subjects are instructed upon in a classroom environment.

(5) a. No se come muy bien en este restaurante.
not SE eats very well in this restaurant
'One does not eat very well in this restaurant.'

b. *Se lloran muchos en ciertas películas.
SE cry-pl. a lot in certain movies
'One cries a lot during certain movies.'

If learners correctly assume that *se* is defective and checks the nominative Case, they will accept sentences with "default" agreement and reject sentence that have a plural agreement. If they fail to do so, it will indicate that they are not sensitive to the Case properties and phi-features of *se* in impersonals.

Finally, a fourth and last set of sentences tested whether subjects correctly assume that *se* in both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals expresses the external θ-role of the verb, that of an Agent. Such a θ-role may thus not be expressed in an agentive PP introduced by *por*. Sentences included 4 (ungrammatical) passives (6) and 4 (ungrammatical) impersonals (7) with the presence of an agentive PP.[5]

(6) *Se vendieron unos libros por familias con dificultades económicas.
SE sold-pl. some books by families with economic difficulties
'Some books were sold by families with financial difficulties.'

(7) *Se baila con mucha gracia por los profesionales de salsa.
SE dances with a lot of grace by professionals of salsa
'One dances with grace by professionals of salsa.'

If learners correctly assume that *se* expresses the external θ-role of the verb, they will not accept sentences such as (6) and (7). If not, they will accept sentences where the θ-role is expressed twice: once via *se* and once by the Agent embedded in the PP.

3.1.3 Instructional Treatment

Both experimental groups attended their regular classroom with their respective teachers as they would normally do. The regular teachers were not replaced by a special instructor, because it was judged that the classroom atmosphere would be destabilized by the presence of a

[5] While passives with an agentive PP may in certain cases be considered marginal, they were judged ungrammatical by our Control group. They are therefore classified as ungrammatical in the present study.

new instructor and could affect learning in various ways. The teachers were distributed instructional packets (Appendix E) to ensure that the instructional procedures would be the same for both experimental groups. They were first asked to give out a handout on impersonals (Appendix F). They would then go through the explanations and examples provided in the handout about the use and form of impersonals. Such explanations focused on both the form and meaning of impersonals, hence, providing students with a 'focus on form'. More specifically, they brought the students' attention to the fact that impersonals are used indefinitely to refer to people in general (including or excluding the speaker), that they could be used with intransitive verbs, verbs followed with a complement (introduced by *que*), and verbs whose direct object is [+human] and [+definite], and that the verb always takes the form of the 3rd person singular as the role of subject is fulfilled by *se*. Teachers were instructed to only provide the explanations that were included in the handout and no other information. No time limit or specific order was imposed to provide the explanations, as long as no additional information was included in the treatment period. Instructors could answer the subjects' questions during the entire period. Then, they would direct students to complete the practice exercises alone. In such exercises, learners had to replace the underlined NP by the pronoun *se* and modify the agreement on the verb if necessary. All sentences were derived from contexts where the presence of a specific NP subject was not necessary as it could be understood from context. The exercise included 20 sentences of the following type (8):

(8) Los meteorólogos dicen que va a diluviar mañana.

Answer: *Se dice que va a diluviar mañana.*

After completing the exercises, the teacher would go over them with the students, first asking for their answers. At each item and whether the answer is right or not, the teacher would ask the following questions: (a) *Is there an Agent in the sentence?* (b) *What does the verb agree with?* (c) *Is there a human direct object in the sentence? If so, is it preceded by* a*?* By asking question (a), the teachers could link each of the sentence to their indefinite/impersonal meaning. Questions (b) and (c) directed the awareness of students to both verb agreement and the [+human] features of a direct object pronoun.

After doing so, teachers would give out a second handout, this time on reflexive passives (Appendix G). They would then go again through the explanations and examples provided in the handout about the use and form of reflexive passives. Likewise, such explanations focused

on both the form and meaning of reflexive passives, hence, providing students with a 'focus on form'. More specifically, they indicated how it is possible to avoid the full passive voice (e.g., *El banco fue asaltado de madrugada.*) using the reflexive passive construction (e.g., *El banco se asaltó de madrugada.*). With the help of an arrow, it was explicitly pointed out that what becomes the subject of a reflexive passive is in fact the object of a regular active sentence, and that the subject (or underlying object) must trigger agreement upon the verb. The subjects' attention was brought to the fact that the (subject) NP could appear in a post-verbal position to give the sentence an impersonal turn, and that in both cases, agreement was triggered on the verb by the subject. It was also mentioned that a specific subject tends to appear in a pre-verbal position, while a indefinite subject may appear both in a pre- or post-verbal position, depending on the impersonality of the sentence.[6] Teachers were again instructed to only provide the explanations that were included in the handout and no other information. No time limit or specific order was imposed to provide the explanations, as long as no additional information was included in the treatment period. As in the first treatment, instructors could answer the subjects' questions during the entire period. Then, they would direct students to complete the practice exercises alone. In such exercises, learners had to reconstruct a reflexive passive sentence out of a regular active sentence, where the underlined (object) NP would become the subject of the reflexive passive sentence. The exercises included 20 sentences of the following type:

(9) Los agentes de esa compañía vendieron <u>todos los terrenos</u> en menos de dos horas.

Todos los terrenos se vendieron en menos de dos horas.

After completing the exercises and, as in the case of impersonals, teachers would go over them with students, first asking for their answer, then asking similar questions to the ones that were asked while correcting the exercises on impersonals. Such questions included (a) *What does the verb agree with?* (b) *What is the subject?* (c) *Are there various word orders possible? If so, what justifies such orders?* The first two questions brought students' attention to the form of the

[6] While there is no strict restriction on the appearance of a definite NP in a post-verbal position (in reflexive passives), some contextualization (whether adverbial or from previous discourse) is necessary in such a sentence, otherwise, the sentence will sound incomplete. For such reasons and in order to avoid creating difficulties for the learners, it was indicated that definite NPs appear in a pre-verbal position.

sentence, while the third one linked the form and meaning of the sentence, as definite NPs most commonly do not appear in a post-verbal position.

It is important to mention that in both cases, subjects were not instructed on the ungrammaticality of an agentive PP introduced by 'por'.[7]

3.1.4 Instructional and Data Collection Procedures

The present experiment follows a pre- and post-test design. A first grammaticality judgment task (Appendix C) was administered at the beginning of the third month of a four-month course. Subjects had not been instructed on reflexive impersonals and reflexive passives prior to the experiment. Instructional treatment took place in the classroom right after the pre-test, with the students' respective teachers. To avoid possible biases, I ensured that teachers were not aware of the exact purpose of the experiment. The instructional packets (Appendix E) were designed in such a way that instruction should not vary much from one teacher to another. The treatment period including the practice exercises lasted approximately 3 hours, during which students were provided with two separate handouts on the form and use of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. Taking into account the fact that students would receive only 3 hours of classroom instruction per week, it was difficult to spend a greater amount of time on activities and exercises on reflexive passive and reflexive impersonal *se*: only a very small period of time was allotted by the current curriculum. Both handouts were taken back after instruction, to reduce the chances of learners studying the structures in question during the following week. A second grammaticality judgment task (Appendix D) was administered exactly one week after instruction, at the beginning of the class.[8]

3.1.5 Scoring Procedures

The mean score of subjects' grammaticality judgments on every sentence type was obtained from the raw scores of each subject for each individual item (4 X sentence type). The mean result of every subject on every sentence type indicates the mean grammaticality

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[7] Since it was not possible to compare the results of the experimental groups after instruction to a control group not provided with instructional treatment, we decided to not include in the explanations the impossibility for agentive PPs to appear in either reflexive passives or reflexive impersonals, to see whether learners would acquire the constraint on their use, in spite of not receiving any explicit information about them.

[8] Learners were not told that they were going to complete a second grammaticality judgment task one week after instruction took place.

judgment they had on specific sentence types. The means on every type of sentence (total = 12) were then submitted to separate univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) with a repeated measures design. A first ANOVA was conducted on the pre-test and a second on the post-test. Comparison tests were performed between the pre-test and the post-test, and post-hoc Fisher LSD's correlation coefficients were obtained from L1 comparisons.

3.2 Results

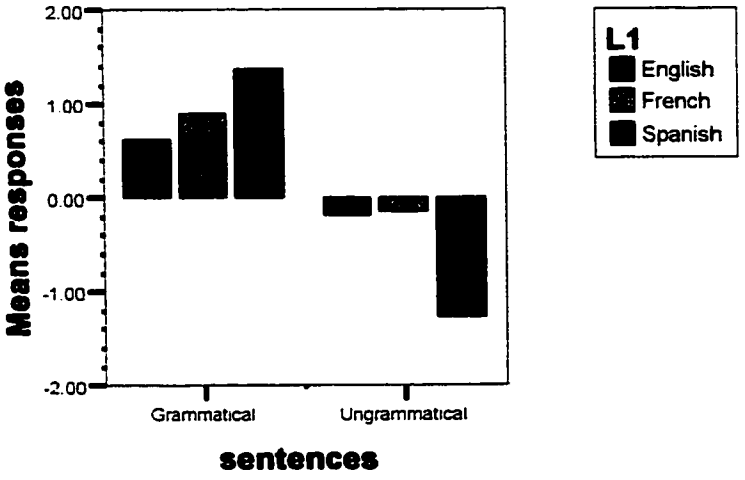
3.2.1 Results of the Pre-Test

Table A is a report of the total means responses of subjects on the pre-test, on both grammatical and ungrammatical items. Figure 1 shows that all groups are able to differentiate grammatical from ungrammatical items, on both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals together.

Table A: Total Means Responses on Pre-Test

L1		G	UG
English	Mean	.6431	-.1800
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.4695	.5070
French	Mean	.8938	-.1019
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.4564	.7140
Spanish	Mean	1.3944	-1.2011
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4320	.4953

Figure 1: Total Means Responses on Pre-Test



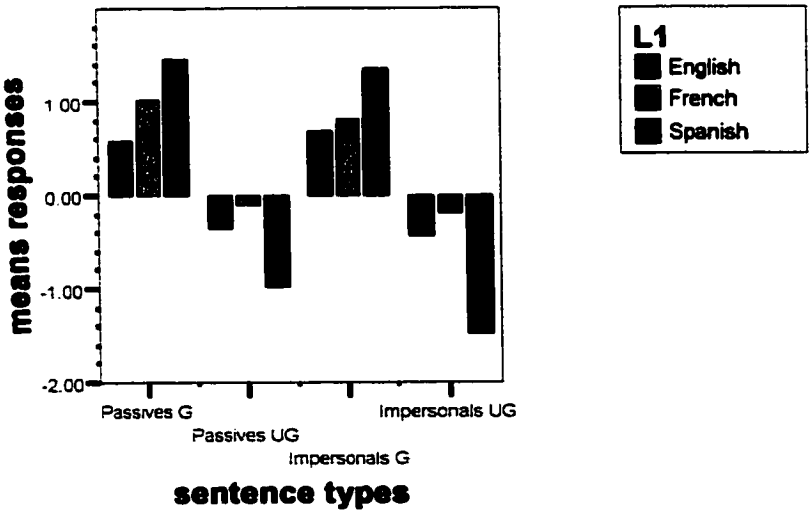
A two-factor ANOVA, repeated measure, performed between grammaticality and language group reveals a significant interaction between grammaticality and language group (*df* = 2, F = 72.105, p < .000). Two one-factor ANOVAs performed on grammaticality and language groups indicate a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 486.775, p < .000) and a main effect for language group (*df* = 2, F = 7.152, p < .001). A Fisher's LSD correlation coefficient conducted on both grammatical and ungrammatical items separately indicate that the three groups are significantly different from each other on grammatical items (p (S/E) < .000, p (S/F) < .000, p (E/F) < .046), whereas both groups are equally significantly different from the Spanish group on ungrammatical items (p < .000), but not between each other (p < .547). Indeed, both experimental groups are able to differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical items, even if their judgments are far from being native-like. The French group clearly outperformed the English group on grammatical items.

Table B and Figure 2 show the total means responses for each language group on the two categories of constructions, reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals.

Table B: Total Means Responses on Pre-Test by Category

L1		Passives G	Passives UG	Impersonals G	Impersonals UG
English	Mean	.5885	-.3585	.6815	-.0446
	N	13	13	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.6963	.6926	.4861	.4262
French	Mean	1.0262	-.0475	.8069	-.1450
	N	16	16	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.5140	.7818	.5255	.7347
Spanish	Mean	1.4604	-.9752	1.3526	-1.3689
	N	27	27	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4521	.7692	.4969	.4629

Figure 2: Total Means Responses on Pre-Test by Category



The first two sets of bars in Figure 2 show the performance of subjects on grammatical and ungrammatical impersonals, while the two last sets of bars show their performance on grammatical and ungrammatical reflexive passives. Two two-factor ANOVAs, repeated measures, between, on one hand, categories (impersonals and passives) and grammaticality, and on the other hand categories and language groups, reveal no interaction between category and either grammaticality ($df = 1$, $F = .111$, $p < .739$) or language group ($df = 2$, $F = 1.559$, $p < .211$). A one-factor ANOVA performed on category indicates no main effect for category either ($df = 1$, $F = .501$, $p < .480$). The experimental groups and the Control group seem to have

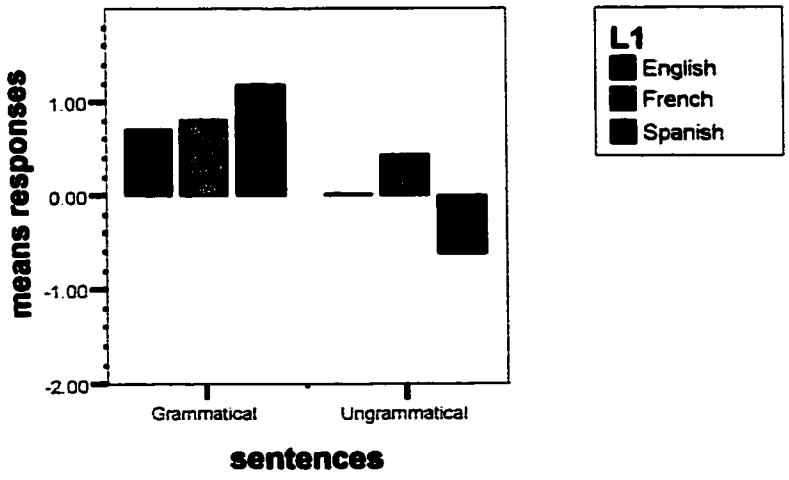
performed very similarly on both reflexive impersonals and reflexive passives, again, distinguishing between grammatical and ungrammatical items.

The first property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested was the [+human] feature and Case feature of the NP ([+NOM] in the case of passives, [+ACC] in the case of impersonals) and whether French- and English-speaking learners of Spanish would be sensitive to such features. Table C summarizes the means scores of grammatical and ungrammatical passives without and with the presence of the object marking preposition *a* (2a-b).

Table C: Passives with [+human] NP

L1		Passives G	Passives UG
English	Mean	.7115	.0192
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.5482	.9653
French	Mean	.8281	.4375
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.6875	.9937
Spanish	Mean	1.1852	-.6296
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.6489	1.1713

Figure 3: Passives with [+human] NP



A two factor ANOVA, repeated measure, performed between grammaticality and L1 on passives with a [+human] NP indicate a significant interaction between grammaticality and

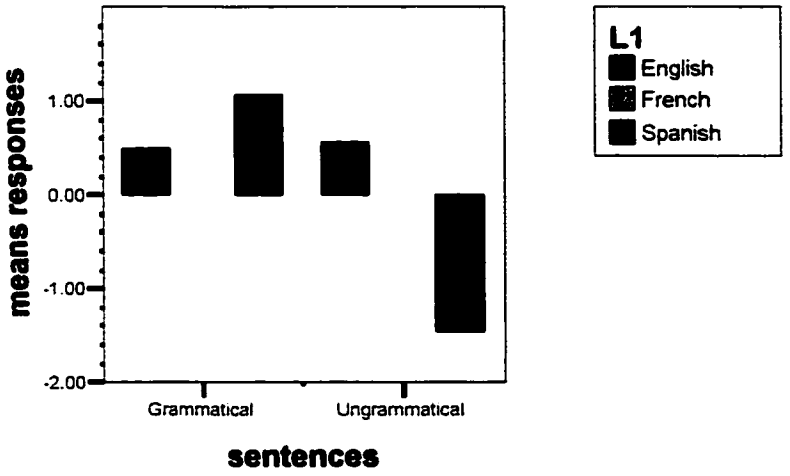
language groups (*df* = 2, F = 7.597, p < .001). Two one-factor ANOVAs on grammaticality and language groups reveal a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 41.445, p < .000), but no statistically relevant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 1.061, p < .350). However, two one-factor ANOVAs performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items separately reveal a somewhat significant effect for language groups on grammatical items (*df* = 2, F = 2.988, p < .059), and greater effect for language groups on ungrammatical items (*df* = 2, F = 5.188, p < .009). In the case of the former, only the English group is statistically different from the Spanish group (p < .033), whereas in the case of the latter, only the French and Spanish groups differ significantly from each other (p < .003). The French group seems to overgeneralize the presence of *a* to reflexive passives, where it should not be permitted in standard Spanish: the difference between grammatical and ungrammatical items is not significant (*df* = 1, F = 1.672, p < .206), whereas it is in the case of the English and Spanish groups (*df* = 1, F = 5.056, p < .034, *df* = 1, F = 49.594, p < .000, respectively). Hence, the English group performed better than the French group with respect to ungrammatical items, although its performance is far from being native-like.

As for impersonals, Table D summarizes the means scores of grammatical and ungrammatical impersonals followed with a [+human] NP (that is, with and without *a*, respectively).

Table D: Impersonals with [+human] NP

L1		Impersonals G	Impersonals UG
English	Mean	.5131	.5385
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.8596	.8026
French	Mean	.0006	-.0156
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.8010	.9059
Spanish	Mean	1.0741	-1.4537
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.7099	.7004

Figure 4: Impersonals with [+human] NP



A two-factor ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups reveals a significant interaction between both groups (*df* = 2, F = 37.391, p < .000). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on grammaticality and language groups also indicates a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 38.612, p < .000) and some effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 3.278, p < .041). This effect is increased if grammatical and ungrammatical items are analyzed separately, as two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on grammatical and ungrammatical items show a significant effect for language groups in both cases (*df* = 2, F = 9.939, p < .000; *df* = 2, F = 33.914, p < .000, respectively). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that the French and English groups differ significantly from the Spanish group on both grammatical (p (S/E) < .036, p (S/F) < .000) and ungrammatical items (p < .000), but not between each other (grammatical items = p < .081; ungrammatical items = p < 0.65). Clearly, the French and English groups do not distinguish between grammatical items (requiring *a*) and ungrammatical items (without *a*), as the difference between grammatical and ungrammatical items is for both groups statistically irrelevant (*df* = 1, F = .000, p < 1.000; *df* = 1, F = .021, p < .885, respectively), in contrast to the Control group (*df* = 1, F = 173.478, p < .000). Hence, the acquisition of the object-marking preposition *a* is one problematic characteristic of L2 Spanish (Liceras 1994), this experiment not being an exception to the general phenomenon.

If Figure 3 and Figure 4 are compared, it becomes obvious that none of the experimental groups is sensitive to the relationship that exists between the NP's [+human] and [+ACC]

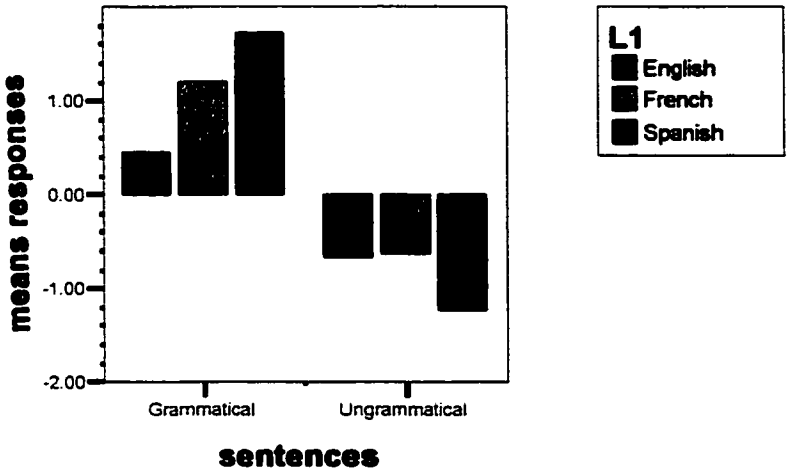
features. In the case of reflexive passives, both groups accept sentences where the post-verbal subject is not preceded by *a*, but they fail to reject sentences where *a* appears, with the English group performing better than the French group. In the case of impersonals, both groups fail to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items, with the French group completely undecided about the grammaticality of object preceded or not preceded by *a*. They do not seem to be sensitive to the relationship that exists between [+human] and [+ACC] features, as ungrammatical passives (with *a*) were not judged statistically different from grammatical impersonals (with *a*) ($df = 1$, $F = .007$, $p < .934$).

The second property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested was related to subject-verb agreement. In the case of passives, it measured whether subjects correctly assume that NP checks for NOM Case and, as a result, triggers agreement upon the verb. All NPs were [-human], so as to isolate the agreement variable. Table E summarizes the means scores of subjects on grammatical and ungrammatical passives. The first set of bars in Figure 5 represents sentences where agreement between the subject and the verb took place; the second set of bars shows learners' judgments on sentences without such an agreement.

Table E: Passives with [-human] NP and Agreement

L1		Passives G	Passives UG
English	Mean	.4615	-.6538
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.9728	.8450
French	Mean	1.2188	-.6094
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.5391	1.1654
Spanish	Mean	1.7315	-1.2222
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4490	.7669

Figure 5: Passives with [-human] NP and Agreement



A two-factor ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups reveals a significant interaction (*df* = 2, F = 13.351, p < .000). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on grammaticality and language groups separately indicate a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 177.525, p < .000), but no effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = .694, p < .502). However, two one-way ANOVAs performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items separately shows a significant effect for language groups in both cases (*df* = 2, F = 18.041, p < .000; *df* = 2, F = 2.953, p < .063, respectively). On grammatical items, a post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that all L1 groups are statistically different from one another (p (S/E) < .000, p (S/F) < .013, p (E/F) < .002). On ungrammatical items, only the French and Spanish groups are significantly different (p < .038); the difference between all other groups is not statistically relevant. Hence, learners could distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items, as opposed to sentences testing learners' sensitivity to the [+human] feature: The French group clearly outperforms the English group on grammatical items, while both experimental groups do not seem to differ from each other on ungrammatical items.

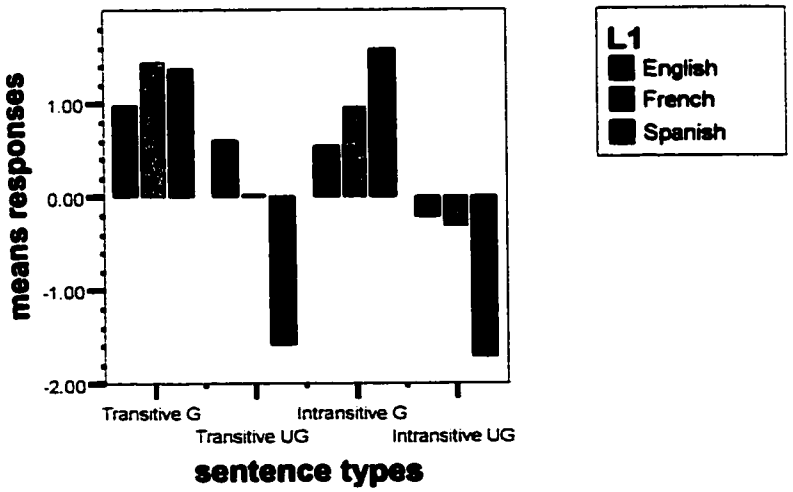
As for impersonals, it was tested whether learners would correctly assume that *se* checks for [+NOM] Case and triggers a 3rd person singular (or "default") agreement upon the verb, both in the case of transitive verbs followed with a CP and intransitive verbs. Table F summarizes the means scores of grammaticality judgments on impersonals with transitive and intransitive verbs. The first two sets of bars in Figure 6 represent subjects' grammaticality

judgments on both grammatical and ungrammatical constructions with transitive verbs. The two last sets of bars show grammatical and ungrammatical items with intransitive verbs. Grammatical items exhibit a 3rd person singular agreement, whereas ungrammatical items have a 3rd person plural agreement.

Table F: Impersonals with Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

L1		Transitive G	Transitive UG	Intransitive G	Intransitive UG
English	Mean	.9808	.6154	.5515	-.2115
	N	13	13	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.8321	.8267	1.0442	1.0350
French	Mean	1.4531	.0156	.9687	-.3125
	N	16	16	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.5643	1.1455	.7122	.9152
Spanish	Mean	1.3889	-1.5741	1.5926	-1.7037
	N	27	27	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.5518	.6498	.5724	.4104

Figure 6: Impersonals with Transitive and Intransitive Verbs



Three two-factor ANOVAs conducted between grammaticality and language groups, grammaticality and sentence types, and between language group and sentence types, reveal a significant interaction between grammaticality and language groups (df = 2, F = 57.695, p < .000), but no interaction between either grammaticality and sentence types (df = 1, F = .634, p < .427) or language groups and sentence types (df = 2, F = 1.165, p < .314). Three one-factor ANOVAs show a main effect for grammaticality (df = 1, F = 237.925, p < .000) and language

groups (*df* = 2, F= 4.965), but no effect for sentence types (*df* = 1, F = 1.675, p < .197). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient performed on grammatical and ungrammatical (transitive) impersonals indicate that on grammatical items, the difference between on the one hand the Spanish group and the French group, and on the other hand, the Spanish group and the English group, is not statistically significant (p < .748; p < .060, respectively), whereas the difference between the French and the English group is somewhat significant (p < .050). Interestingly, the French group accepted grammatical (transitive) impersonals to a greater extent than the Control group. This could be due to the fact that the sentences encountered in the grammaticality judgment task are neither common nor natural in such an isolated context. Hence the Control group decisions could have been based on the use of such sentences rather than their grammaticality.

A one-factor ANOVA performed on grammatical (transitive) impersonals only, reveals no main effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 2.403, p < .100). On ungrammatical (transitive) impersonals however, a one-factor ANOVA reveals a main effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 34.693, p < .000), with both experimental group differing from the Control group to a significant degree (p < .000). The French group seems uncertain about the ungrammaticality of a 3rd person plural agreement on reflexive impersonals, while the English group incorrectly assumes that they are grammatical. While subjects in the French group are still far from a native-like performance, they could correctly distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items (*df* = 1, F = 20.275, p < .000), in contrast to the English group who could not do so (*df* = 1, F = 1.262, p < .272). As for grammatical (intransitive) impersonals, a one-factor ANOVA indicates a significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 9.472, p < .000), with both experimental groups differing from the Control group (p (S/E) < .000; p (S/F) < .010), but not between each other (p < .138). On ungrammatical (intransitive) items, a post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient shows again a significant difference between the experimental groups and the Control group (p < .000), but not between each other (p < .720). This time, subjects could clearly distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items, as indicated by a one-way ANOVA performed on grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 18.836, p < .000).

The overall results on the subject-verb agreement property of both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals indicate that subjects may in general distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items, detecting when agreement is licensed and when it is not. Subjects in

passives with a pre-verbal [-human] NP could clearly distinguish when agreement was licensed or not. It is possible that judgments were made more easily as a result of the NP being located in a pre-verbal position. As for impersonals, they could correctly distinguish grammatical from ungrammatical items, with the exception of the ungrammatical transitive impersonals, where the English group judged such item as grammatical and where the French group seemed to be undecided about the grammaticality of the construction. Although the one-factor ANOVA conducted on sentence types did not reveal a significant effect for such factor, both experimental groups have been more accurate when judging grammatical transitive impersonals than when judging grammatical intransitive impersonals; meanwhile, they seem to have experienced more difficulty when judging the ungrammatical transitive impersonals than when judging ungrammatical intransitive impersonals. Such a difficulty could potentially be explained by the fact that learners may have been tempted to consider the subject of the complementizer phrase as the subject of the sentence. This could have lead learners to make mistakes in judging grammatical versus ungrammatical transitive impersonals. For example, in the sentence **Se recomiendan que los estudiantes terminen su trabajo final antes del examen*,[9] it is possible that the students have attributed to *los estudiantes* the status of subject of the main verb, *recomiendan*. A separate analysis of embedded clauses (CP) with a singular subject (n = 2) and with a plural subject (n = 2) in ungrammatical (transitive) impersonals confirms such a hypothesis in the case of the French group, who considered embedded clauses with a singular subject ungrammatical (in ungrammatical (plural) impersonals) (m = -0.34) as opposed to embedded clauses with a plural subject (m = 0.38). Such hypothesis did not apply to the English group, who accepted both ungrammatical impersonals regardless of the subject of the embedded clause (m (singular) = 0.58); m (plural) = 0.65). Given the small number of sentences testing this particular construction, no firm conclusion may be drawn from such a phenomenon.

The third and last property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested was the impossibility for an external θ-role or Agent to be (overtly) expressed in the sentence, as it is (covertly) present in the structure and closely linked to the reflexive pronoun *se*. Such a restriction impedes the presence of an agentive PP, both in the case of passives and

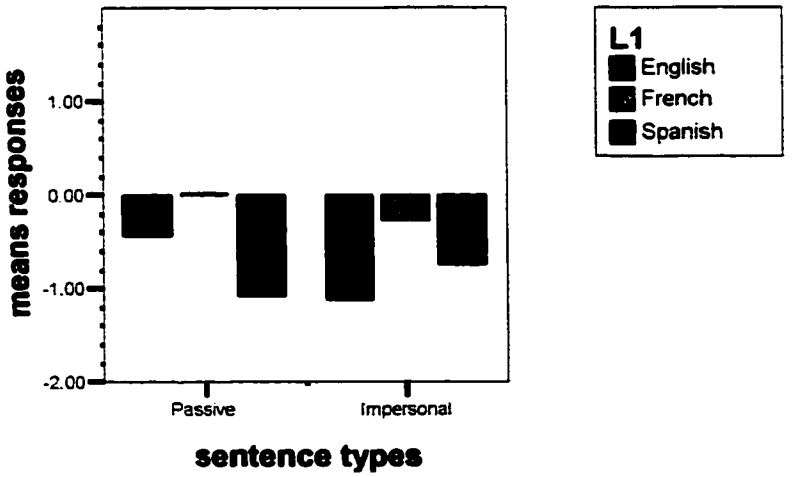
[9] **Se recomiendan que los estudiantes terminen su trabajo final antes del examen.*
It is recommended-pl that the students finish their final paper before the exam.

impersonals. Table G summarizes the means scores of subjects on both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals followed by an agentive PP. The first set of bars in Figure 7 represents the means scores of subjects on (ungrammatical) passives followed by an agentive PP, while the second set of bars represents subjects' means scores on their impersonal counterparts.

Table G: Passives and Impersonals with an Agentive PP.

L1		Passives	Impersonals
English	Mean	-.4423	-1.1154
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.9851	.8267
French	Mean	.0315	-.2656
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.9437	1.0225
Spanish	Mean	-1.0741	-.7407
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.7590	1.1939

Figure 7: Passives and Impersonals with an Agentive PP



A two-factor ANOVA performed between language groups and sentence types reveal no interaction between the two factors ($df = 2$, $F = 2.609$, $p < .078$). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on language groups and sentence types indicate a main effect for language groups ($df = 2$, $F = 6.727$, $p < .002$), but no effect for sentence types ($df = 1$, $F = .167$, $p < .683$). A one-factor ANOVA performed on passives only reveal a main effect for language group ($df = 2$, $F = 8.457$, $p < .001$). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient on passives shows a significant

difference between the experimental groups and the Control group (p (S/E) = .036; p (S/F) = .000), but no statistically relevant difference between each experimental group (p < .150). As for impersonals, a one-factor ANOVA indicates no main effect for language groups, (*df* = 2, F = 2.306, p < .110), with only the French and English group differing from each other (p < .039). The subjects in the English group performed better in judging reflexive impersonals than in judging reflexive passives. Interestingly also, they rejected impersonals with an agentive PP to a greater extent than the Spanish group.[10] Curiously, the French group seems more willing to accept agentive PP in both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals than any other group. This could be the result of the French-speaking subjects associating reflexive passives directly with full passives, either because of their passive verb morphology or as a failure to assume that the external θ-role has already been assigned to *se*. Overall and to different extents, all groups correctly recognized the ungrammaticality of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals followed by an agentive PP.

The overall results on the pre-test seem to indicate that learner may distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items in both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals in the cases where agreement may or may not be licensed. They are nonetheless not sensitive to the [+human] distinction in the case of the direct object, which explains why they do not judge such items accurately.

3.2.2 Results of the Post-Test

Table H is a report of the total means responses of subjects on the post-test, on both grammatical and ungrammatical items. The first set of bars in Figure 8 shows learners' responses on grammatical items, while the second set of bars shows their responses on ungrammatical items.

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[10] It is possible to manipulate a reflexive passive in such a way that the use of an agentive PP becomes acceptable. Consider (i):

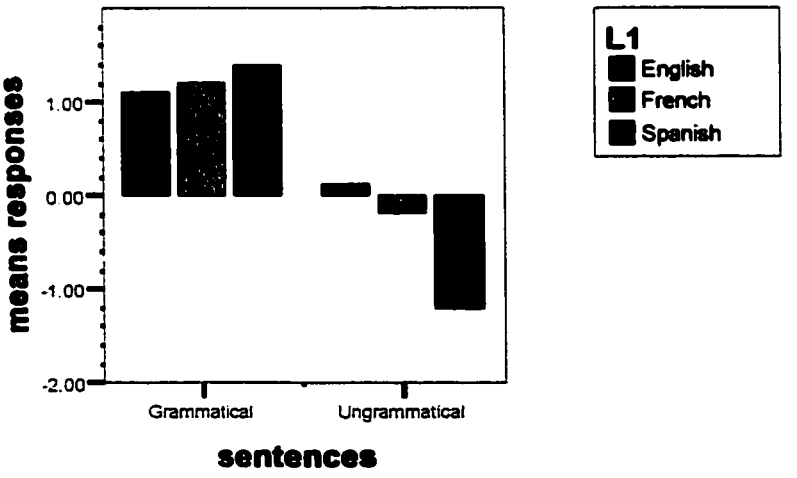
(i) Aquí no se nos respeta ni por los estudiantes.
not SE us respect nor by the students
'Here we are not respected, not even by the students.'

Adding *ni* to the sentence gives it an active turn and licenses the presence of an agentive PP, perhaps because of the coordination conjunction, which creates a barrier between the reflexive passive and the agentive PP and allows the external θ-role to be expressed a second time. It is possible that in this case, the Control group has been more willing to accept such constructions because of the easiness with which they may vary.

Table H: Total Means Responses on Post-Test

L1		Grammatical	Ungrammatical
English	Mean	1.1095	.1238
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.4121	.5967
French	Mean	1.2125	-.1756
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.3649	.4534
Spanish	Mean	1.3944	-1.2011
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4320	.4953

Figure 8: Total Means Responses on Post-Test



A two-factor ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups indicates a significant interaction between both factors (*df* = 2, F = 48.233, p < .000). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on grammaticality and language groups separately reveal a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 546.974, p < .000) and a main effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 15.900, p < .000). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that both experimental groups differ from the Control group to a significant extent (p < .000), but not between each other (p < .316). On grammatical items only, a one-factor ANOVA reveals no statistically relevant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 2.396, p < .101), with the only (slightly) significant difference between the English group and the Spanish group (p < .044). On ungrammatical items however, a separate one-factor ANOVA indicates a main effect for

language groups, (*df* = 2, F = 37.525, p < .000), with both experimental groups differing from the control group (p < .000) but not from each other (p < .121). Again, subjects experienced less difficulty when judging grammatical items than when judging ungrammatical ones. They could also correctly differentiate between grammatical and ungrammatical items, although their performance (especially that of the English group) is far from being native-like. Figure 9 and Figure 10 are a comparison of the subjects' performance, both before and after treatment.

Figure 9: Total Means Responses – Pre -Test Versus Post-Test

Grammatical Items

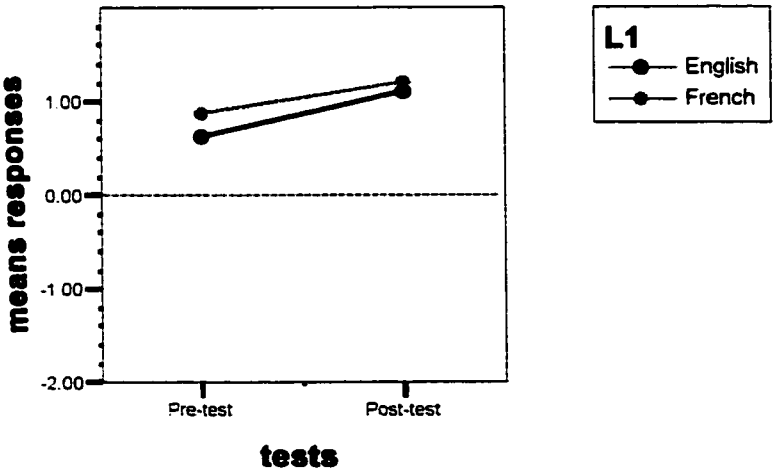
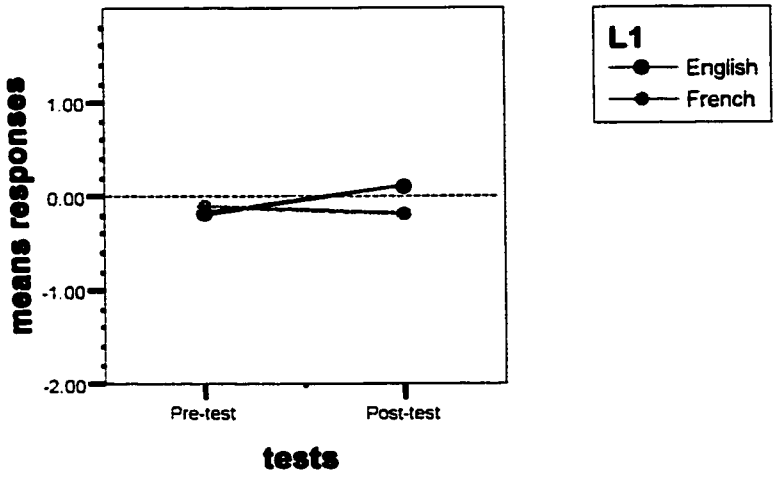


Figure 10: Total Means Responses – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test

Ungrammatical items



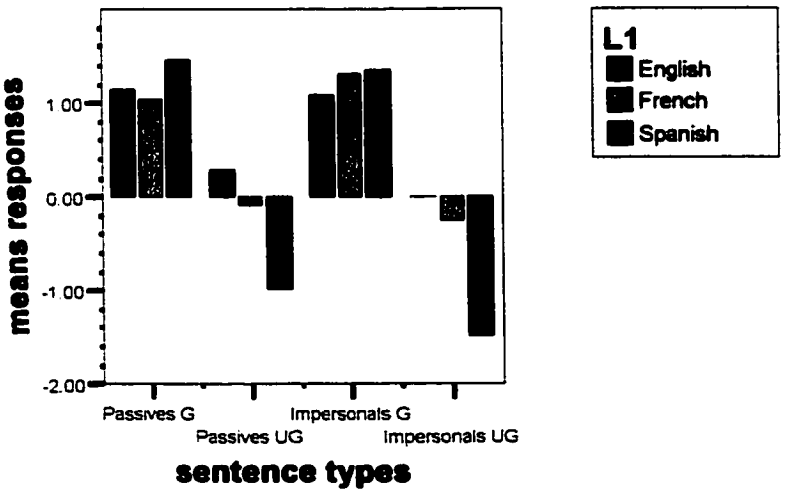
A one-factor ANOVA on both grammatical and ungrammatical items shows a significant effect for tests ($df = 1$, $F = 6.435$, $p < .011$). On grammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA indicates a main effect for tests ($df = 1$, $F = 15.603$, $p < .000$), in contrast to ungrammatical items, where no significant effect for tests was found ($df = 1$, $F = .701$, $p < .403$). Subjects thus improved significantly from the pre- to the post-test on grammatical items only and do not differ from each other in their judgments. On ungrammatical items, only the French group (slightly) improved (although this improvement did not turn out to be significant), while the English group made worse judgments on ungrammatical reflexives and impersonals.

With respect to the different categories tested, Table I summarizes the means scores of subjects' grammaticality judgments on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals on the post-test. The first two sets of bars in Figure 11 illustrate the learners' grammaticality judgments on grammatical and ungrammatical passives, while the two last two sets show their judgments on grammatical and ungrammatical impersonals.

Table I: Total Means Responses on Post-Test by Category

L1		Passives G	Passives UG	Impersonals G	Impersonals UG
English	Mean	1.1538	.2885	1.0800	.0009
	N	13	13	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.5056	.5244	.5254	.7619
French	Mean	1.0469	-.0729	1.3229	-.2539
	N	16	16	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.6753	.6951	.4058	.4881
Spanish	Mean	1.4604	-.9752	1.3526	-1.3689
	N	27	27	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4521	.7692	.4969	.4629

Figure 11: Total Means Responses on Post-Test by Category



Two two-factor ANOVAs conducted between on one hand grammaticality and sentence types, and on the other hand language groups and sentence types, reveal a somewhat significant interaction between the two first factors ($df = 1$, $F = 3.845$, $p < .050$), but no interaction for the two last ones ($df = 1$, $F = .522$, $p < .593$). Nevertheless, a one-factor ANOVA performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items show no main effect for sentence types ($df = 1$, $F = 1.297$, $p < .255$). The learners' judgments were very similar from reflexive passives to reflexive impersonals. While both experimental groups obtained better results in judging grammatical passives and impersonals, they both performed slightly worse on ungrammatical passives and impersonals, especially for the English group.

On the first property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested, i.e., the [+human] feature and Case feature of the NP ([+NOM] in the case of passives, [+ACC] in the case of impersonals) and whether French- and English-speaking learners of Spanish would be more sensitive to such features after instruction, the results indicate virtually no improvement in judging grammatical and ungrammatical passives, that is, with and without *a*, respectively. Table J summarizes the means scores of grammaticality judgments on reflexive passives followed by a [+human] NP. The first set of bars in Figure 12 shows subjects' means responses on grammatical items, while the second set of bars shows the responses on ungrammatical items.

Table J: Passives with [+human] NP

L1		Passives G	Passives UG
English	Mean	1.0384	.7885
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.6910	.7133
French	Mean	.7812	.1719
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.9911	1.2440
Spanish	Mean	1.1851	-.6296
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.6489	1.1713

Figure 12: Passives with [+human] NP

A two-way ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups reveals a significant interaction between the two factors ($df = 2$, $F = 7.432$, $p < .001$). Two one-factor ANOVAs performed on grammaticality and language groups for both grammatical and ungrammatical items show a main effect for grammaticality ($df = 2$, $F = 32.263$, $p < .000$), but no effect for language groups ($df = 2$, $F = 2.680$, $p < .073$). However, a one-factor ANOVA performed on the English and French groups only indicates no significant difference between grammatical and ungrammatical items ($df = 1$, $F = 3.079$, $p < .085$). Thus, subjects could not differentiate accurately grammatical from ungrammatical items. As for language group effect, two one-factor ANOVAs performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items separately reveal no significant effect for language groups on the former ($df = 2$, $F = 1.383$, $p < .260$), while it does on the latter ($df = 2$, $F = 7.736$, $p < .001$). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that both experimental groups differ from the control group on ungrammatical items (p (S/E) < .000; p (S/F) < .026), but not from each other (p < .142). As represented by Figures 13 and 14, the English group performed more accurately when judging grammatical items, but obtained worse results than on the pre-test on ungrammatical items.

Figure 13: Passives with [+human] NP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Grammatical Items

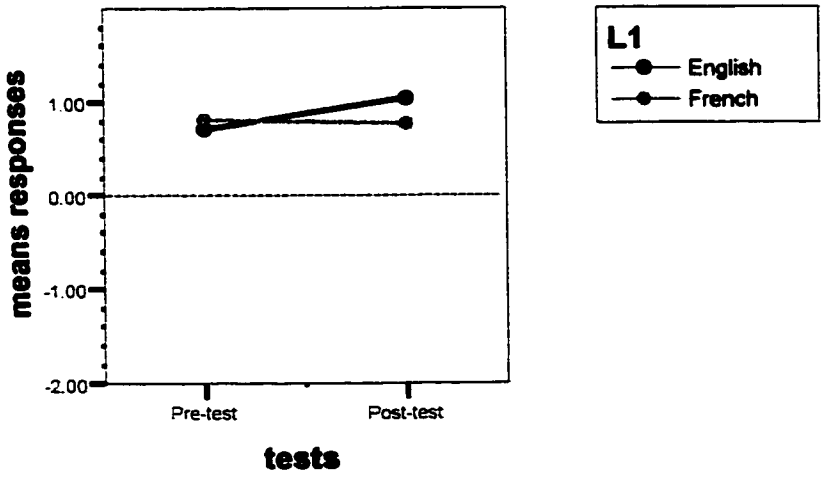
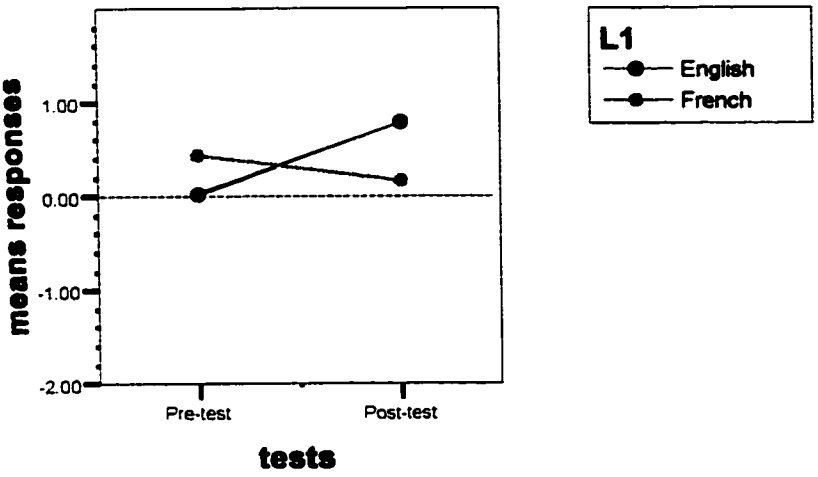


Figure 14: Passives with [+human] NP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Ungrammatical Items



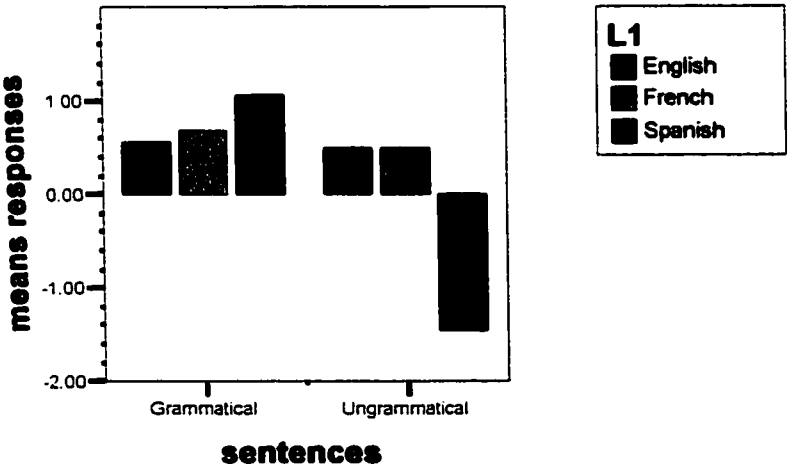
As for the French group, instruction seems to have had an impact only on ungrammatical items, where it improved (slightly though not significantly) from the pre-test to the post-test. A one-factor ANOVA performed on both grammatical and ungrammatical items shows no significant effect for tests (df = 1, F = .858, p < .356). The only case where there was a significant difference in grammaticality judgments from the pre-test to the post-test is the performance of the English group on ungrammatical items, whose grammaticality judgments turned out to be statistically worse on the post-test than on the pre-test. Thus, instruction did not have a beneficial impact on learners' sensitivity to the Case and [+human] feature of NPs in passives, where *a* should never appear in front of a subject NP. As in the case of the pre-test, learners could not distinguish accurately between grammatical and ungrammatical items.

As for impersonals, Table K summarizes the means scores of grammatical and ungrammatical impersonals followed with a [+human] NP (that is, with and without *a*, respectively). The first set of bars in Figure 15 represents subjects' grammaticality judgments on grammatical items, while the second set of bars represents their judgments on ungrammatical items.

Table K: Impersonals with [+human] NP

L1		Impersonals G	Impersonals UG
English	Mean	.5577	.5038
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	1.0366	1.0946
French	Mean	.6875	.5000
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.9465	1.0607
Spanish	Mean	1.0741	-1.4537
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.7099	.7004

Figure 15: Impersonals with [+human] NP



A two-factor ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups reveals a significant interaction between the two factors (*df* =2, F = 25.623, p < .000). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on both grammatical and ungrammatical items show a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 36.371, p < .000) and for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 5.133, p < .007). However, a one-factor ANOVA excluding the Spanish group reveals no effect of grammaticality for the English and French group (*df* = 1, F = .055, p < .815), indicating again that subjects could not differentiate grammatical from ungrammatical items. On grammatical items only, a one-factor ANOVA shows no significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 1.940, p < .154), where all the groups performed. A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that while the English group's performance appears to be quite different from the

Control group's, the difference between both groups in not statistically relevant ($p < .082$), and it is even less relevant with respect to the French group ($p < .161$). On ungrammatical items, a one-way ANOVA indicates a main effect for language groups ($df = 2$, $F = 32.195$, $p < .000$), with both experimental groups differing from the Control group ($p < .000$), but not from each other ($p < .991$). Figures 16 and 17 are a comparison of the subjects' grammaticality judgments on impersonals followed by a [+human] NP from the pre-test to the post-test.

Figure 17: Impersonals with [+human] NP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Grammatical Items

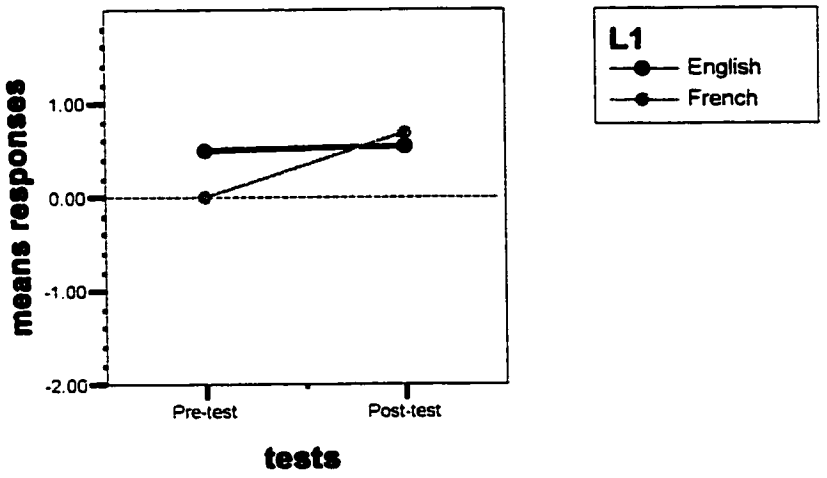
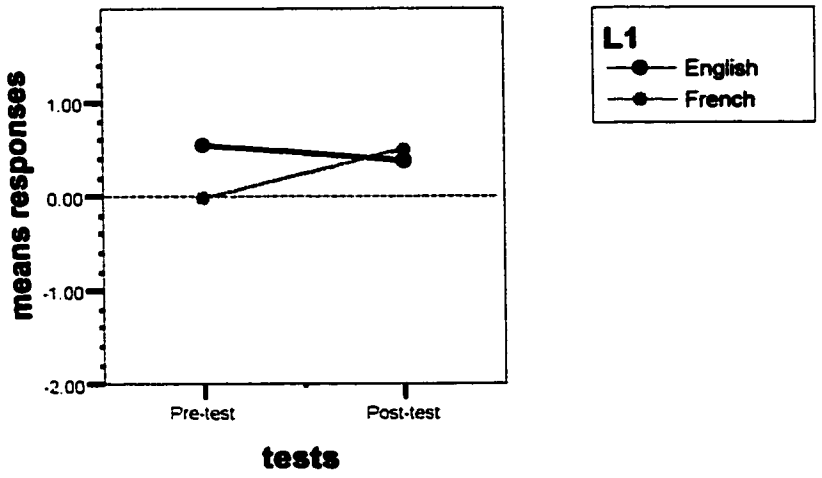


Figure 18: Impersonals with [+human] NP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Ungrammatical Items



A one-factor ANOVA performed on both grammatical and ungrammatical items does not show a significant effect for tests (df = 1, F = 3.670, p < .058). Even performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items separately, two one-factor ANOVAs did not reveal any statistically relevant effect for tests (df = 1, F = 2.765, p < .102; df = 1, F = 1.098, p < .299, respectively). The only group who improved significantly from the pre-test to the post-test is the French group on grammatical items (df = 1, F = 4.919, p < .034). We may not however acknowledge such improvement as the result of instruction as the French group was also more accepting on the post-test than on the pre-test when presented with impersonals whose [+human] object was not preceded by *a*.

After a thorough analysis of such results, it becomes obvious that instruction did not have any beneficial impact on the learners' sensitivity to the case and [+human] features of post-verbal NPs in reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. Even after instruction, they could not distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical constructions and they actually performed worse on the ungrammatical items. In fact, they seem more willing to accept the presence of *a* whenever the NP is [+human] (thus not distinguishing between [+NOM] and [+ACC] Case), but failed to reject the sentences where *a* is not present, as in the case of impersonals. The general tendency is for both experimental groups to make similar grammaticality judgments, in spite of their differing L1. This failure to improve from the pre-

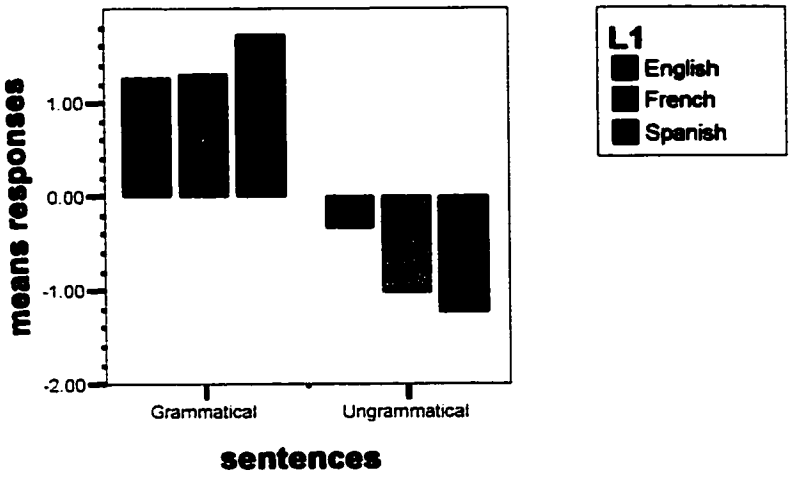
test to the post-test may be attributed to the fact that treatment and practice exercises were provided for a period of 3 hours only. Obviously, such little time period is not sufficient to learn a very subtle property of Spanish grammatical system. In addition, the treatment may have been confusing for students not used to formal grammatical training, especially since both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals were presented one after the other. It seems that the object-marking preposition *a* remains a problematic characteristic of L2 Spanish, that is, after 3 hours of explicit grammatical instruction has taken place.

On the second property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested (subject-verb agreement), the results indicate that in general, subjects could correctly assume that NP checks for NOM Case and triggers agreement upon the verb in the case of reflexive passives. Table L summarizes the means scores of subjects on grammatical and ungrammatical passives, that is, with and without agreement with the pre-verbal NP. The first set of bars in Figure 19 represents sentences where agreement between the subject and the verb took place; the second set of bars shows learners' judgments on sentences without such an agreement.

Table L: Passives with [-human] NP and Agreement

L1		Passives G	Passives UG
English	Mean	1.2692	-.3269
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.6957	1.0625
French	Mean	1.3125	-1.0156
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.6292	.8340
Spanish	Mean	1.7315	-1.2222
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.4490	.7669

Figure 19: Passives with [-human] NP and Agreement



A two-factor ANOVA performed between grammaticality and language groups reveal a significant interaction between both factors (*df* = 2, F = 7.800, p < .001). Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on both grammatical and ungrammatical items shows a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 282.047, p < .000), but no significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = .358, p < .700). A one-factor ANOVA performed on grammatical items only indicates a somewhat significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 4.213, p < .020). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient shows that the grammaticality judgments of both experimental groups slightly differ from the Control group (p (S/E) < .019; p (S/F) < .023) but not between each other (p < .839). As for ungrammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA reveals a somewhat significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 4.801, p < .012), with the English group differing significantly from the French group and the Spanish group (p (E/F) < .037; p (E/S) < .003). The difference between the French and Spanish groups did not turn out to be significant (p < .450). On subject-verb agreement, all experimental groups could correctly distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items. The performance of the French group is almost native-like, while the English group experienced more difficulty when judging ungrammatical items. As far as instruction is concerned, subjects also improved from the pre-test to the post-test, as illustrated by Figures 20 and 21.

Figure 20: Passives with [-human] NP and Agreement

Grammatical items

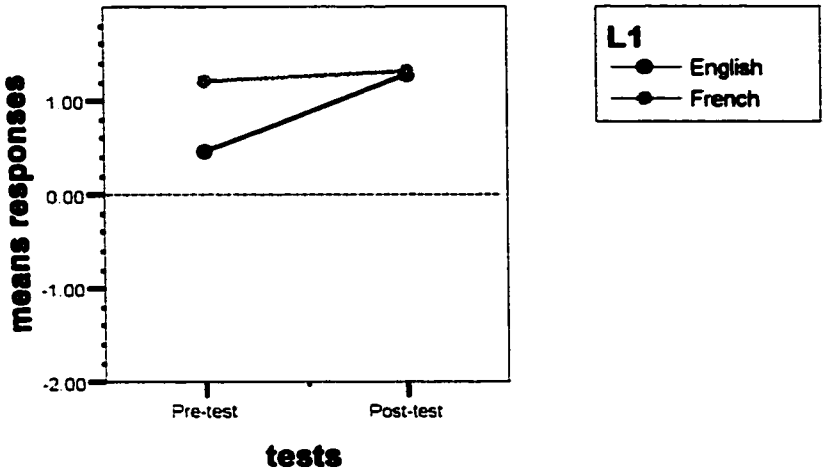
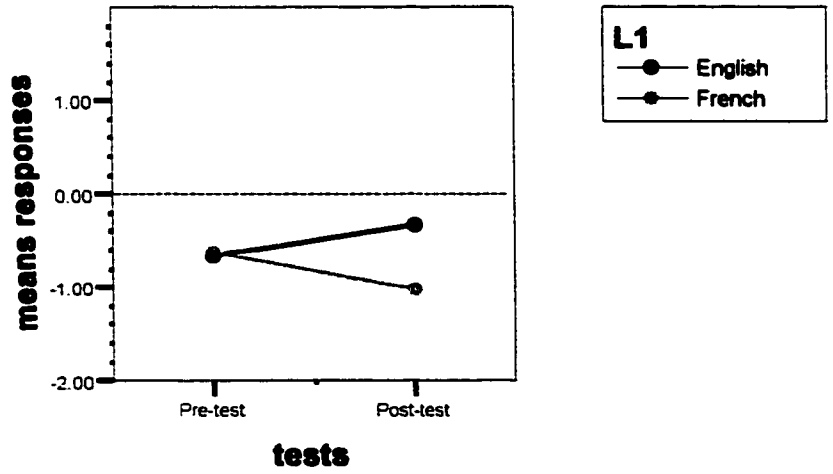


Figure 21: Passive with [-human] NP and Agreement

Ungrammatical items



A one-factor ANOVA conducted on both grammatical and ungrammatical items does not reveal a significant effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = .522, p < .471). However, if grammatical and ungrammatical items are analyzed separately, a different pattern emerges. A one-factor ANOVA performed on grammatical items only does show some effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = 4.402, p < .040). If English and French subjects are analyzed separately, a significant

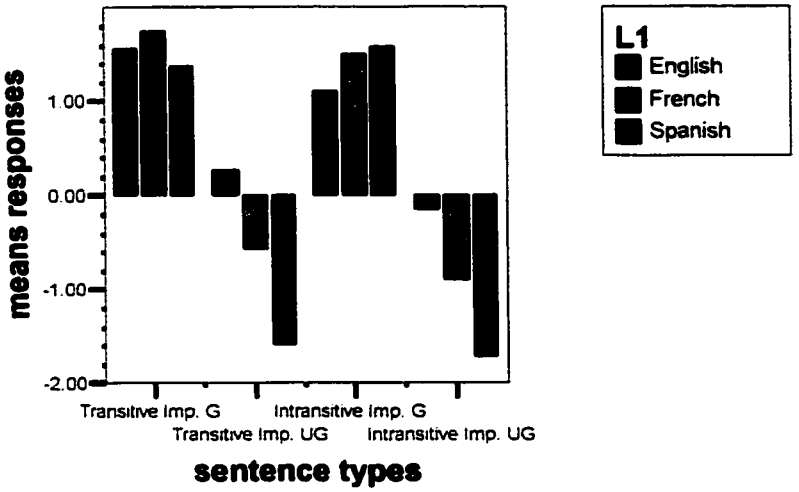
improvement from pre- to post-test is acknowledged for the English group only (*df* = 1, F = 5.929, p < .023). As for ungrammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA does not reveal any effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = .087, p < .769), whether the English and French groups are analyzed together or not (*df* = 1, F = .754, p < .394; *df* = 1, F = 1.286, p < .266, respectively). Subjects in the French group seem to have remained stable from the pre- to the post-test on grammatical items, while they consistently improved on ungrammatical items (although this improvement was not considered significant by the ANOVAs). The English group on the other hand, improved to a great extent on grammatical items, but also performed worse on ungrammatical items (this difference again not being significant). It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from such results. It seems that instruction has contributed to increase learners' accuracy on grammatical items, but decreased it on ungrammatical ones. This not only indicates that both structures are still confusing for them, but also, it reflects that the interlanguage differs from the L1 grammar. The gap between subjects' judgments on grammatical and ungrammatical items is nonetheless greater after instruction than before for both groups.

As for impersonals and whether learners would correctly assume that *se* checks for [+NOM] Case and trigger a 3rd person singular (or "default") agreement upon the verb, the results also show some improvement from the pre-test to the post-test. Table M summarizes the means scores of grammaticality judgments on impersonals with transitive verbs on one hand and intransitive verbs on the other. The first two sets of bars in Figure 22 represent subjects' grammaticality judgments on both grammatical and ungrammatical constructions with transitive verbs. The two last sets of bars show grammatical and ungrammatical items with intransitive verbs.

Table M: Impersonals with Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

L1		Transitive G	Transitive UG	Intransitive G	Intransitive UG
English	Mean	1.5769	.2885	1.1054	-.1346
	N	13	13	13	13
	Std. Deviation	.6723	1.1126	.5937	1.2894
French	Mean	1.7656	-.5625	1.5156	-.8906
	N	16	16	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.3923	1.0665	.4607	.8009
Spanish	Mean	1.3889	-1.5741	1.5926	-1.7037
	N	27	27	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.5518	.6498	.5724	.4104

Figure 22: Impersonals with Transitive and Intransitive Verbs



Three one-factor ANOVAs performed on grammatical and ungrammatical items for both types of sentences reveal a main effect for grammaticality (*df* = 1, F = 451.924, p < .000) and language groups (*df* = 2, F = 5.665, p < .004), but no statistically relevant effect for sentence types (*df* = 1, F = .691, p < .407). Three two-factor ANOVAs performed between grammaticality and language groups, grammaticality and sentence types, and language groups and sentence types, show a significant interaction between grammaticality and language groups (*df* = 2, F = 29.674, p < .000), but no interaction between sentence types and either grammaticality or language groups (*df* = 1, F = .544, p < .461; *df* = 2, F = .537, p < .585, respectively). A one-factor ANOVA conducted on grammatical transitive impersonals only does not show any effect for language groups (*df* = 2, p < 2.453, p < .096). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient indicates that only the French and Spanish groups differ statistically from each other (p < .032), amazingly, with subjects in the French group outperforming subjects in the Spanish group. On ungrammatical transitive impersonals, a one-factor ANOVA does reveal a main effect for language (*df* = 2, F = 19.971, p < .000), with all groups differing significantly from one another (p (S/E) < .000; p (S/F) < .001; p (E/F) < .014). On grammatical intransitive impersonals, a one-factor ANOVA shows a somewhat significant effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 3.591, p < .034), with the only statistically relevant difference between the English and Spanish groups (p < .011). As for ungrammatical intransitive impersonals, a one-factor ANOVA shows a main effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 17.682,

$p < .000$), with a significant difference between all groups (p (S/E) $< .000$; p (S/F) $< .002$; p (E/F) $< .014$). In all cases, learners were able to differentiate grammatical from ungrammatical items. The performance of the subjects in the French group on grammatical items was native-like for both types of structures and they obtained even higher results than subjects in the Control group on transitive impersonals. The grammaticality judgments of the English group, on the other hand, were native-like only with respect to grammatical intransitive impersonals. As for the ungrammatical items, the performance of both experimental groups is consistently different from that of the Control group, with the English group incorrectly assuming transitive impersonals whose verb is conjugated at the 3rd person plural as grammatical. As in the pre-test, ungrammatical (or plural) transitive impersonals were reanalyzed by dividing them into two categories: sentences ($n = 2$) whose embedded clause has a singular subject and sentences ($n = 2$) whose embedded clause has a plural subject. Both the French and English group rejected to a greater extent sentences with a singular embedded subject (m (E) = -0.12; m (F) = -0.78) than sentences with a plural embedded subject (m (E) = 0.69; m (F) = -0.34), most probably (incorrectly) assuming that the subject of the embedded clause had some impact on the verb. Such a phenomenon is indeed interesting, also because it is exhibited by the Spanish group, although to a lesser extent (m (singular subject) = 1.70; m (plural subject) = -1.44).

As far as instruction is concerned, there was again some improvement from the pre-test to the post-test in the learners' grammaticality judgments, even if it did not turn out to be significant in all cases. Figures 23 and 24 represent subjects' grammaticality judgments from the pre- to the post-test on transitive impersonals.

Figure 23: Impersonals with Transitive Verbs – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Grammatical Items

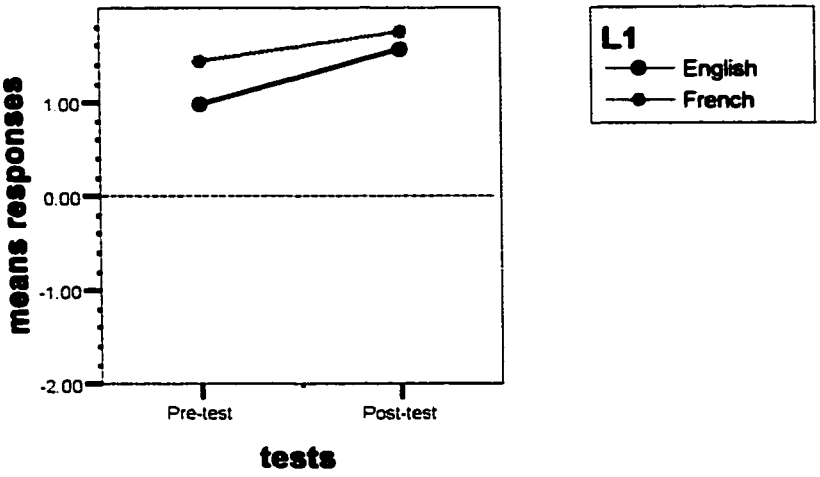
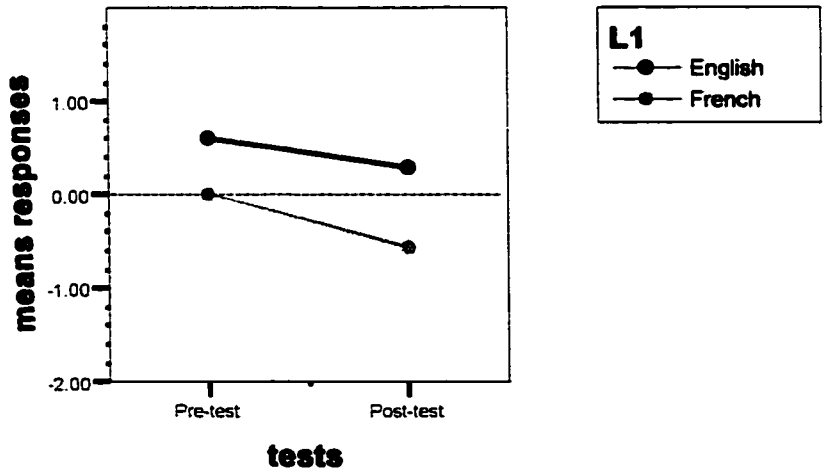


Figure 24: Impersonals with Transitive Verbs – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Ungrammatical Items



A one-factor ANOVA performed on both grammatical and ungrammatical items shows no effect for tests ($df = 1$, $F = .004$, $p < .952$). Again, if grammatical and ungrammatical items are analyzed separately, a different pattern emerges. On grammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA reveals a main effect for tests ($df = 1$, $F = 6.923$, $p < .011$). The subjects' performance increased from the pre-test to the post-test, with a greater improvement for the English group. As for

ungrammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA did not show any significant effect for tests ($df = 1$, $F = 2.604$, $p < .112$). Even when the English and French groups are analyzed separately, the ANOVA finds no significant difference between the pre-test and post-test ($df = 1$, $F = .723$, $p < .404$; $df = 1$, $F = 2.183$, $p < .150$, respectively). Although subjects did seem to have better judgments after instruction, the difference between both tests was not significant on ungrammatical items. Moreover, while subjects in the English group in Figure 24 show some sign of improvement from pre-test to post-test, they could still not judge transitive impersonals with plural agreement as ungrammatical. As for impersonals with intransitive verbs, Figures 25 and 26 show the means responses of both experimental groups on grammatical and ungrammatical items, respectively.

Figure 25: Impersonals with Intransitive Verbs – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Grammatical Items

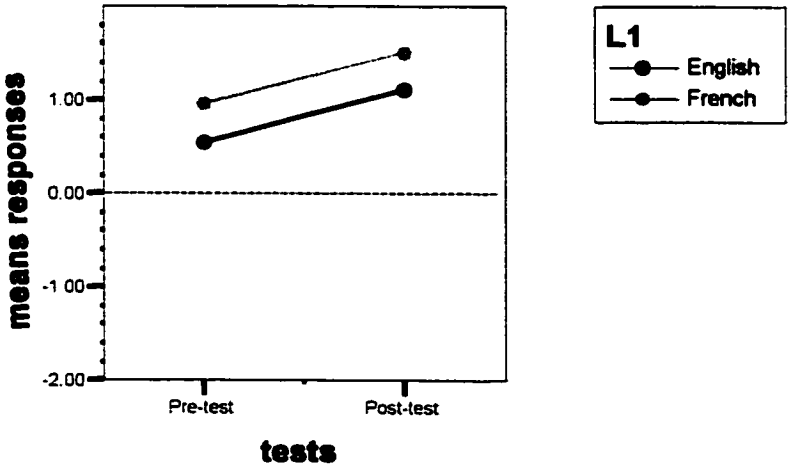
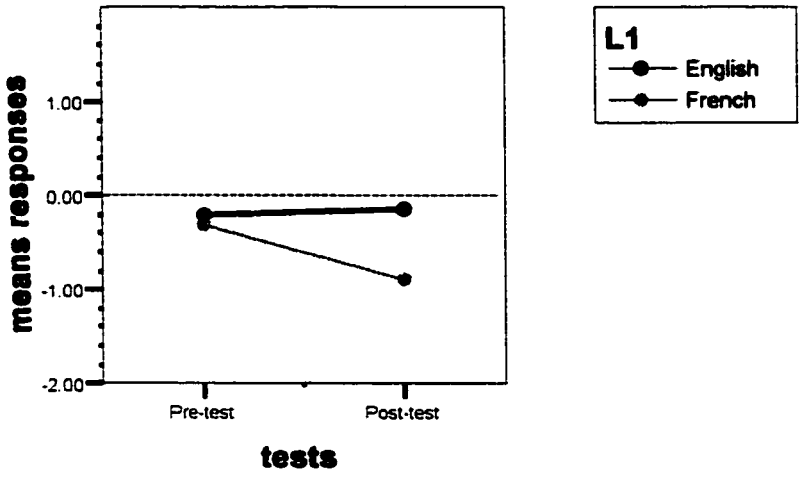


Figure 26: Impersonals with Intransitive Verbs – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test Ungrammatical Items



A one-factor ANOVA conducted on both grammatical and ungrammatical items reveals no significant effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = .371, p < .544). Again, a one-factor ANOVA performed on grammatical items only shows a main effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = 8.037, p < .006). If conducted on the experimental groups separately, a one-factor ANOVA reveals a main effect for tests only in the case of the French group (*df* = 1, F = 6.650, p < .015), in contrast to the English group (*df* = 1, F = 2.764, p < .109). In the case of ungrammatical items and as opposed to grammatical items, a one-factor ANOVA does not show a statistically relevant effect for tests (*df* = 1, F = 1.111, p < .296), even when the English and French groups are analyzed separately (*df* = 1, F = .028, p < .868; *df* = 1, F = 3.616, p < .067). It seems the performance of the French group improved consistently from pre- to post-test, whereas the English group performed slightly worse.

The results of the post-test on the agreement properties of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals indicate a general positive effect for instruction on the grammatical items for the English group and on the ungrammatical items for the French group. Even though the ANOVAs do not always reveal a significant effect for tests, subjects are more accurate in their judgments after than before instruction, especially on grammatical items, where all the ANOVAs indicated a statistically relevant effect for tests. Instruction seems to have contributed to increase the gap in grammaticality judgments between grammatical and ungrammatical

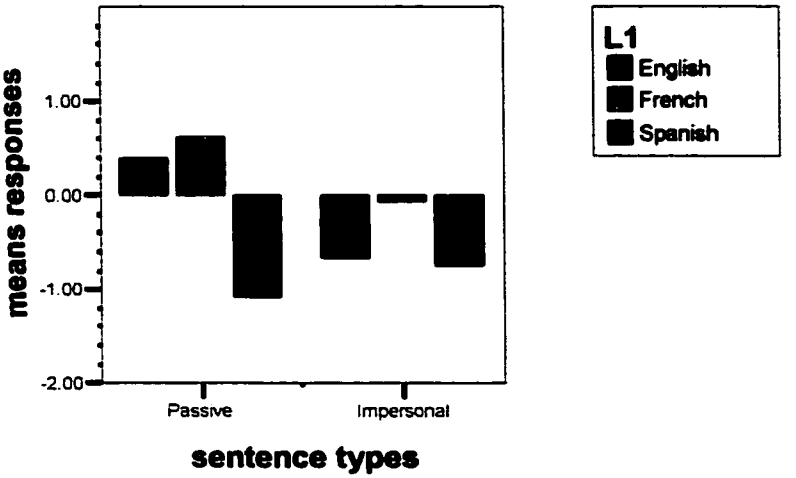
items. The role of L1 after such instruction also appears to decrease when the subjects' performance increases from the pre-test to the post-test, that is, on grammatical items. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the French group could attain native-like performances on grammatical impersonals, in contrast to the English group. This accuracy on grammatical items could be the result of typological similarities between French and Spanish, where French also has [+strong] agreement. French-speaking subjects would thus be more sensitive to agreement than English-speaking subjects. Overall, instruction proved to be beneficial on grammatical items, making subjects more sensitive to the agreement properties of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals after than prior to instruction.

Finally, the results on the third and last property of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that was tested, i.e., the impossibility for an external θ-role or Agent to be (overtly) expressed in the sentence as in an agentive PP, do not indicate much improvement from pre-test to post-test, which is to be expected as subjects did not receive any instruction on such property. Table N summarizes the means scores of subjects on both passives and impersonals followed by an agentive PP. The first set of bars in Figure 27 represents the means scores of subjects on (ungrammatical) passives followed by an agentive PP, while the second set of bars represents subjects' means scores on their impersonal counterparts.

Table N: Passives and Impersonals with an Agentive PP.

L1		Passives	Impersonals
English	Mean	.4038	-.6538
	N	13	13
	Std. Deviation	1.0485	.7327
French	Mean	.6250	-.0625
	N	16	16
	Std. Deviation	.9487	1.0468
Spanish	Mean	-1.0741	-.7407
	N	27	27
	Std. Deviation	.7590	1.1939

Figure 27: Passives and Impersonals with an Agentive PP



Two one-factor ANOVAs conducted on both categories reveal a main effect for language groups (*df* = 2, F = 14.655, p < .000), but significant effect for sentence types (*df* = 1, F = 1.708, p < .194). Yet, a two-factor ANOVA performed between language groups and sentence types shows a significant interaction between the two factors (*df* = 2, F = 5.392, p < .006). A post-hoc Fisher LSD correlation coefficient performed on passives and impersonals indicates that both experimental groups differ statistically from the Control group (p < .000), but not from each other (p < .507) in the case of passives. As for impersonals, the only significant difference was found between the French and Spanish groups (p < .048). Both experimental groups seem to be more willing to accept the presence of an agentive PP with reflexive passives than with reflexive impersonals. The 'passive' nature of reflexive passives and the fact that they are closely related to full passives may be a potential explanation of why learners are more willing to accept the presence of an Agent in the sentence. On the other hand, the 'active' nature of impersonals should inhibit to a greater extent the presence of such PPs as their French and English counterparts (with *on* and *one*) may never be followed by such a PP. As in the pre-test, the French group seems to be more willing to accept the presence of an agentive PP with reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals than any other groups. Again, this could be the result of the French-speaking subjects associating reflexive passives directly with full passives, either because of their passive verb morphology or as a failure to assume that the external θ-role

has already been assigned to *se*. Figure 28 and 29 show subjects' grammaticality judgments on passives and impersonals, respectively, from the pre-test to the post-test.

Figure 28: Passives with an Agentive PP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test

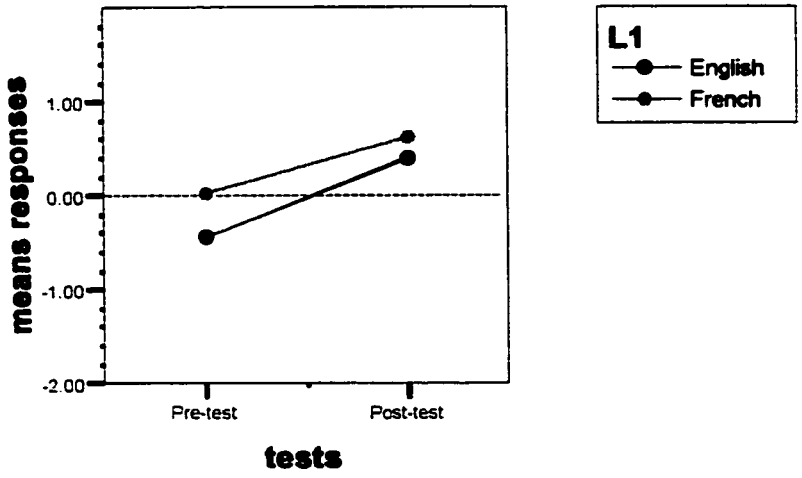
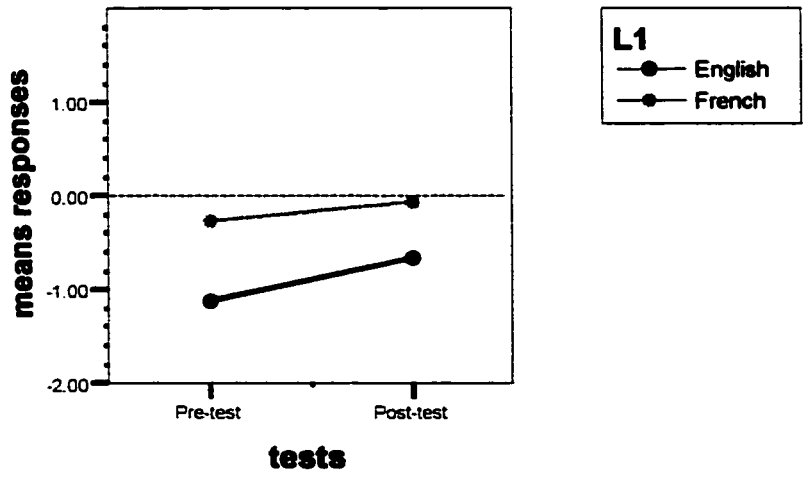


Figure 29: Impersonals with an Agentive PP – Pre-Test Versus Post-Test



A one-factor ANOVA conducted on both reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals reveals a significant effect for tests (df = 1, F = 7.141, p < .009), with both experimental groups more willing to accept passives and impersonals with an agentive PP on the post-test. Two one-factor ANOVAs performed on passives and impersonals separately shows a main effect for tests in the case of passives (df = 1, F = 7.562, p < .008), but not in the case of impersonals (df = 1, F =

1.517, $p < .223$). Indeed, subjects performance on the post-test is worse than on the pre-test. Yet, let us recall that learners were not instructed on the impossibility for reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals to project an agentive PP, which may explain why their judgments did not improve from pre- to post-test.[11]

3.3 Discussion

The first research question postulated in this study concerned whether adult learners' have access to abstract features when acquiring a second language. I hypothesized that while the L2 acquisition of Spanish reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals is UG-constrained, French and English-speaking learners may not access the abstract features involved in the use of both constructions. This implies that they may not access the {[+Strong] [V]} feature of T (the movement parameter), the {[+Strong] [D]} (and [assign nominative Case]) feature of *v* (which attracts the internal argument and allows it to appear in either a pre- or post-verbal position), and the Case features and θ-roles assigned to *se* and the internal argument. This hypothesis was partially confirmed: in most cases, learners correctly assumed that T in Spanish is [+Strong] for [V] and that as a result, the verb must move overtly to T to check its formal features, i.e., they distinguished grammatical from ungrammatical items when agreement was involved, especially in the case of reflexive passives. However, they did not always recognize as ungrammatical the items involving the use of reflexive impersonals with a plural agreement, which implies that they did not correctly assume that *se* triggers a 'default' agreement upon the verb. Hence, they did not recognize *se* as a defective element that checked nominative Case. Similarly, learners could not differentiate grammatical from ungrammatical items when the grammaticality of such constructions depended on the Case and [+human] feature of the following NP. Subjects were not sensitive to the relationship that exists between [+human] and [+ACC] features, accepting ungrammatical items whether *a* preceded or not the post-verbal NP.[12] It is impossible from the present data to analyze the exact cause of the problem, that is, whether subjects were not sensitive to the Case or [+human] features of an NP. To do so, it would have been necessary to

[11] Hence, this argument is not conclusive, since subjects did not improve their performance from pre- to post-test on items on which they were instructed prior to the second grammaticality judgment task (for example, the items involving the presence of the object marking preposition *a*).

[12] It seems that they were not sensitive to such relation even prior to the experiment. Had this problem been predicted, subjects would have been tested on their general knowledge of the use of *a* before participating in the experiment.

compare impersonals followed by a [+human] NP to impersonals followed by a [-human] NP. Such items were not included in the tests, first because they are subject to variation, second because instruction focuses on standard Spanish. It is nonetheless reasonable to predict that learners were not sensitive to the [+human] features of the post-verbal NP, and especially to the relationship that exists between the [+human] and [+ACC] features of an NP (in reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals as in any Spanish construction involving the presence of such NP), as such relationship is not present in either French or English. The object-marking preposition *a* is an idiosyncratic feature at the interface of morphology and syntax. In this case, it seems that learners have not learned the morphology of such preposition, as acknowledged in other studies (Lardiere 1998; Liceras *et al.* 1999; Prévost and White 2001; Pérez-Tattam *et al.* 2002).

This could perhaps be an indication that the input to which learners were exposed (i.e., both positive and negative evidence) was not sufficient to trigger the acquisition of such preposition, or to have learners at least adopt a similar surface structure as the native speakers'. Since the subjects in the present study are learning Spanish as a foreign language in Canada, a country where Spanish is not spoken very much (if barely at all) on the streets, it seems reasonable to assume that the insufficiency of exposure to L2 input is responsible for the inability for learners to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items with or without the preposition *a*, when the grammaticality of such items depends on a structure that is not very salient in these constructions.[13] Another possibility (which could also be the consequence of the former) is that learners could not distinguish between both constructions, not knowing when the object-marking preposition is necessary. Then, the successful acquisition of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals is dependent upon whether learners have adopted the right strength value of the abstract features involved in the use of both constructions, and whether they have acquired the superficial morphology of the language

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[13] Notwithstanding, it would be wrong to assume that the object-marking preposition *a* is not salient in the language in general. In (i-ii), the use of this lexical item is quite obvious :

(i) Necesito a mi hermano/ el libro.
need-1st pers.sg A my brother/ the book
'I need my brother/ the book.'

(ii) Busco a mi madre/ la silla.
look-1st for pers.sg A my mother/ the chair
'I look for my mother/ the chair.'

Hence, learners should have been able to infer this property from their actual knowledge of the language and apply it to reflexive impersonals.

which, in this case, prescribes the use of the object-marking preposition *a* in front of [+human] [+ACC] NPs. While we may not confirm that the former has occurred, we may hypothesize that the latter has not, given the failure of subjects to use the preposition *a* when appropriate.

The second research question of this study was whether L1 influences the pace and path of acquisition in learning Spanish reflexive passives and impersonals. I predicted that English-speaking subjects would experience more difficulty than French-speaking subjects in acquiring such constructions, given the typological proximity of French and Spanish as opposed to English and Spanish. This hypothesis was only partially confirmed. On the pre-test, the French group outperformed the English group, but only on those structures where transfer from French to Spanish was made possible. On reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals followed by a [+human] NP, the French group did not perform better or worse than the English group: both their performances on such constructions indicated that they could not distinguish at all between grammatical and ungrammatical items, as neither French nor English allows the presence of an object-marking preposition in front of an NP. Yet, on structures testing the licensing of agreement, the French group outperformed the English group on grammatical items as agreement in both languages is [+Strong]. Subjects in the French group consistently obtained higher results than subjects in the English group in judging grammatical items, while their performance was somewhat similar to subjects in the English group when judging ungrammatical items, and worse when judging sentences embedding an agentive PP. After instruction has taken place, the difference between both language groups was no longer significant in the case of grammatical items, as the English group improved in judging grammatical items from the pre-test to the post-test: both experimental groups performed very similarly, perhaps with the exception of intransitive impersonals, where the French group outperformed the English group again. On ungrammatical items however, the French group performed statistically better than the English group in all the cases where transfer was made possible, this time also including passives followed by a [+human] NP. The only structure on which the French group did not significantly outperform the English group was on sentences followed by an agentive PP: As in the pre-test, French speakers were more willing to accept such sentences than English speakers.

These results indicate that L1 plays some role in L2 acquisition. In this study, the fact that such a role was notable but not predominant may be rationalized by two potential factors.

Students at an advanced level of proficiency such as in this study may not rely so much on their first language when operating in the target language, perhaps in view of the fact that the influence of L1 tends to decrease as proficiency increases. It is therefore logical to assume that different language groups may perform more and more similarly on a language task as their level of proficiency increases. However, it is impossible to confirm this possibility with great certitude, since we did not analyze data from a comparable beginner group. On the other hand, it could be that since all subjects have in most cases a good knowledge of their second language (French or English, accordingly), they rely on their knowledge of that language (especially in the case of English-speaking subjects) to facilitate the acquisition of Spanish.[14] It is again not possible to determine which of the two factors is the most determinant in the present study. We may nonetheless keep in mind that while both language groups have shown a similar performance on the tasks, it does not imply that their competence is the same. More subtle elicitation techniques may be needed to measure the exact role played by L1s.

The third and final research question of this study was whether instruction may facilitate or not the acquisition of specific structures that are not salient in the language. I predicted that formal instruction would be beneficial to the acquisition of reflexive passives and impersonals, and would result in better performances on the grammaticality judgments. This hypothesis was again only partially confirmed. The impact of the treatment that was provided to subjects prior to the post-test may be divided in two categories: a beneficial impact on items testing the agreement features of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, and no impact on items testing learners' sensitivity to the relationship between [+human] and [+ACC] features. On the former, instruction was beneficial to both experimental groups on both grammatical and ungrammatical items, with the exception of the English group's performance on ungrammatical passives with a [-human] NP (where it worsened) and on ungrammatical intransitive impersonals (where it remained the same). On the latter, the gap between grammatical and ungrammatical items did not increase after instruction. Subjects could still not distinguish between both items, although their attention was brought to the fact that [+human] direct object pronouns must be preceded by the object-marking preposition *a*. This could be explained namely by the fact that 3 hours of instruction is not sufficient to have subjects learn an

[14] Due to time limitations and thesis constraints, it was not possible to examine closely the individual differences related to the influence of L2 knowledge on learning L3 Spanish. These individual differences will be examined in further work.

idiosyncratic and morphological element that does not bring additional content to the sentence.[15]

It is difficult to compare the results of the above experiment with Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) findings reported in Section 2.3. One reason for this is that both differ in terms of subjects (namely their level of proficiency), test items, and the experimental design: the subjects in Bruhn de Garavito's experiment consisted of one advanced group and two near-native groups; the test items sought to differentiate not only reflexive passives from reflexive impersonals, but also, both constructions from causative/inchoative alternating constructions; finally, no instruction was involved in her experiment. Hence, the only comparison that could be established between both experiments is between her advanced group (L1 English) and our English group prior to instruction.[16] Subjects in Bruhn de Garavito's experiment pattern with the English group in this experiment in that both seem to perform better when judging grammatical items than when judging ungrammatical ones. This discrepancy is more salient on grammatical and ungrammatical reflexive passives involving agreement in the case of Bruhn de Garavito's experiment than in ours. As for the object-marking preposition, neither of the two groups distinguish between reflexive passives, where *a* is not accepted (excluding dialectal variations), and reflexive impersonals, where *a* should be present. Interestingly, the gap between both elements in the case of the Bruhn de Garavito's two near-native groups (French and English) is not much greater, suggesting that this special feature of Spanish is subject to difficulties even at near-native levels of proficiency. While this does not confirm whether learners may or may not access the abstract features of a language, it certainly supports that successful L2 acquisition also depends on whether learners acquire the morphology of the language.

I now turn to potential methodological objections that could be raised regarding the study. First, the two groups receiving instruction could not be compared to a (control) group who would not have receive any instruction at all. The restricted amount of subjects available for this study did not allow us to replicate it on a comparable group who would not have been instructed on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. We may therefore not compare the

[15] Again, subjects could not perform this experiment unless it was not interfering with the actual curriculum.
[16] Naturally, there is a possibility that the level of proficiency of the advanced group in Bruhn de Garavito (1999a; 1999b) does not equal that of our English group. While aware that this comparison may not be based on solid grounds, it gives us a general idea of whether the few phenomena observed in our experiment pattern with the ones acknowledged in Bruhn de Garavito's experiment.

present results to the results of a control group not instructed on such constructions. Could subjects naturally improve their performance and have more accurate judgments after completing twice a very similar test? While this question remains unanswered, we acknowledged in the comparison tests on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals followed by an agentive PP that both experimental groups performed much worse on the post-test than on the pre-test. This difference in performance could most realistically be explained by the fact that when reading the various sentences, learners' attention was focused on the characteristics of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that were brought up during the treatment period: NP as subject or object, [+human] feature of an object NP, and agreement with the subject, NP or *se* for reflexive passives or reflexive impersonals, respectively. This could have led subjects to be more accepting of such sentences than on the pre-test. There is however no reason to assume that no instruction could have lead to better performances, as it obviously did not on reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals followed by an agentive PP.

Another potential objection to this study is the fact that in general, subjects had a relatively good knowledge of French or English as a second language, which could have influenced the results and contributed to diminish the difference between both language groups.[17] It is true that this knowledge may be a factor in play when considering the importance of L1 in L2 acquisition. Yet, the results were consistent in showing in many cases that the French group outperformed the English group (although not always significantly), which indicates that L1 must still somehow be influencing the subjects in their judgments.

3.4 Conclusion

L2 acquisition of Spanish impersonal and passive *se* does constitute a great challenge to overcome for native speakers of English and French, since the difference between both structures is not salient in the input and their English and French counterparts are realized syntactically, morphologically, and lexically in distinct ways. In this study, subject could accurately distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical items, excluding items testing learners' sensitivity to the relationship between [+human] and [+ACC] features of an NP. Whether these results support a Full- or Partial-Access Hypothesis is beyond the scope of this

[17] Again, more refined answers will be provided in further work after carrying out an individual analysis of the L2 proficiency groups.

study: while (English) learners seem to have acquired the strength of the abstract features involved in the acquisition of the verb-movement parameter prior to instruction, it is impossible to confirm whether this was really the case or whether they simply restructured the constructions one at a time without acquiring the strength of feature. Meanwhile, Bruhn de Garavito's (1999a; 1999b) experiment confirms that such features are still problematic at near-native levels of proficiency. As for the impact of explicit instruction over L2 acquisition, it resulted in improved performances on every structure (especially on grammatical items), excluding again items testing learners' sensitivity to the relationship between [+human] and [+ACC] features of an NP instruction. Since this impact was measured on grammaticality judgments only, it is not possible to verify whether instruction also has an impact other kinds of task. As no delayed post-test were administered, we may not know either whether the impact of instruction is retained over a longer time period.[18] Although we may not draw firm conclusions from this study, we may still acknowledge the role of instruction in second language acquisition as being beneficial to L2 learners, as it did result in higher performances on most structures. In view of the results herein, future research should focus more specifically on the impact of explicit instruction on the acquisition of idiosyncratic features of a given language that seem more problematic to L2 acquisition and that have not been acquired (at least superficially) prior to instruction.

[18] Time constraints and the difficulty in encountering subjects are the obvious causes of such a lack of useful data.

4. Conclusion

The research carried out within this Master thesis is relevant to the areas of theoretical linguistics, second language acquisition, and second language teaching. First, it proposes within a current syntactic theory a representation for reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals that captures the intuitions of several recent and less recent seminal analyses on both constructions. Then, it examines the role of Universal Grammar in the L2 acquisition of similar constructions and links past research to the present experiment. Furthermore, it explores the potential impact of explicit instruction on L2 learning, from past research to the actual experiment. Finally, it has met the challenge of linking two crucial aspects of L2 acquisition that are too often left apart: the linguistic analysis of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals as an account of the native speaker's competence, and the actual teaching of such constructions in the classroom. I would like to suggest that it is only by linking those two essential aspects of L2 acquisition that specific linguistic structures may be enhanced in the classroom and that adult L2 learning may be facilitated.

The results of the present experiment constitute one piece of evidence that explicit instruction has some beneficial impact on L2 acquisition, and in fact, is crucial in an environment where Spanish is not commonly spoken outside the classroom. It also provides some evidence that even at an advanced level of proficiency, L1 influences at least to some extent the L2 acquisition of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals. As far as UG access is

concerned, the only conclusion we may draw from this study is that learners could not distinguish between both structures. Whether this supports a Full- or Partial-Access Hypothesis is beyond the scope of this research. Nevertheless, it is possible that learners would have come to differentiate grammatical in reflexive passives from reflexive impersonals, had they been exposed to further positive and/or negative evidence.

One difficulty encountered in the completion of this research project was the ambitious nature of the experiment, given the time limitations to conduct the experiment. Had the knowledge acquired during the last year been acquired prior to the realization of this project, the experiment conducted in this thesis would have had a simpler design, so that firmer conclusions might have been drawn from it. One often tends to believe that it is by developing the most extensive experimental tasks that the best and more conclusive results may be obtained. On the contrary, there is a need to replicate existing experiments and isolate the variables involved in the experimental process so that further and stronger evidence may be acknowledged in the area of applied linguistics and second language acquisition.

This experience as a researcher has been among the most valuable and rewarding experiences I have had the chance to acquire to this day. Not only has it involved the study of a lexically, morphologically, and syntactically complex structure by an L3 speaker of Spanish, but also, it has required the use of numerous skills which, before such experiment, had not been developed. These skills include namely the design of individual test items within a sophisticated experimental task, which involved a constant and refined interaction between their acceptability and grammaticality; the handling of statistical analyses, by which the data herein were thoroughly interpreted and evaluated; finally, the creation of a bridge between the abstract representation of reflexive passives and reflexive impersonals, and their acquisition in a concrete classroom setting.

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Appendices

Appendix A

General Information Questionnaire

Questionnaire

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name: _____
2. Gender: F [ ] M [ ]
3. Age: _____
4. Do you have any vision or reading problems? _____
5. Mother tongue: _____
6. Mother's dominant language: _____
7. Father's dominant language: _____
8. Language(s) spoken at home as a child:_____
9. Language(s) you spoke during the first five years of your life:

   _____
10. Language(s) studied in (please include Spanish):
    - •Primary school: _____
    - •Secondary (high) school:_____
    - •University:_____
    - •Other institutions: _____
11. Languages you use:
    - •At Home:_____
    - •At School:_____
    - •At Work:_____
    - •When you dream:_____
12. Other languages you can:
    - •Read: _____
    - •Speak: _____

•Write:_____

13. What language do you feel most comfortable with at this time?

_____

14. What program are you in at the university?

_____

15. Year at the university:

_____

16. Are you presently studying Spanish at the university level? If so, please give us university name and course number.

_____

17. Contact with Spanish outside classroom:

Present contact:

•Approximate hours/week: _____

•Context: (e.g. friends, family, clubs, etc.): _____

Previous contact:

•Have you ever visited a Spanish-speaking country? YES [ ] NO [ ]

IF, YES

•When?_____

•For how long?_____

(Adapted from Liceras *et al.* 2001)

APPENDIX B

Fluency Assessment Questionnaire for Bilinguals and Polyglots

Section 1: General information

Please indicate :

Your name: _____

Your country of origin:_____

When applicable, indicate at what age you have started to :

	In English	In French	In Spanish	In another language: specify
Speak				
Read				
Write				

Please indicate your language(s) of instruction through primary and secondary school by grades.

	KG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Sel	8 Se2	9 Se3	10 Se4	11 Se5	12 C1	13 C2
English														
French														
Spanish														
Other: Specify														

Section 2: Use of English, French, Spanish and other languages

We now ask you to partition, in percentages, the time you spend using English, French, Spanish or other languages in various contexts. Please make sure the sum of the percentages you report add up to 100%. Specify the other languages you use.

When you talk with your mother

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
English											
French											
Spanish											
Other											

When you talk with your father

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
English											
French											
Spanish											
Other											

When you talk with your friends at the university

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
English											
French											
Spanish											
Other											

When you talk with your friends outside the university

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
English											
French											

Spanish											
Other											

When you talk with your colleagues at work (if applicable)

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
English											
French											
Spanish											
Other											

Section 3: Effort required to carry out different activities in English, French or Spanish

We now ask you to evaluate, on a 9-point scale, the level of difficulty you would experience if you were to carry out various activities in English, French or Spanish. On this scale, 1 means that the use of the specified language in the specified activity would be very easy for you. At the other end of the scale, 9 means that the use of the specified language in the specified activity would be very difficult for you. The values 2 through 8 indicate intermediate levels of difficulty. In the use of this scale the sum of the two values for English, French and Spanish for an activity can vary between 3 and 27.

Research on bilingualism shows that people seldom have the exact same level of fluency in their two or more languages. Usually, one language is dominant relative to the others. Moreover, the dominant language may sometimes differ for different activities. Please use the 9-point scale carefully so as to represent as accurately as you can the level of difficulty you would experience if you were to carry out the following activities in English, French or Spanish. Please indicate your assessment in the provided spaces.

Very easy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very difficult

Activity	In English	In French	In Spanish
Oral Comprehension			
1. Tell the difference between a question and a request			
2. Tell what the weather will be after listening to a weather forecast on the radio			
3. Identify the topic of a casual conversation between two persons at the bus stop or in a store			
4. Follow a casual conversation perfectly between two persons at a bus stop or in a store			
5. Understanding spoken instructions on how to get to the train station			
6. Understand a news report on the radio			
7. Understanding the dialogues in a film without subtitles			
8. Understanding jokes and word games			
Oral Production			
9. Count rapidly from 1 to 20			
10. Recite the alphabet quickly from A to Z			
11. Introduce yourself to someone			
12. Give the time to someone on the street			
13. Order a meal in a restaurant			
14. Ask someone on the street for information			
15. Tell someone what you did during your summer vacation			

16. Initiate a casual conversation with someone at a bus stop or in a store			
17. Participate actively in a casual discussion at the dinner table or at the cafeteria			
18. Express your opinions on current issues			
19. Get through a job interview			
20. Make jokes or puns			
21. Do a 20-minute oral presentation in front of a group of 15 persons			
22. Report the details of an accident over the telephone to a 911 attendant.			
Reading Comprehension			
23. Understanding the menu in an ordinary restaurant			
24. Follow a recipe in the preparation of a dish			
25. Understanding an advertisement in a magazine			
26. Understanding the text of a comic strip in a newspaper			
27. Understanding a film review in a newspaper			
28. Understanding a front page article in a newspaper			
29. Understanding the content of an introductory textbook at the university (e.g., sociology)			
30. Understanding the content of a novel			
Writing			
31. Writing a postcard to a friend			
32. Writing a note for someone			
33. Writing a 2-page paper (double spaced) on your favourite hobby			
34. Writing a 4-page personal letter			
35. Writing a letter to the editor of a newspaper to express your opinion on a current issue			

36. Writing a 25-page term paper (double spaced) for a course			

Thank you for your collaboration!

(Adapted from Liceras *et al.* 2001)

Appendix C

Test I
Grammaticality Judgment Test
Test de jugement grammatical
Prueba de juicio grammatical

Instructions (Adapted from Bruhn de Garavito (1999b)): [1]

Read the following 64 sentences carefully and indicate the extent to which each of them sounds or does not sound grammatically correct. You are requested to indicate whether these sentences are possible or not, whether they sound right or not, without providing explanations to your reasoning. Do not pay attention to spelling or punctuation. You do not need to worry either about the style or elegancy of the sentences. Rate the sentences according to the following scale:

-2 = sounds bad
-1 = sounds bad, but not so much
0 = you cannot decide (try to avoid this answer)
1 = sounds relatively good
2 = sounds good

For example, examples (1) and (2) will most probably sound much worse than examples (3) and (4):

1. This tool allows cut metal.

(-2)	-1	0	1	2

2. This tool allows to cut metal.

-2	(-1)	0	1	2

3. This tool allows me to cut metal.

-2	-1	0	1	(2)

4. This tool cuts metal.

-2	-1	0	1	(2)

Please circle only **ONE** of the numbers and do not change your answer after doing so.

NOW YOU CAN START.

---

[1] The instructions were provided in French, English, and Spanish, to ensure that subjects would understand how to carry out the test. For reasons of space, I included the English version only.

1. Se aceptaron muchos candidatos para el concurso.

-2	-1	0	1	2

2. Se consulta a los profesores antes de los exámenes.

-2	-1	0	1	2

3. Les recomendaron a ustedes que se fueran de la reunión.

-2	-1	0	1	2

4. Se vendieron unos libros por familias con dificultades económicas.

-2	-1	0	1	2

5. Se lloran mucho en ciertas películas

-2	-1	0	1	2

6. Se recomiendan que los estudiantes terminen su trabajo final antes del examen.

-2	-1	0	1	2

7. Entregaron los trabajos finales a ellos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

8. Se habla todavía del escándalo del Presidente en el estado de Washington.

-2	-1	0	1	2

9. Se encuentra los artistas más famosos en este club.

-2	-1	0	1	2

10. Se arrestaron a los ladrones en menos de dos horas.

-2	-1	0	1	2

11. Le hicieron a Juan una propuesta de trabajo muy interesante.

-2	-1	0	1	2

12. Muchos martinis se consumió en la fiesta de fin de año.

-2	-1	0	1	2

13. Aunque era muy caro, ese vestido se vendió rápidamente.

-2	-1	0	1	2

14. Se permite que los empleados tomen una pausa de 30 minutos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

15. Se rechazaron todos los candidatos que no habían incluido un proyecto.

-2	-1	0	1	2

16. Cantaron una serenada a ella.

-2	-1	0	1	2

17. Se dice que hay que estudiar por los profesores.

-2	-1	0	1	2

18. Se baila mucho en la discóteca *Playa del sol.*

-2	-1	0	1	2

19. A David les dijo su mamá que se quedara tranquilo.

-2	-1	0	1	2

20. Se encarceló a esos delicuentes cuando fueron declarados culpables.

-2	-1	0	1	2

21. Se entienden que Roberto esté preocupado por los exámenes

-2	-1	0	1	2

22. Se baila con mucha gracia por los profesionales de salsa.

-2	-1	0	1	2

23. Se emplearon a actores muy jóvenespara el espectáculo.

-2	-1	0	1	2

24. Las entradas para ese concierto se venden en todas las tiendas de música.

-2	-1	0	1	2

25. A usted le gusta el chocolate, ¿no?

-2	-1	0	1	2

26. A veces se duermen en las clases de español.

-2	-1	0	1	2

27. El músico les dio las gracias a la audiencia.

-2	-1	0	1	2

28. La lotería se ganó por un hombre muy fortunado.

-2	-1	0	1	2

29. Se necesitan 200 estudiantes para ese proyecto.

-2	-1	0	1	2

30. Se busca los señores Williams para juzgarlos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

31. Se aconseja que los estudiantes estudien antes del examen.

-2	-1	0	1	2

32. Dijeron que se callara a él.

-2	-1	0	1	2

33. Ese maravilloso carro deportivo se sortean en la lotería.

-2	-1	0	1	2

34. Se venció facilmente a los otros partidos en las elecciones.

-2	-1	0	1	2

35. No se aceptan que los pacientes traigan animales al hospital.

-2	-1	0	1	2

36. La telefonista le aconsejó a los clientes que se presentaran con los formularios necesarios.

-2	-1	0	1	2

37. Se necesitan a empleados muy trabajadores.

-2	-1	0	1	2

38. Esa piedra preciosa se encuentran en el sur de Perú.

-2	-1	0	1	2

39. No se acepta llegar tarde por los profesores de esta universidad.

-2	-1	0	1	2

40. A Felipe le dijeron que se callara.

-2	-1	0	1	2

41. Se conoce los amigos porque están dispuestos a ayudar.

-2	-1	0	1	2

42. Este artículo se ha publicado en la primera página del periódico.

-2	-1	0	1	2

43. A los profesores de psicología les dieron las gracias por su ayuda.

-2	-1	0	1	2

44. Se ve que Paolo no ha dormido mucho.

-2	-1	0	1	2

45. No se come muy bien en este restaurante.

-2	-1	0	1	2

46. Se sabe que habrá la tempestad del siglo por los meteorólogos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

47. Le cambiaron a Eduardo el horario.

-2	-1	0	1	2

48. "Se saluda a los amigos," repite siempre mi vecino cuando me ve.

-2	-1	0	1	2

49. No se corren atrás de este edificio.

-2	-1	0	1	2

50. Dieron los medicamientos necesarios a ellos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

51. Se sabe que uno no debe comer con la boca abierta.

-2	-1	0	1	2

52. Se castigaron a esos alumnos por no respetar al profesor.

-2	-1	0	1	2

53. Al taxista les pagaron antes de irse a la fiesta.

-2	-1	0	1	2

54. Se notan que Pablo ha entrado en una depresión profunda.

-2	-1	0	1	2

55. Todos los cursos de geología se cambiaron para evitar los conflictos de horario.

-2	-1	0	1	2

56. Se duerme muy bien después de unos 20 kilómetros caminando por la montaña.

-2	-1	0	1	2

57. Una nueva bacteria se descubrió por un biólogo conocido.

-2	-1	0	1	2

58. A los hijos de Elisa les dieron muchos regalos de Navidad.

-2	-1	0	1	2

59. Se asesinó los hijos de Bernarda en su propia casa.

-2	-1	0	1	2

60. Se duerme mucho por los estudiantes cansados.

-2	-1	0	1	2

61. Los mariscos se vende muy frescos en ese supermercado.

-2	-1	0	1	2

62. Les dieron a los empleados una semana de vacaciones.

-2	-1	0	1	2

63. No se cantan durante la comida.

-2	-1	0	1	2

64. Se oían niños riéndose a lo lejos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

Appendix D

Test II
Grammaticality Judgments Test
Test de jugements grammaticaux
Prueba de juicios de gramaticalidad

Instructions (Adapted from Bruhn de Garavito (1999b)):[2]

Read the following 64 sentences carefully and indicate the extent to which each of them sounds or does not sound grammatically correct. You are requested to indicate whether these sentences are possible or not, whether they sound right or not, without providing explanations to your reasoning. Do not pay attention to spelling or punctuation. You do not need to worry either about the style or elegancy of the sentences. Rate the sentences according to the following scale:

-2 = sounds bad
-1 = sounds bad, but not so much
0 = you cannot decide (try to avoid this answer)
1 = sounds relatively good
2 = sounds good

For example, examples (1) and (2) will most probably sound much worse than examples (3) and (4):

1. This tool allows cut metal.

(-2)	-1	0	1	2

2. This tool allows to cut metal.

-2	(-1)	0	1	2

3. This tool allows me to cut metal.

-2	-1	0	1	(2)

4. This tool cuts metal.

-2	-1	0	1	(2)

Please circle only **ONE** of the numbers and do not change your answer after doing so.

NOW YOU CAN START.

[2] Again, the instructions were provided in French, English, and Spanish, to ensure that subjects would understand how to carry out the test. For reasons of space, I included the English version only.

1. Se habla todavía del escándalo del Presidente en el estado de Washington.

-2	-1	0	1	2

2. Se rechazaron todos los candidatos que no habían incluido un proyecto.

-2	-1	0	1	2

3. Se baila con mucha gracia por los profesionales de salsa.

-2	-1	0	1	2

4. Dijeron que se callara a él.

-2	-1	0	1	2

5. Se ve que Paolo no ha dormido mucho.

-2	-1	0	1	2

6. Cantaron una serenata a ella.

-2	-1	0	1	2

7. Se duerme mucho por los estudiantes cansados.

-2	-1	0	1	2

8. Todos los cursos de geología se cambiaron para evitar los conflictos de horario.

-2	-1	0	1	2

9. A David les dijo su mamá que se quedara tranquilo.

-2	-1	0	1	2

10. Se aceptaron muchos candidatos para el concurso.

-2	-1	0	1	2

11. Este artículo se ha publicado en la primera página del periódico.

-2	-1	0	1	2

12. Al taxista les pagaron antes de irse a la fiesta.

-2	-1	0	1	2

13. La lotería se ganó por un hombre muy afortunado.

-2	-1	0	1	2

14. Se arrestaron a los ladrones en menos de dos horas.

-2	-1	0	1	2

15. Se venció facilmente a los otros partidos en las elecciones.

-2	-1	0	1	2

16. No se corren atrás de este edificio.

-2	-1	0	1	2

17. Los mariscos se vende muy frescos en ese supermercado.

-2	-1	0	1	2

18. Se castigaron a esos alumnos por no respetar al profesor.

-2	-1	0	1	2

19. Les recomendaron a ustedes que se fueran de la reunión.

-2	-1	0	1	2

20. Se dice que hay que estudiar por los profesores.

-2	-1	0	1	2

21. Ese maravilloso carro deportivo se sortean en la lotería.

-2	-1	0	1	2

22. No se come muy bien en este restaurante.

-2	-1	0	1	2

23. Muchos martinis se consumió en la fiesta de fin de año.

-2	-1	0	1	2

24. No se cantan durante la comida.

-2	-1	0	1	2

25. A los profesores de psicología les dieron las gracias por su ayuda.

-2	-1	0	1	2

26. Se busca los señores Williams para juzgarlos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

27. Se consulta a los profesores antes de los exámenes.

-2	-1	0	1	2

28. Se necesitan a empleados muy trabajadores.

-2	-1	0	1	2

29. Les dieron a los empleados una semana de vacaciones.

-2	-1	0	1	2

30. Una nueva bacteria se descubrió por un biólogo conocido.

-2	-1	0	1	2

31. No se acepta llegar tarde por los profesores de esta universidad.

-2	-1	0	1	2

32. "Se saluda a los amigos," repite siempre mi vecino cuando me ve.

-2	-1	0	1	2

33. Entregaron los trabajos finales a ellos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

34. Se vendieron unos libros por familias con dificultades económicas.

-2	-1	0	1	2

35. Aunque era muy caro, ese vestido se vendió rápidamente.

-2	-1	0	1	2

36. A usted le gusta el chocolate, ¿no?

-2	-1	0	1	2

37. Se entienden que Roberto esté preocupado por los exámenes

-2	-1	0	1	2

38. Se oían niños riéndose a lo lejos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

39. Se sabe que uno no debe comer con la boca abierta.

-2	-1	0	1	2

40. Las entradas para ese concierto se venden en todas las tiendas de música.

-2	-1	0	1	2

41. Se encuentra los artistas más famosos en este club.

-2	-1	0	1	2

42. Le hicieron a Juan una propuesta de trabajo muy interesante.

-2	-1	0	1	2

43. Se sabe que habrá la tempestad del siglo por los meteorólogos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

44. A Felipe le dijeron que se callara.

-2	-1	0	1	2

45. Se asesinó los hijos de Bernarda en su propia casa.

-2	-1	0	1	2

46. No se aceptan que los pacientes traigan animales al hospital.

-2	-1	0	1	2

47. Se encarceló a esos delicuentes cuando fueron declarados culpables.

-2	-1	0	1	2

48. Se lloran mucho en ciertas películas

-2	-1	0	1	2

49. El músico les dio las gracias a la audiencia.

-2	-1	0	1	2

50. A los hijos de Elisa les dieron muchos regalos de Navidad.

-2	-1	0	1	2

51. Se conoce los amigos porque están dispuestos a ayudar.

-2	-1	0	1	2

52. Se necesitan 200 estudiantes para ese proyecto.

-2	-1	0	1	2

53. Se baila mucho en la discoteca *Playa del sol*.

-2	-1	0	1	2

54. Se recomiendan que los estudiantes terminen su trabajo final antes del examen.

-2	-1	0	1	2

55. La telefonista le aconsejó a los clientes que se presentaran con los formularios necesarios.

-2	-1	0	1	2

56. Se notan que Pablo ha entrado en una depresión profunda.

-2	-1	0	1	2

57. Esa piedra preciosa se encuentran en el sur de Perú.

-2	-1	0	1	2

58. Se emplearon a actores muy jóvenespara el espectáculo.

-2	-1	0	1	2

59. Dieron los medicamentos necesarios a ellos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

60. Se permite que los empleados tomen una pausa de 30 minutos.

-2	-1	0	1	2

61. Se duerme muy bien después de unos 20 kilómetros caminando por la montaña.

-2	-1	0	1	2

62. A veces se duermen en las clases de español.

-2	-1	0	1	2

63. Se aconseja que los estudiantes estudien antes del examen.

-2	-1	0	1	2

64. A Eduardo le cambiaron el horario.

-2	-1	0	1	2

Appendix E

Instructions to carry out the experiment.

MAKE SURE YOU READ THIS DOCUMENT **THOROUGHLY** AND **CAREFULLY** BEFORE GETTING STARTED.

Your contribution to this experiment is very important. The following steps must take place BEFORE teaching:

BEFORE TEACHING: **TEST I**

1) Give the students **'Test I'**. This test is to be completed alone (approximately 25 min).
2) Wait until the students are done before taking back **'Test I'**.
3) Once completed, you may take back **'Test I'**. Make sure students' names are written on each test.

YOU ARE NOW READY TO TEACH.

Instructions:

You are going to read a series of instructions regarding what to teach and how to teach it. You may take the time you wish for explaining each point, that is, until most students have understood it. MAKE SURE YOU HAVE READ THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT BEFORE GETTING STARTED.

Today, you are going to teach passive SE and impersonal SE. You are going to explain the FORM and USE of both constructions, so that, in the future students may be able to differentiate them and use them properly.

YOU MAY START NOW

IMPERSONAL 'SE':

4) Go through the handout 'LA IMPERSONAL' with students and provide the necessary explanation according to the information included in the handout.

5) Students may ask you questions any time and you may answer any time, as long as you ONLY MENTION EXPLANATIONS PROVIDED IN THE HANDOUT, and nothing else (the order does not matter).

6) Once students have understood the basic principles of IMPERSONAL 'SE', ask them to complete the exercise 'Práctica' alone.

7) When the exercise is completed, correct each item with students, asking the following questions **orally** (FOR EACH ITEM):

a. *¿Cuál es la respuesta?*

b. *¿Hay un agente en la oración?* Answer: SE, alguien que no se quiere mencionar o que se sabe por el contexto.

c. *¿Con qué concuerda el verbo?* Answer: siempre con la tercera persona del singular, por defecto.

d. *¿Hay un objeto directo de persona en la oración?* En caso afirmativo, ¿está precedido por 'a'?

ANSWERS:

1. Los sábados **SE va** de compras muy temprano.
2. **SE entiende** que no está bien cantar durante la comida.
3. **SE castiga** a los niños cuando no se portan bien.
4. **SE habla** todavía del ataque de corazón de Ricardo.
5. **SE debe saber** que no está bien comer con la boca abierta.
6. **SE despide** a las personas que no son puntuales.
7. **SE consulta** a los profesores antes de los exámenes.
8. **SE debe dormir** un mínimo de ocho horas para estar sano.
9. Ayer **SE asesinó** al presidente.
10. **SE permite** que los empleados tomen una pausa de 30 minutos.

11. **SE llega** temprano el día del examen.
12. **SE nota** que Juan está enfermo.
13. **SE necesita** a un médico que sea especialista en urología.
14. En esta compañía, **SE trabaja** más de la cuenta.
15. **SE pone** multas a los conductores que exceden una velocidad de 100 kilómetros por hora.
16. **SE conoce** a gente muy importante en las conferencias.
17. **SE recomienda** que los estudiantes lleven un justificante del médico a su profesor cuando no asisten a más de dos clases seguidas.
18. **SE descansa** cuando se acaban las clases.
19. **SE aprovechó** la semana de vacaciones para quitarse de encima el trabajo que se había acumulado.
20. En Cuba, **SE baila** estupendamente.

PASSIVE 'SE'

8) Go through the handout 'LA PASIVA REFLEJA' with students and provide the necessary explanation according to the information included in the handout.

9) Students may ask you questions any time and you may answer any time, as long as you ONLY MENTION EXPLANATIONS PROVIDED IN THE HANDOUT, and nothing else (the order does not matter).

10) Once students have understood the basic principles of PASSIVE 'SE', ask them to complete the exercise 'Práctica' alone.

11) When the exercise is completed, correct each item with students, asking the following questions **orally** (FOR EACH ITEM):

a. *¿Cuál es la respuesta?*
b. *¿Con qué concuerda el verbo?* Answer: Sujeto.
c. *¿Cuál es el sujeto?*
d. *¿Hay varios órdenes de palabras posibles?* En caso afirmativo, ¿qué justifica el orden? Answer: el sujeto **indefinido** puede estar DELANTE o DETRAS del verbo; si va delante, deber tener algun tipo de determinante; el sujeto **definido** debe estar

DELANTE del verbo.

ANSWERS:

1. En esa tienda, **SE compran y SE venden** libros usados.
2. Las mesas **SE adornaron** antes de la recepción.
3. La comida **SE pidió** después del discurso del presidente.
4. La muerte de la princesa Diana **SE ha llorado** mucho.
5. **SE ven** soldados por todas partes.
6. El trabajo **SE dividió** en 3 partes distintas.
7. El código de seguridad de la sala de fotocopias **SE cambio** para evitar problemas.
8. **SE compraron varias** colecciones nuevas. / Varias colecciones nuevas **SE compraron.**
9. **SE mandó** construir una casa nueva en medio del campo. / Una casa nueva **SE mandó construir** en medio del campo.
10. El día de la Independencia de México **SE celebra** cada año.
11. Las galletas de chocolate **SE comieron** rápidamente.
12. Las mesas **SE limpiaron** antes de que llegaran otros clientes.
13. **SE aceptaron** muchos candidatos (en el concurso). / Muchos candidatos **SE aceptaron** (en el concurso).
14. Las fechas de los exámenes finales **SE cambiaron** para evitar un conflicto de horario.
15. **SE han publicado** unos artículos muy controversiales. / Unos artículos muy controvertidos **SE han publicado**.
16. **SE consumieron** muchos martinis en la fiesta de despedida de Laura. / Muchos martinis **SE consumieron** en la fiesta de despedida de Laura.
17. Los informes **SE terminaron** durante el fin de semana.
18. Siempre **SE compran** recuerdos en países extranjeros.
19. Los coches **SE arreglaron** antes de la carrera.
20. Después de la cena, la película *El Rey León* **SE vió** en el salón.

12) When the exercise completed, TAKE THE HANDOUTS AND THEIR ANSWER SHEET BACK.

YOU ARE NOW DONE TEACHING.

---

13) One week from now, give students **'Test II'**. This test is to be completed alone (approximately 25 min).

14) Wait until the students are done before taking back **'Test II'**.

15) Once completed, you may take back **'Test II'**.

If you wish, you may give the handouts and answer sheet from the previous week back, as THIS EXPERIMENT IS NOW COMPLETED.

Appendix F

La Impersonal

USO:

SE se utiliza para referirse de manera **indefinida** a la gente en general (*la gente, todos,* etc.). Puede incluir o no incluir la persona que habla.

(1) ***Se duerme muy bien en esta cama.***
La gente duerme muy bien en esta cama.

(2) *Se dice que Granada es una bonita ciudad.*
La gente dice que Granada es una bonita ciudad.

El SE impersonal siempre se refiere a seres humanos.

FORMA:

El SE impersonal se utiliza con **verbos intransitivos** (sin objeto - ejemplo 3), **verbos con complementante** (seguidos por *que* – ejemplo 4), y **verbos cuyo objeto directo es HUMANO y DEFINIDO** (por eso ha de ir introducido por *a* – ejemplo 5).

(3) *Se **duerme** muy bien en esta cama.*

(4) *Se **dice que** Granada es una bonita ciudad.*

(5) *Aquí se contrata **a** los especialistas de informática.*

El SE impersonal no se puede utilizar con **verbos reflexivos**:

(6) **Se se cepilla los dientes antes de ir al dentista.*
Uno se cepilla los dientes antes de ir al dentista.

El verbo al que acompaña el SE impersonal SIEMPRE se conjuga en la **tercera personal del singular**.

Práctica

Transforme las oraciones siguientes, sustituyendo el sujeto de la oración (aparece subrayado) por SE. No se olviden de cambiar la concordancia del verbo en los casos en que sea necesario.

Ej. Los meteorólogos dicen que va a diluviar mañana.
Se dice que va a diluviar mañana.

1. Los sábados, mucha gente va de compras muy temprano.
2. Uno entiende que no está bien cantar durante la comida.
3. Los padres castigan a los niños cuando no se portan bien.

4. La gente habla todavía del ataque de corazón de Ricardo.
5. Uno debe saber que no está bien comer con la boca abierta.
6. Los jefes despiden a las personas que no son puntuales.
7. Muchos estudiantes consultan a los profesores antes de los exámenes.
8. Uno debe dormir un mínimo de ocho horas para estar sano.
9. Ayer, un espía asesinó al presidente.
10. El jefe permite que los empleados tomen una pausa de 30 minutos.
11. Muchos estudiantes llegan temprano el día del examen.
12. Todos notamos que Juan está enfermo.
13. El hospital necesita a un médico que sea especialista en urología.
14. En esta compañía, la gente trabaja más de la cuenta.
15. La policía pone multas a los conductores que exceden una velocidad de 100 kilómetros por hora.
16. Uno conoce a gente muy importante en las conferencias.
17. La universidad recomienda que los estudiantes lleven un justificante del médico al profesor cuando no asisten a más de dos clases seguidas.
18. Uno descansa cuando se acaban las clases.
19. Muchos estudiantes aprovecharon la semana de vacaciones para quitarse de encima el trabajo que se había acumulado.
20. En Cuba, la gente baila estupendamente.

Appendix G

La Passiva refleja

USO:

Se utiliza la pasiva refleja cuando no se quiere mencionar quién hace la acción (el sujeto) o cuando no se menciona porque es evidente.

(1) *Los ladrones asaltaron el banco de madrugada.*

¿Qué pasó con el banco?
El banco fue asaltado de madrugada.
*El banco **se asaltó** de madrugada.*

(2) *Ese librero vendió los libros de Perez Galdós rápidamente*

¿Qué pasó con los libros?
Los libros fueron vendidos rápidamente
*Los libros **se vendieron** rapidamente.*

FORMA:

OBSERVEN QUE:

—El sujeto de la pasiva refleja coincide con el objeto de una oración no pasiva:

(3) Los *ladrones asaltaron **el banco** de madrugada.*

***El banco** se asaltó de madrugada.*

(4) *Ese librero vendió **los libros de Perez Galdós** rápidamente.*

***Los libros de Pérez Galdós** se vendieron rapidamente.*

—El verbo siempre concuerda con este sujeto, es decir, si el sujeto es singular, el verbo es singular (5); si el sujeto es plural, el verbo es plural (6):

(5) *El banco **se asaltó** de madrugada.*

(6) *Los libros de Pérez Galdós **se vendieron.***

—Cuando el sujeto es específico, es decir cuando es introducido por **artículos definidos** (*el, la, los, las*), **demonstrativos** (*este, ese, aquel,* etc.), y **posesivos** (*mi, tu, su,* etc.), el sujeto va DELANTE del verbo (5-6).

—Cuando el sujeto no es específico, es decir cuando es introducido por **artículos indefinidos** (*un, una, unos, unas*), **cuantificadores** (*poco, mucho, varios,* etc.) y **números**, o cuando no es introducido por nada, el sujeto puede ir o DELANTE o DETRÁS del verbo (7-8):

(7) *Ayer se robó **un banco**.*
__Un banco__ se robó ayer.

(8) *Ayer se vendieron **muchos libros**.*
__Muchos libros__ se vendieron ayer.

—La oración tiene un aspecto más impersonal, es decir, de mayor intencionalidad a la hora de

evitar la mención del agente de la acción, cuando el sujeto está detrás del verbo. Noten que si el sujeto no específico está DELANTE del verbo, el nombre **tiene que llevar un determinante**, como cualquier oración que tiene por sujeto un nombre genérico plural.

(9) *Siempre se roban **bancos** en las grandes ciudades.*
**Bancos siempre se roban en las grandes ciudades.*

(10) *En las librerías se venden **libros**.*
**Libros se venden en las librerías.*

Práctica

Pase las siguientes oraciones a otras con el SE pasivo. Si hay dos órdenes de palabras posibles, indique los dos. Tenga cuidado con la concordancia del verbo.

Ej.: Los agentes de esa compañía vendieron todos los terrenos en menos de dos horas.
Todos los terrenos se vendieron en menos de dos horas.

1. En esa tienda, compran y venden libros usados.
2. Los benévolos adornaron las mesas antes de la recepción.
3. Los invitados pidieron comida después del discurso del presidente.
4. El público ha llorado mucho la muerte de la princesa Diana.
5. Vemos soldados por todas partes.
6. Los estudiantes dividieron el trabajo en 3 partes distintas.
7. La secretaría cambió el código de seguridad de la sala de fotocopias para evitar problemas.
8. La biblioteca compró varias colecciones nuevas.
9. Los Pérez mandaron construir una casa nueva en medio del campo.
10. Cada año, muchas personas celebran el día de la Independencia de México.
11. Los niños comieron rápidamente las galletas de chocolate.
12. El camarero limpió las mesas antes de que llegaran otros clientes.
13. Los organizadores del concurso aceptaron a muchos candidatos.
14. La auxiliar administrativa cambió las fechas de los exámenes finales para evitar un conflicto de horario.
15. El periódico ha publicado unos artículos muy controvertidos.
16. Los invitados consumieron muchos martinis en la fiesta de despedida de Laura.
17. Los empleados terminaron los informes durante el fin de semana.
18. Los turistas siempre compran recuerdos en países extranjeros.
19. El mecánico arregló los coches antes de la carrera.
20. Después de la cena, los niños vieron la película *El Rey León* en el salón.

Appendix H

Classification of Subjects

ID #	G	Age	L1	L2	L2 Level	L3	L3 Level	Time*
1	F	20	English	French	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	2 weeks
4	F	23	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	0
5	F	?	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	0
6	F	20	French	Spanish	Advanced	Gaelic	?	2 weeks
8	F	18	French	English	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	4 weeks
9	F	22	English	French	Intermediate	Spanish	Advanced	12 months
10	F	19	English	Spanish	Advanced	French	Beginner	8 months
11	F	19	French	English	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	0
12	F	19	French	English	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	0
13	F	20	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	0
14	F	21	English	French	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	0
15	F	26	English	French	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	2 months
16	F	21	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	0
17	M	22	English	French	Intermediate	Spanish	Advanced	14 months
19	F	19	English	French	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	6 weeks
21	F	21	English	French	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	0
22	F	?	French	English	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	0
25	F	55	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	2 weeks
26	M	22	French	English	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	10 weeks
27	M	21	French	English	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	3 weeks
28	F	22	English	French	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	1 week
29	F	21	French	English	Very advanced	Spanish	Advanced	2 weeks
30	F	21	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	3 months
31	F	22	French	English	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	12 months
32	F	23	English	French	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	12 months
33	F	22	French	English	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	1 week
35	F	20	English	French	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	?
37	F	22	English	French	Near-native	Spanish	Advanced	1 week
38	F	20	English	French	Advanced	Spanish	Advanced	4 weeks

*Time spent in a Spanish country