CHILD AND ADULT NON-NATIVE SUBJECT DEVELOPMENT: A BI-DIRECTIONAL STUDY OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH AS L2S

Volume I

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Chapter 1: General Introduction and Research Aims 1

Chapter 2: English and Spanish Subjects 5

2.1 Introduction 5
2.2 Subjects in English and Spanish: the origins (Rizzi, 1982, 1986) 6
2.3 Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects 9
2.3.1 EPP-checking (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998) 9
2.3.2 On the position of preverbal and postverbal subjects 12
2.3.2.1 Preverbal Subjects (Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999) 12
2.3.2.2 'Free inversion' 14
2.3.2.3 Subject-Verb inversion in Spanish Wh-questions 14
2.4 The null subject *pro* 16
2.4.1 The problem 16
2.4.2 The Person Phrase Hypothesis (Platzack, 2004) 18
2.5 Expletive subjects 23
2.5.1 Expletive subjects in English 23
2.5.2 Expletive Subjects in Spanish 24
2.6 *that-trace* effects (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2001) 25
2.7 Discourse-pragmatic constraints on the use of subjects in Spanish. 28
2.7.1 Null and overt pronominal subjects 28
2.8 Summary and Linguistic items to be analysed in the data 31
2.8.1 Syntactic assumptions in the present study: English 32
2.8.2 Syntactic assumptions in the present study: Spanish 32
2.8.3 Linguistic items to be analysed in the data 35

Chapter 3: Second Language Acquisition (L2A) in Generative Grammar 40

3.1 Introduction 40
3.2. Initial State: Access, Transfer, both or none? 40
3.2.1 No Transfer/No Access 41
3.2.2 Full Transfer/Partial Access 43
3.2.2.1 The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman, 1990, 1996) . 43
3.2.2.2 Access to UG principles but no parameter-resetting (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999) 46
3.2.3 Full Access/No Transfer (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono, 1996) 48
3.2.4 Full Access/Partial Transfer (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Eubank, 1993/1994, 1994, 1996) 50
3.2.4.1 The Minimal Trees Hypothesis 51
3.2.4.2 The Valueless Features Hypothesis 53
3.2.5 Full Access/Full Transfer (Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996, 2000b) 55
3.3 Developing State 57
3.3.1 On the existence of parameters in L2 interlanguage 58
3.3.1.1 No Parameters 58

3.3.1.2 Permanently Valueless Parameters 59
3.3.1.3 No Parameter-Resetting 61
3.3.1.4 Parameter (Re)setting 63
3.3.2 Morphological Variability and Syntactic Knowledge in L2A 66
3.4 Final State and Ultimate Attainment 69
3.4.1 Is there a native-like interlanguage? 69
3.4.2 The Critical Period Hypothesis in L2A 72
3.5 Child L2A vs. Adult L2A 77
3.6 L2A assumptions in the present study 82

Chapter 4: Subject Development in Second Language Acquisition Research 84

4.1 Introduction 84
4.2 Review of L2 English Subject Development studies 84
4.2.1 White (1985, 1986) 85
4.2.2 Phinney (1987) 88
4.2.3 Tsimpli and Roussou (1991) 90
4.2.4 Hilles (1991) 94
4.2.5 Lakshmanan (1991, 1994) 97
4.2.6 Wakabayashi (2002) 99
4.2.7 Park (2004) 104
4.3 Review of L2 Spanish Subject Development studies 107
4.3.1 Liceras (1989) 108
4.3.2 Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998) 110
4.3.3 Liceras, Laguardia, Fernández, Fernández and Díaz (1998), Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) and Liceras and Díaz (1999) 113
4.3.4 Liceras and Díaz (1998) and Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz (1999) 117
4.3.5 Discourse constraints on Spanish subject use 120
4.3.5.1 Null vs. overt subject pronouns 120
4.3.5.2 Preverbal vs. postverbal subjects 126
4.4 Summary of previous findings in the literature and issues to explore 133

Chapter 5: Methodology 144

5.1 General considerations 144
5.1.1 Informants 145
5.1.2 General Procedure 146
5.1.3 Experimental Method 147
5.2 Spanish children acquiring English as their L2 151
5.2.1. Kindergarten children at BFIS 151
5.2.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection 152
5.2.2 Fifth grade children at BFIS 156
5.2.2.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection 156
5.2.3 Twelfth Grade children at BFIS 160
5.2.3.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection 161
5.2.4 Monolingual English Children Control Group 162
5.2.5 Transcription and Coding of the Data 165
5.3 British Children acquiring Spanish as their L2 168
5.3.1 Infantil B class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch 169
5.3.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection 170

5.3.2 5º Primaria class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch 174
5.3.2.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection..... 175
5.3.3 2º Bachillerato class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch 179
5.3.3.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection..... 180
5.3.4 Monolingual Spanish Children Control Group..... 181
5.3.5 Transcription and Coding of the Data 185
5.4 Spanish Adults acquiring English as their L2 and English Control Group 187
5.4.1 Experimental Group: British Council Barcelona..... 187
5.4.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection..... 188
5.4.2 Control Group 193
5.5 British Adults acquiring Spanish as their L2 and Spanish Control Group 194
5.5.1 Experimental Group: Instituto Cervantes London 194
5.5.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection..... 194
5.5.2 Control Group 199

Chapter 6: Child L2 English and Spanish Subject Development: Results and Discussion 201

6.1 Child L2 hypotheses and predictions..... 201
6.2 Child L2 English Subject Development..... 207
6.2.1 Results..... 207
6.2.1.1 A comparison of the three stages/ages: 5, 10 and 17 non-native year-olds 209
6.2.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses..... 217
6.2.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages/ages 222
6.2.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development 226
6.2.2 Discussion: Child L2 English..... 228
6.3. Child L2 Spanish Subject Development..... 238
6.3.1 Results..... 238
6.3.1.1 A comparison of the three stages/ages: 5, 10 and 17 non-native year-olds 242
6.3.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses..... 262
6.3.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages/ages 281
6.3.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development 286
6.3.1.5 Directionality of acquisition effects. 288
6.3.2 Discussion: Child L2 Spanish 293
6.4 Summary 309
6.4.1 Child L2 English Data..... 309
6.4.2 Child L2 Spanish Data 311

Chapter 7: Adult L2 English and Spanish Subject Development: Results and Discussion 315

7.1 Adult L2 hypotheses and predictions 315
7.2 Adult L2 English Subject Development 320
7.2.1 Results..... 320
7.2.1.1 A comparison of the three stages: Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers 323

7.2.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses..... 331
7.2.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages. 334
7.2.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development 338
7.2.2 Discussion: Adult L2 English 340
7.3 Adult L2 Spanish Subject Development 348
7.3.1 Results 348
7.3.1.1 A comparison of the three proficiency levels: Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers 352
7.3.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses..... 369
7.3.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three levels 386
7.3.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development 390
7.3.1.5 Directionality of acquisition effects 392
7.3.2 Discussion 396
7.4 Summary 413
7.4.1 Adult L2 English Data 413
7.4.2 Adult L2 Spanish Data 416

Chapter 8: Concluding remarks 420

BIBLIOGRAPHY 427

VOLUME II

APPENDIX A: Child L2 English and Spanish Experiment Sheets/Tasks 448
APPENDIX B: Child L2 English and Spanish Transcribed Data 463
APPENDIX C: Adult L2 English and Spanish Experiment Sheets/Tasks 545
APPENDIX D: Adult L2 English and Spanish Transcribed Data 556

Chapter 1: General Introduction and Research Aims

"I think is important because if go to English classes learn more"

"Ella va al teatro si ella tiene tiempo porque ella necesita divertir"

These two sentences are just an example of a great number of typical utterances produced by second language speakers of English and Spanish and represent the essential motivation for the present thesis. English and Spanish are crucially different in the linguistic behaviour of their grammatical subjects and hence provide an interesting environment to study their non-native development. The aim of the present study is to explore the non-native English and Spanish acquisition of subject properties in Spanish and English-speaking children and adults who are not in the L2-speaking country and thus contribute to the amount of research produced in the field by providing new data and findings. Under a Generative Grammar approach to L2A, the effects of UG in subject development in both child and adult L2A, the existence of L1 Transfer effects and the cluster of properties of the traditional Null Subject Parameter in L2A remain unresolved and need to be analysed under more recent theoretical proposals.

The study will be carried out by means of cross-sectional data obtained through comprehension experimental tasks conducted on children and adults in two different acquisition contexts. Child L2A is examined in an immersion context of an American school in Barcelona and a Spanish school in London and adult L2A is explored in an institutional classroom setting. Child and adult L2 acquisition will not be compared in this study, since the two different learning environments represent two very distinct

processes of acquisition, namely child immersion and adult classroom instruction, which clearly affect the way language develops. Yet the same experimental method will be used for both children and adults, although an oral version of the task will be provided to the youngest groups of informants, namely grammaticality judgement and correction tasks for L2 English informants and grammaticality judgement and preference tasks for L2 Spanish informants. Three age groups per language in the case of child L2A and three level groups per language in the case of adult L2A together with their corresponding control monolingual groups will be tested.

As will become evident throughout the thesis, six general research questions have motivated the study and will guide us through the theoretical and the analysis chapters. They are the basis of the more specific hypotheses formulated in Chapters 6 and 7 for child and adult L2A, respectively. The research questions are briefly introduced below and will be directly answered in the last chapter, once the analysis and discussion sections have been dealt with:

Research question 1

Is the L2 initial state characterised by clustered transfer of subject properties associated with L1 parameter values?

Research question 2

Is L2 development characterised by clustered acquisition of subject properties associated with the L2 parameter values?

Research question 3

What are the theoretical implications of the results of the present research for the Partial/Full Transfer and Partial/Full UG Access positions to L2A?

Research question 4

Can the same theoretical approach to L2A be maintained for both children and adults?

Research question 5

Can the notion of "Null Subject Parameter" as in L1A be maintained in L2A?

Research question 6

Are there any directionality of acquisition differences between English L2A (by Spanish speakers) and Spanish L2A (by English speakers)?

The thesis is divided in eight chapters, which will first review the syntactic approaches to subject properties in English and Spanish, the theoretical approaches to L2A and previous research on L2 subject development in English and Spanish. Detailed methodological considerations are then explained and finally, results are presented and discussed on the light of the research questions and their specific hypotheses. Concluding remarks and a reflection on further research will draw the thesis to a close.

Chapter 2 analyses the subject properties of the two languages under consideration from the early proposals within the Government and Binding framework until the most recent developments in Minimalism. The chapter separately deals with preverbal and postverbal subjects, the null subject *pro*, expletive subjects and *that*-trace effects. Discourse-pragmatic constraints on subject use are also presented and finally, the specific choice of linguistic items to be tested in the experimental tasks and the main syntactic hypotheses followed in the analysis are summarised.

Chapter 3 explores the most relevant theoretical contributions to the field of L2A within Generative Grammar. The different stages of the L2A process are explored, considering the role that UG and the L1 play in the process of acquisition and their relevance for the data obtained in our study. Initial, developing and steady states of interlanguage grammars are widely characterised with special emphasis on L1 Transfer effects, the (im)plausibility of parameter resetting and on the presence of optionality as one of the most characteristic features of interlanguage. The chapter also addresses the topic of child L2A along with its relationship with the general approaches to L2A and its similarities and differences from adult L2A. The theoretical assumptions on L2A

which will guide us through the remaining chapters are summarised at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 reviews previous second language acquisition research on L2 English and L2 Spanish subject development, which will be relevant in our subsequent discussion of the data and will reflect the different versions that research has provided for the Null Subject Parameter and the different positions outlined in Chapter 3 with respect to UG Access and L1 Transfer in L2A. Studies on discourse-pragmatic constraints on subject use are also reviewed.

Chapter 5 presents the methodological aspects involved in the experimental tasks carried out in the thesis. General considerations about the different groups of informants, the practicalities involved in our research and details about the experimental method are first provided. More specific methodological aspects as well as each experimental task are presented first for child L2 English and Spanish groups with their control native groups and then for adult L2 English and Spanish groups with their corresponding control native groups.

Chapters 6 and 7 present and discuss the data and the results of the experimental tasks carried out with child (Chapter 6) and adult (Chapter 7) L2 learners of English and Spanish and their control groups. In both chapters, the specific hypotheses to be tested in the analyses for child and adult L2 learners are first presented and explained. Then results from the statistic tests are graphically described and discussed in relation to the hypotheses and previous research for each target language.

To conclude the study, Chapter 8 provides the answers to the six research questions outlined here and refers to the most relevant contributions and limitations of the thesis. A brief final section is devoted to further research to be developed from the data and the findings presented here.

Chapter 2: English and Spanish Subjects

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter presents an overview of the properties of the grammatical subject in English and Spanish, which is required in order to accurately account for its L2 development. English and Spanish represent a crucial difference in the linguistic behaviour of subjects, which has made them the focus of study in syntactic theory as well as in first and second language acquisition studies. Subject properties of the two languages under consideration will be examined from the early proposals within the Government and Binding framework until the most recent developments in Minimalism. The chapter is thus organised as follows: Section 2.2 briefly sketches the early and influential accounts of subjects as related to the Null Subject Parameter which are the basis of the most recent developments in the theory. The different properties of subjects will then be analysed in separate sections and following Minimalist assumptions. Section 2.3 presents an account of preverbal and postverbal subjects in English and Spanish, Section 2.4 focuses on the null subject *pro*, Section 2.5 deals with expletive subjects and Section 2.6 briefly describes the *that*-trace effect, which was originally related to the above subject properties. Section 2.7 is centred on the discourse-pragmatic constraints on the expression of subjects in Spanish and finally, Section 2.8 summarises the chapter, establishes the main syntactic hypotheses assumed in the present study and describes the choice of linguistic items that will be tested in the experiments on L2 English and Spanish subject development.

2.2 Subjects in English and Spanish: the origins (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)

The different expression of subjects in the two languages has been tightly related to the Null Subject Parameter and the properties of the verbal agreement paradigm (Chomsky, 1981; Jaeggli, 1982; Jaeggli and Safir, 1989; Rizzi, 1982, 1986). The Null Subject Parameter, as originally proposed within the Government and Binding framework, provided an account of a cluster of phenomena present in null subject languages but absent in overt subject languages, on the basis of parametric variation related to richness of inflection and identification properties. Thus null subject languages, such as Spanish, Italian or Greek allow null subjects and inverted (postverbal) subjects, show no *that*-trace effects and exclude overt expletive subjects, whereas overt subject languages, such as English, French or German require overt subjects in a preverbal position, show *that*-trace effects and require overt expletive subjects. The following examples illustrate the subject properties that characterise Spanish vs. English:

(1) a. He comido temprano.
have 1sg eaten early.
I have eaten early.
b. *Have eaten early.

(2) a. Ha llamado Marta.
has 3sg called Marta.
Marta has called.
b. *Has called Marta.

(3) a. ¿Quién$_i$ crees que e$_i$ vendrá?
who think 2sg that will come 3sg?
Who do you think will come?
b. *Who$_i$ do you think that e$_i$ will come?

(4) a. Está lloviendo.
is raining.
It is raining.
b. *Is raining.

Under the earliest formulations of the Null Subject Parameter, a lexical subject is generated in Spec-IP position. In languages such as Italian and Spanish, Spec-IP can be occupied by *pro*, an empty pronoun unspecified for ϕ-features, which must be licensed by being governed (and assigned Case) by INFL in languages with rich agreement, and identified by the ϕ-features of INFL (Rizzi, 1982, 1986). On the contrary, in a language like English, the ϕ-features of INFL are not rich enough to identify or license *pro*, and thus the subject position must be lexically filled in both argumental and expletive constructions in order to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) requirement. The EPP referred here to the requirement that all sentences must have subjects (Chomsky, 1982)[1].

As for the possibility of having postverbal subjects in Spanish, Rizzi (1982) proposes that a subject in Spec-IP is moved rightwards and adjoined to VP. This postverbal subject is legitimate in terms of Case, as it is indirectly linked to the pronominal character of the agreement features of INFL, which in null subject languages bear Case. As the trace of the moved subject is not legitimate by virtue of not having an antecedent higher in the structure, it is replaced by a covert pleonastic *pro*, which does not require an antecedent. Free availability of rightward and leftward movement became constrained by economy principles and feature checking (cf. Kayne, 1994) and the issue of 'lowering' the subject was solved under the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman and Sportiche, 1991), by which the subject is generated in Spec-VP and hence subject postponing in Spanish only involves adjunction to the right of the verb. Under this account, preverbal subjects in English raise to Spec-IP for Case reasons.

[1] As for 'discourse pro-drop' languages, such as Chinese, where there is little verbal inflection, different explanations were put forward, such as licensing and identification applying vacuously (see Rizzi, 1986) or the Morphological Uniformity Principle (see Jaeggli and Safir, 1989), which do not concern us here.

Postverbal subjects are not possible in English, as INFL cannot license or identify *pro* and therefore a postverbal subject construction would not be well formed. English thematic subjects in a postverbal position are only possible with unaccusative verbs, which lack external arguments and only project an internal argument to which they fail to assign accusative case (cf. Burzio, 1986). The internal argument remains in its base position and an expletive *there* is merged in Spec-IP to check and delete the EPP feature in INFL. A sentence such as *There arrived three men* has the following structure:

(5) [$_{IP}$ There [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ arrived [$_{DP}$ three men]]]].

This traditional account of Null Subject Languages and the *pro-drop* parameter also explains the occurrence of *that*-trace constructions in Spanish and Italian as opposed to English. Both in English and Spanish, objects can be extracted over an overt complementiser in an interrogative Wh-question. Yet only in Spanish but not in English can subjects undergo extraction over an overt complementiser:

(6) a. Who$_i$ did you say [t_i that John invited t_i]?
b. ¿Quién$_i$ dijiste [t_i que Juan invitó t_i]?

(7) a. *Who$_i$ did you say [t_i that t_i came late]?
b. Who$_i$ did you say [t_i t_i came late]?
c. ¿Quién$_i$ dijiste [t_i que t_i llegó tarde]?

According to the *that-trace filter* (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1977) by which overt complementisers cannot be followed by a trace, and its reinterpretation in terms of government requirements for traces, that is, the Empty Category Principle (ECP), traces must be properly governed in order to be licensed; that is to say, they must be theta-governed or antecedent-governed (Chomsky, 1986). The object trace in 6(a) and 6(b) is properly governed by the verb, as the verb theta-marks it and hence both sentences are grammatical. In 7(a), the intermediate coindexed trace in Spec-CP cannot antecedent-govern the subject trace, as the complementiser *that* is a potential governor and blocks government by the intermediate trace. Thus the ECP is violated and the sentence results

ungrammatical. In 7(b), there is no overt complementiser and therefore the intermediate trace in Spec-CP can antecedent-govern the subject trace. Sentence 7(c) apparently violates the ECP, though the sentence is grammatical. As noted above, Spanish can derive post-verbal subjects, which can undergo Wh-movement. According to Rizzi (1982), traces in this position would be governed by the verb and behave like an object and not like a preverbal subject with respect to their extraction properties.

As will be explained in the next sections, the EPP and the Null Subject Parameter are accounted for differently within Minimalism and hence the related properties of subjects in English and Spanish are analysed accordingly in the present study. The EPP refers within Minimalism to the checking of the strong D-(nominal) features in INFL (Chomsky, 1995), which was originally realised by raising the subject from its base position in spec-vP to spec-IP. More recently, the EPP has been extended to the c-selection of a specifier potentially targeted by movement (Rizzi, 2004). Let us explore in the following sections how the theory of subjects in English and Spanish has recently developed.

2.3 Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects

2.3.1 EPP-checking (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998)

The properties of preverbal and postverbal subjects in Spanish-like and English-like languages within Minimalism are basically related to the way the EPP, that is the checking of the strong D-features in INFL[2], is checked and whether the language projects a specifier of AgrSP or not. One of the most influential Minimalist accounts of subject-related properties is that of Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998). The authors claim that Spec-AgrSP is not projected as an A position in Null Subject

[2] We should bear in mind that due to the different terminology used in the literature and depending on the author being reviewed, INFL will be expressed in terms of both AGR and T or just T.

Languages (NSLs) and that this differentiates them from non-NSLs with respect to subject properties. In order to demonstrate such a claim, the authors show that in SVO orders in Spanish-type languages, preverbal subjects are in an A' position and have A' properties (i.e. non-argument properties), and that inverted VSO orders do not involve an expletive *pro* in Spec-IP (as had been claimed by Rizzi, 1982, and adopted by Chomsky, 1995). From this it would follow that Spanish would be a weak/no EPP language and thus Case and Agreement would be checked covertly and Spec-AgrSP would not project. Yet the authors maintain the assumption that EPP is strong in Spanish, though it is not checked as in English where the subject DP is moved or merged (if it is an expletive) to Spec-AgrSP to check the strong D-features in Agr. The authors present distributional (preverbal adverbs), interpretational (unambiguous scope of quantificational elements and indefinites in a preverbal position) and binding (overt personal pronouns being bound variables in a postverbal A-position and not in a preverbal position) evidence that preverbal subjects in Spanish[3] have A' properties and therefore involve Clitic Left Dislocation (CLD) of the subject (as left-dislocated direct and indirect objects) (see Barbosa, 1994; Zubizarreta, 1994 and Solà, 1992 for specific examples of CLD properties of preverbal subjects in Spanish and Catalan). As for VSO orders, the authors claim that they do not involve an expletive *pro* in NSLs. According to Chomsky (1995), an element is included in the numeration if it has an effect at PF or LF. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou argue that an expletive *pro* does not have any effect at PF but that it can be argued to have some at LF, due to the presence of DR (Definiteness Restriction) effects in VSO orders in some languages. Following Chomsky (1995), the authors assume that an expletive D is specific and takes an NP associate. If D hosts specificity, the non-specificity of the NP is accounted for. In

[3] Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) also present evidence of preverbal subjects as CLDs in Greek and Italian though Spanish is the language which concerns us here.

unaccusative, unergative and transitive constructions in NSLs, VSO orders do not display DR effects, which is taken to imply that VSO orders in these languages do not involve an expletive *pro*. Yet DR effects are indeed present in impersonal existential *have* constructions in Spanish, which might imply that the null expletive *pro* is present. The authors state that assuming a null expletive in existential structures also implies assuming another null expletive with different properties (i.e. not causing DR effects) in other constructions and conclude that VSO orders in NSLs lack a *pro* expletive.

Having claimed that in NSLs VSO orders lack an expletive and that preverbal subjects are not in Spec-AgrSP, as they have A' properties, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) propose that the EPP feature is universally strong but in NSLs it is not checked by moving/merging the subject DP (as in English) but by verb movement (i.e. V-raising). The authors propose that:

> "[…] verbal agreement morphology in these languages includes a nominal element ([+D, +interpretable ϕ-features, potentially +Case]). This means that the verbal agreement affixes in, for instance, the Greek paradigm […] have exactly the same status as the pronouns in the English paradigm […]. […] Assuming that verbal agreement has the categorical status of a pronoun in pro-drop languages, V-raising checks the EPP-feature the same way XP-raising does in non-pro-drop languages." (1998: 516-517)

The traditional Null Subject Parameter is thus reduced to the parameterisation of the way in which the EPP feature is checked. The pronominal status of the verbal agreement affixes in NSLs can check the EPP feature of AgrS by a process of head adjunction to AgrS and therefore Spec-AgrSP is dispensed with.

According to the authors, this proposal implies that the EPP feature (i.e. the strong D-feature) in AgrS is the trigger for V-raising in NSLs and that the strong V-feature in T triggers V-raising in non-*pro-drop* languages with V-raising, such as French. (see the review of Platzack, 2004 in section 2.3 for a unified account of V-raising). A further implication of the verbal agreement affix checking the EPP feature is the need for a referential *pro* subject. The authors suggest that the verbal agreement affix might bear a

theta-role and hence be an argument in NSLs and replace the null subject *pro* (see section 2.3, Manzini and Savoia, 1997; Manzini and Savoia, 2002; Manzini and Roussou, 2000; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999; Kato, 1999 and Platzack, 2004 for further accounts on the need for *pro*).[4]

2.3.2 On the position of preverbal and postverbal subjects[5] [6]

2.3.2.1 Preverbal Subjects (Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999)

As was seen in section 2.2.1, English preverbal subjects raise from spec-vP to Spec-AgrSP or merge in Spec-AgrSP (in the case of expletive subjects) in order to check the D-feature of Agr and hence satisfy the EPP. Yet Spanish does not project a Spec-AgrSP position and the preverbal subject is assumed to involve clitic left dislocation and be located above AgrSP (or TP) in the structure (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998). A more specific account on the position of Spanish preverbal subjects is provided by Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), which also consider verbal agreement to be [+interpretable] and bear theta-role and case. Ordóñez and Treviño use empirical evidence from ellipsis, extraction of quantifiers, extraction of wh-elements and restrictions on the scope of quantifiers in preverbal position to claim that preverbal overt subjects pattern with left-dislocated objects and hence occupy the same preverbal position and that sentences with preverbal overt subjects differ from sentences with

[4] Rosselló (2000) provides a different Minimalist account of subjects in NSLs, which is based on the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (SLH) which claims that verbal agreement features are [-interpretable] which are deposited at T through V-raising. Under this account, these features would be erased through covert raising of the [+interpretable] features of the vP subject, which is a postverbal subject or a *pro* subject, which remains in spec-vP. Preverbal subjects are postulated to be non-arguments merged at T with a *pro* as the vP subject.

[5] A totally different account of English and Spanish subjects is provided in Cardinaletti (1997), by which Spanish and English types of languages have two preverbal A-subject positions specialised for different types of subjects. Preverbal Spanish subjects are not in an A'-position but in an A-position and *pro* is strictly preverbal.

[6] Recent accounts by Cardinaletti (2004) and Rizzi (2005) claim that the EPP involves a SubjP higher than TP (ϕ-features) which has a nominal head which in turn attracts a nominal expression (i.e. a subject) and determines the Subject-Predicate articulation and hence the need to satisfy the interpretative property (referred to as 'aboutness') of subjects is accomplished. This 'aboutness' property must be differentiated from Topics, as Topics imply D-linking, whereas subjects do not.

non-overt subjects in their underlying structure. The authors conclude that preverbal overt subjects are left-dislocated. They eliminate the Spec-IP (Spec-AgrSP/Spec-TP) position and propose that preverbal subjects and objects occupy the Topic position in a Topic phrase above IP.

The fact that preverbal subjects move from Spec-vP to Topic Phrase for discourse considerations (being left-dislocated elements) poses the question of how case and agreement are satisfied. Ordóñez and Treviño argue that person agreement is a clitic and an argument of the verb, which absorbs case and receives the theta-role assigned to the subject DP. The authors state that cl agr (clitic agreement) heads a DP which also has a doubling DP (i.e. the DP subject) and hence the relation between DP and agreement is one of clitic doubling[7]. This DP, which is formed by the doubling DP and cl agr, occupies the argumental position of the subject in Spec-vP. Cl agr receives the theta-role of the subject and absorbs the nominative case from Tense and then moves to a functional projection above TP to which tense and verb would ultimately adjoin forming V+T+Cl agr[8]. The subject DP is the doubling element of the clitic and its movement is completely optional and hence driven by semantic-discourse considerations as is the case with left dislocated constructions. According to the authors, preverbal subject constructions have the following structure:

(8) $[_{TopP}$ [SU_j/DO/IO Top] V+T+$Clagr_i$ $[_{VP}$ [t_j t_i

Topic Phrase is absent from the structure if no left-dislocated element is present[9] [10].

[7] Independent evidence for considering person agreement a clitic comes from the similarities between clitic doubling and subject-verb agreement with respect to their coreference patterns (cf. Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999).
[8] See Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) for a full account of how the derivation works.
[9] A consequence of this analysis is also the elimination of *pro* as person agreement (i.e. the clitic on the verb) is the argument of the verb in non-overt subject constructions. This issue will be dealt with in section 2.3.
[10] For further discussion on the position of Spanish preverbal subjects see Zagona (2002).

2.3.2.2 'Free inversion'

The occurrence of optional postverbal subjects in Spanish has often been referred to as 'free subject-verb inversion'. As was seen in section 2.2.1, it is assumed that postverbal Spanish subjects do not involve a *pro* subject in Spec-AgrSP (or Spec-TP) since the EPP feature in Agr (or T) is checked by the verbal agreement morpheme via V-raising. English cannot check the EPP feature via verb movement but through subject raising to Spec-AgrS (or Spec-TP) and therefore a preverbal subject is obligatory[11].

Postverbal subjects in Spanish can appear either right after the verb or after the object as in (9) and (10)[12]:

(9) Compró Ana una bicicleta.
Bought Ana a bike.
(10) Compró una bicicleta Ana.
Bought a bike Ana.

In (9) the subject in Spec-vP remains in situ after V-raising to Agr (or T) thus occurring in a postverbal position whereas in (10) the subject in Spec-vP is postposed and adjoins to the right of the vP thus occurring after the object (cf. Zagona, 2002).

2.3.2.3 Subject-Verb inversion in Spanish Wh-questions

Another type of subject-verb inversion, which is obligatory in Spanish and is also not found in English, occurs in Wh-questions in main and subordinate clauses when the Wh-phrase is argumental[13] [14]:

[11] Section 2.4 will focus on expletive subjects.
[12] See section 2.6 for a discussion on the different positions of the postverbal subject and its occurrence with distinct types of verbs.
[13] Caribbean Spanish allows subject-verb order in instances of argumental Wh-phrases in main and embedded clauses (Suñer, 1994: 352):
(i) ¿Qué Iván dijo de eso?
what Iván said about that
(ii) Yo no sé qué la muchacha quería.
I not know what the woman wanted
[14] Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) and Zubizarreta (2001) claim that if the argumental Wh-phrase is a complex one (i.e. a non-bare Wh-phrase such as "Qué tipo de libros"), subject-verb inversion need not

(11) a. ¿Qué compró Juan ayer?
what bought Juan yesterday

b. *¿Qué Juan compró ayer?
what Juan bought yesterday

(12) a. María me preguntó qué compró Juan ayer.
María asked me what bought Juan yesterday

b. *María me preguntó qué Juan compró ayer.
María asked me what Juan bought yesterday

(13) a. ¿Por qué Juan no firmó el contrato?
why Juan didn't sign the contract

b. ¿Por qué no firmó Juan el contrato?
why didn't sign Juan the contract

(14) a. Me pregunto si María vendrá a la cena.
I wonder if María will come to the dinner.

b. Me pregunto si vendrá María a la cena.
I wonder if will come María to the dinner.

As the above examples illustrate, obligatory subject-verb inversion in Wh-questions only occurs when the Wh-phrase is argumental and it is optional when the Wh-phrase is an adjunct. Several proposals were made on the fact that the subject cannot occupy Spec-IP because the Wh-trace is in this position (Contreras, 1991; Uribe-Etxebarria, 1991; Zubizarreta, 1998) or that V must move to C from INFL in order for the Wh-element to enter into a checking relation with the inflected verb (Rizzi, 1991; Torrego, 1984; Uriagereka, 1995).

The issue of subject-verb inversion in Wh-questions and embedded clauses has been also addressed in recent proposals such as Suñer (1994), Zubizarreta (2001) and Barbosa (2001). The three accounts maintain that V to C movement is not found in Spanish where the verb stays in INFL and account for the argument/non-argument asymmetry.

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apply whereas Suñer (1994) only makes the distinction between argumental and non-argumental Wh-phrases in order to determine whether subject-verb inversion applies.

At this point, a clarification is in order. Although subject-verb inversion in Wh-questions is not part of the cluster of phenomena traditionally related to the Null Subject Parameter, it will be considered in the present study. The fact that in Spanish, but not in English, subjects can be inverted in Wh-questions and embedded clauses ultimately results from the (im)possibility of having postverbal subjects and V-raising. Therefore, such constructions are worth analysing in the study of non-native subject development.

2.4 The null subject *pro*[15]

2.4.1 The problem

As was seen in section 2.1, the null subject *pro* has traditionally been viewed as an empty pronominal element which is inherently unspecified for ϕ-feature values and whose distribution is determined by two conditions, namely licensing and identification (Rizzi, 1982, 1986; Chomsky, 1981, 1982). *Pro* is licensed by being governed by INFL in languages with rich agreement and its content is identified by the agreement (person, number, gender) features of INFL; *pro* inherits the feature values of INFL. Yet this theory of *pro* faces problems within the MP and its distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable features (Chomsky, 2000, 2001a, 2001b). The ϕ-features of nouns, pronouns and DPs are interpretable, valued in the lexicon and hence legitimate LF objects, whereas the ϕ-features of verbs, auxiliaries and adjectives are uninterpretable, unvalued in the lexicon and non-legitimate LF objects. Uninterpretable features get specified (i.e. receive a value) in the process of the derivation by entering into the relation *Agree* with an interpretable matching category and once valued, the

[15] Adult manifestations of Root Subject Drop (i.e. dropping the subject in root but not in embedded positions) in non-null subjects languages, such as 'Diary registers' (Haegeman, 2000) and colloquial varieties of English are not taken into account here as they are not part of the Null Subject Parameter and respond more to stylistic than to grammatical properties of the language (see Chapter 6 for an account of the Root Subject Drop Parameter (Rizzi, 2005)).

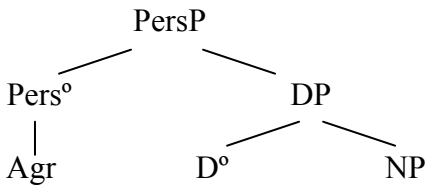
uninterpretable feature gets deleted. Agr (verbal ϕ-features) enters the syntax unvalued and gets specified by a subject DP. In the case at hand, *pro* is inherently unspecified for ϕ-features and cannot value the Agr features and in turn, the Agr features are unvalued (i.e. unspecified) and cannot identify *pro*. In order to solve the puzzle, the most widely explored possibility is the claim that Agr has interpretable ϕ-features (see section 2.1; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Manzini and Roussou, 2000; Manzini and Savoia, 2002; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999; Kato, 1999; Platzack, 2004). If Agr has interpretable ϕ-features and hence it is pronominal, there would be no need for *pro* in null subject constructions, as Agr would carry Case and the subject theta-role and would satisfy the EPP feature on T via V-raising, as was explained in section 2.2. As a consequence, preverbal subjects in NSLs occupy an A'-position and postverbal subject constructions do not involve a *pro* subject, as was also analysed in section 2.2. At the same time, if *pro* is not present in null subject constructions, the licensing and identification conditions (Rizzi, 1982, 1986) become irrelevant. On the other hand, there exists the alternative possibility of considering *pro* an inherently specified pronoun which would value the uninterpretable features of Agr as any DP subject (Holmberg, 2003, 2004; Rosselló, 2000)[16]. As was explained in the previous sections, the first alternative is adopted here and with respect to null subjects and the unnecessary postulation of *pro*, Platzack (2004)'s *Person Phrase Hypothesis* is explored and will be adopted as theoretical background in the analysis.

[16] Holmberg (2003) claims that *pro* is a specified pronoun which assigns feature values to Agr and that its nullness is a phonological issue, either due to its deletion at PF or to not being spelled out (not being assigned phonological features).

2.4.2 The Person Phrase Hypothesis (Platzack, 2004)

Following Ritter (1995), Platzack (2004) argues that agreement originates as the head of a Person Phrase (PersP) which can take a DP as a complement, having the following structure:

(15)



PersP is merged in a theta position, as the subject in Spec-vP. Depending on the element taken from the lexicon to express Persº there are several possibilities. If the element expressing Persº (i.e. Agr) has grammatical but not phonological features, PersP will appear as a DP. This could be the case of the DP 'the girl' in English, analysed as in (16):

(16) [$_{PersP}$ [$_{Pers^o}$ G(rammatical features) [$_{DP}$ the [$_{NP}$ girl]]]]

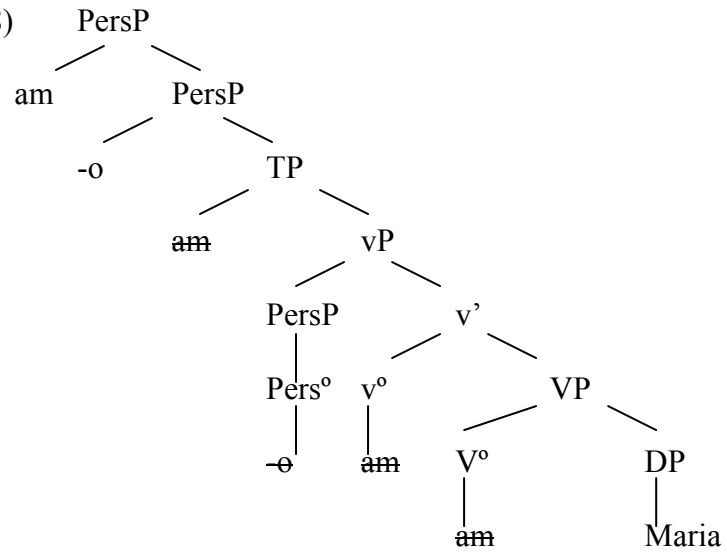
If the element merged as Persº has grammatical as well as phonological features, this element can either be a free morpheme or a bound morpheme. If it is a free morpheme, it will be a pronoun with or without a DP complement, as in (17a) and (17b) below:

(17) a. [$_{PersP}$ [$_{Pers^o}$ he [$_{DP}$ the [$_{NP}$ handsome man]]]]

b. [$_{PersP}$ [$_{Pers^o}$ he [$_{DP}$ G(rammatical features)]]]

If it is a bound morpheme (Agr), as it happens in languages with rich agreement, such as Spanish or Italian, it should find a host outside PersP. T will assign Case to PersP and the EPP feature in T will attract Persº (Agr) to T, projecting a new PersP. V will also be attracted to T and then internally merged to PersP without projecting. Finally, morphological merger will take place and Persº+T will be realised as an affix on V. This can be illustrated with the structure of the Italian sentence 'Amo Maria' (*I love Mary*):

(18)



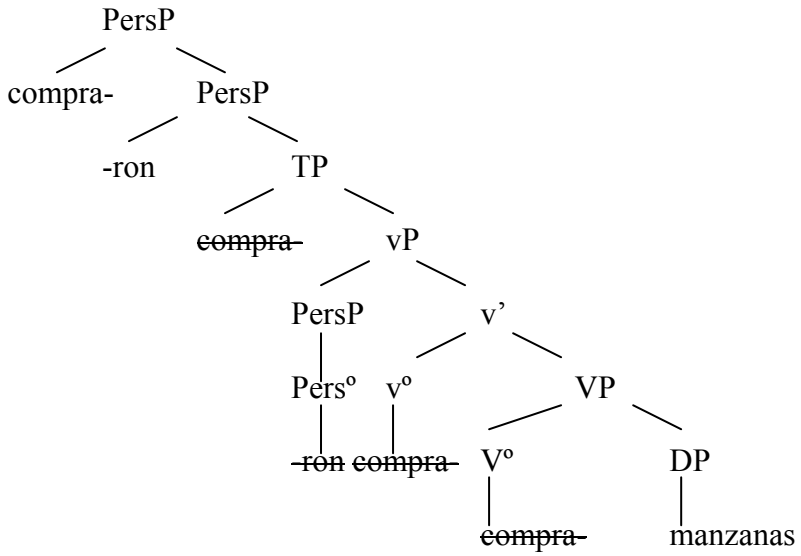
(Platzack, 2004: 87)

Such an analysis not only applies to rich agreement languages with null subjects (as in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998 where a further explanation for verb raising has to be found for languages without null subjects), but it also extends to languages like French and Icelandic which have V-raising but do not present null subjects (see section 2.2.1). An affixal argument (Agr) must find a phonologically realised host and therefore the verb is raised irrespectively of whether the rich agreement language allows null subjects or not. According to Platzack, in languages such as French, rich agreement is not pronominal, as in Spanish, but anaphoric and hence must be A-bound by a visible subject in Spec-T and null subjects are not allowed. In languages without V-raising, such as English, agreement is not an argumental affix and Pers° is either a free morpheme (i.e. a pronoun) or it is not phonologically realised and PersP is represented as an ordinary DP. In those languages, PersP would subsequently raise to Spec-T attracted by the EPP feature in T.

As mentioned above, Platzack proposes that in NSLs, agreement (Agr) is a theta-marked bound morpheme in Pers°, which has to find a host outside PersP and which makes *pro* redundant in null subject constructions. In a subjectless sentence such as (19) "Compraron manzanas" *((They) bought (some) apples)*, the derivation would work as

follows: the subject is a PersP (with no DP complement) in Spec-vP, where it is assigned an Agent theta-role. T assigns Case to PersP and the EPP feature in T attracts Persº (*-ron*) to T. The verb (*compra-*) is also attracted to T and then internally merged to PersP. After morphological merger, Persº+T is realised as an affix on V. Under this approach, the existence of *pro* as a null subject is therefore unnecessary, as the EPP feature is already satisfied and Case and theta-role are already assigned to PersP:

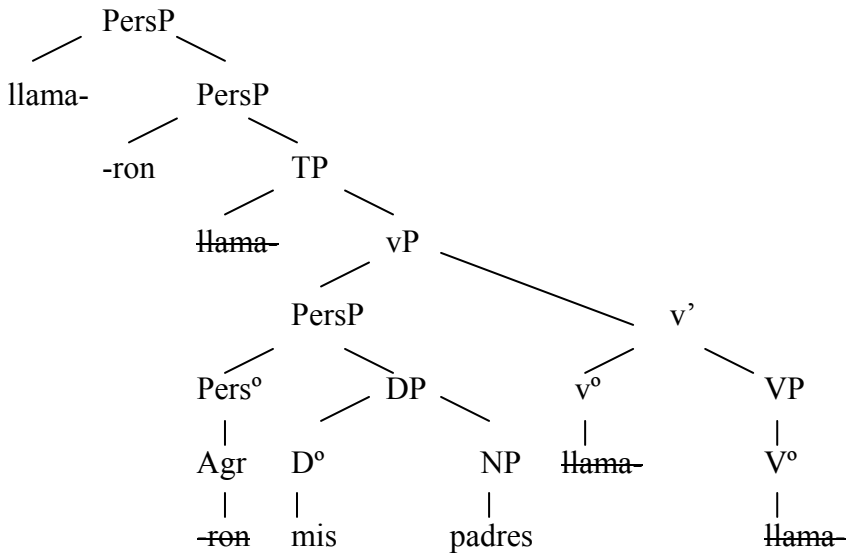
(19) 'Compraron manzanas'
(They) bought (some) apples.



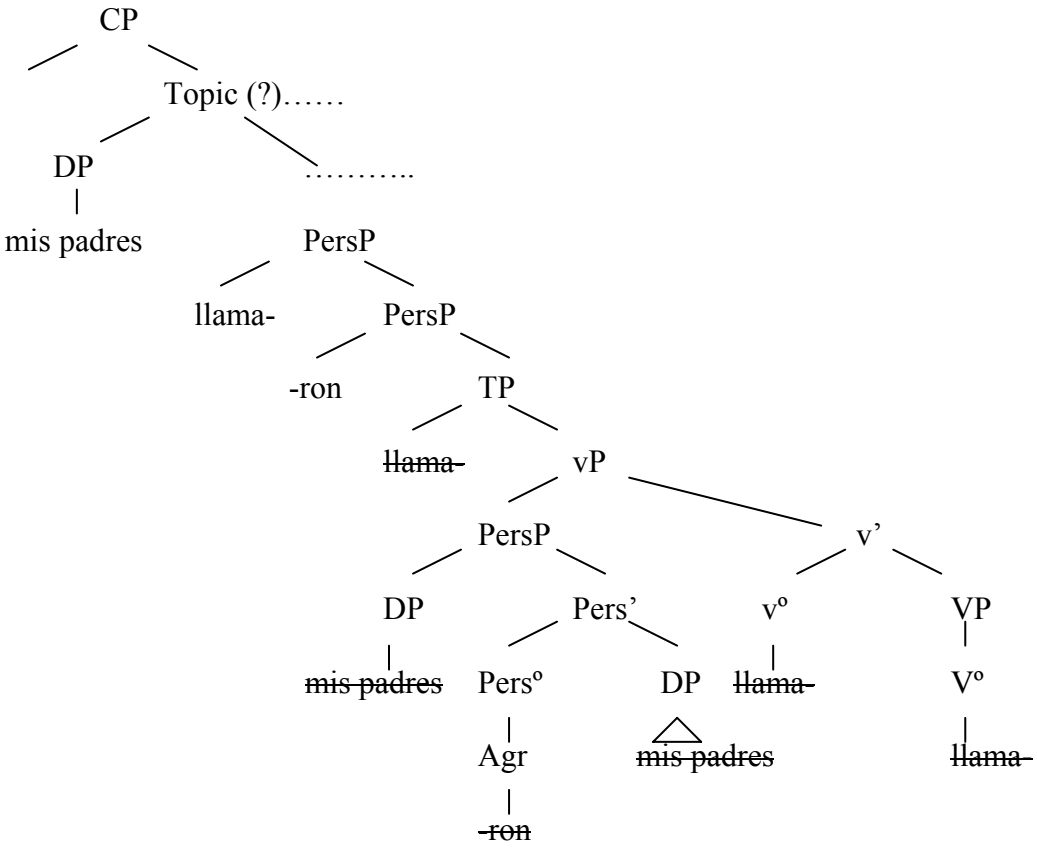
As for structures where Persº has a complement DP in NSLs, this DP subject can either remain in situ (in Spec-vP) thus resulting in a postverbal subject, as in (20), or can move out of the PersP to an A'-position in the C-domain presumably checking pragmatic features, as in (21). This overt DP can either be a full DP or a focused pronoun in Spanish[17]:

[17] Notice that when the subject is a pronoun Persº will be represented as a pronoun in English but still as Agr in Spanish and the pronoun will be the complement DP.

(20) 'Llamaron mis padres'
Called my parents



(21) 'Mis padres llamaron'
My parents called



The DP subject 'mis padres' is the complement of Persº in Spec-vP. Platzack assumes that PersP is a phase and as such, no element can move out of it before being moved to

Spec-PersP. The author further assumes that such movement within PersP must be an instance of A'-movement, since if it were an instance of A-movement, we would expect the DP to bind Agr and Agr would be an anaphor. As previously noted, Agr is pronominal in NSLs and hence does not need an antecedent within the clause, as subjectless derivations such as (19) indicate. If movement of the DP to Spec-PersP is an instance of A'-movement, Platzack concludes that the movement of the DP out of PersP to the C domain must be A'-movement as well[18]. Thus preverbal subjects in NSLs cannot ultimately be in an argument position. Such an approach to Spanish preverbal subjects is in line with the accounts of Agr as [+interpretable] outlined above (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999 among others).

In short, the contrast between NSLs and languages with obligatorily overt subjects within the present approach is captured by Platzack's claim that "T with [uϕ]^{EPP} can be satisfied either by PersP raising to Spec-TP (visible subject) or agreement merging to TP (potential null subject)" (2004: 107). That is to say, the way in which T, which bears uninterpretable ϕ-features and the EPP-feature, satisfies and checks all its features is parameterised. NSLs, such as Spanish, merge Agr to TP and languages such as English raise PersP to Spec-TP. It follows then that English will only allow preverbal overt subjects, whereas Spanish, by virtue of the fact that the EPP feature in T is already checked by Agr merging, does not require preverbal overt subjects but allows null and postverbal subjects. In the case of having a preverbal overt subject in Spanish, this will not be in Spec-TP but in an A'-position within the C domain as its movement is not due to syntactic but to pragmatic reasons[19]. Such an approach provides a desirable account

[18] The exact position of the preverbal subject DP within the C domain is beyond the scope of the present study. It suffices to say that preverbal subjects in NSLs do not raise for EPP reasons to Spec-TP but for pragmatic reasons to an A'-position within CP.

[19] Rizzi (2005) and Cardinaletti (2004) propose that preverbal subjects in Romance move to SubjP, which is higher than TP and bears the interpretative property of subjects referred to as 'aboutness'.

of rich agreement languages without null subjects, such as French. French merges Agr to TP and raises the verb as in Spanish. Yet Agr is not pronominal but anaphoric in French and hence needs to be A-bound by an overt subject in Spec-TP.

2.5 Expletive subjects

2.5.1 Expletive subjects in English

As has been noted throughout the chapter, expletive subjects are present in English as one of the two options to satisfy the EPP feature on T, namely moving the thematic subject from Spec-vP or merging an expletive subject, *there* or *it*, in Spec-TP position. The choice of one or another option will depend on whether an expletive is present in the initial lexical array. English expletive pronouns are elements in a DP subject position which are not arguments (i.e. no theta-role is assigned to them) and hence have no semantic significance, cannot be substituted by another DP, cannot be questioned and cannot receive focal stress. Their presence is solely motivated by the need to satisfy the EPP feature on T which triggers their merging with Spec-TP.

Expletives *there* and *it*[20] occur in a number of expletive constructions which contain the preverbal expletive subject and a postverbal subject (i.e. associate of the expletive in construction with it) which carries a theta-role. Expletive *It* is always in construction with a clause, whereas expletive *There* is in construction with an NP associate. Expletive *It* can also occur with weather verbs, in which case there is no associate element. A typology is provided below:

[20] Expletives *There* and *It* should be distinguished from the referential pronoun *It* and the place adjunct *There*, which can be questioned, can receive focal stress and can be substituted by DPs and PPs respectively.

Table 1: Expletive typology in English.

Expletive Pronoun	Construction	Requirements	Examples
It	Extraposed Clauses	*It* must be in construction with an extraposed clausal subject.	(a) It surprised me [that everyone could come]. (b) It is possible [that students attend the meeting].
It	Raising Predicates	*It* must be in construction with an extraposed clausal subject. This construction is only possible with raising predicates.	(a) It seems [that Peter is in love]. (b) It is said [that Mary is expecting].
It	Weather Verbs	*It* must occur with weather verbs.	(a) It is raining now. (b) It has been snowing all night.
There	Existential Constructions (to be)	*There* must be in construction with an extraposed NP subject associate, which is usually indefinite[21] and agrees with the verb.	(a) There are [five students] in the class. (b) There was [a man] walking around the garden.
There	Unaccusative verbs	*There* must be in construction with an extraposed NP subject associate, which is usually indefinite and agrees with the verb. This construction is only possible with unaccusative verbs, such as exist, appear, arise, arrive, etc.	(a) There exist [two types of men]. (b) There appeared [a woman] shouting. (c) There arrives [a new candidate].

2.5.2 Expletive Subjects in Spanish

Expletive subjects in Spanish are obligatorily null and as has been claimed all throughout the chapter, there is not even need for an expletive *pro*, since the EPP feature on T is checked with the raising of the Agr-morpheme (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Platzack, 2004) and therefore *pro* is dispensed with (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.2).

'Expletive' constructions in Spanish involve existential structures with the impersonal verb *haber* and requiring an indefinite postverbal subject, weather verbs and extraposed clauses in non-referring impersonal constructions, as the following examples indicate:

(22) ØHay tres opciones para elegir. (Existential construction)
'There are three options to choose from'

[21] Definite subject associates in There constructions are possible in "list" contexts, as in *There$_i$ were [Thelma, Louise, Patsy and Edina]$_i$ working in the garden.* (Haegeman and Guéron, 1999: 122)

(23) ØLlueve mucho estos días. (Weather verb)
'It is raining a lot these days'

(24) ØParece que/Es claro que/Es obvio ...que María no va a venir. (Extraposed clauses)
'It seems/It is clear/It is obvious ...that Mary is not going to come'

2.6 *that-trace* effects (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2001)

As was seen in section 2.1, *that*-trace constructions are grammatically possible in languages such as Spanish or Italian, whereas they do not occur in English. In both English and Spanish, objects can be extracted over an overt complementiser *that* in Wh-questions. Yet only in Spanish can subjects undergo extraction over an overt complementiser. This is illustrated in examples (6) and (7) repeated here as (25) and (26):

(25) a. Who$_i$ did you say [t_i that John invited t_i]?
b. ¿Quién$_i$ dijiste [t_i que Juan invitó t_i]?

(26) a. *Who$_i$ did you say [t_i that t_i came late]?
b. Who$_i$ did you say [t_i t_i came late]?
c. ¿Quién$_i$ dijiste [t_i que t_i llegó tarde]?

That-trace effects were traditionally linked to the Null Subject Parameter and more specifically to the ECP and the availability vs non-availability of postverbal subjects in a language. From a postverbal subject position, a Wh-subject can be extracted and the trace remains properly governed thus not violating the ECP. More recent accounts have dissociated *that*-trace effects from the Null Subject Parameter, such as that of Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), which we briefly review.

The authors consider *that*-trace effects an instance of the T-to-C movement asymmetry similar to that found in English matrix Wh-questions, where T-to-C

movement is obligatory in questions when the wh-phrase moved to Spec-C is not a subject[22]:

(27) What did Mary buy?

(28) *What Mary bought?

(29) *Who did buy the book?

(30) Who bought the book?

(Pesetsky and Torrego, 2001: 357)

In order to account for the *that*-trace phenomenon, the authors first explore the subject/non-subject asymmetry in the T-to-C movement in matrix Wh-questions.

Pesetsky and Torrego make the initial assumption that T-to-C movement is caused by the presence of an uninterpretable T-feature (*u*T) with the EPP property[23] on C and the corresponding feature on T. If T-to-C movement does not take place when the wh-phrase of a wh-question is a nominative subject, the question arises as to what deletes *u*T on C. The authors propose that *u*T on C is deleted by the nominative wh-phrase moved to Spec-CP and hence claim that "Nominative case is *u*T on D" (2001: 361). This is the reason why T-to-C movement in (29) above is not necessary[24]. It is not only unnecessary but also impossible, as the ungrammaticality of (29) shows, due to economy reasons, by which only the minimum number of syntactic operations to satisfy the properties of uninterpretable features are required. The authors summarise this requirement in the following Economy Condition:

---

[22] Attempts to relate T-to-C movement and *that*-trace effects had also been made by Koopman (1983) though her account was based on the traditional definition of the ECP.

[23] The EPP property refers here to all sorts of movement trigger (Chomsky, 2000). As Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) explain "an uninterpretable feature F on X requires that an *Agree* relation with F on Y be followed up by copying of material from Y into the local environment of X. This property of F is called an *EPP property*. *Agree* that is followed up by a copy operation (motivated by an EPP property is the composite operation *Move*. When a feature F on X enters into an *Agree* or *Move* relation with another instance of F on Y, we will say that F on X *attracts* Y" (2001: 359).

[24] It should be noted here that uT on the wh-subject has already been marked for deletion by T when it moves to Spec-T. However, it remains "alive" and accessible to further operations before it gets erased (Chomsky, 2000; Pesetsky and Torrego, 2001)

(31) Economy Condition

> A head H triggers the minimum number of operations necessary to satisfy the properties (including EPP) of its uninterpretable features.
>
> (2001: 359)

Pesetsky and Torrego argue for a unified account of T-to-C movement asymmetry just discussed and the *that*-trace effect. Both phenomena involve the absence of an element in C, an auxiliary verb or the complementiser *that*, when there is subject wh-extraction. The authors propose that, in *that*-trace effects constructions, *that* is not C but "an instance of T that has moved to C" (2001: 371). Thus the absence of *that* in C when the subject wh-phrase is moved would just be an instance of the T-to-C asymmetry discussed above. When the wh-phrase is a non-subject, *that* will move from T to C. Yet the authors argue that this type of movement is distinct from that involved in ordinary T-to-C movement in that both positions, namely T and C would be pronounced[25]. Let us see how this account works through the following examples:

(32) *Who$_i$ did John say [$_{CP}$ *t*-[*who, +wh,* ~~*uT*~~]$_i$ [$_T$ that]$_j$ + [C, ~~*u*T~~, ~~*u*Wh~~]

[$_{IP}$ *t*-*who$_i$* will$_j$ buy the book]]?

(33) Who$_i$ did John say [$_{CP}$ *t*-[*who, +wh,* ~~*uT*~~]$_i$ [C, ~~*u*T~~, ~~*u*Wh~~]

[$_{IP}$ *t*-*who$_i$* will$_j$ buy the book]]?

(34) What$_i$ did John say [$_{CP}$ *t*-*what*$_i$ [$_T$ that]$_j$ + [C, ~~*u*T~~, ~~*u*Wh~~]

[$_{IP}$ Mary will$_j$ buy *t*-*what*$_i$]]?

In (34), a non-subject wh-phrase is extracted in a declarative CP. In this case, *u*Wh on C is deleted by the wh-phrase movement and *u*T on C is deleted by T-to-C movement. As previously noted, the authors argue that in English, T in C is pronounced as *that* in this context. They further assume that C in English is null. In (33), a nominative subject wh-phrase is extracted in a declarative CP. As previously explained, *u*T and *u*Wh on C can

[25] Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) argue that embedded T-to-C movement resembles instances of Wh-movement that leave resumptive pronouns.

be both deleted by movement of the subject wh-phrase within this theory. The Economy Condition in (31) would exclude the less economical derivation in (32), where *u*Wh is deleted by wh-movement and *u*T is deleted by T-to-C movement. Since, according to the authors, T is pronounced *that* in English embedded declaratives, the non-grammaticality of (32) follows and the compulsory absence of *that* in this type of clauses is accounted for.

Following Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001, 2004) account of *that-trace effects*, Gallego (2006) observes that Romance languages cannot make use of subject DPs to delete *u*T on C and therefore, *that-trace effects* are not attested. According to Gallego (2006), Romance subject DPs get their *u*T feature marked for deletion within the TP-phase[26] and hence it is not available for checking operations beyond TP.[27] On the contrary, the *u*T feature of subject DPs in English is marked for deletion in the CP-phase and hence can delete *u*T on C, making the presence of *that* incompatible.

2.7 Discourse-pragmatic constraints on the use of subjects in Spanish.

The apparent optionality in the use of null and overt pronominal subjects in Spanish obeys a number of discourse-pragmatic constraints which play an important role in L2 subject development. The stylistic competence in subject use will be observed in the data and hence deserves an overview against which the data will be tested.

2.7.1 Null and overt pronominal subjects

Although Spanish has the grammatical option of omitting the pronominal subject, as explained in previous sections, its omission is not entirely optional. Expletive subjects in Spanish, traditionally considered null subjects *pro*, are obligatorily null and

[26] Gallego (2006) considers TP to be the first strong phase in Romance whereas vP is the first phase in English.

[27] This is justified by the *Timing of Deletion of Uninterpretable Features* (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2004a: 516): An uninterpretable feature [*u*F] marked for deletion (i.e. [~~*u*F~~]) within a completed phase P, is deleted the moment a new head H is merged to P.

correspond to the overt expletive pronouns in English (see section 2.4). Thus existential, weather and non-referring impersonal constructions in Spanish lack an overt subject:

(35) Ø Hay mucho ruido.
'There is a lot of noise'

(36) Ø Está lloviendo mucho estos días.
is raining a lot these days.
'It's raining a lot these days'

(37) Ø Es claro que María no vendrá.
is clear that María is not going to come.
'It's clear that María is not going to come'

As for lexical and pronominal subjects, their presence and absence are not completely optional but are constrained by discourse-pragmatic considerations. In general terms, the overt use of a personal pronoun in a position where it could normally be omitted results from emphatic or contrastive reasons whereas its omission indicates neutrality or lack of emphasis as the examples below illustrate:

(38) ¡*Él* hizo trampas! (and not me or anyone else – emphatic use)
HE cheated!

(39) ¡Ø Hizo trampas! (neutral use)

This pragmatic constraint follows directly from the above reviewed accounts by which preverbal subjects in Spanish are moved for pragmatic reasons to a preverbal non-argumental position within the CP-domain (Platzack, 2004; Rizzi, 2004, 2005). Given that pronoun omission indicates lack of emphasis, it has been claimed that the expression vs omission of pronouns in Spanish has the same function and anaphoric use as strong (emphatic use) vs weak pronouns (neutral use) in languages such as English, which do not permit pronoun omission and in which the use of overt pronouns is non-emphatic by default (Luján, 1999). Thus English (40a) would correspond to Spanish (40b) in terms of pronoun use:

(40) (a) He/HE (and not me or anyone else) cheated!
(b) ¡Ø/*Él* (and not me or anyone else) hizo trampas!

In the case of a series of sentences or complex sentences with a subordinate clause, the use of pronouns and their co-reference is also constrained by discourse-pragmatic considerations. According to Montrul (2004a), if we have two sentences in discourse with the same reference, an overt pronoun in the second sentence is pragmatically odd and an overt lexical subject is ungrammatical, as in (41). Yet pronoun omission is odd when there is a switch in reference, as in (42):

(41) Pepe no vino hoy a trabajar. *Pepe/?Él/Ø estará enfermo.
Pepe no came today to work. Pepe/He/Ø will be sick.
Pepe did not come to work today. He must be sick.

(42) Hoy no fui a trabajar. Pepe/Él/*Ø pensó que estaba enferma.
Today no I went to work. Pepe/He/Ø thought that I was sick.
Today I did not go to work. Pepe/He though I was sick.

(2004: 176)

Within sentences with a main and a subordinate clause, the presence vs the omission of a subject pronoun also gives rise to significant differences in co-reference and interpretation. The following sentences (Luján, 1999) illustrate this:

(43) a. Cuando él/Ø trabaja, Juan no bebe. (él ≠ Juan; Ø = Juan)
a'. When HE/he works, Juan doesn't drink. (HE ≠ Juan; he = Juan)

b. Cuando Juan trabaja, él/Ø no bebe. (él ≠ Juan; Ø = Juan)
b'. When Juan works, HE/he doesn't drink. (HE ≠ Juan; he = Juan)

c. Juan no bebe cuando él/Ø trabaja. (él = Juan; Ø = Juan)
c'. Juan doesn't drink when HE/he works. (HE = Juan; he = Juan)

d. Él/Ø no bebe cuando Juan trabaja. (él/Ø ≠ Juan)
d'. HE/he doesn't drink when John works. (HE/he ≠ Juan)

As the examples indicate, the differences in co-reference between the referential element 'Juan' and the pronominal element 'él' or the null element in Spanish correspond to the differences in co-reference between the referential expression 'Juan' and the strong emphatic pronoun 'HE' or the weak neutral pronoun 'he' in English. In (43a) and (43b), the overt pronoun 'él' gives rise to "disjunctive reference" (Luján,

1999: 1279) with respect to the antecedent 'Juan', whereas the null pronoun can co-refer with it. That is to say, 'él' necessarily designates someone different from 'Juan', whereas the null pronoun can refer to it. In (43c), the subordinate clause, where the overt and null pronoun are, is postposed and hence part of the predicate of the main clause. According to Luján (1999), in that case both the overt pronoun and the null element can co-refer with the lexical referential element 'Juan'. The overt pronoun is not 'disjunctive' here. In (43d), both the overt and the null pronouns give rise to 'disjunctive reference' in that neither 'él' nor the null element can co-refer with 'Juan'. A referential expression (i.e. 'Juan') cannot be given an antecedent[28].

The above mentioned 'disjunctive' effects of the overt pronoun may disappear and the pronoun can indeed co-refer with its antecedent (preceding or following the pronoun) if the discourse provides a context where the emphatic and contrastive use of the pronoun is required. If this is so, the omission of the pronominal subject is inadequate. The following examples illustrate this:

(44) Cuando Juan$_i$ trabaja, él$_i$/*Ø no bebe pero los demás sí lo hacen.
'When Juan works, HE/*he doesn't drink but the rest do'

(45) Juan$_i$ permite que sus empleados beban en el trabajo, pero cuando él$_i$/*Ø trabaja, Juan$_i$ no bebe.
'Juan$_i$ allows his men to drink at work, but when HE$_i$/*he works, Juan$_i$ doesn't drink'

(Luján, 1999: 1302-1303)

2.8 Summary and Linguistic items to be analysed in the data

Having explored some of the most recent developments concerning the subject properties of English and Spanish, the present study adopts the following syntactic assumptions, mainly based on Platzack's (2004) *Person Phrase Hypothesis*, in order to provide a theoretical syntactic background to the data analysis.

[28] Referential expressions cannot be bound by an antecedent, as it is ruled out by Principle C of Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1986).

2.8.1 Syntactic assumptions in the present study: English

- The EPP-feature in T is satisfied and checked through subject raising from its base position spec-vP to spec-TP or through subject merging in spec-TP if the subject is an expletive. A lexical subject DP is located in PersP in spec-vP as the complement of Persº which has grammatical but not phonological features. In the case of a pronominal subject, the pronoun is in Persº which has a DP complement with no phonological features. The EPP feature in T attracts the subject to spec-TP (Platzack, 2004). Thus the motivation for preverbal subjects in English is purely syntactic and their overt presence is obligatory.
- It follows that null subjects and null expletives are not allowed and postverbal subjects are strictly restricted to unaccusative constructions where the subject is an internal argument of the verb and an expletive is merged in Spec-TP in order to check the EPP feature.
- *That*-trace effects, which were traditionally part of the cluster of properties of the Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982) and resulted from ECP constraints, are present in English and are here considered a separate phenomenon linked to the T-to-C movement asymmetry outlined in Pesestky and Torrego (2001, 2004a) and Gallego (2005).

2.8.2 Syntactic assumptions in the present study: Spanish

- The EPP feature in T is satisfied and checked through the Agr morpheme of the verb which is the head of the PersP in NSLs. The PersP is in spec-vP and may or may not have a complement DP with phonological and

grammatical features. The Agr verbal morpheme is theta-marked and assigned case by T. Probed by T, it internally merges to TP where it checks and deletes the EPP-feature and, as a bound morpheme, it causes the verb to raise and amalgamate with it (Platzack, 2004).

- As the EPP-feature does not require subject raising in Spanish, it follows that preverbal subjects are not subject to syntactic constraints and their occurrence is constrained by discourse considerations. Indeed, preverbal subjects are moved to a non-argumental position higher than TP within the CP-domain (Platzack, 2004; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999).
- Postverbal subjects are thus possible in 'free inversion' environments and in Wh- interrogative and embedded clauses. They might remain in situ within PersP in spec-vP or might appear after an object by being right-adjoined to the VP.
- *Pro*, as a pronominal null element is redundant in null subject sentences and not needed as such in the analysis, as the Agr morpheme is theta-marked and assigned case and hence satisfies the EPP-feature. Expletive *pro* is also redundant and hence not needed in expletive constructions or in sentences with postverbal subjects (Platzack, 2004; Manzini and Savoia, 1997; Manzini and Savoia, 2002; Manzini and Roussou, 2000; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999 and Kato, 1999).
- *That*-trace effects are not present in Spanish and their absence is unrelated to the cluster of properties of the traditional Null Subject Parameter and accounted for within the T-to-C movement asymmetry proposed by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004a).

The traditional formulation of the Null Subject Parameter cannot really be maintained in an account where *pro* as a syntactic element in the structure is dispensed with and *that*-trace effects are not part of the cluster of properties. What explains the contrast between English and Spanish subject properties is the way in which the EPP-feature in T is checked, or in Platzack's (2004) terms, the nature of the element that expresses Pers^{o}. If the element merged as Pers^{o} has only grammatical features, PersP will appear as a DP (i.e English). If it has both phonological and grammatical features, it can be a free morpheme or a bound morpheme. As a free morpheme, it is a pronoun with or without a DP complement (i.e English). In these two cases, the EPP-feature in T will be satisfied through subject raising. As a bound morpheme, Pers^{o} is the Agr morpheme which has to find a host outside PersP and merges to TP thus satisfying the EPP and causing the verb to raise and amalgamate with it. From this contrast, the (non-) possibility of null subjects and postverbal subjects follows. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) already proposed that EPP-checking was parameterised and termed it "the EPP/AGR Parameter (XP vs X^{o})" (1998: 524). For the purpose of the present thesis, it seems clear that what was referred to as the 'Null Subject Parameter' is now better analysed in terms of EPP and PersP, which provide a much clearer account of the different subject properties in English and Spanish. Table 2 provides a summary of the syntactic assumptions adopted in the present study.

Table 2: Syntactic assumptions with respect to subject properties in English and Spanish:

	SUBJECT PROPERTIES	
	English	**Spanish**
EPP	- checked through subject raising from PersP (spec-vP) to spec-TP or expletive merging in spec-TP.	- checked through Agr morpheme (Persº) internally merging to TP.
Preverbal Subjects	- lexical DP subject: DP complement of Persº (no phonological features) - pronoun: Persº - syntactically motivated. - obligatorily overt. - moved to spec-TP.	- DP complements of Persº (Agr) - pragmatically motivated. - optional (discourse-constrained) - moved to an A'-position in the CP-domain.
Postverbal Subjects	- not allowed. -unaccusative constructions: internal argument (subject) + expletive	- DP complements of Persº - in situ (spec-vP) or right adjoined to the verb rendering VOS.
pro	- not allowed.	- redundant as a syntactic element, as EPP is already checked by Agr. (not redundant as a syntactic notion)
Expletive Subjects	- obligatorily overt - merged in spec-TP to check EPP.	- null. - traditionally *pro* but now redundant.

2.8.3 Linguistic items to be analysed in the data

Having considered both the syntactic and stylistic properties of subjects in English and Spanish, a brief note on the kind of sentences and the critical linguistic items on which native and non-native informants were tested throughout the experiments of the present thesis is in order (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed explanation about the tasks and the sentences).

The following linguistic items were considered in the data on child and adult L2 English and L2 Spanish:

- *Preverbal vs Postverbal overt subjects with transitive, unergative and unaccusative verbs:*

Postverbal subjects are not allowed in English unless the verb is unaccusative and an expletive is inserted in spec-TP, whereas in Spanish both preverbal and postverbal subjects are possible. Yet the speaker's choice often depends on the type of verb being used. In sentences with transitive verbs, the subject can appear preverbally, postverbally before the object and after the object, though SVO is the most widely preferred word order with transitive verbs. VSO and VOS are rarely used or preferred by Spanish speakers unless a very specific context makes these marked orders sound more natural. In the case of intransitive sentences, preverbal and postverbal subjects are equally allowed though postverbal subjects are reported to be preferred with unaccusative verbs and preverbal subjects are reported to be commonly used with unergative verbs (Montrul, 2004) in neutral contexts, whereas postverbal subjects are preferred in focused contexts (cf. section 4.3.5.2) . The following examples illustrate these linguistic items in the experiments:

(46) *Has come my sister from the United States (unaccusative)

(47) *Cried the baby all night long (unergative)

(48) ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos. (unaccusative)
b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos. (unaccusative)
Came my Dad to help us
'My Dad came to help us'

(49) ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio. (unergative)
b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio. (unergative)
Cried a lot my little brother in school.
'My little brother cried a lot in school'

(50) Come muchas ensaladas María (transitive)
Eats a lot of salads María.
'María eats a lot of salads'

- Preverbal vs Postverbal overt subjects in post Wh-contexts in interrogative and embedded clauses:

The fact that Spanish allows postverbal subjects and English does not extends to Wh-contexts in interrogative and embedded clauses, which also provide contrastive data in English and Spanish:

(51) *She didn't explain why complained the students.

(52) *¿Qué los vecinos quieren?
What the neighbours want?
'What do the neighbours want?'

(53) Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
My mother not know who is my history teacher.
'My mother doesn't know who my history teacher is'

- Null vs overt pronominal subjects in main and subordinate clauses:

English obligatorily requires overt subjects to check the EPP feature whereas Spanish permits both null and overt pronominal subjects and their occurrence is subject to pragmatic constraints. The following sentences from the experiments illustrate this contrast:

(54) *Our French teacher said had a dog.

(55) *Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

(56) Si (ella) estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
'If she studies sufficiently Marta will pass the exam'

(57) ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
(Yo) creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
'I think Ana Works too much'

- Null vs overt expletive subjects in main clauses:

Whereas English requires overt expletive subjects for EPP reasons, Spanish obligatorily requires null expletive subjects. The EPP being checked through the Agr morpheme, nothing motivates their occurrence. This subject property is observed in the following examples:

(58) *Is said that rainforests are in danger.

(59) *Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

(60) *Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
It/There is likely that Luisa passes the exam.
'Luisa is likely to pass the exam'

(61) *La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
The last week it rained every day.
'It rained every day last week'

- *That-trace constructions:*

Despite not being related to the traditional cluster of properties of the Null Subject Parameter, *that-trace effects* reflect a subject-object asymmetry in English, where they are observed, whereas they are not present in Spanish. By virtue of the fact that they are part of a subject property and in order to be able to establish parallel links to previous studies, *that*-trace constructions are also included in the data:

(62) *Who did you say that came late?

(63) ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
Who (you) think that will win the match?
'Who do you think will win the match?'

- *Instances of verbal inflection:*

Both in English and Spanish, the development of subjects in L1 acquisition has always been linked to verbal inflection development (Bel, 2001; Grinstead, 2000; Roeper and Rohrbacher, 1995; Rizzi, 2000) and in order to trace inflection development in relation to subject development in L2 (Prévost and White, 2000; Lakshmanan, 1994), some instances of defective verbal morphology (non-finite forms and tense and agreement morphemes) are included in the data:

(64) *Martha never forget her homework.

(65) *Last week we finish our class project.

(66) *Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.
My friends go out for dinner yesterday

'My friends went out for dinner yesterday'

(67) *Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.
Ana and Silvia sings (3p.sing) in a choir.
'Ana and Silvia sing in a choir'

All the above explained linguistic items are essential contrastive tools in a study of L2 English and L2 Spanish subject development. Similarly, the syntactic assumptions adopted in this thesis to account for the very distinct behaviour of English and Spanish subjects are indeed necessary to provide a clear and comprehensive analysis of the differences between child and adult L2 subjects and between the process of non-native subject development in English and Spanish. Let us first review the theories of second language acquisition and their implications in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Second Language Acquisition (L2A) in Generative Grammar

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the most relevant theoretical contributions to the field of L2A within Generative Grammar. All stages of the L2A process are explored considering the role that UG and the L1 play in the process of acquisition and their relevance to the data obtained, presented and analysed in the present study. An in-depth analysis of the different positions in the field reveals their findings and shortcomings which will be then considered in the data analysis. In Section 3.2, the different approaches to initial state interlanguage grammars are thoroughly presented along with brief outlines of the most relevant studies. Developing state interlanguage grammars are dealt with in Section 3.3 with special emphasis on the (im)plausibility of parameter resetting and on the presence of optionality as one of the most characteristic features of interlanguage. Section 3.4 covers the final state of L2A and provides a detailed overview of age effects on ultimate attainment. Child L2A is addressed in Section 3.5 along with its relationship with the general approaches to L2A and its similarities and differences from adult L2A. The chapter draws to a close with the theoretical assumptions which will guide us through the remaining chapters.

3.2. Initial State: Access, Transfer, both or none?

As Schwartz (1999: 226) states, "L2 researchers need to hypothesise about the starting point of non-native grammatical knowledge, because it is crucial for figuring out the structure of subsequent stages and hence it is crucial for finding explanations for

development". The L2 initial state of acquisition clearly differs from the L1 initial state in that the L2 learner does not start the acquisition process from birth and has already developed an L1 grammar. This has led L2 research to determine the role that UG and the L1 have at the onset of L2A, which in turn sheds light on the nature of intermediate and final states of acquisition. More specifically, research focuses on the nature of linguistic knowledge at the initial stages of L2A and therefore on whether and to what extent UG is available and constrains L2 after L1A is over and the influence of the L1 grammar. These two aspects have been phrased Full / Partial / No Access (to UG) and Full / Partial / No Transfer (of L1) and some of their possible combinations refer to the different theories of L2 Initial State under debate[29]. We will explore each perspective and its implications for the study of L2.

3.2.1 No Transfer/No Access

The No Transfer/No Access approach does not involve UG at all in any stage of L2A and the L1 grammar is considered to have no influence either. With not many proponents, this position maintains that once UG has driven L1A it is not available to adult second language learners anymore and hence they cannot have access to principles of UG or reset parameters to their L2 value. Such a claim implies that L1A completely differs from L2A, which makes use of non-linguistic cognitive skills. Clahsen and Muyksen (1986) and Meisel (1997) maintain the unavailability of UG and claim that interlanguage grammars are unnatural and wild and are developed only through general learning strategies.

Clahsen and Muyksen (1986) study the word order of adult Romance-speaking L2 German learners. The authors argue that, contrary to what happens in L1A, L2 learners

[29] The use of the terms 'Access' and 'Transfer' has sometimes been confusing and misleading, as they have not been used in the same way by all researchers. I will broadly follow White's (2000) terminology to refer to the different initial state positions, although certain aspects will be refined.

of German use SVO order during the first stages of development and not the underlying SOV order of the target language, regardless of their L1[30]. Their analysis also assumes rightward movement –which is ruled out by UG- of the non-finite verb as the only possibility to account for the first occurrences of verb-final clauses. The fact that L2 learners do not follow the same developmental path as in L1A irrespectively of their L1 and that the account of verb-final clauses is not compatible with UG brings the researchers to the conclusion that L2A does not involve transfer of the L1 and is not constrained by UG. Yet more research on the L2A of OV languages clearly challenges this position (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996; Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann, 1981). These studies suggest that native speakers of OV languages produce OV orders in the initial stages of German L2A, whereas native speakers of VO languages start their German L2 production with VO orders, which presents evidence for the occurrence of transfer. Likewise, other studies have provided analyses of the L2 German verb-final clauses which are constrained by UG (Schwartz and Tomaselli, 1990; Schwartz and Sprouse, 2000).

One of the most extreme positions of the No Transfer/No Access approach is Meisel (1991, 1997). Meisel analyses French and German as L1s and L2s and observes that there is a direct relation between the occurrence of overt morphology and verb raising in L1A which is absent in L2A. For Meisel, this is evidence of permanent UG unavailability in interlanguage grammars. The author claims that instead of UG principles, L2 learners make use of linear order strategies in their interlanguage word order which amounts to saying that interlanguage grammars are 'wild'.

As noted above, plenty of research has shown that interlanguage grammars are indeed constrained by and compatible with UG and have, at least, partial access to it, as

[30] Note that Kayne's (1994) SVO Universal Base Hypothesis, by which verb-first orders are derived from the underlying SVO order, had not been put forward at the time.

will be reviewed in the following sections. As Schwartz and Sprouse (2000) put it "the L2 learners pass through several distinct stages, but each of these stages lies within the bounds set by UG" (p. 161).

3.2.2 Full Transfer/Partial Access

The Full Transfer/Partial Access position generally assumes that the L2 initial state corresponds to the L1 final state in that all properties of the L1 are initially transferred to the L2 and that UG is only available via the L1 (Bley-Vroman, 1990, 1996; Clahsen and Hong, 1995; Clahsen and Muyksen, 1989, 1996; Liceras, 1996, 1998; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Schachter 1989, 1990, 1996; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991). This position has confusingly been referred to as the "No Access" position by some researchers (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono, 1996) as UG is claimed not to be available in its entirety and it is only through the L1 that UG properties remain accessible, thus deeming parameter resetting impossible. However, and as White (2000) suggests, UG is indeed present in grammatical development although new parameter settings or new feature specifications are not possible and hence the term "no-parameter resetting" hypothesis would provide a more adequate description. Although all proponents of the Full Transfer/Partial Access agree on the fact that all L1 properties transfer to the initial L2 representation, the extent to which the L2 learner has "Partial Access" to UG has been accounted for in several forms. Let us examine the most relevant approaches.

3.2.2.1 The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (Bley-Vroman, 1990, 1996)

The Fundamental Difference Hypothesis (FDH) is centred on the claim that adult L2A lacks inevitable success and displays great variability among learners. Hence L2A fundamentally differs from L1A:

> "Foreign language learning differs in degree of success, in the character and uniformity of the resultant systems, in its susceptibility to factors such as motivation and in the previous state of the organism; the learner already has knowledge of one language and a powerful system of general abstract problem-solving skills" (Bley-Vroman, 1990: 4)

A thorough analysis of the fundamental differences between first language acquisition and adult foreign language learning leads Bley-Vroman to conclude that the domain-specific language acquisition device present in child first language acquisition is not available to adults, who are assumed to make use of general problem-solving mechanisms to learn a foreign language. However, even if the language faculty is not operative in adult L2A, some adult learners indeed achieve high competence in a foreign language and thus the logical problem of second language acquisition remains. As L2 learners already possess knowledge of their native language, the author proposes that L2 learners can access UG particularly through their L1 principles. Principles and parameters which are absent in the L1 are not accessible by adult learners any more, who use non-linguistic cognitive skills to incorporate new L2 linguistic structures. Not being able to acquire these L2 structures by triggering and clustering from abstract principles, as in L1A, the L2 learner resorts to induction, analogy and negative evidence to carry out a "construction-by-construction" acquisition process. Bley-Vroman's FDH is illustrated in the following table:

Table 1: the Fundamental Difference Hypothesis.

Child Language Development	Adult Language Development
A. Universal Grammar	A. Native Language Knowledge
B. Domain-specific learning procedures.	B. General problem-solving systems. (1990: 14)

Bley-Vroman also reviews some of the evidence presented in the literature for a UG-driven L2A, including the existence of L2 learners' grammatical intuitions, similar acquisition orders in L1 and L2 and the existence of UG-generated linguistic knowledge

about the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of structures such as wh-fronting, *that*-trace effects and parasitic gaps, among others (Felix, 1985). However, the author concludes that what apparently seems to be 'UG-generated knowledge' can in fact be "mimicked" (1990:39) and emulated knowledge resulting from "native language analogy, availability of rich data, learning UG consequences as peripheral facts and relative parsing difficulty" (1990:39). In other words, adults cannot access principles of UG which are not instantiated in their L1 and if they do produce structures which resemble UG, it is because they make use of analogy, explicit data and negative evidence, they learn linguistic structures as particular facts and may have parsing difficulties which help them judge impossible sentences as ungrammatical. As Bley-Vroman states,

> "the adult relies on the native language to provide a general idea of what language is like and proceeds by accumulating peripheral facts, rather than by setting parameters and deducing consequences. The end result can be a system of knowledge which, while weakly equivalent to the native language grammar in certain areas, has a quite different origin and, presumably, a different psychological status" (1990: 42).

Likewise, for Schachter (1989, 1990, 1996), the differences between L1A and L2A suggest that UG cannot be available in its entirety to the adult L2 learner, whose L2 grammar will be necessarily incomplete. It is only through the principles and parameters present in the L1 that the L2 learner can access UG and yet, according to Schachter, an L1 principle cannot accommodate a new linguistic construction in the L2, which must be incorporated to the L2 interlanguage through knowledge and interaction with the input.

3.2.2.2 Access to UG principles but no parameter-resetting (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999)

In the generative traditional framework, while principles of UG are present in all natural languages, parameters account for language variation and are associated to the abstract features of functional categories, which are subject to "maturation" or "growing" in first language acquisition. Thus once parameters "mature" or "grow" and get set to their corresponding abstract features, they cannot mature any more. This implies that L2 adult learners cannot set parameters to a new L2 value (Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991; Ouhalla, 1993). Assuming that parameter-setting is not accessible to adults, Liceras (1996, 1998) argues that the initial state of adult L2 acquisition is the L1, through which learners can access the mature UG principles and categories. Hence L2 learning is not sensitive to the abstract features of functional categories that trigger L1 acquisition (i.e parameter setting) but the learners can access L2 input through "secondary-level domain-specific (i.e. language-specific) learning procedures" and produce a non-native grammar which presents the properties associated to a certain parameter. Yet these properties are only superficially native-like as they do not result from parameter-(re)setting. The "secondary-level domain-specific procedures" used by the L2 learner result from a process of "representational-redescription" (Karmiloff-Smith, 1994) by which "information that is in a cognitive system becomes progressively explicit knowledge to that system" (Liceras, 1998: 76). In other words, "secondary-level domain specific learning mechanisms" are explicit and modularised and are not sensitive to L1 acquisition triggers, whereas the "domain-specific learning procedures", which guide L1 acquisition, are non-explicit, non-modularised and sensitive to parameter-setting. L2 learners make use of "local re-structuring" and construct their non-native grammar by locally re-structuring specific constructions of their native

language according to the non-native target language. Obviously, this secondary-level acquisition device does not produce the clustering effects of parameter-setting and the activation of abstract features, but allows L2 learners to acquire L2 syntactic structures locally and superficially. Liceras' (1996) approach to adult L2 acquisition is summarised in the following table:

Table 2: The logical problem of non-primary language acquisition.

Child primary language acquisition	Adult non-primary language acquisition
A. UG B. Domain-specific learning procedures.	A. Previous linguistic experience B. Secondary level domain-specific learning mechanisms. C. General problem-solving systems.
UG: initial state Previous linguistic experience: UG (mature state); L1; other L2s. Domain-specific learning procedures: non-modularised, non-explicit. Secondary-level domain-specific learning mechanisms: modularised, explicit (degrees?)	

Liceras (1996: 33)

Table 2 illustrates Liceras' alternative account to Bley-Vroman's (1990) approach to adult L2 learning, which assumes that adult non-native acquisition is guided by the L1 (and the UG principles instantiated in it) and general problem-solving systems. A key difference between Liceras' approach to L2A and Bley-Vroman's FDH is that the latter cannot account for L2 grammatical intuitions, whereas a theory of adult L2A which acknowledges the use of 'secondary level domain-specific learning procedures' in accessing L2 data may well account for them. Yet these intuitions are only 'secondary-level' intuitions and therefore different from L1 native intuitions, which result from 'domain-specific learning procedures' and direct access to UG. While L1A is triggered by parameter-setting (i.e. fixing feature strength), L2A makes use of local re-structuring of linguistic representations.

Liceras further argues that non-native grammars are natural languages although they cannot possibly be I(nternal)-languages which, according to Chomsky's (1986)

definition, should "reflect consistent options in relation to a given parameter" (Liceras and Díaz, 1999: 5). Although the present approach assumes that L2 learners can indeed be consistent with certain parametric options, this superficial similarity does not result from the growing of initial domain-specific representations and parameter-setting. However, non-native grammars are considered natural languages in that they constitute a "further development of the language module" and "result from the development of the language-specific grown representations" (1999: 5) or what we have been referring to as 'secondary level domain-specific representations'.

Liceras (1998) concludes that in L2A, UG in its mature form and secondary 'domain-specific learning procedures' are always available to the adult learner. The younger an L2 learner is the less UG and domain-specific procedures will have matured and as a consequence, the acquisition of a second language may lead to the same results as L1A (see section 3.5). Yet adult L2A is definitely not like L1A and the L2 learner will have to rely on superficial syntactic structure to re-structure and construct the non-native grammar.

3.2.3 Full Access/No Transfer (Epstein, Flynn and Martohardjono, 1996)[31]

The Full Access/No Transfer approach to L2A rejects the influence of the L1 on the initial state. It is often referred to as the Full Access Hypothesis (FAH) (Flynn and Martohardjono, 1994; Flynn, 1996; Epstein et al. 1996, 1998) and it assumes that UG is fully available to L2 learners' process of acquisition. In other words, the language faculty, as it is involved in L1A, is claimed to be operative in adult L2A and the L1 grammar is neither present nor required in the process. Likewise, principles and

[31] Platzack's (1996) *Initial Hypothesis of Syntax* is also considered to represent the Full Access/No Transfer approach to L2A in some accounts, as it assumes that the initial state of L2A is UG with no L1 influence and that L1A and L2A follow an identical process by which all syntactic features are initially set as weak by default and will subsequently be reset to strong on the basis of L2 input. Yet the Initial Hypothesis of Syntax was originally developed to account for L1A and only briefly proposed and not largely explored for L2A.

parameters of UG are all available to the L2 learner even if these are not present in the L1 and hence parameter-setting is possible.

If the FAH were to account for L2A processes, French-speaking learners of L2 English would rapidly assume that English inflection has weak features, thus not raising the verb and placing adverbs correctly, which has not been attested in the data (White, 1991a, 1991b). At the same time, English-speaking learners of L2 French would assume that French has strong features and hence would have no problems with word order, contrary to what has been found in various L2 studies (White, 1989, 1991b). Likewise, the FAH implies that non-native grammars of learners with different L1s will be the same, as UG is the same for all of them and L1 exerts no influence. Epstein et al. (1996) reported an experiment to present evidence in favour of the FAH and against the influence of L1. Child and adult Japanese-speaking learners of English were administered an elicited imitation task to test knowledge of different properties of the functional projections IP and CP. Results show that informants successfully imitated around 70% of the sentences testing IP knowledge and around 50% of the sentences testing CP knowledge and that children and adults behaved alike. Epstein et al. argue that this experiment provides evidence for the full availability of UG and shows that the L1 is not transferred to the learners' initial state of the non-native interlanguage. However, all subjects had been living in an English-speaking country from one to three years and had been given formal instruction from three to seven years (1996: 703), which shows that the L2 learners were not at an initial state of acquisition. The authors claim that the fact that learners exhibit properties of the functional projections IP and CP, even if their L1, Japanese, lacks these projections, is evidence for the lack of L1 influence. Bearing in mind that full access to UG is taken for granted and that the subjects in the experiment are not at the initial state, the presence of IP and CP in these

learners' interlanguage does not imply that L1 transfer is not part of the initial state. Furthermore, the experiment only included grammatical sentences to imitate (1996: 704), which makes the data obtained less relevant to test the authors' hypotheses. If learners had encountered ungrammatical sentences, they would have had to correct them according to Epstein et al.'s assumptions.

In addition, the authors suggest that the fact that informants successfully imitated only around 50% of the sentences testing CP knowledge is not due to the absence of CP but to processing problems related to CP structures which are not present in the L1:

> "when it appears that there is a grammatical deficit – for example in the acquisition of structures involving CP – this again is arguably not to be explained in terms of the absence of CP, but might be best understood in terms of the need to assign new parameter settings, in this case [overt +wh-movement] for English" (1996: 706).

It is clear that Epstein et al. acknowledge some effects of the L1, at least to account for problematic data. They explicitly deny the influence of the L1 in the learner's initial state but they do refer to L1 effects throughout their work. In short, Epstein et al.'s work is weakly argued for, as research points to the fact that the native grammar and previous linguistic experience of an L2 learner is, at least to a certain extent, involved in the L2A process.

3.2.4 Full Access/Partial Transfer (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Eubank, 1993/1994, 1994, 1996)

In contrast to all approaches presented so far, the Full Access/Partial Transfer position to the L2A initial state holds that L2 learners initially have access to UG and only certain aspects of the L1. Two hypotheses represent this position, namely the Minimal Trees Hypothesis (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996a, 1996b) and the

Valueless Features Hypothesis (Eubank, 1993/1994, 1994, 1996), which are reviewed below.

3.2.4.1 The Minimal Trees Hypothesis

Both UG and the L1 in its steady state are assumed to constitute the L2A initial state, though only part of the L1 transfers, namely the L1 lexical categories and their headedness properties. L1 functional categories do not transfer and the learner cannot initially access functional categories from UG either, although the full inventory of functional categories is available from UG and will be gradually acquired along with their projections on the basis of L2 input.[32] Learners of different L1 will have different initial states, as the headedness features of their lexical categories may differ. According to the Minimal Trees Hypothesis, headedness will be reset to the L2 value before functional categories emerge. There not being L1 transfer of functional categories implies that L2 learners will acquire functional categories with L2 properties already and therefore, L1A and L2A are considered to proceed likewise as far as functional categories are concerned.[33]

In order to provide evidence for the Minimal Trees Hypothesis, the authors analysed spontaneous and elicited production data from adult learners of German with no formal L2 instruction and different L1s, such as Turkish, Korean, Spanish and Italian. Assuming that absence of a form in production entails absence of the underlying category in the grammar, Vainikka and Young-Scholten claim that the absence of function words and inflectional morphology (i.e. person and number agreement

[32] Such an approach to L2 is based on and parallels that of the Weak Continuity Hypothesis in L1A (Clahsen, Eisenbeiss and Vainikka, 1994; Clahsen, Penke and Parodi, 1993/1994, among others), whereby child language initially presents lexical categories and an underspecified functional projection and only later, gradually and on the basis of input do the rest of the functional categories (IP, CP, DP) emerge.

[33] However, Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996a, 1996b, 1998) specify that the emergence of functional categories is triggered by bound morphemes in L1A and by free morphemes in L2A.

morphology, auxiliary and modal verbs or wh-question movement, subordinate clauses and complementisers) implies the lack of the relevant functional categories and their projections:

> "What we take to constitute supporting evidence is – at the earliest stages of acquisition – a systematic absence of functional elements associated with specific functional projections. This indicates to us that these functional projections are also absent" (1996a: 25).

Thus a series of stages are defined which describe the L2A process. In the first stage, L2 learners transfer the VP from the L1 along with its headedness, which is reset to the L2 value if different from the L2. The next stage shows evidence for properties of functional elements though their use is inconsistent and appears to be optional. Hence Vainikka and Young-Scholten postulate the emergence of FP (finite phrase)[34], which is an underspecified and head-initial functional category that accounts for the variability of this stage. The acquisition process proceeds onto the IP (or AgrP)-stage, where IP is added and replaces FP, as the data suggest that the agreement features are present, according to the authors. Finally, CP only appears in the next stage, where embedded clauses and complementisers are assumed to be produced, although such constructions were not found in the available data.

One of the problems that the Minimal Trees Hypothesis faces refers to the evidence of the presence of functional categories and of L1 influence on them, which has been shown in different studies of L2A in its initial state (Haznedar, 1997; Grondin and White, 1996; Lakshmanan and Selinker, 1994; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996; White, 1990/1991, 1991a, 1992a). Yet Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1996b) argue that the data presented in these studies do not represent the initial state but a later stage in development where functional categories have emerged and maintain there is a stage in L2A where no functional categories can be found. Likewise, the authors define ad hoc

[34] Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1994) follow Clahsen (1991), who proposes the FP category to account for the acquisition of German as an L1.

the presence of a category in the learners' interlanguage if its lexical properties are produced in over 60% of the contexts[35], which may be considered to be totally arbitrary. As White (2003) points out, "it would be more appropriate to take evidence of emergence of some property as evidence of acquisition" (p.78).

Leaving empirical evidence and counter-evidence aside, the claim that functional categories are absent if their properties are not present or are used inconsistently in production data has been widely questioned (Lardière, 1998a, b, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000a, b; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996). The fact that learners do not express certain properties or lexical items in their production does not necessarily imply that these are lacking in their grammars. Learners can have and show knowledge of functional categories and fail to morphologically produce them[36]. Last but not least, it is not clear why functional categories should be altogether absent from the L2 initial state if learners have access to UG and already possess an L1 grammar with functional categories in its steady state. In the words of Schwartz and Sprouse (1996: 66), "it is difficult to imagine what sort of cognitive mechanism would be involved in extracting a proper subpart from the L1 grammar and using that proper subsystem as the basis for a new cognitive state".

3.2.4.2 The Valueless Features Hypothesis

Eubank (1993/1994, 1994, 1996) claims that both UG and the L1 constitute the L2A initial state, though the L1 is not available in its entirety. In contrast to the Minimal Trees Hypothesis, the Valueless Features Hypothesis maintains that both lexical and functional categories transfer to the L2. Yet the feature values of functional categories

[35] Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1994) arbitrarily define the acquisition of functional categories: "A cut-off point of 60 percent was used as a general criterion for acquisition; i.e. we judged a construction to have been acquired if it was used in at least 60 percent of the obligatory contexts" (p. 276).
[36] The phenomenon of "Morphological Variability" in L2 is expanded in section 3.2.

are not present in the initial state of the L2 interlanguage, and hence features are "valueless" or "inert" and take neither a strong nor a weak value. According to Eubank, who analyses data from various authors, when feature strength is not specified, optionality ensues. Considering L2 English data from French native speakers, mainly from White (1990/1991, 1991a), Eubank (1993/1994) argues that:

> "[…] the initial representation of English by native speakers of French has neither the strong agreement nor the strong tense characteristics of French; nor would the initial representation have the weak inflectional characteristics of English. What appear instead are underspecified feature values that are inert with regard to inflectional strength and, consequently, head movement. On the assumption that the strength of inflection regulates verb raising by permitting or disallowing the transmission of thematic roles, one might expect these inert values of features to allow such transmission to take place freely. The idea is, in essence, that the absence of regulatory mechanisms creates the effect of optionality in the L2 grammar" (p.196)

Valueless features should hence imply optional verb raising over adverbs as well as negation. However, the data examined in White (1992a) and Eubank (1993/1994) do not show any verb raising over negation on the French-English interlanguage, which might indicate that L2 learners of English have acquired the weak value of the agreement features. Optional verb raising over adverbs is indeed found and it is taken as evidence for the presence of valueless features[37].

The fact that features are valueless or inert is defined as a temporary characteristic of the initial state of L2A and feature strength is assumed to be acquired in relation to the emergence of inflectional morphology: "[…] the presence of particular values derives from the presence in the lexicon of the relevant inflections" (1993/1994: 206). This implies that learners who have not acquired overt agreement should show optional verb raising in their productions whereas learners who show overt agreement in the data should raise or not raise the verb systematically depending on the target L2. In subsequent studies, Eubank and Grace (1998) and Eubank et al. (1997) carried out

[37] White (1990/1991, 1991a) analysed the presence of optional verb raising as an indication of transfer of the strong Agr-feature of L1 French into L2 English.

cross-sectional experiments to examine these predictions in L1 Chinese speakers learning L2 English. Both languages have weak agreement features, but the Valueless Features Hypothesis predicts that L2 learners will exhibit or accept optional verb raising until overt inflectional morphology is acquired. Contrary to prediction, learners with overt agreement still allow verb raising and learners with no overt agreement show a strong preference for non-raising structures although they do accept verb-raising structures. As a result, Eubank et al. (1997) and Eubank and Grace (1998) turned the Valueless Features Hypothesis into a Partial Transfer/Partial Access account of L2A, by which functional features are permanently valueless and never become specified. Variability is in turn predicted to be present at all stages of acquisition and according to the authors, L2 interlanguage is permanently impaired.

The central claim of the Valueless Features Hypothesis, namely that features are inert in the L2 initial state and that this results in optionality is far from clear. As Schwartz (1998b) noted, since movement is motivated by strong features, valueless, and hence neither strong nor weak, features should not be able to force to verb to raise. On the contrary, movement should be altogether absent.[38] Finally and as was mentioned in section 3.2.4.1, controversy remains on the motivation for the selection of a subpart of the L1 to be transferred to the L2.

3.2.5 Full Access/Full Transfer (Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996, 2000b)

According to Full Access/Full Transfer, the L2A initial state is constrained by UG and involves the entire L1 grammar in its steady state, which will therefore include both

[38] Eubank suggests that the underspecification of feature values of functional categories in L2A is similar to that of L1A (Wexler, 1994). Nevertheless, underspecification in L1A (in the case of verb-raising languages) implies the presence of both finite and non-finite verbs and the former always raise whereas the latter do not. Eubank's underspecification involves finite verbs optionally raising.

lexical and functional categories together with all their properties and values. The L2 learner initially assumes the fully-transferred L1 representation, but being faced with properties of the L2 input which cannot be accounted for by the L1 grammar, the learner has full access to UG and its properties and can restructure the interlanguage grammar with new feature values, new parameter settings and new functional categories of the L2 or of another non-L1 and non-L2 language properties accessed through UG. As Schwartz and Sprouse (1994) explain, as soon as the L2 learner "develops enough vocabulary recognition to understand the meaning of short sentences, the inability of his system to assign a representation to such sentences will necessarily lead to (UG-constrained) restructurings of that system" (p. 45).

The Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis thus predicts that early interlanguage will display L1 lexical and functional properties which will subsequently be modified, which Schwartz and Sprouse (1994) tested by examining the acquisition of German by an adult native speaker of Turkish through a longitudinal study of spontaneous production data. The Turkish native speaker's initial state of L2A exhibits an L1 Turkish word order and starts getting restructured in response to L2 input. Further support comes from Haznedar's (1997) child L2A longitudinal study of a Turkish-speaking 4 year-old child learning L2 English, where the child switches from an L1 Turkish head-final word order to the appropriate English head-initial word order in his English utterances.

Another fundamental prediction that arises from the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis is that learners of different L1s acquiring the same L2 will exhibit different initial states. This was confirmed in the earliest studies by White (1985, 1986) on the non-native acquisition of null subjects in English by French and Spanish adult speakers. More recently, the experimental studies by Yuan (1998) on reflexives and Slabakova

(2000) on the aspectual contrast in telicity by learners of different languages have also corroborated a strong L1 influence.

It is important to notice that the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis does not determine the length of the initial state and L1 influence. This depends on the properties and languages to be restructured. L2 input may motivate restructuring of certain properties before others or may fail to be relevant, present or clear enough to motivate grammar change. As will be explained in Section 3.4, this might lead to non-restructuring and therefore account for cases of "fossilisation" (Selinker, 1972), where L2 learners never fully acquire the target grammar despite having full access to UG.

In short, the present section has reviewed the most important generative approaches to the L2A initial state, with UG and L1 as the variables which determine the features of interlanguage grammars. We will now explore how interlanguage grammars develop beyond the initial period of acquisition.

3.3 Developing State

One of the obvious implications of the L2A initial state theories outlined above is the study of the nature of the developing interlanguage grammars. Whether or not UG is assumed to be involved in L2A and how the L1 influences interlanguage grammars will determine the subsequent stages beyond the initial state. More specifically, what defines the developing state is the possibility of parameter-resseting where the L1 and the L2 differ in parameter values. Theories that deny access to UG and hence predict non-UG constrained L2 grammars automatically exclude parameters from L2A. Other theories claim for permanently impaired interlanguage grammars where parameters do exist but will always be defective or with no value. Partial Access to UG also results in interlanguage grammars where L1 parameters persist and hence they are natural

languages within the range of UG, but parameter-resetting is deemed to be impossible. Finally, Full Access theories fully predict the acquisition of new parameter values constrained and driven by UG and which do not necessarily coincide with those of the L2 grammar. If Full Access approaches deny the existence of L1 influence, parameters cannot be reset either but rather set to the L2 value at once. We will illustrate the different possibilities in the following sections.

3.3.1 On the existence of parameters in L2 interlanguage

3.3.1.1 No Parameters

The No Access/No Transfer approach to the initial state clearly predicts the non-existence of parameters in the developing state. If L2A is neither driven nor constrained by UG and the L1 is not assumed to have any influence either, parameters are excluded from the process. This implies that non-native grammars will be considered non-natural languages or 'wild' grammars, or in other words, "globally impaired" (Meisel, 1997; Clahsen and Muyksen, 1986).[39] Parameters being absent, L2 learners resort to general learning strategies to approach the L2 input.

The absence of UG parameters in L2A is also put forward by some researchers advocating Partial Access/Full Transfer (Clahsen and Hong, 1995; Neeleman and Weerman, 1997). Interlanguage grammars are assumed to be constrained by UG principles through the L1 but access to parameters is denied on the grounds that parameter-clustering effects are absent in L2A.

Clahsen and Hong (1995) analyse the acquisition of the Null Subject Parameter by Korean speakers acquiring L2 German. Both German and Korean license null subjects though the former fails to identify them[40] as German Agr is non-pronominal. Korean L2

[39] See section 3.2.1.
[40] Clahsen and Hong (1995) follow Jaegli and Saffir's (1989) and Rizzi's (1986) account of null subjects.

learners of German will have to reset the parameter which determines how null subjects are identified, as Korean identifies them via topics. According to the authors, when agreement emerges in German L1A, children realise that Agr is not pronominal and null referential subjects disappear from the grammar. Hence the presence of agreement clusters with the absence of null subjects in German L1A. Whether this clustering effect occurs in L2A will determine the (non)-existence of parameters in L2A. Clahsen and Hong found that a group of subjects showed neither presence of agreement nor null subjects, suggesting that the two properties do not cluster, which is taken as evidence of the non-existence of parameters in L2. However, and as White (2003) points out, the remaining subjects either showed the L1 value of the parameter (i.e. no agreement with null subjects), the L2 value of the parameter (i.e. presence of agreement with overt subjects) or the Romance value of the parameter (i.e. presence of agreement with both null and overt subjects), which involves the existence of UG parameters in L2A. Likewise, Clahsen and Hong analyse the presence or absence of agreement on the basis of the presence or absence of accurate morphology, which are claimed to be dissociated in L2A (section 3.2.4.1 and 3.3.2)[41].

3.3.1.2 Permanently Valueless Parameters

Eubank's (1993/1994, 1994, 1996) Valueless Features Hypothesis for the initial state assumes that inflectional features, which are associated with parameters, are 'valueless' or 'inert' and hence result in optional verb raising in the early L2A stages. In the developing state, interlanguage grammars are assumed to be restructured and set the L2 feature strength values in response to the L2 input. Yet further studies (Eubank and

[41] Similarly, Neeleman and Weerman (1997) state that parameters of UG are absent in interlanguage grammars and that L2 learners proceed their analysis of the L2 input through general learning mechanisms and a process of learning construction by construction. However, their analysis of clustering in the proposed L1 parameter is far from clear and their methodology is problematic (White, 2003).

Grace, 1998; Eubank et al. 1997; Beck, 1998) have questioned the temporary impairment of parameters and claim that functional features are permanently valueless and never become specified for strength. This results in parameters being permanently impaired, although UG is assumed to constrain all other aspects of interlanguage grammars.

Beck (1998), who refers to the fact that parameters are permanently valueless as the "Local Impairment Hypothesis" (p. 311), carries out a response-latency experiment to analyse German L2A by English speakers with respect to verb raising. Beck predicts that feature strength is permanently impaired and hence verb-raising is expected to be optional and occur in VP as well as in C (i.e. in V2 position). Results show that learners respond differently to verb raising depending on their L2 level of development. Whereas the less advanced learners have a preference for verb-raising, the more advanced learners show no difference in responding to structures with or without verb-raising, which, according to Beck, is consistent with the Local Impairment Hypothesis. However, the results of the less advanced group are problematic in that there seems to be no optionality, contrary to expectations. Beck analyses these unexpected results claiming that less advanced learners may only project VPs, following Vainikka and Young-Scholten's (1994, 1996) Minimal Trees Hypothesis, and therefore, the Local Impairment Hypothesis only holds when functional properties emerge.

The fact that parameters should be permanently valueless might be questionable. First, the 'inert' nature of feature values and hence of parameters is unmotivated, as is the fact that this impairment should only affect feature strength. Likewise, valueless features are neither strong nor weak and hence, by virtue of not being strong, raising should be absent but not optional (Schwartz, 1998b). Finally, it does not seem plausible

to assume that impairment is permanent, as interlanguage grammars have been shown to conform to UG parameters from the L1, the L2 or from any other UG possibility.

3.3.1.3 No Parameter-Resetting

The No Parameter-Resetting position to the L2 developing state is advocated by some researchers within the Partial Access/Full Transfer approach to the initial state who assume that interlanguage grammars are unimpaired and hence UG-constrained but that L2 learners cannot acquire new parameter values. Instead, and as Full Transfer operates in L2A, L2 learners can only access L1 parameter settings, while parameter-resetting in the L1A sense is claimed to be impossible. Parameters are associated to the functional module, which grows and matures in L1A and therefore it is no longer available to the adult L2 learner. In other words, triggers for parameter setting in the input cannot function as such any more. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar can indeed accommodate L2 input which differs from the L1 by reanalysing the L2 data according to mechanisms and grammatical options of UG and thus achieve a superficial-like L2 structure which is UG-constrained but which is not the result of parameter-resetting and clustering effects. Liceras (1996a, 1996b, 1998), as was seen in section 3.2.2.2, argues for a process of local restructuring of L1 patterns through secondary domain-specific learning procedures. A similar approach to parameters in L2A is put forward by Hawkins and Chan (1997) on the (non-)availability of a [wh]-feature in C and Tsimpli and Roussou (1991), who illustrate their L2 proposal through the acquisition of the *pro-drop* parameter in L2.

Tsimpli and Roussou (1991) argue for the availability of UG principles and the absence of parameter-resetting in L2A and emphasise the fact that all languages, including non-native grammars, are natural languages constrained and defined by UG.

This makes it possible for L2 learners to restructure their L1 Transfer instances, not by means of parameter-resetting but according to UG grammatical options which differ both from the L1 and the L2 representations: "The availability of UG principles allows the L2 learner to make use of grammatical options which, however, are not the ones adopted by the L1 grammar nor by the L2 target grammar" (p. 151). The authors carry out experimental research on *pro-drop* options in L2 English by Greek native speakers. Results show that among the *pro-drop* properties tested, only postverbal subjects in L2 English are systematically corrected by L2 learners, which is taken as evidence that parameter-resetting does not apply in L2A. Null subject sentences are corrected in the majority of the cases, though null expletive constructions were mainly (and incorrectly) accepted, as were also *that*-trace constructions.

Basing their account on the traditional approach to null subjects (Rizzi, 1986), Tsimpli and Roussou (1991) argue that the correction of null subject sentences and subsequent insertion of a referential pronoun result from a UG grammatical option available to L2 learners. The Greek licensing property of Agr is transferred to L2 English and hence, null subjects are assumed to be licensed in English. Yet overt agreement features are required for null subject identification, and therefore, referential subject pronouns are inserted, as they are reanalysed as agreement elements identifying null subjects in the head position of AgrP. An L2 English sentence such as '*They live with some friends*' is reanalysed as having a *pro* subject in spec-AgrP position and 'They' in the head of AgrP. Thus the authors claim that what might be argued to be the result of parameter-resetting is in fact a reanalysis of L1 patterns to accommodate them to L2 input. If it resulted from parameter-resetting, we would also expect expletive subjects to be inserted, contrary to fact. As null expletives do not have to be identified, by virtue of the fact that they do not have content, the lack of overt agreement features

and hence of correction follows straightforwardly. The acceptance of *that*-trace constructions is argued to be an L1 transfer error associated with the Proper Government Parameter (Du Plessis et al., 1987), by which complementisers are (in Greek) or are not (in English) proper governors of the trace in *that*-trace constructions. Parameter-resetting is then excluded from the L2A process.

3.3.1.4 Parameter (Re)setting

The last position regarding the nature of interlanguage grammars beyond the initial state argues for a fully UG-constrained non-native grammar which has access to L2 parameter settings. This approach follows naturally from all initial state theories which support Full Access to UG and the different positions with respect to L1 Transfer will determine how L2 convergence can be achieved.

Full Access/No Transfer (Epstein et al., 1996) does not predict any resetting of parameters, but rather parameter-setting, as the L1 is assumed not to be operative in L2A. L2 categories, features, feature-strength and hence parameter-settings are claimed to be available to the L2 learner from early stages as L2A is predicted to proceed as in L1A. UG interacts with the L2 input and the L2 parameter settings are triggered. Thus only a type of change in the developmental state is expected, namely the systematic appearance of surface morphology of the L2. However, as was mentioned in section 3.2.3, explaining the process of L2A without referring to the learners' L1 might be argued to be questionable.

The Minimal Trees Hypothesis (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996a, 1996b) and the original version of the Valueless Features Hypothesis (Eubank, 1993/1994, 1994, 1996) also argue for L2 parameter-setting. There is no resetting from the L1, as neither Minimal Trees nor Valueless Features predicts L1 functional

categories or their feature values to be present in the initial state. According to the former hypothesis, only L1 lexical categories are transferred, and L2 functional categories and hence parameter settings gradually emerge in response to L2 input. As for the Valueless Features Hypothesis, both lexical and functional categories are initially transferred from the L1, although feature strength is inert and therefore, parameter setting cannot be determined. L2 feature strength is gradually acquired as a result of morphological paradigms being acquired. As was also mentioned in sections 3.2.4.1 and 3.2.4.2, partial transfer is generally unmotivated and hence the subsequent developing state remains unclear.

The Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz, 1998a, b; Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994, 1996, 2000b) defines the L2 developing state according to parameter-resetting. Parameters are initially set at the L1 values but if the L2 fails to accommodate L1 structures, L2 input will trigger restructuring of the grammar and parameters will be gradually reset. Learners can hence acquire L2 functional categories, features and feature values. Yet it is not always inevitable to achieve L2 parameter values. Some L2 learners indeed persist in instantiating L1 parameter settings, while others show settings of neither the L1 nor the L2, which adds evidence to the claim that interlanguage grammars are fully UG-constrained.

A considerable amount of experimental and longitudinal research has been taken as evidence for the Full Access/Full Transfer claim that parametric properties can indeed be reset (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1994; White, 1992; Bruhn de Garavito and White, 2002; Gess and Herschensohn, 2001; White et al., 2001). We will briefly review a picture identification task designed by White et al. (2001) to test the L2 Spanish acquisition of gender and number agreement by English and French speakers of various levels of proficiency. Spanish and French have both gender and number whereas

English has number but does not have gender. According to the present hypothesis, the least advanced English group should perform worse than the least advanced French group, as L1 properties are transferred initially. Both English and French speakers should show knowledge of Spanish gender and English speakers should perform better on number than on gender. L2 learners were presented with a number of sentences containing a null nominal and three possible pictures. The null nominal can be identified by gender and number agreement on the determiners and adjectives in the sentence and learners had to choose the appropriate picture with respect to number and gender agreement features. Results were as expected. Accuracy on gender and number features was high and not significantly different from the native speakers' in both the French and the English intermediate and advanced groups, and L1 effects were present in the least advanced English group in relation to gender features.

Although some parametric properties which are absent in the L1 have shown to be successfully acquired, it is always problematic to categorically assert that L2 learners can reset parameters to the target grammar value. Clustering effects are not always present and L1 effects may well persist. In fact, Full Access/Full Transfer predicts parameter-resetting to be possible but not inevitable and L2 performance is far from accurate, with morphological variability as an essential characteristic. Leaving aside whether parameter resetting is possible or not, research points to the fact that interlanguage grammars are natural languages which conform to the properties of UG. We will now analyse the issue of morphological variability and its possible implications in the developing state of L2A.

3.3.2 Morphological Variability and Syntactic Knowledge in L2A

Regardless the approach one takes when studying both the initial and the developing states of L2A, it is a fact that L2 learners exhibit a great degree of variability and optionality in their use of inflectional morphology and functional items such as auxiliaries, determiners and complementisers in their interlanguage grammars. Inflectional morphology is often absent or optional in non-native grammars in contexts which would be obligatory for native speakers, and when present, its use is sometimes inappropriate, giving rise to overuse. Research has focused on the relationship that might exist between the presence or absence of overt inflectional morphology in L2A and the learners' underlying syntactic knowledge of the corresponding abstract categories and features. More specifically, the morphology/syntax interface in L2A has been explored and compared to L1A to determine whether absence of overt morphological inflection implies absence of the abstract syntactic properties associated with it or rather, whether morphology and syntax are not dependant on each other in L2A.

Morphological variability is indeed reported on L1A studies, and it is usually argued to reflect the properties of children's syntactic knowledge. Researchers who argue that the acquisition of overt morphology triggers the acquisition of abstract categories and feature strength in L1A naturally claim that absence of overt morphological paradigms implies that the underlying morphosyntax has not been acquired yet (Clahsen, Penke and Parodi, 1993/1994; Clahsen, Eisenbeiss and Vainikka, 1994). Other researchers believe that only when abstract syntactic categories and features are acquired will the learner start to produce the corresponding overt morphology. Therefore, absence of overt morphology does not imply lack of underlying syntactic knowledge but some syntactic categories and features might be underspecified (Wexler, 1994, 1998; Hyams,

1996). In short, L1 morphological variability is structurally determined and is associated with other syntactic properties of child grammar.

Two main positions have been put forward with respect to morphological variability and its relationship with syntax in L2A. The first approach maintains that overt morphology reflects syntactic properties and hence that absence of the former implies that syntactic representations are missing. Whether the absence of syntactic representations is taken to be permanent or temporary depends on the approach which is assumed in the process of L2A. As mentioned in the previous sections, Clahsen (1988, 1990) and Meisel (1991, 1997) claim that interlanguage is permanently impaired and that the related absence of overt morphology and the corresponding syntactic properties implies the unavailability of UG, rendering interlanguage grammars "wild". On the contrary, Vainikka and Young-Scholten (1994, 1996a, b) and Eubank (1993/1994, 1994, 1996) state that this is a developmental problem and that once overt morphology is acquired, the learner acquires the abstract functional categories and features. L2 grammars are fully UG-constrained and the process of L2A is considered to be similar to that of L1A.

The second L2A approach to morphological variability states that absent morphology is not structurally constrained in L2 and that underlying syntactic properties may be well acquired although inflectional morphology remains absent or optional, which differs from L1A optionality. A number of researchers have provided evidence for abstract syntactic knowledge in spite of the existence of morphological variability in both child and adult L2 learners (Haznedar and Schwartz, 1997; Ionin and Wexler, 2002; Lardière, 1998a, b, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000a, b). While the first two studies report on the L2A of English by children at relatively early periods of development, Lardière (1998a, b, 2000) explores the L2 English of an adult learner who

is at her L2 steady state, her interlanguage showing no development over a long period of time. Occurrence of overt inflectional morphology is scarce but her use of related syntactic constructions is reported to be accurate and consistent, such as case assignment, no variability of verb placement, very low incidence of null subjects or occurrence of CP clauses, indicating a remarkable difference with respect to L1 variability and evidence of abstract syntactic knowledge in these structures. In Lardière's words:

> "the most coherent explanation for the L2 data is that, at least for second language acquisition, learners already have knowledge of functional categories and features via prior language knowledge […] apparently they do not need to rely on L2 morphological form to trigger syntactic representation and/or derivation" (2000: 121).

Likewise, Prévost and White (2000a, b) analyse L2A spontaneous data of French and German, which show, among other related phenomena, the occurrence of finite and non-finite verb forms. Yet contrary to what is found in L1A of these languages, both finite and non-finite verb forms undergo raising, thus suggesting that absence of overt inflection is not structurally determined. In other words, L2 non-finite verb forms may be found in finite and non-finite contexts, whereas finite forms hardly occur in non-finite contexts, which shows here that when overt inflection is provided it is used appropriately.

L2 morphological variability or what has been referred to as the "Missing Surface Inflection Hypothesis" (Prévost and White, 2000b) is reported to be at least a temporary and in some cases even permanent situation. Such 'fossilisation' is argued not to be the result of grammar impairment but of a 'mapping problem' between abstract categories and features and their specific morphological realisations (Lardière, 1998a, b, 2000). That is to say, L2 learners may fail to retrieve the appropriate lexical form corresponding to a syntactic representation, thus giving rise to deficient performance, rather than deficient linguistic competence, at the morphology/syntax interface: "For L2

acquirers, the problem lies in figuring out how (and whether) to spell out morphologically the categories they already represent syntactically, i.e. the "mapping problem"" (Lardière, 2000: 121).

3.4 Final State and Ultimate Attainment

The nature of end-state interlanguage grammars will obviously differ depending on the approach taken to describe the process of L2A in terms of Access to UG and Transfer of L1 properties. Yet what seems obvious is that whereas L1A inevitably leads to completeness, success and uniformity among speakers in the final outcome, L2A final states display a great deal of variability among learners and typically differ from the grammars of native speakers. End-state L2 grammars cannot be uniformly characterised, as different speakers with the same L1 background may reach distinct end points and their L2s may also get fossilised differently. At the same time, although L2 speakers' ultimate attainment is typically non-native, it is true that some L2 learners may end up being near-native or fully native-like and hence have various degrees of L2 convergence. L2 final states have also been argued to be related to age effects or the existence of critical period effects, which points to the idea that success in L2 ultimate attainment gradually decreases with age and that younger L2 learners may indeed become native-like by virtue of having full access to UG whereas adults are deemed to become clearly non-native. We will consider these two issues in the following sections.

3.4.1 Is there a native-like interlanguage?

End-state L2 grammars might indeed be qualitatively similar to or divergent from native L2 grammars. Convergence to native grammars is clearly associated with UG-constrained approaches to L2A but non-convergent final state grammars do not

necessarily indicate failure to UG access, as they can combine properties of L2 with properties of L1 grammars and/or other possible grammars. However, lack of completeness has sometimes been considered an indication that UG is not involved in L2A. Total absence of UG in L2A was postulated by No Access/No Transfer accounts (Meisel 1991, 1997; Clahsen and Muyksen, 1986), which claim that native-like competence and performance are not possible, as L2 grammars are considered to be "wild". Similarly, Bley-Vroman's (1990) FDH also supports the idea that failure to converge to native-like grammars implies lack of direct access to UG and that this is only instantiated through the L1 but learners cannot develop their L2 by means of UG constraints. Divergence and lack of UG access (at least direct access) are thus predicted to be reflected in L2 final outcomes.

Nevertheless, some Partial Access/Full Transfer theories to L2A, which argue that parameter-resetting is not possible while access to UG principles through UG-constrained mechanisms is available (Liceras 1996a, 1996b, 1998; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991) also predict non-native final outcomes although these are assumed to be UG-constrained. For these authors, non-native ultimate attainment does not necessarily imply that end-state grammars are "wild". In fact, L2 final state grammars may have accommodated L2 properties (where the L1 and the L2 do not differ), may keep L1 properties and may also display properties of other grammars made available by UG. Schwartz and Sprouse's (1996) Full Access/Full Transfer approach reaches a similar conclusion about ultimate attainment although their theory assumes full access to UG and hence parameter-resetting. In this view, native-like competence is assumed to be possible though not guaranteed. As parameter-resetting is available, L2 learners may indeed restructure their grammar towards L2 convergence but they may also fail to do so because L1 properties interfere in the analyses of L2 input. End-state grammars may

thus diverge from the grammars of native speakers though they are undoubtedly UG-constrained by virtue of the fact that they display L1 properties or properties from other languages together with L2 properties. Any other differences, such as failure to produce accurate inflectional morphology, are attributed to 'mapping' problems at the syntax-morphology interface, which are only related to performance and not to linguistic knowledge (see section 3.3.2)[42].

In contrast with the above mentioned views, fully native-like steady-state L2 grammars are predicted by Epstein et al.'s (1996) No Transfer/Full Access approach to L2A. Given that L1 is assumed not to interfere in L2A and that UG is fully available to L2 learners, the L2 final outcome is predicted to be identical to that of native speakers, as Flynn (1996) suggests. Convergence is thus guaranteed, as the L2A process is claimed to follow the same developmental paths as in L1A and L2 representations will be identical to those of native speakers. Full convergence to L2 is also expected in Full Access/Partial Transfer positions. Both the Minimal Trees Hypothesis (Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1994, 1996a, 1996b) and the Valueless Features Hypothesis (Eubank, 1993/1994, 1994, 1996) assume that the L2 final outcome should converge on the L2 grammar. According to the Minimal Trees Hypothesis, L2 input triggers the emergence of functional categories and their syntactic consequences available from a fully accessible UG, which ensures native-like competence. Similarly, the Valueless Features Hypothesis also predicts native-like end-state grammars, as the L2 feature values are correctly assigned and UG is fully available. Any differences with respect to L2 are attributed to performance deficits by these accounts.

A common problem in L2A research, when analysing the nature of end-state grammars, is precisely how to determine an end-state grammar or, in other words, when

[42] Sorace (1999, 2000, 2003) also explores near-nativeness and optionality and adopts the view that ultimate attainment is UG-constrained but differs from native grammars.

an L2 learner is not capable of progressing any further. L2A literature has often referred to the fact that L2 learners have reached non-native-like ultimate attainment as "fossilisation" (Selinker, 1972). Determining fossilised interlanguage states on the sole basis of length of residence in an L2-speaking country or L2 high proficiency levels does not guarantee that the learner has reached the L2 final state of acquisition. L2 learners with a low proficiency level might already be at an end-state of acquisition. Similarly, L2 highly proficient learners might already be capable of learning more and learners living in an L2-speaking country might not have needed or been motivated enough to speak and use the target language. Rather, the fact that the learner's production and competence do not evolve over a certain period – of often between two and five years (Long, 2003) - is a more reliable factor[43]. However, this requires collecting longitudinal data over a long period of time and a number of practicalities which cannot always be sorted out. Instead, research has often focused on advanced states of L2A or has used the above mentioned less reliable end-state criteria.

Leaving aside theoretical factors which determine the nature of L2 ultimate attainment, and as it will become clearer when analysing the data in the present study, L2A is not identical to L1A, as L2 learners, either children or adults and to certain and different extents, already possess the L1 grammar and cognitive maturity. Hence, L2 final outcomes are unlikely to be fully native-like, at least in all respects.

3.4.2 The Critical Period Hypothesis in L2A

The nature of steady state interlanguage grammars has also been studied in relation to the (non-)existence of maturational constraints in L2A, more specifically to whether

[43] Long (2003) offers a thorough account of the term "fossilisation" and its implications for the theory of L2A and a review of studies on fossilised end-state grammars. An example of a clear fossilisation case is Lardière (1998a, b), who gathered longitudinal data of an L2 learner after ten years in an L2-speaking country and again after a period of nine years.

age of onset of L2A has any effects on successful ultimate attainment or whether the ability to reach native-like L2 competence gradually decreases with age (Johnson and Newport, 1989; White and Genesee, 1996; Long, 1990; Birdsong, 1992, 1999, 2005; Singleton, 2005; Singleton and Ryan, 2004; DeKeyser, 2000, 2003a; DeKeyser and Larson-Hall, 2005; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson, 2000, 2003, among others).

The idea of there existing a *critical period* of age within which L2 learners could reach native-like levels was originally postulated by Lenneberg's (1967) formulation of the *Critical Period Hypothesis* (CPH), by which

> "automatic acquisition from mere exposure to a given language seems to disappear [after puberty], and foreign languages have to be taught and learned through a conscious and labored effort. Foreign accents cannot be overcome easily after puberty. However, a person can learn to communicate at the age of forty". (p. 176)

The original formulation of the CPH implies that younger language learners outperform older learners with respect to native-like ultimate attainment, as the former acquire an L2 'automatically' from exposure whereas the latter do it consciously making an effort, and it is around puberty that such qualitative change in the L2 learning process starts taking place.

The original CPH has been widely challenged and refined over the years. The first attempt to falsify it relates to a series of studies which compared pronunciation, vocabulary and morphosyntax of younger and older learners on a variety of linguistic experimental tests and naturalistic data over periods of up to one year (Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1977, 1978; among others). These studies indicated that differences in age were not significant and that adult learners even outperformed younger learners in several tasks. However, and as Krashen et al. (1979) and Long (1990) pointed out, these studies were not concerned with final outcomes and long-term learning but rather with the rate at which structures were acquired in the short term and through initial stages of L2A. It is relevant to notice that older learners have been shown to perform as

well as or even outperform younger learners in the context of formal instruction L2 learning (Cenoz, 2003; Muñoz, 2003; García-Mayo, 2003), where target language exposure is limited and hence the process of language learning is 'conscious' rather than 'automatic' and becomes the same for both younger and older learners. It is quite obvious, then, that older learners will have an advantage over the younger ones in terms of rate of learning.

Other studies have actually claimed that there exist L2 learners with native-like ultimate attainment whose ages of onset are well beyond puberty (Birdsong, 1992, 1999, 2005; White and Genesee, 1996; Ioup et al., 1994). These studies compared the performance of very advanced L2 learners in certain linguistic tasks to that of native speakers. Both Birdsong's and White and Genesee's studies identified late learners who performed within the range of native speakers. Yet at least some deviation between native speakers and learners occurred, which points to near-native-likeness rather than full native-likeness. At the same time, learners were only tested on a linguistic area in each study and, as the authors themselves acknowledge, their performance might differ from native speakers in other aspects of language. This is precisely what Ioup et al. (1994) set out to test. The authors analysed a late British learner of L2 Arabic who was native-like in all aspects of the target language. Although the learner was almost native-like, she also showed some small differences compared to native speakers.

Further research has correlated ages of onset of L2A with final outcome measures and has found that rather than there being a period after which ultimate attainment is not predictable, increasing ages of onset correlate with a linear and constant decline in final outcomes and hence that age effects actually persist over the years. While for some researchers this constant decline implies a challenge for the CPH (Bialystok and Hakuta, 1999) for others it is considered to be the result of maturational constraints up

to a certain point and of socio-psychological factors from then on (Birdsong, 1999; Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson, 2003).

It is generally clear that in implicit language learning, age of acquisition is negatively correlated with L2 ultimate attainment, and several studies have actually determined a maturational period after which native-like final outcomes are not possible. Earlier studies, such as Oyama (1976, 1978) and Patkowski (1980) followed Lenneberg's (1967) claim in that they set the end of the critical period around puberty. Both studies found that a number of learners who had started their L2A before the age of between 12 and 15 had performed within the range of native-speakers, though not all of them did, whereas none of the older learners showed such results.

More recent studies have established the end of the L2 critical period around the 6-7 years of age, after which L2 learners cannot become native-like speakers. One of the most often cited works in this respect is Johnson and Newport (1989), who analysed the grammaticality judgements on subjacency effects in the L2 English of Chinese and Korean adults with different ages of onset. The authors found that learners with ages of onset between 3 and 7 performed within the range of native speakers. Learners who had started their acquisition after 7 and before the end of puberty showed a linear decrease in their results, whereas for those who started to be exposed to English after 17, their performance was random, hence indicating that "the age effect is present during a time of ongoing biological and cognitive maturation and absent after maturation is complete (i.e. after puberty)" (Johnson and Newport, 1989: 90). Yet some late learners indeed obtained near-native results.

Hyltenstam (1992) tested grammatical and lexical errors in the L2 Swedish production of learners with ages of onset from 3 to 12 and with periods of length of residence of at least 5 years. Results showed that no L2 learners with ages of onset

above 7 performed in the error range of native speakers and as for learners with ages of onset below 7 some performed as native speakers whereas some others performed within the range of older learners. Therefore, whereas native-like levels seem possible with ages of onset below 7, they are not inevitable or guaranteed.

A more recent study, DeKeyser (2000) (also reported in DeKeyser and Larson-Hall, 2005), conducted a modified version of Johnson and Newport's (1989) grammaticality judgement test, obtaining similar results. Following Bley-Vroman's (1990) FDH, DeKeyser assumes that whereas children acquire language through implicit language-specific mechanisms, adults have to resort to general learning and problem-solving mechanisms. In order to test this hypothesis, the author also conducted a verbal aptitude test among all informants, predicting and finding that scores in verbal aptitude would vary and not correlate with grammaticality judgement results of young learners, while they would strongly correlate in the case of older learners. In other words, and in line with Birdsong (1999) and Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson (2000, 2003) the CPH understood as maturationally constrained may be limited to implicit acquisition only available in children, and after a certain maturational period, other cognitive, attitudinal and motivational variables may come into play. DeKeyser and Larson-Hall (2005) provide a clear explanation:

> "Evidence from numerous studies has shown that, although adults may be faster than children in initial stages of L2 learning, their ultimate attainment is most likely to fall short of native speaker standards […] The two phenomena can both be explained by the same underlying difference in learning mechanisms: children necessarily learn implicitly; adults necessarily learn explicitly. As a result, adults show an initial advantage because of the shortcuts provided by the explicit learning of structure, but falter in those areas in which explicit learning is ineffective […]. Children, on the other hand, cannot use shortcuts to the representation of structure, but eventually reach full native speaker competence through long-term implicit learning from massive input" (2005: 103)

This approach would account for the amount of individual variation which occurs among older learners as opposed to more uniformly successful ultimate attainment

among young learners. Maturational constraints do exist and age 7 seems to be the offset age for child L2A, which makes native-like ultimate attainment possible but not inevitable.

A clarification on the implications of the CPH on formal L2 instruction is in order at this point. School-based L2A is basically explicit and instruction-based in nature and hence it is not affected by maturational constraints. This implies that early L2 formal learning does not necessarily result in successful final outcomes and that instruction should be adapted to the age of the learner:

> "Rather than suggesting the importance of starting early, [age differences] indicate that the instructional approach should be different depending on age: full-scale immersion is necessary for children to capitalize on their implicit learning skills, and formal rule teaching is necessary for adults to draw on their explicit learning skills." (DeKeyser, 2003a: 335)

Having discussed the implications of the CPH, let us now turn to child L2A and its importance for a thorough study of adult L2A.

3.5 Child L2A vs. Adult L2A

The various theories and approaches to L2A presented in the previous sections did not specifically focus on child L2A but rather offered a general account of how L2A develops in adults and scarcely referred to how it might apply to children. Child L2A is crucially relevant for an accurate understanding of the L2A process, though it has not been as thoroughly studied as adult L2A. As it shares representational and developmental properties of both L1A and adult L2A, the L2 child is a valuable tool in the general picture of language acquisition (Lakshmanan, 1995; Schwartz, 1992, 2003, 2004). The child L2 learner is cognitively more mature than the child L1 acquirer but less mature than the adult L2 learner, she is affected by the existence of the L1 grammar and she is remarkably successful in ultimate attainment studies. In Schwartz's (2004) words, "adopting the comparative method with child L2 data, i.e. making comparisons

with child L1 data and with adult L2 data, has the potential to refine our understanding of native language acquisition and adult L2 acquisition" (p. 47).

It is important to distinguish child L2A from bilingual L1A. The former is defined as successive child bilingualism, whereas the latter is defined as simultaneous child bilingualism, which refers to the acquisition of two languages from birth. Child L2A implies acquiring an L1 and starting L2 exposure at least when most grammatical principles of the native language are assumed to have been acquired, around the age of 4 (Guasti, 2002). Yet, and on the basis of maturational effects on successful ultimate attainment, another age of onset needs to be established as the limit after which native-like ultimate attainment is no longer possible, namely around the age of 7 (Schwartz, 2004; Unsworth, 2005; DeKeyser, 2000 – cf. section 3.4.2). Non-native acquirers who are first exposed to an L2 between the ages of 4 and 7 are thus child L2 acquirers. Following Schwartz (2004), reaching native-like levels of ultimate attainment implies that child L2A is indeed constrained and guided by UG, which does not necessarily mean that child L2A and L1A are alike. Rather, UG clearly plays a role in child L2A but L1 influence is also argued to be present. We will now briefly comment on several studies on child L2A and what its properties can tell us about adult L2A.

Early research on child L2A, as in adult L2A, focused on the operation of parameters of UG and later on the operation of functional categories in interlanguage grammars. In this vein, Hilles (1991) and Lakshmanan (1989, 1991, 1994) examined the acquisition of the null-subject parameter in relation to the emergence of verbal inflection in child L2 grammars on the basis of spontaneous longitudinal production data. Regardless of methodological and theoretical weaknesses, both studies (to be reviewed in Chapter 4) assume child language to be constrained by UG. As for the study of functional categories and projections in child L2 grammars, evidence from

different longitudinal studies of various target languages suggests that functional categories (IP, CP and DP) are available directly from UG and from the early stages of child L2A (Lakshmanan, 1993/1994, 1998; Lakshmanan and Selinker, 1994; Grondin and White, 1996, Haznedar, 2001, 2003). Data from these studies do not support the claim that there exists an initial purely lexical stage in L2A, as was argued by Vainikka and Young-Scholten's (1994) Minimal Trees Hypothesis.

Another issue that has received considerable attention in child L2A research is that of L1 transfer. While research indicates that UG is indeed operative in child L2A, the findings suggest that we cannot ignore the influence of the L1 at least in certain linguistic domains. A well-known piece of research which provides evidence for L1 transfer in child L2A is Haznedar's (1997) study of a 4 year-old Turkish-speaking child in his initial state of the acquisition of L2 English. Haznedar examines the acquisition of word order within the VP. Turkish is a head-final language with an SOV order in main and embedded clauses and English, the child's L2, is head-initial. Utterances which contained a verb were classified according to whether they displayed head-initial or head-final order with respect to elements within the VP and the head V. During the first nine samples of data collection, the child's verbal utterances were mainly head-final while from sample nine onwards the pattern was reversed. Though these data support the claim for L1 Transfer, the study is only based on one subject and one target language. Comparing children with different L1s acquiring the same L2 provides much more compelling evidence[44].

This is precisely what Whong-Barr and Schwartz (2002) examine. They analyse the acquisition of the dative alternation in English by Korean and Japanese children who were first exposed to English between the ages of 4 and 8. Some English ditransitive

[44] Note that this study does not consider Kayne's (1994) SVO Universal Base Hypothesis.

verbs such as 'throw' allow their arguments to be realised as prepositional datives, with 'for' or 'to' or as double object datives[45]. In Japanese, double object constructions are ungrammatical, whereas Korean has two forms of double-object construction corresponding to 'for' prepositional datives and hence admits dative alternation in certain verbs. The authors used an oral grammaticality judgement task to elicit judgements on grammatical and ungrammatical sentences which contained dative alternation. The Japanese and the Korean, as well as the control group, correctly judged the grammatical sentences. As for the ungrammatical double-object to-datives, the three groups showed evidence of incorrect acceptance, with the Japanese children obtaining the highest percentage. Most importantly and for the double-object for-datives, differences are significantly greater among the three groups, with the Japanese incorrectly accepting a higher percentage of ungrammatical sentences than the Korean. This is explained in terms of L1 Transfer, as the two L2 group results pattern alike except in double object for-datives, which corresponds to where the L1s Japanese and Korean differ. It is therefore clear that L1 Transfer is present at least in the initial state of child L2A.

One of the reasons why research has recently become interested in child L2A is what it can tell us about adult L2A. According to Schwartz (1992, 2003, 2004), a comparison between the developmental sequences of child L2 and adult L2 would enable us to test if UG is involved in adult L2A. Assuming that child L2A is guided by UG (on the basis of native-like ultimate attainment) and that both child and adult L2A are influenced by L1 Transfer, comparing developmental sequences of both groups with the same L1 should provide evidence for or against UG in adult L2A. A number of

[45] a. The girl threw the ball *to* the teacher
a'. The girl threw the teacher the ball
b. Sarah made a coffee *for* my sister
b'. Sarah made my sister a coffee.

recent studies have addressed this proposal (Weerman, Bishop and Punt, 2003 (cited in Unsworth, 2005); Unsworth, 2004, 2005) obtaining different results. Weerman et al. (2003) studied the L1, child L2 and adult L2 acquisition of adjectival inflection in Dutch and their conclusion is that in terms of development child L2A is similar to L1A and different from adult L2A although in terms of ultimate attainment the three processes differ. Unsworth (2004, 2005) examined the L2 acquisition of the syntactic movement operation scrambling in Dutch by adult and child English speakers and found that adult and child learners go through the same stages in the acquisition of scrambling and that both show L1 transfer effects, which implies that child L2A is different from L1A. Unsworth takes her results as evidence that UG also drives adult L2A.

It is clear that further research needs to be carried out in this area, though child and adult L2 data are not easy to compare, given the differences in the process of acquisition outlined in the previous sections. Yet Schwartz (2003, 2004) interprets the results of the above outlined studies as evidence for what she refers to as "Asymmetric Acquisition" (2003: 46) or the "Domain by Age Model" (2004: 47). Where similarity is found between child and adult L2A is in the acquisition of syntactic structures, whereas in terms of inflectional development, child L2 appears to differ from adult L2 and resemble child L1A. The author states that "despite rate differences, children and adults can both acquire (certain) aspects of L2 syntax, but it is generally the children who have an easier task of acquiring inflectional morphology" (2003: 46). Adult L2 learners 'asymmetrically' acquire grammar, with poor morphology and accurate syntax (see Lardière, 1998, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000; section 3.3.2).

More research on child L2A is essentially needed. Children in a successive L2 acquisition situation provide the perfect scenario to study age differences, developmental paths and ultimate attainment states in L2A. And this is precisely one of

the objectives of the present thesis. We will finish the chapter with the assumptions and hypotheses adopted in the present study regarding the acquisition of a second language by children and adults.

3.6 L2A assumptions in the present study

Having described and analysed the most relevant developments in the generative field of L2A, the present thesis adopts the following theoretical assumptions with respect to child and adult L2A, and will use them to elaborate the hypotheses in order to analyse the data under study:

- Child L2A refers to non-native acquirers whose first exposure to the L2 language is between the ages of 4 and 7 and who acquire the target language implicitly either in immersion schools or in the L2 country.

- Child L2A is characterised by possible but not inevitable successful ultimate attainment, Full Access to UG and presence of L1 Transfer (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2004).

- Adult L2A is UG-constrained but NOT UG-driven, which implies a Partial Access approach, where Full Transfer is present and L2 interlanguage is a natural language constrained by UG but where resetting of parametric properties or values is assumed not to be possible. Instead, the learner retains the L1 properties or locally restructures them through secondary-domain specific learning mechanisms, which ensure superficially target-like structures (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991)

- Adult L2A steady state is never native-like. It might be near-native-like in some domains though developmental processes are not driven directly by UG and hence they are different from those of child L2A. ‘Morphological Variability’ and ‘Optionality’ are

characteristics of adult L2A steady state, which can also "fossilise" showing clearly non-native properties (Lardière, 1998a, b, 2000; Prévost and White, 2000a, b; Sorace, 1999, 2000, 2003).

- Adult L2A often implies explicit instruction in a classroom context, where attitudinal, motivational and further non-developmental factors need to be acknowledged, though they are beyond the scope of the present study.

Chapter 4 will review previous L2A studies on L2 English and L2 Spanish subject development and their implications for the present thesis before methodological details of the experimental tasks are explained.

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Chapter 4: Subject Development in Second Language Acquisition Research

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous second language acquisition research on L2 English and L2 Spanish subject development, which will be relevant in our subsequent discussion of the data. Most studies on L2 subjects reviewed here draw on the assumption that the traditional UG Null Subject Parameter accounts for cross-linguistic differences in subject behaviour. It is precisely the emergence of the cluster of properties associated with this parameter, namely null subjects, expletive subjects, postverbal subjects and the existence of *that*-trace effects along with the relationship of the parameter with the agreement properties of the language, which has motivated research on subjects in an L2A context. The different versions that research has provided for the Null Subject Parameter are reflected in these studies, which will also reflect the different positions outlined in Chapter 3 with respect to UG Access and L1 Transfer in L2A. Section 4.2 summarises the results of previous studies on L2 English subjects and section 4.3 will review those on L2 Spanish subjects. Finally, a summary of the major and most relevant findings for the data analysis of this thesis is provided in section 4.4 along with a reference to unresolved issues that the present study seeks to tackle.

4.2 Review of L2 English Subject Development studies

Early research on the L2A of English subjects adopts the traditional version of the Null Subject Parameter by which languages with a positive null subject value (i.e

Spanish and Italian but not English or French) share a number of properties which include null subjects, the absence of expletive pronouns, subject-verb inversion, *that*-trace sequences and rich verbal agreement and by which null subjects *pro* need to be *licensed* by Agr, which is a licensing head in Spanish but not in English and *identified* by rich agreement features (Rizzi, 1982, 1986; Chomsky, 1981; Jaeggli, 1982). In this respect, three of the most relevant accounts of English L2 subjects will be reviewed here, namely White (1985, 1986), Phinney (1987)[46] and Tsimpli and Roussou (1991). In Hilles (1991) and Lakshmanan (1991, 1994), child L2A of English subjects is explored on the basis of the Morphological Uniformity Principle (Jaeggli and Safir, 1987), which states that null subjects are only licensed in languages with uniform verb paradigms and that the acquisition of the Null Subject Parameter should be related to the emergence of verbal inflection. Finally, two very recent studies conducted within the Minimalist Program framework and its claim that language acquisition involves the learning of formal features are presented, namely Wakabayashi (2002) and Park (2004), which compare the L2A of the non-allowed null subjects in English by Japanese and Spanish native speakers.

4.2.1 White (1985, 1986)

With the purpose of investigating the issue of L1 Transfer and parameter clustering effects associated with *pro-drop*, White carried out two studies comparing the performance of adult 'null subject L1' speakers and 'overt subject L1 speakers' to test whether they transfer the cluster of properties of their L1 parameter value to L2 English. White (1985) compared 54 native speakers of Spanish and 19 native speakers of French, who were learning English in intensive courses in Canada. The French group acted as a

[46] Phinney (1987) analysed L2 English missing and overt subjects of Spanish native speakers and L2 Spanish missing and overt subjects of English native speakers.

control group, as French is, like English, a non-null subject language. Subjects of both groups were distributed through five different levels of proficiency ranging from beginners to advanced and they were given a grammaticality judgement task with grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, the majority of which displayed null subject properties, namely missing subjects, subject-verb inversion and *that*-trace effects. Subjects were asked to judge the sentences as correct or incorrect and to provide a correction if necessary.

The results on the sentences with missing pronouns are presented in the study according to the five proficiency levels of the Spanish group and to three grouped levels of the French group and are also classified by sentences. General results on missing subjects are also provided. Table 1 below, based on White (1985), summarises the group responses of 'correct' to ungrammatical missing subject sentences:

Table 1: Group responses of 'correct' to ungrammatical missing subjects (based on White, 1985)

Proficiency Level	**Number of informants**	**'Correct' responses**	**%**
Beginner	Spanish: 17	66/102	64.7
(levels 1-2)	French: 5	10/30	33.3
Intermediate	Spanish: 8	20/48	41.7
(level 3)	French: 8	7/48	14.6
Advanced	Spanish: 29	53/174	30.5
(levels 4-5)	French: 6	3/36	8.3

Both the experimental and the control group judge a percentage of missing subject sentences as correct and decrease their acceptance as proficiency increases. Yet the number of 'correct' responses was shown to be significantly higher in the Spanish group than in the French group.

As for the sentences with verb-subject word order, only general group results were presented. Acceptance of ungrammatical verb-subject sentences is much lower than in missing subject sentences with an average of 21.6% in the Spanish group and 24.2% in the French group, which are not significantly different. Similarly, sentences with *that*-trace violations were accepted as correct in 75% of the cases in the Spanish group and

68.5% of the cases in the French group, although both groups highly accepted the grammatical sentences where 'that' was not present, showing that they consider the occurrence of 'that' as optional.

As White argues, the results indicate that having to reset an L1 parameter to its L2 value leads to L1 transfer, at least of certain properties of the parameter and particularly at low levels of proficiency, as the results on missing subjects and *that*-trace effects show. Yet loss of the transferred L1 properties may not be related and hence clustering effects would not occur, as most informants rejected subject-verb inversion. Apart from acknowledging that the sentences testing subject-verb inversion may have been 'unfortunate' and problematic for the subjects, White suggests that verb-subject order may not be part of the cluster of properties of the *pro-drop* parameter, which would explain why subjects identified the ungrammaticality of subject-verb inversion but not of missing subjects and *that*-trace violations. Although the author acknowledges that resetting of the value of the parameter might be difficult, she insists that the observed gradual improvement indicates that transfer errors will not necessarily persist. Furthermore, the results of the French control group are taken to indicate that L2 learners of different L1s do not go through the same developmental stage, in which they reset an L1 parameter to a default or unmarked value before acquiring the L2 parameter-setting. White argues that if *pro-drop* was the unmarked option (Hyams, 1983; Hyltenstam, 1984), the French controls would have accepted a much higher percentage of missing subject sentences.

White's (1986) study also investigated the transfer of the cluster of properties of the *pro-drop* parameter. In this study, White tested 32 native speakers of Spanish and 2 Italian speakers who were attending intensive courses in ESL in Canada and were assessed as intermediate learners of English. As in her previous study, White included a

French control group of 37 speakers, who were also rated as intermediate learners. Informants were tested on a grammaticality judgement task consisting of English sentences with null subject properties and a question formation task in which informants had to question the subject of an embedded clause, so as to test the learners' production of *that*-trace sentences. Results show that the Spanish/Italian group is significantly less accurate than the French group at rejecting English missing subject sentences, 61% versus 89%. Yet both groups are similarly accurate at rejecting sentences with verb-subject word order, with group scores of 91% and 96%, respectively. Both groups also incorrectly accepted ungrammatical sentences with *that*-trace sequences and in the question formation task, the Spanish/Italian group produced more ungrammatical *that*-trace sentences than the French group, 71% versus 42%. White similarly concludes that the null subject language speakers appear to transfer the positive value of the parameter in their L1 to some extent and attributes their rejection of verb-subject sentences to the possibility that this might not be part of the cluster of properties of the parameter at hand.

4.2.2 Phinney (1987)

Phinney's study is centred on the notion that the L2 learning of some languages might be easier than others. The author investigated the use of null and overt subject pronouns and subject-verb agreement by comparing written production data of adult Spanish L2 learners of English and adult English L2 learners of Spanish. The informants were university students who were learning English and Spanish in the context of classroom instruction and were rated as high beginners to low intermediate. Phinney's hypothesis that there are directionality differences in L2A is based on the concept of 'markedness'. She assumes that the positive Null Subject Parameter value, as

in Spanish or Italian, is the unmarked or default one (Hyams, 1983) whereas the negative Null Subject Parameter value, as instantiated in English, is the marked setting of the parameter and predicts that acquiring English, the marked option, as an L2 presents greater difficulties for Spanish native speakers than acquiring Spanish, the unmarked option, for the native English speakers.

Phinney found that both groups of learners displayed an accurate use of verbal agreement, which, as the author acknowledges, is not significant since most compositions analysed in the study were written in 1st person singular, "which may not be susceptible to error" (p. 234). As for the use of null and overt subject pronouns, Phinney reports that Spanish learners of English continue to produce missing subjects in their L2 English although they omit many more expletive subjects than referential subject pronouns, in 56% to 76% of the cases and between 6% and 13% of the cases, respectively. Phinney also observes that referential subject pronouns were omitted in coordinated and embedded clauses but not in sentence-initial position, which according to the author indicates that the learners are applying the Spanish discourse rules in their L2 English by only omitting the subject pronoun if its reference is clear from the context[47]. As for the English learners of Spanish, Phinney found average omissions of referential subject pronouns of 65% to 83% and null expletive subjects in 100% of the cases in accordance with the target language.

According to predictions, Phinney concludes that the notion of 'markedness' is indeed operative in L2A and that Spanish is the unmarked value. In interpreting the results, the author argues for the importance of directionality differences and states that resetting the parameter from English, the marked value, to Spanish, the unmarked value, is easier and faster than the reverse process in which L1 Transfer remains much longer.

[47] Yet subjects can also be omitted from sentence-initial position in Spanish if the reference is clear from the context, which it is in this case as Phinney reports that most compositions were written in 1st person.

However, and as White (1991: 90) points out, there are a number of methodological considerations to mention. Although both groups of learners were reported to have similar proficiency levels, namely high-beginner to low intermediate, they had very different backgrounds. Whereas the Spanish group had started learning English as teenagers and had received 12 years of instruction, the English group started learning Spanish as adults. At the same time, the written compositions of the two groups were not carried out under the same conditions, as one was a class assignment and the other one was part of an exam. Finally, Phinney's study only focuses on the use of null and overt subject pronouns but does not analyse the cluster of properties of the Null Subject Parameter, and hence her conclusions about transfer and resetting of the parameter remain inconclusive. All in all, Phinney's data provide evidence that the Spanish learners of English distinguish between expletive pronouns and referential pronouns, as the former appear to be significantly more frequently omitted than the latter, which, as Hawkins (2001) indicates, might be suggestive of UG involvement in L2A.

4.2.3 Tsimpli and Roussou (1991)

As was described in section 3.3.1.3, Tsimpli and Roussou analyse the Null Subject Parameter in the acquisition of L2 English by Greek native speakers with the hypothesis that the principles of UG remain accessible to the L2 learner, whereas parameter-resetting of parameters whose values differ between the L1 and the L2 is not possible. In other words, the present study clearly describes the Full Transfer/Partial Access approach to L2A. Thirteen adult Greek native speakers were tested on a grammaticality judgement and correction task and a Greek-English translation task of 30 and 10 English sentences, respectively, which included null subjects, subject-verb inversions and *that*-trace sequences as well as the corresponding grammatical constructions in

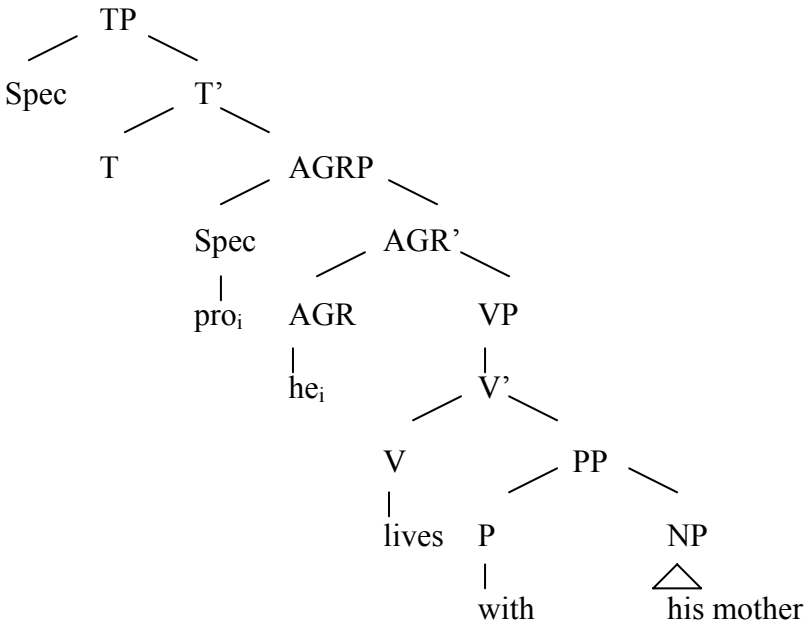
English. The study included six intermediate learners who had received one year of intensive English teaching and seven post-intermediate learners who had received two years of intensive English teaching.

Results showed that all informants rejected null referential subject pronouns and correctly translated Greek sentences with null referential subjects into English. Yet, and similarly to Phinney's (1987) findings, the informants accepted null expletive subjects in English in almost 80% of the cases. English sentences with verb-subject order were all rejected and corrected and Greek sentences with postverbal subjects were all translated into grammatical English sentences with preverbal subjects. Over 95% of the responses incorrectly accepted *that*-trace sequences and the translations into English of these structures were all ungrammatical. Yet subjects were aware of the possibility of deleting 'that' in English, as 95% of the responses to grammatical English sentences without the complementiser were correct. Similarly to White (1985, 1986), there seems to be no clustering effects in the development of the properties associated with the *pro-drop* parameter. The verb-subject order of the L1 is correctly rejected in the L2 from the early stages of development, null referential subject pronouns continue to be used although their acceptance is much lower than that of null expletive subjects and the ungrammaticality of *that*-trace sequences in English is incorrectly accepted.

Focusing their analysis on the property of null subjects, Tsimpli and Roussou posit that the Greek positive null subject value is transferred into English and impossible to reset, as parametric values which are not part of the L1 are inaccessible to adult L2 learners. However, results showed that informants rejected all instances of null referential subjects in English sentences and used overt subject pronouns appropriately. The authors claim that learners restructure their interlanguage by means of non-parameterised UG principles, which are accessible and which make the morphological

and syntactic *pro-drop* properties of English compatible with the properties of the Greek setting of the parameter. Following Rizzi's (1986) account of null subjects, Tsimpli and Roussou propose that whereas licensing of null subjects is parameterised, their identification is not and depends on a UG requirement. The transferred L1 positive value of the Null Subject Parameter licenses null subjects in English and in order to identify them, the Greek speakers reanalyse English subject pronouns as agreement elements under the head AGR. The following sentence would have the structure below:

(1) He lives with his mother



(Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991: 160)

pro is identified by the verbal agreement suffix in Greek, whereas in the English interlanguage it is the subject pronoun 'he' that meets the identification requirement. This account explains the incorrect acceptance of null expletives in English by the Greek learners. Since expletive subjects are non-referential and hence do not have theta-roles, they do not need to be identified and therefore they do not have to be overtly realised as agreement elements[48].

[48] Tsimpli and Roussou do not explain why Greek speakers correctly reject all instances of VS orders, which would receive a plausible explanation under their account and considering the derivation of

Yet it is well-attested in the literature that L2 learners of English with a null subject L1 do produce and accept null subjects in their L2 English, which raises the question of how these null subjects are identified. As UG options are argued to be available to the L2 learner, Tsimpli and Roussou propose that null subjects in interlanguage are instances of PRO, which are not identified by agreement but by a discourse antecedent[49].

The study also included dislocated constructions such as 'John, he broke the plates'. The intermediate learners accepted them as grammatical in 90% of the cases whereas the post-intermediate learners rejected them all. The acceptance of the intermediate learners is to be expected, as 'he' is analysed as an agreement element identifying a *pro* and 'John' is placed in a topic position. According to Tsimpli and Roussou, the post-intermediate learners come to realise that subject pronouns are not agreement inflections and they either delete the NP or the pronoun in their corrections, but that does not mean that they have reset the parameter. Instead, pronouns are not under AGR but moved into a topic position from where they identify *pro*, which continues to be licensed by the transferred L1 value of the parameter.

Although Tsimpli and Roussou's study is initially centred on the Null Subject Parameter and its properties, they only focus their analysis of the results on null subjects. Subject-verb inversion and the fact that learners correctly rejected all its instances is simply not addressed and the acceptance of ungrammatical *that*-trace effects

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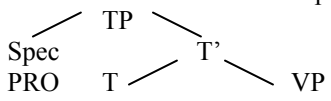
postverbal subjects at the time (Rizzi, 1986). Postverbal subjects involved a *pro* subject in preverbal position, which would have to be identified by a referential pronoun in the English interlanguage. In a postverbal structure there cannot be a referential pronoun in AGR and therefore, according to the results, VS orders are impossible and rejected by the Greek learners.

[49] According to the authors, if subject pronouns are missing in the English interlanguage sentences, agreement is missing as well and hence AGRP does not project and nothing can license *pro*. Yet PRO does not need to be licensed and occupies the specifier position of TP:



is assumed to result from the L1 transfer of the Proper Government Parameter by which Greek, but not English, complementisers are proper governors of the trace in *that-trace* constructions (cf. section 3.3.1.3).

Tsimpli and Roussou's (1991) proposal that access to UG principles and to parameterised options should be separated in adult L2A is worth pursuing. As they state, "UG principles regulate the construction of L2 grammars while, on the other hand, parameters are not available in any process of language acquisition other than L1 acquisition" (p. 165).

4.2.4 Hilles (1991)

Unlike the previously reviewed studies, which were all cross-sectional, Hilles (1991) examines the transcribed data of a nine-month longitudinal study[50] of six Spanish speaking child, adolescent and adult L2 learners of English. Hilles seeks to analyse the developmental relationship between verbal inflection and the use of pronominal subjects in order to test the Morphological Uniformity Principle (MUP) version of the Null Subject Parameter (Jaeggli and Safir, 1989). According to the MUP, only languages with uniform verbal paradigms allow null subjects, that is to say, in languages with rich verbal agreement such as Spanish or Italian and in languages with no agreement at all, such as Chinese and Japanese. Languages like English or German, in which the verbal paradigm is not uniform, in other words, in which not all persons are inflected, do not allow null subjects. Hilles sets out to investigate the relationship between verbal inflectional development and the use of overt pronominal subjects in L2A and whether age effects are relevant. Being considered a principle of UG, if the MUP holds, this will be evidence for UG access in L2 learners.

[50] Cazden, Cancino, Rosansky and Schumann (1975) cited in Hilles (1991).

The informants in the study were divided into three age groups: two children aged 4 and 5, Marta and Cheo, who had been in the USA for one month and for four months, respectively, two adolescents, aged 10 and 12, Juan and Jorge, who had been in the USA for a month and had hardly received any English instruction and two adults, aged 33 and 25, Alberto and Dolores, who had studied English in high-school and had been in the USA for four and three months, respectively. The six transcripts were analysed and all instances of null subjects as well as contexts where a null subject would have been appropriate in Spanish according to the Spanish discourse and pragmatic constraints were counted. Null expletive subjects were included but routine formulas were not and the formula to calculate the percentage of null subjects was X/X+Y, where X is the actual number of null subjects in the transcripts and Y is the number of contexts in which a null subject could have occurred but did not. As for verbal inflection, verbal forms were coded as +inflection items or – inflection elements and the development of inflection was calculated by dividing the number of +inflectional elements by the sum of +inflectional and –inflectional elements. An analysis of the correlation between the percentages of subject development and inflectional development was carried out to test the MUP in L2A.

Results show that the development of tense and agreement morphology and the increase of overt pronominal subjects are significantly correlated in the case of the two children and the younger adolescent. The other adolescent and the two adults showed no statistically significant correlation between the use of subjects and verbal inflection, which did not develop throughout the study. The two adults appear to have fossilised, as no progress was made during the study, though Dolores was at a much more proficient stage than Alberto.

As the two children and the younger adolescent observe the MUP in their L2A of English inflection and pronominal subjects, Hilles concludes that they have access to UG, whereas the lack of correlation in the older adolescent and the two adults indicates lack of evidence for UG access, which as pointed out by Hilles herself, does not necessarily extend to other subjects or other L2 properties. With respect to the subjects who are assumed to have access to UG, Hilles considers the issue of whether access to UG in L2A involves access to the UG default values or to the L1 values (i.e. L1 Transfer) of the parameter in question in early stages. Having access to the UG default values implies that L2A proceeds in the same way as L1A, whereas having access to L1 values implies that L2A is initially characterised by L1 Transfer but also constrained by UG. Hilles argues that the distinction between the two lies in whether null subjects are topic-identified or AGR-identified. The former implies a UG default value, as children acquiring L1 English produce topic-identified null subjects by virtue of the fact that their agreement inflection is not rich enough to enable AGR-identification, as argued by Hyams and Jaeggli (1988)[51] and the latter refers to the Spanish L1 value where null subjects are identified via AGR. As in the subjects' early interlanguage agreement inflection is absent, it cannot identify the null subjects and therefore, Hilles concludes that the subjects do not start their L2A process with the L1 setting of the parameter but rather with the default setting of UG: "she [Marta] begins L2 acquisition of parameters in the null position rather than in the settings of her L1. This is thus consistent with access to the default settings of UG" (p. 332).

In short, as far as children are concerned, Hilles assumes a Full Access position to UG, since they observe the UG principle MUP, and a No Transfer position, as they start out their process of subject development with a default value. Adults, on the other hand,

[51] Hyams (1983, 1986) had initially proposed that children acquiring L1 English had a default "Italian" value of the pro-drop parameter to account for instances of null subjects in child English.

did not display parallel subject and inflection development, which according to Hilles, presents no evidence for UG Access in adult L2A.

4.2.5 Lakshmanan (1991, 1994)

Similarly to Hilles' (1991) study, Lakshmanan (1991, 1994) examines the transcripts of longitudinal child L2 data and analyses the relationship between the presence and absence of null subjects and the development of tense and agreement inflection in L2 English, using the MUP version of the Null Subject Parameter (Jaeggli and Safir, 1989). Yet Lakshmanan argues that, being Spanish the L1 of all informants in Hilles's study, the role of the L1 in child L2A is not clear and hence whether children's access to UG is direct or through the L1 is not clear either. The author claims the need for crosslinguistic research on child L2A to determine if, contrary to adults, child L2 learners have access to UG, by virtue of observing the MUP, and if this access is direct or L1 Transfer is present in the L2A of the Null Subject Parameter.

Lakshmanan examines the transcripts of three children who acquire English as an L2 in a naturalistic setting and with three different L1 backgrounds: Marta with L1 Spanish, Muriel, with L1 French and Uguisu, with L1 Japanese. Marta, also analysed in Hilles's study, was 4 and a half and had been in the USA for one month at the beginning of data collection with no prior formal instruction in English. Muriel was 4.9 when data collection began after a three-month silent period and had had neither exposure nor instruction in English prior to her arrival. Uguisu had been in the USA for five silent months and was 5.4 when the study began and had had no exposure or instruction in the language. Each transcript was analysed and all instances of null subjects were noted. As Hilles, Lakshmanan did not consider formulaic expressions or imitations and her formula to calculate the percentage of null subjects was also X/X+Y. However,

Lakshmanan does not take discourse factors into consideration, and whereas X is the actual number of null subjects, Y represents the number of cases where null subjects could have occurred but did not, in other words, all English sentences in which a null subject would have been ungrammatical and therefore the percentage of null subjects will be much lower than in Hilles's study. As for inflection, the presence and absence of tense (past –ed) and agreement (3rd person singular –s) inflection were counted.

Lakshmanan predicts that if child L2 learners have direct access to the UG principle MUP and the default setting of the Null Subject Parameter, the three subjects under analysis should proceed through the same stages as in L1A. Regardless of the L1, the children would initially assume that null subjects are allowed in English and inflection should be absent. Once inflection emerges in the children's speech, null subjects should disappear. Alternatively, the L1 might influence L2A and UG Access and then only the Spanish and the Japanese children, but not the French ones, would go through the above stages.

Marta's null subjects represented 64% of the cases in the first sample of data but sharply decreased and fluctuated between 8% and 30% until sample seven and finally stabilised around a percentage of 3%. Most of Marta's null subjects occur with copula or auxiliary *is* and Lakshmanan argues that "their occurrence may be the result of a phonological matching between the English *it's* or *is* and the Spanish *es*. […] When *it's* is correctly analysed as *it is*, null subjects are abandoned" (1994: 398-399). As for inflection, inflectional morphemes are nearly absent up to sample 4 and highly omitted throughout the study. According to Lakshmanan's analysis, Marta's omission of inflection and the occurrence of null subjects appear not to be related and hence the MUP is not observed.

The French child Muriel used null subjects throughout all the samples analysed, but except for two samples, the null subject percentage never goes over 10%. All instances of null subjects except for one are restricted to copula *it is* contexts. The author argues that since French does not permit null subjects, they cannot result from L1 transfer but from a misanalysis of *it's* into *is* or *ist* due to phonological interference from French. Muriel's inflection is highly omitted throughout the samples of the study and hence the author's predictions are not supported here either.

Unlike the other two children, Uguisu's transcripts do not display any instances of null subjects and she produces a large number of copula *it's* utterances, although Japanese permits null subjects and hence L1 transfer would be expected to occur. In fact, Lakshmanan reported that Uguisu had gone through a three-month silent period in which she may have permitted null subjects. If the MUP holds in child L2A, Uguisu is expected not to omit inflection, as she does not produce null subjects. Yet inflectional morphemes are rarely provided in Uguisu's transcripts.

Lakshmanan concludes that the use of null subjects is unrelated to the presence/absence of inflection in child L2A. Null subjects disappear from the three children before verbal inflection is fully acquired and hence the predictions of the MUP do not hold in child L2A and the author suggests that children do not have direct access to UG when acquiring an L2.

4.2.6 Wakabayashi (2002)

Wakabayashi studies the L2A of non-null subjects in English by Spanish and Japanese adult learners of English under the assumptions of the Minimalist Program (MP) framework and using cross-sectional experimental research. Following Chomsky (1995), Wakabayashi (2002) develops an analysis of (null) subjects in English-type

languages, Spanish-type languages and Japanese-type languages based on the features associated with T, and consequently the Null Subject Parameter, as illustrated in Table 2:

Table 2: The features associated with the null subject parameter (2002: 43)

	Merge of T	Strong feature with T	PF reflex of subject
English-type languages	overt syntax	D	DP
Japanese-type languages	covert syntax	no	DP (optional)
Spanish-type languages	overt syntax	V	Agreement affixes

In English, T has a strong D-feature, which makes it obligatory for T to merge with VP in overt syntax. The strong D-feature in T attracts the D-feature of the subject in spec-VP into spec-TP where the strong D-feature and nominative case[52] are checked and deleted before Spell-out and hence the subject DP is compulsory in English. In Japanese, both null and overt subjects are possible. T has a weak D-feature and therefore merges with VP in covert syntax, after Spell-out. In null-subject sentences, subjects have no phonological features and merge with T in covert syntax, whereas if the subject DP has phonological features, it merges at spec-VP in overt syntax[53]. In Spanish, T has a strong V-feature, which makes it merge with VP in overt syntax. The strong V-feature of T attracts the verb, whose agreement affixes satisfy the EPP and are the PF reflex of the subject. Wakabayashi assumes overt preverbal DP subjects in Spanish to be in a topic position.

Wakabayashi assumes that when acquiring the obligatory status of overt subjects in L2 English, L1 transfer should be different between Spanish and Japanese L2 learners, since T has different features in these languages and this affects their English L2A.

[52] In Chomsky (2001) case-checking involves Agreement without movement and thus subject raising does not imply case-checking.

[53] As Park (2004) points out, in Wakabayashi's analysis, the difference between null subject and overt subject sentences depends on whether the subject DP has phonological features or not and hence the pragmatic and discourse differences of overt and null subject sentences are not taken into account here.

Japanese learners have to learn that English T has a strong D-feature, which makes T merge with VP and the subject DP move to spec-TP in overt syntax. However, Spanish learners may transfer their strong V-feature of T but have to realise that whereas subjects are PF-reflected as agreement affixes in Spanish, they are spelled out as DPs in English and hence they have to "delearn" the L1 PF-feature and learn the one in their L2. Wakabayashi hypothesises that "obligatory DP subjects in English-type languages are relatively easier for learners whose L1 is Japanese-type L1 than for learners with a Spanish-type L1" (p. 44), as according to the author, learning a new feature is easier than unlearning an L1 feature.

Wakabayashi (2002) reports on data from Wakabayashi (1997), where he collected data through an online reading time measure task and a grammaticality judgement task containing grammatical and ungrammatical versions of sentences with null referential subjects and with null weather subjects. The study included 44 Japanese learners, 15 Spanish learners and 24 native speakers of English as the control group. The Japanese were divided into 15 advanced learners (J1) and 29 intermediate learners (J2), who were students and researchers at the University of Cambridge. The Spanish group also included intermediate and advanced learners but the number of learners was too small to be divided.

Results on the reading time data reveal the learners' sensitivity to ungrammatical sentences by showing a delay in reading the elements after the ungrammaticality with respect to the grammatical sentences. Native controls show a marginally significant difference between grammatical and ungrammatical sentences in sentences with null referential and weather subjects. J1 show significant differences in both types of sentences and J2 show significant differences only in sentences with null weather subjects. The Spanish learners show no significant differences between grammatical and

ungrammatical sentences suggesting that they are not sensitive to ungrammaticality of either null referential or null weather subjects.

As for the data obtained in the grammaticality judgement task, the Spanish learners show the lowest percentage of correct responses to ungrammatical sentences with null referential and weather subjects, namely 42%. J2, the intermediate Japanese learners, show 50% and 51% of correctness in the judgement of null referential subject sentences and null weather subject sentences, respectively, whereas J1 show 71% of correct responses in both types of ungrammatical sentences and the native speakers' correct responses represent 80% and 85% of the judgements to the two types of ungrammatical sentences. Both in the null referential subject sentences and in the null weather subject sentences, the responses from the subjects are highly significantly different, whereas the results on the grammatical sentences, which remain above 78% in all cases, are not.

Both the Reading Time data and the Grammaticality Judgement Task data indicate that Japanese learners are more sensitive to the ungrammaticality of null subjects in English than the Spanish learners, and Wakabayashi states that his hypothesis is confirmed: "JLEs (Japanese Learners of English) acquire obligatory DP subjects in English more easily than SLEs (Spanish Learners of English). This difference is attributable to differential L1 transfer from their L1s" (p. 49).

Wakabayashi explains his results on the acquisition of the obligatoriness of overt subjects in English through the "Lexical Transfer/Lexical Learning Model of SLA" (2002: 56), which assumes Full Access to UG and Partial L1 Transfer, as well as the minimalist claim that language acquisition involves the learning of lexical items and their features. According to the author, the L2 grammar consists of an innate derivational mechanism, which is part of UG, and the L2 lexicon, which is built gradually from L2 input or by transfer of lexical items from the L1 lexicon, which is

triggered mainly by L2 input. The author argues that the number of lexical items and formal features to be included in the L2 lexicon becomes larger as the L2 grammar develops and that only when a lexical item is included in the syntactic derivation will transfer of the relevant category occur. Thus, Wakabayashi claims that transfer may not occur at early stages of development.

In the case of null subjects in L2 grammars, the author suggests that in the early stages of development, T may not be included in the syntactic object, which is a VP with optional overt or null subjects. L2 input shows learners that English verbs are inflected for agreement and tense and that null subjects are not allowed. With their L1 knowledge, learners with English-type L1s analyse L2 input and successfully transfer the category T and its relevant features from their L1 to the L2 lexicon. Japanese learners will rapidly notice the obligatory status of subjects and the strong D-feature of T and will gradually include it in all derivations. Finally, the Spanish learners transfer T from the L1, along with the strong V-feature and the PF-feature that determines that subjects are PF-reflected as agreement inflections, as they notice the existence of the third person singular inflectional affix and the inflected forms of 'be' in the input. Gradually, the Spanish learners notice that subjects are spelled-out as DPs in English and 'delearn' the PF feature from T before learning the relevant L2 PF-feature.

In short, learning obligatory subjects in English is assumed to be easier for Japanese speakers, who have to learn a new feature associated with T in the L2, than for Spanish speakers, who have to 'delearn' a PF feature associated with T in their L1. Yet, as Park (2004) suggests, if "the difference between English and Spanish is a PF phenomenon, while the difference between English and Japanese is related to a more abstract feature, the latter should cause more difficulty to L2 learners" (p. 15). We will finish the section

with a review of Park's (2004) approach to null subjects in the acquisition of L2 English.

4.2.7 Park (2004)

Park (2004) aims at providing a Minimalist explanation for the well-attested fact that L1 speakers of Spanish-type null subject languages drop many more subjects in their L2 English than L1 speakers of the Korean-type null subject languages from the earliest stages of learning English as an L2. In order to further examine this contrast, Park reports on the findings presented in previous studies of the L2 English of Spanish speakers and analyses the transcripts of six Korean children.

The children were aged between 4 and 9 when the data collection began. They had been living in the USA for nine months when the study began and data collection continued for three years. The data consist of English and Korean and mixed utterances and include spontaneous speech and elicited speech from story-telling and directed conversation. Only the English utterances were analysed and the number of omitted subjects[54] was counted for each child, excluding utterances with non-finite verbs, formulaic expressions and imperative sentences. The percentage of subject omissions in each child ranged from 0.2% to 2.7% with a total average of 1.4%. The author points out that the few subjects that the children omitted in their L2 English were either first person singular 'I' or recoverable from the context.

In order to analyse the data and under the Minimalist Program (MP) framework, Park (2004) assumes that language acquisition involves selecting and fixing the correct values of features and morphemes out of the available UG options. The author uses the null argument phenomenon as an example to argue that UG is still available in L2

[54] Object omission was also studied in Park (2004) although the results are not relevant in the present study.

learning, at least in children, and that "L2 learning also involves learning of the feature values of a target language" (p.9). Following Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.1), Park assumes that null subject licensing is conditioned by the interpretability of agreement features and ultimately by the way the EPP feature in Agr is checked, that is to say, checking the EPP feature is parameterised. In Spanish, the agreement morphemes of the verb are pronominal and hence have semantic content (i.e. Spanish agreement features are [+interpretable]), which means that they can check the EPP feature of Agr via verb movement and no overt subject is needed. In English, however, the agreement morphemes of the verb are not pronominal and do not have semantic content (i.e. English agreement features are [-interpretable]), which means that an overt DP subject has to be merged in spec-Agr in order to check the EPP feature.

As the above analysis does not touch upon Korean-type null subject languages, which do not have rich agreement morphology but allow null subjects, Park (2004) posits, contrarily to Speas (1994), that Korean has weak agreement features and hence the EPP feature is checked via XP-merge in the specifier of AgrP, as in English[55]. Yet this raises the question of why Korean can still allow null subjects. Following Huang (1984), Park argues that Korean's NPs are also licensed at the pragmatic level and that empty categories are identified by a null sentence topic due to a rule of Topic NP Deletion, which deletes the topics of sentences and forms a topic chain in the pragmatic module of grammar, which Huang (1984) refers to as LF' module of grammar following LF in discourse-oriented languages. Park proposes that this pragmatic module is active in both discourse-oriented and sentence-oriented languages and that the difference lies in whether the languages use overt pronouns, bound pronouns (i.e.

[55] Speas (1994) proposes that languages like Korean or Japanese do not have agreement features and hence do not project AgrP. Park (2004) proposes that Korean has tense and agreement features although they are weak, on the basis of the Korean honorific agreement system and subject-mood agreement markers.

agreement) or zero anaphora to refer to the topic. Overt pronouns are used by English-type languages, whereas Korean-type languages choose zero anaphora and Spanish-type languages use bound pronouns (i.e. agreement) to refer to the topic.

In order to explain the contrast in the use of missing subject pronouns in the L2 English of Korean and Spanish speakers, Park summarises the licensing conditions of null subjects in English, Spanish and Korean at the syntactic and pragmatic levels of grammar in Table 3:

Table 3: Licensing conditions on null subjects (2004: 22)

	Pragmatic Level (topic-referring NP)	Syntactic Level
English	pronoun	[-interpretable]; XP-merge
Spanish	bound pronoun (agreement)	[+interpretable]; X-movement
Korean	zero anaphora	[-interpretable]; XP-merge

At the pragmatic level, both Spanish and Korean speakers, who encode topic-referring NPs with bound pronouns and zero anaphora, respectively, need to learn that overt pronouns are used in English, and according to Park, this does not explain the contrast between the two types of languages, as which of the two processes involves greater difficulty cannot be determined. Yet, at the syntactic level, the way the EPP is checked is different in English and Spanish but the same in English and Korean, namely X-movement in Spanish and XP-merge/movement in Korean and English:

> "This similarity between Korean and English on the one hand and difference between English and Spanish on the other result in the asymmetry between Korean and Spanish learners of English in their acquisition of English subjects. Korean learners do not have to learn the [-interpretable] feature value of the agreement morphology in L2 English, while Spanish learners have to learn that English has [-interpretable] agreement features […]" (2004: 23)

Therefore, Park concludes that learning of the obligatoriness of English subjects is easier for Korean than for Spanish speakers, as English and Korean have the same agreement feature value (i.e. [-interpretable]) although null subjects are permitted in Korean for pragmatic reasons, whereas Spanish has [+interpretable] agreement feature

values. Hence, resetting of the agreement feature value is more difficult, but still possible for L1 Spanish speakers learning English. We will now review subject development studies in L2 Spanish.

4.3 Review of L2 Spanish Subject Development studies

Not many studies on L2 Spanish subject development were carried out in early L2 research, as compared to the predominance of L2 English studies. The first accounts of subjects in L2 Spanish, as it was the case with L2 English, were based on the traditional formulation of the Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986; Chomsky, 1981) and the issues to be explored mainly included parameter resetting, clustering of the properties associated with the parameter, (un)markedness of the [+ pro-drop] value of the parameter and L1 Transfer of parametric properties. In this respect, two studies will be reviewed here, namely Liceras (1989) and Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998). As linguistic theories evolved and the locus of parametric variation was placed on the functional categories of a language, later studies were conducted in the context of the L2A of the feature values of the functional categories Agr and T. In this vein, a series of studies by Liceras and her collaborators explored L2 Spanish null subjects in relation to features of the functional categories in the verbal and nominal domains, like person, number and tense (Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell, 1998; Liceras and Díaz, 1998; Liceras et al., 1998; Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz, 1999; Liceras and Díaz, 1999). Finally, a series of studies on the pragmatic and discourse constraints on the use of null and overt subject pronouns and on the use of preverbal and postverbal subjects will also be reviewed (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999; Lozano, 2002, 2006 and Hertel, 2003).

4.3.1 Liceras (1989)

Liceras (1989) studies the L2A of [+null subject] Spanish by adult native speakers of [-null subject] French and English in order to explore L1 transfer effects and the evidence for parameter resetting and clustering effects of the properties of the parameter. She assumes the traditional account of the Null Subject Parameter, by which missing referential and non-referential subjects, subject-verb inversion and *that*-trace sequences are characteristic of the [+null subject] languages. Like Phinney (1987), Liceras also assumes that Spanish represents the unmarked or default value of the parameter and hence suggests that the L2 learners may not start their acquisition process with the L1 setting of the parameter.

The subjects included 32 French and 30 English adult native speakers learning L2 Spanish in a classroom setting at the University of Ottawa in Canada and 5 Spanish native speakers at the same university as control group. According to their results on the University of Ottawa placement test for Spanish, the learners were assigned to four proficiency groups, namely Level I (beginners) with six English speakers and eight French speakers, Level II (intermediate) with five English and seven French speakers, Level III (advanced) with fourteen English speakers and fifteen French speakers and Level IV (high advanced) consisting of five English speakers and two French speakers. The informants were tested on a grammaticality judgement test, which contained instances of missing pronouns, overt pleonastic and non-pleonastic pronouns, verb-subject inversion, that-t sentences and subordinate sentences with empty complementisers to determine if learners accepted grammatical Spanish constructions and rejected constructions which are ungrammatical in Spanish but grammatical in [-null subject] languages. The learners were also asked to translate all the sentences in order to check interpretations and correct the ungrammatical ones.

Liceras's (1989) results on *pro-drop* indicate high acceptance rates of grammatical missing referential and pleonastic subjects and null subjects with arbitrary third person plural reference. However, 20% of the English learners in Level I, 15% of the English learners in Level II, 7% of the English learners in Level III and 6% and 3% of the French learners in Level I and II, respectively, accepted ungrammatical sentences with overt pleonastic subjects, *ello* and *lo*, although Liceras argues that acceptance of overt pleonastic *pro* only occurs "in the early stages of acquisition" (p. 119). At the same time, rejection of redundant overt lexical subjects increased with proficiency level, although the French learners were more accurate than the English-speaking ones.

As for subject-verb inversion, both groups accepted it with unaccusative verbs, whereas percentages were significantly lower with unergative verbs and especially in the case of the English group. The control group accepted all inversions with unaccusative and unergative verbs, which differs from the results obtained in Liceras (1988), in which native speakers showed a preference for inversion in the case of unaccusative constructions. The author predicts that the unaccusative/unergative distinction alone cannot explain the stylistic use of inversion in Spanish, to which we will return at the end of the section. Generally speaking, the French group performed more accurately than the English group in *pro-drop* and inversion sentences, which Liceras attributes to the rich verbal inflection of French with respect to English. Finally, the results from the *that*-trace sentences indicate no clear pattern of development in either group, and Liceras argues that informants misinterpreted the sentences and such results may be due to chance.

In spite of the percentage of acceptance of overt pleonastic subjects, Liceras concludes that in the case of null subjects, most French and English learners of Spanish do not transfer their L1 parameter value, which provides evidence for the unmarked

value of Spanish [+pro-drop]. Yet results suggest that at least the English group did transfer their L1 value of the parameter during the early stages. The study also indicates that subject-verb inversion and *that*-trace effects do not have the same status in the interlanguage as null subjects and the lack of clustering effects points towards the presence of an "implicational hierarchy" of the properties of the parameter, by which the acquisition of inversion and *that*-trace effects cannot take place without acquiring null subjects and verb inflection, although the latter are not sufficient conditions for successful acquisition of the former.

4.3.2 Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998)

Still based on the traditional approach to the Null Subject Parameter, Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998) examine the adult L2A of Spanish by English-speaking learners in search for evidence that learners can reset the L1 value of *pro-drop* parameter to the target language. By means of a comprehension test and a controlled production test, the authors argue that adult Spanish L2 learners initially transfer their L1 setting of the parameter but that there is a shift to the native setting over time and that there is evidence for clustering of the two properties of the parameter under analysis, namely null expletives and null thematic subjects. Eighty-eight university students took part in the study although some of them were discarded in the analysis for not completing the test or failing a pretest on pronominal reference. Their levels ranged from elementary Spanish to advanced Spanish and the study also included a native control group.

According to the authors, the learners' initial L1 Transfer is observed in the overuse of subject pronouns, preference for the English word order SVO and the production of overt expletives. Another common error pattern is the misinterpretation of sentence-initial object clitics as subjects, which is argued to be related to the incorrect setting of

the parameter. In order to observe the process of parameter resetting in the data, three hypotheses were formulated, namely that there is no parameter underlying null expletives and optional subject pronouns (or if there is one, adults cannot acquire it), that null expletives and null subjects are indeed part of the same parameter but that the latter prove more difficult to acquire because their use is constrained by discourse factors of emphasis and redundancy and that adults can successfully reset the parameter, which contains both properties of the language. If there is no parameter underlying both properties, the data should reveal no correspondence between null expletives and optional pronouns or no progress at all. In the second case, the data should display an increase in the correct use of null expletives while no decrease in the use of subject pronouns. Finally, a sudden increase in the use of null expletives and null thematic subjects occurring simultaneously would indicate, according to the authors, the resetting of the parameter.

Three contexts of analysis were selected to be included in the experimental tasks, namely expletive contexts, contexts where a pronoun is possible in Spanish but it is not a subject and contexts where a subject pronoun is acceptable but not required, exemplified in (2), (3) and (4) respectively:

(2) Es divertido volar.
'is easy to-fly'
"Flying is fun"

(3) a. Es fácil comprar café en Northampton.
'is easy to-buy coffee in Northampton'
"It is easy to buy coffee in Northampton"

b. Le es fácil comprar café en Northampton.
'him-(DAT) is easy to-buy coffee in Northampton'
"It is easy for him to buy coffee in Northampton"

(4) Esta es divertida de volar.
'this is easy of to-fly'
"It's easy to fly this"

(Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux, 1998: 168)

The comprehension task compared the learners' interpretation of expletive sentences as opposed to sentences where a referential pronoun is optional (i.e. (2) and (4)). One of the two sentence-types was presented to the informants along with two pictures, of which they had to choose the one that the sentence represented, thus showing a referential or a generic interpretation. In the production task, students had to complete a cloze text by filling the blanks at the beginning of each sentence with any kind of pronoun or nothing. More than one answer was permitted. The paragraph consisted of 8 sentences with verbs that allowed optional, but generally dispreferred, thematic subjects and 12 sentences with non-thematic verbs that required null expletives.

Results on the comprehension test show that none of the groups, including the native speakers, had a preference for generic interpretations of expletive statements, in which both interpretations were possible. Crucially, referential statements were given relatively low percentages of generic interpretations, thus showing the ungrammaticality of such interpretations. In fact, errors in interpreting referential statements as generic decreased as proficiency increased, which reveals a developmental pattern, where early overt pronouns are misanalysed in sentence-initial positions as expletive pronouns, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Generic Picture Selection (Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux, 1998: 171)

Level	Expletive Statements	Referential Statements
Elementary	26.09%	23.19%
Intermediate	31.48%	24.07%
Intensive Intermediate	33.33%	26.67%
Majors	20.51%	17.95%
Advanced Majors	8.33%	8.33%
Native Speakers	44.44%	3.70%

As for the production task, results indicate that there was production improvement in both expletive and thematic sentences as proficiency increased. The percentages of null expletives were considerably high and ranged from 67.01% in the elementary group to 93.51% in the advanced majors group and 95.83% in the native speakers group. Null

thematic subjects were a bit lower with respect to expletive sentences ranging from 36.97% in the elementary group to 67.50% in the majors group. The percentages of the advanced majors group and the native speakers group were 58.33% and 64.06%, respectively. No learner omitted subject pronouns before producing null expletives, which excludes the possibility of unrelated acquisition of the two types of subjects. As learners reach the native speaker level in both properties of the parameter and show a correlation in the progress of acquisition, the authors argue that there is indeed parameter resetting, which triggers both null expletives and null thematic subjects.

In order to show that the learners indeed possess a native-like representation of the parameter, Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux establish a comparison between the production data and the comprehension data as "without the correct representation, the correct production data is possible, but native-like interpretation would be more unlikely" (p. 177). The authors plotted the results of both tasks, which indicate that the learners improve their referential interpretation of overt pronouns as they improve the overall production of null subjects. They argue that after an initial period of L1 Transfer of the properties of the parameter and a period of null subject production in conscious imitation, the Null Subject Parameter can be reset in the case of null expletives and referential subjects, whose production and interpretation are developmentally correlated, thus assuming a Full UG Access approach to L2A.

4.3.3 Liceras, Laguardia, Fernández, Fernández and Díaz (1998), Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) and Liceras and Díaz (1999)

Liceras et al. (1998), Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) and Liceras and Díaz (1999) base their account of non-native Spanish null and pronominal subjects of adult L1 speakers of Indo-European and Oriental languages on the latest developments within the

Principles and Parameters model (previous to the Minimalist Program). More specifically, they incorporate Rizzi's (1994) and Hyams' (1994) reformulations of the Null Subject Parameter and the licensing and identification requirements in child language in their L2A model. The authors assume parametric options to be associated with functional categories and the values of their features (Borer, 1984) and following Tsimpli and Roussou (1991), they argue that adult L2 learners incorporate L1 parametric transfer, can access UG principles (directly or via the L1) but cannot reset parameters. Instead, they proceed by restructuring the input data locally (see Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.2). The authors further assume that licensing is related to parameterisation and argue throughout their analyses that non-native null subjects are not sensitive to licensing requirements, by virtue of the fact that they are parameterised, but only to identification requirements.

In order to analyse null and overt pronominal subjects in non-native Spanish, Liceras et al. and Liceras and Díaz review Hyams' (1994) and Rizzi's (1994) accounts of null subjects in L1 child language as well as Pierce's (1992) and Roeper and Rohrbacher's (1995) proposals[56]. Rizzi (1994) maintains that null subjects in child English are only possible in Spec-Root, namely in sentence-initial position as long as the root does not contain a CP projection. These null subjects, which do not correspond to the null subjects found in the child grammars of null subject languages, are only found in matrix sentences and never in wh-questions or embedded clauses, since child grammars do not have the principle ROOT=CP. These null subjects are argued to be instances of *null constants*, which are [-pronominal], [-anaphoric] and [-variable]. Hyams (1994) posits that all languages can have null arguments as long as they are licensed and identified. She makes a distinction according to which topic-drop

[56] Pierce (1992) and Roeper and Rohrbacher (1995) are fully reviewed in Liceras et al. (1998).

languages license *pro* at Spec-CP whereas *pro-drop* languages license *pro* at Spec-IP. In Chinese, for instance, arguments are licensed at Spec-CP and identified by discourse topics while in Spanish subjects are licensed at Spec-IP and identified by the agreement features in Agr. Hyams proposes that null subjects in child English are instances of *pro* which are licensed at Spec-IP but which cannot be identified there. Moving them to a topic position, Spec-CP, they get identified by a discourse topic. Roeper and Rohrbacher (1995) argue that some null subjects in early child English do occur in wh-questions, although the verb is always non-finite in those contexts. Hence, they propose that these null subjects are instances of Japanese-like *pro*, which is found in Spec-TP in Japanese, as Japanese does not project AgrSP (Speas, 1994). Finally, Pierce (1992) assumes that null subjects in early French and English are instances of *pro*, which are licensed at Spec-VP as a default option and do not move to Spec-IP, already projected in the early grammar. We will now see what these L1 approaches to early null subjects in non-null subject languages imply for Spanish L2A.

Two different types of spontaneous production data were analysed. The first set of data included five adolescents and six university students who were French/English bilinguals and had been exposed to Spanish in a classroom setting for 50 hours and hence represented the early stage. The data were obtained through personal interviews and story-telling. The second set of data was obtained from fifteen advanced intermediate learners of Spanish from five different language backgrounds (Chinese, English, French, German and Japanese[57]). They had been exposed to Spanish for 250 hours in a classroom setting and were asked to tell a story of a film. Each set of data included three native speakers of Spanish as control groups.

[57] Liceras et al. (1998) and Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) provided data from sixteen and eighteen advanced intermediate non-native speakers, respectively, and Korean was also included as a language background.

Results on the early stage L2 Spanish of French/English bilinguals show that both in the case of adolescents and in the case of adults, all learners produce more null subjects than pronominal subjects and that null subjects are found both in matrix and in subordinate clauses, although they predominate significantly in subordinate positions. Similar results hold for the Spanish control informants, which are not significantly different from those of the experimental groups. As for the advanced intermediate English learners of Spanish[58], null subjects are produced much more often than subject pronouns and their occurrence is similarly present in matrix and subordinate clauses. The data also show that although there is no overuse of subject pronouns, there is a non-native usage. It is clear that these non-native null subjects cannot be *null constants*, as in early child English, as they are found in embedded clauses as well as in wh-questions with inflected verbs and hence learners do not fail to observe the ROOT=CP principle. Likewise, non-native Spanish null subjects cannot be instances of Japanese-like *pro* as no null subjects should appear in finite sentences or in wh-questions with inflected verbs, contrary to fact.

Liceras et al. (1998), Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) and Liceras and Díaz (1999) maintain that the adult learners of Spanish do not reset the *pro-drop* parameter to the Spanish value, as they are not sensitive to the abstract features of functional categories. The authors propose that learners resort to the UG default option of licensing *pro* at Spec-VP and that it is the identification properties which are locally re-structured and determine the structure of the non-native grammar rather than the licensing requirements: "the adult IL grammar has a default licensing procedure which is responsible for the production of null subjects provided they are identified" (1999: 34).

[58] For the purpose of the present study, we are only going to report on the results of the L1 English group, although the results on null and pronominal subjects in matrix and embedded clauses of all the advanced intermediate groups revealed no significant difference between the control group and among the experimental groups.

Non-native Spanish null subjects are thus licensed at the VP level. Identification takes place via a set of UG options subject to individual variation, namely the person markers of the Spanish verbs, the Spanish subject pronouns or null topics. Adult non-native grammars are hence "idiosyncratic" and although UG is present in L2A, parametric options are not accessible to the adult learners.

4.3.4 Liceras and Díaz (1998) and Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz (1999)

Having proposed in their previous studies that the distribution of null and overt subjects in adult non-native Spanish is blind to the parameterised properties of the target language (i.e. the abstract features of functional categories) but sensitive to the discourse identification requirements of null arguments, the authors further investigate null and pronominal subjects in adult L2 Spanish in relation to the features of functional categories in the verbal and nominal domains, namely Person, Number and Tense. Liceras and Díaz (1998) and Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz (1999) explore whether these features are transferred from the L1 to the L2 or whether L2 learners of Spanish have a pragmatic deficit by which the feature Number is unspecified, as Hyams (1996) and Hoekstra, Hyams and Becker (1997) hypothesised for child grammars where null subjects and bare NPs co-occur with Root Infinitives (i.e. non-inflected verb forms in matrix clauses where a finite form should occur), which are all given a pragmatic or discourse interpretation[59].

Hyams (1996) and Hoekstra et al. (1997) argue that languages can be classified according to which functional features are specified in the morphosyntax. Type-a languages, such as Italian and Spanish are specified for Person, type-b languages, such

[59] Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz (1999) also analyse the Pragmatic Deficit Hypothesis in child L1 Spanish, in which, although root infinitives occur with null subjects and bare NPs rather than with full DPs, null subjects and bare NPs also occur as subjects of inflected verbs and root infinitives are rare. Hence child Spanish, by virtue of the fact that it is a null subject language and has rich verbal morphology, does not provide clear evidence for the pragmatic deficit or the unspecification of Number.

as English or Dutch are specified for Number and type-c languages, such as Japanese and Korean are specified for Tense. These features account for the distribution of null and overt arguments across languages. The fact that child grammars display root infinitives and lack of overt subjects and determiners is accounted for by the *Underspecification Hypothesis* (Hyams, 1996) by which the feature Number is underspecified and hence children's utterances lack grammatical encoding of specificity. Finiteness in the verbal domain and determiners in the nominal domain provide the sentence with a specific temporal or finite interpretation and if Number is unspecified the sentence will receive a temporal interpretation via discourse. Under this approach, child grammars are not syntactically but pragmatically constrained and children make use of pragmatic interpretation because they lack a pragmatic principle which determines verbal and nominal coreference and places non-syntactic interpretations as an alternative.

In the case of interlanguage grammars, if L2 learners make use of pragmatic interpretations when acquiring the L2 morphosyntactic features and hence Number is underspecified, the distribution of null/overt subjects with respect to finite/non-finite verb forms will be clear-cut. Subjects of Root Infinitives should be null pronouns or bare NPs, as Number encodes Spec-Head agreement and therefore the properties of the subject. Finite verbs will have DP subjects with determiners or plural marking, as they are specified and pronouns and proper nouns will occur with both finite and non-finite verb forms. If L2 Spanish is underspecified for Number, the above mentioned distribution should occur but if L2 learners transfer their native language feature specifications, their L2 Spanish will specify Number, in the case of English, and hence display neither Root infinitives nor bare NPs or null subjects or in the case of Japanese only Tense will be specified and there should be an alternation between finite forms and

full DPs and non-finite forms and bare NPs. Liceras et al. (1999) hypothesise that adult L2 learners do not have a pragmatic deficit and that as a consequence the L1 morphosyntactic feature specifications will transfer to their interlanguage.

The study included 12 speakers of English, Danish and Swedish (Group 1) and French/English bilinguals (Group 2) (type-b languages) and 4 speakers of Korean and Cantonese (Group 3) (type-c languages) and half of the informants in each group were beginners and the other half were advanced, with 50 and 200 hours of L2 classroom instruction exposure respectively. The L2 learners were interviewed and required to tell a story and describe pictures.

Results show that Group 1 beginner learners, whose L1 is specified for Number, produced a very similar percentage of null subjects with finite and non-finite verb forms (42.10% and 40.74%, respectively) and that Group 2 beginner learners, whose L1 is also specified for Number, produced more null subjects with inflected verb forms than with non-inflected verb forms (44.95% and 25%, respectively). No null subjects were found in the non-inflected forms of advanced learners in either group and some instances of overt DP subjects were found with non-inflected verbs. Neither in Group 1 nor in Group 2 were bare NP subjects produced at any level, and the percentage of overt and null subjects in inflected and non-inflected verbs in beginners is not significantly different from that of the advanced learners.

Table 5: Types of subjects in finite and non-finite environments (based on Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz, 1999)

	Matrix Inflected Forms		**Matrix Non-inflected Forms (RIs)**	
	Beginners	**Advanced**	**Beginners**	**Advanced**
Group 1 (English, Danish, Swedish)				
Null Subjects	42.10%	50%	40.74%	-
Bare NPs	-	-	-	-
Full NPs (all NPs and pronouns)	57.89%	50%	59.25%	100%
Group 2 (English/French)				
Null Subjects	44.96%	55.38%	25%	-
Bare NPs	-	-	-	-
Full NPs (all NPs and pronouns)	55.03%	44.61%	75%	100%
Group 3 (Korean, Cantonese)				

Null Subjects	29.54%	46.90%	46.66%	71.42%
Bare NPs	40.90%	2.65%	6.66%	-
Full NPs (all NPs and pronouns)	29.54%	50.44%	46.66%	28.57%

Group 3 learners, whose L1 is not specified for Number, produced bare NPs with inflected forms, which might result from L1 transfer as these speakers do not have determiners in their native languages. The percentages of null subjects are higher with non-inflected forms than with inflected forms and the proportion of full NPs with Root Infinitives is lower than that of Groups 1 and 2.

As predicted, L2 Spanish is not underspecified for Number due to a pragmatic deficit, as there is no correlation between the type of subject and finiteness. The presence and absence of bare NPs and the null/overt subject distribution are partially explained in terms of L1 Transfer of feature specification. At the same time, the L2 Spanish Root Infinitives are argued to be instances of missing inflection (Prévost and White, 2000) rather than evidence for feature underspecification, as these non-inflected forms are different in nature from the child Root Infinitives, do not correlate with subject types and occur in many more contexts. We will next explore the pragmatic and discourse constraints on the distribution of null/overt subjects and postverbal subjects in L2 Spanish and review the relevant research proposals.

4.3.5 Discourse constraints on Spanish subject use

4.3.5.1 Null vs. overt subject pronouns

As already discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.6.1, Spanish overt and null subject pronouns are not in free variation, as their distribution is governed by grammatical and discourse principles. Overt subject pronouns are used for emphasis and disambiguation of the referent and are interpreted as focused elements which give new and contrastive information whereas null subject pronouns represent continuity in discourse topic and hence cannot be used when the information of the subject is new in the discourse:

(5) a. ¿Quién viene?
'Who comes?'
b. Ella viene.
'She comes'
c. *Viene.
'(She) comes'

(6) a. ¿Quién cree Juan$_i$ que __ ganará el premio?
'Who does Juan believe will win the prize?'
b. Juan$_i$ cree que él$_i$/*pro$_i$ ganará el premio.
'Juan believes that he will win the prize'
c. ¿Qué cree Juan$_i$ que obtendrá __ en el concurso?
'What does Juan believe he will get in the contest?'
d. Juan$_i$ cree que *él$_i$/pro$_i$ ganará el premio.
'Juan believes that he will win the prize'

(Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999: 226)

In (5), an overt pronoun is required as the subject encodes new information. In (6), the questions set the discourse interpretation. Thus (6)a focuses the discourse on the subject of the embedded clause and hence a null pronoun is disallowed, whereas in (6)c the question is about the object of the embedded clause and therefore, the subject represents old information in the discourse (i.e. topic) and may remain null.

There is another context where the use of overt and null subject pronouns differs, namely in quantifier or other variable binding constructions, which is accounted for by Montalbetti's (1984) Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC), by which overt pronouns cannot refer to formal variables if an empty pronoun is available:

(7) Nadie$_i$ dice que pro$_{i/j}$ ganará el premio.
'No one says that __ will win the prize' ambiguous

(8) Nadie$_i$ dice que él$_{*i/j}$ ganará el premio.
'No one says he will win the prize' unambiguous

(Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999: 227)

As (7) and (8) show, overt pronouns do not allow the variable interpretation and the pronoun refers to a specific individual in the discourse. In contrast, null pronouns are ambiguous in such constructions, as both a variable interpretation and a referential interpretation are possible. The OPC is believed to be a universal principle of UG as the

same effects are described in other Romance languages and topic-drop languages, it applies to other constructions in other languages and is argued to represent a 'poverty of the stimulus' argument in acquisition, since frequency of occurrence in the input and classroom instruction are unlikely to help the L2 learner acquire the constraint (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999).

In this respect and to test the distribution of L2 Spanish null and overt subject pronouns in topic/focus environments and OPC environments, Pérez-Leroux and Glass conducted experimental research (1997, 1999) on adult English speakers learning L2 Spanish. We will review Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999) here as the experimental procedures are the same as in the previous study (i.e. 1997) but it includes a larger amount of data from three levels of proficiency.

In the case of subject pronoun distribution in focus/topic environments, the L2 learners of Spanish can find a parallel structure in L1 English which may favour the acquisition of overt/null subject alternation, namely the distribution of stressed/unstressed subject pronouns, as argued by Luján (1999). Yet in the case of pronominal distribution in variable binding environments, the learners' L1 does not have a parallel structure which may guide its acquisition. In addition, Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999) argue that overt and null pronouns in topic and focus structures are more frequent in the input than pronouns in OPC contexts and hence L2 learners should be more accurate with the former than with the latter. However, if the OPC is a universal UG principle and L2 learners can fully and directly access UG, the authors predict that learners will be more sensitive to OPC structures than to topic/focus structures, which are constrained by discourse-pragmatic effects.

Two experimental tasks were carried out. The OPC study included 39 elementary, 21 intermediate and 18 advanced adult English-speaking L2 learners of Spanish in a

classroom setting as well as a control group of 20 Spanish native speakers. The learners were university students or faculty members whereas the native speakers were instructors of Spanish. Informants were presented with eight stories which were followed by a sentence to translate. Four stories elicited a translation with a referential overt pronoun (although a null pronoun would still be grammatical here) whereas the remaining four elicited translations with a bound variable interpretation which required a null pronoun, as shown in the following examples:

(9) Referential story
In the O.J. Simpson trial, it is clear that the press has a negative bias against the defendant in their reporting. Some journalist said that he was a wife-beater.
- To translate:
'But no journalist said he is guilty'
- Target translation:
Ningún periodista dijo que él era culpable.
No journalist said that HE was guilty.

(10) Bound variable story
The court charged that some journalists had been in contact with the jurors. Several of them were questioned by the judge.
- To translate:
'No journalist admitted that he had talked to the jurors'
- Target translation:
Ningún periodista admitió que Ø le había hablado a los jurados.
No journalist admitted that Ø to-them-had spoken to the jurors.

Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1999:232-233)

Results of the first task are presented in Table 6 below. 'Other' responses included lexical NPs as subjects and incomplete or ungrammatical sentences.

Table 6: Percentage of null, overt and other responses to bound variable and referential stories in the OPC study (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999: 234)

	Bound-variable stories			Referential stories		
	Null	Overt	Other	Null	Overt	Other
Elementary	57.7%	34.0%	8.3%	21.2%	67.9%	10.9%
Intermediate	73.8%	26.2%	0.0%	35.7%	59.5%	4.8%
Advanced	93.1%	0.0%	6.9%	58.3%	31.9%	9.7%
Native control	85.0%	13.7%	1.3%	31.3%	67.5%	1.3%

As for bound-variable stories, all groups produced a higher proportion of null pronoun subjects in comparison with overt subject pronouns, which increased with language

proficiency. Referential stories correspondingly elicited higher percentages of overt subject pronouns with the exception of the advanced speakers. Yet most groups produced some OPC violations, producing overt subject pronouns as subjects of the embedded clause in the bound-variable stories, although all groups show a preference for null pronouns when the pronoun has a bound-variable interpretation and use more overt pronouns in referential interpretations. The authors concluded that "these results support the claim that the OPC is operative at all stages in the acquisition of Spanish. […] even speakers that produced some OPC violations observed the distinction since overt subjects were less frequent in bound variable contexts" (1999: 234-235).

The Topic/Focus study included a different set of participants of similar proficiency levels, namely 30 elementary, 31 intermediate and 21 advanced learners of Spanish as well as 20 native speaker controls. In this task, the interpretation of the pronoun was elicited by the use of subject and object questions. Informants were required to read eight short stories illustrated by a picture to fix the interpretation of the embedded subject as co-referent with the subject in the main clause, and followed by a comprehension question which they had to answer. Subject questions required an answer with a focused and hence overt subject in the embedded clause whereas an object question elicited an answer in which the focus is not placed on the embedded subject and hence this is a topic and should be null, as shown in the following examples:

(11) Topic/Focus story
Hace calor y la familia va al jardín.
It is hot and the family goes out to the garden.

- Subject question:
¿Quién piensa la abuela que regará las plantas?
'Who does the grandmother think will water the plants?'
- Target focus response:
La abuela piensa que ella regará las plantas.
'She thinks that SHE will water the plants.' (embedded subject is focused)

- Object question:

¿Qué piensa la abuela que hará en el jardín?
'What does the grandmother think that she will do in the garden?'
- Target topic response:
La abuela piensa que Ø regará las plantas.
'She thinks that (she) will water the plants'. (embedded subject is a topic)

Pérez-Lerouz and Glass (1999: 236)

Table 7 below displays the results of the Topic/Focus task:

Table 7: Percentage of null, overt and other responses to topic and focus stories in the Focus study (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1999: 237)

	Topic stories			Focus stories		
	Null	Overt	Other	Null	Overt	Other
Elementary	30.8%	9.2%	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%
Intermediate	36.3%	11.3%	52.4%	29.0%	26.6%	44.4%
Advanced	57.1%	7.1%	35.7%	19.0%	42.9%	38.1%
Native control	47.4%	15.8%	36.8%	7.9%	56.6%	35.5%

Results indicate that L2 learners increased their use of null pronouns with proficiency in the topic condition and kept them relatively low in the focus condition, although the elementary and intermediate groups produced very similar percentages of overt and null pronouns in this condition. However, the fact that the task involved answering an open question contributed to the large number of 'other' responses, which were not relevant for the study. In contrast with the OPC study, results are not significantly different between groups and according to story type, since results are generally similar. However, according to the authors, their findings, although lower and less conclusive than in the OPC study, still indicate that all groups discriminate in their use of null pronoun subjects in topic and focus environments, as the percentages of null pronouns are higher when the pronoun is interpreted as topic than when the pronoun is interpreted as the focus of the sentence.

In short, as results in the OPC study were more accurate in all groups than in the Focus study and especially when comparing the elementary and intermediate learners, Pérez-Leroux and Glass conclude that L2 learners of Spanish have Full Access to UG and are sensitive to grammatically regulated overt/null pronoun distribution by

observing the universal OPC effects in the early stages of L2A, whereas pragmatic/discourse constraints are acquired over time and experience. It should be noted that the fact that the two tasks were different and involved two different sets of participants may have noticeable effects on the results. In any case, the results of these studies indicate that L2 learners of Spanish can indeed learn the syntactic and pragmatic distribution properties of null pronouns and the fact that overt and null pronouns are not in free variation[60].

4.3.5.2 Preverbal vs. postverbal subjects

The apparently free word order in Spanish has also been studied in the L2A literature. The possibility for Spanish subjects to appear pre and postverbally is strongly determined by lexical verb class and discourse structure factors. In sentences with transitive verbs, the subject can appear either preverbally (SVO), postverbally (VSO) or after the object (VOS), although in neutral focus structures, native Spanish speakers tend to prefer SVO orders. Both VSO and VOS orders are possible in contrastive focus (i.e. emphatic) structures and information/presentational focus (i.e. new versus old information) although native Spanish speakers tend to prefer VOS orders and consider VSO orders unnatural and strongly marked.

As for intransitive verbs, they are classified into unergatives and unaccusatives according to the Unaccusative Hypothesis or the Split-Intransitivity Hypothesis (Burzio, 1986; Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, 1995) and on the basis of where the subject is base-generated. The subject of unergative verbs like *gritar* 'to shout' is generated preverbally

[60] Lozano (2002) provides similar results on the interpretation of overt and null pronouns in OPC and focus environments by Greek and English L2 learners of Spanish. He argues that while L2 learners obey the OPC despite their L1, the learners' knowledge of focus constraints is conditioned by their L1, which can cause fossilisation if the features do not match. According to Lozano, the universality of the OPC does not cause fossilisation or representational deficits at advanced levels of proficiency as UG constrains adult L2 grammars. In contrast, knowledge of focus constraints is language-specific and hence influenced by the learners' L1. Lozano concludes that "the L1 is the key to representational deficits at advanced levels of proficiency" (2002: 65).

in spec-VP whereas the subject of unaccusative verbs like *llegar* 'to arrive' is base-generated postverbally in object position. The discourse neutral word order for unergative verbs is thus SV whereas for unaccusative verbs it is VS. Neutral contexts are elicited by the 'out of the blue' question 'What happened?', which requires an unfocused answer, as the whole sentence is new information. Spanish inappropriate word order, though not ungrammatical, yields pragmatic anomaly, whereas inappropriate word order in English results in ungrammaticality:

(12) 'What happened last night in the street?'

a. A woman shouted.	English unergative: SV
b. Una mujer gritó.	Spanish unergative: SV
c. *Shouted a woman.	English unergative: *VS
d. ?? Gritó una mujer.	Spanish unergative: ??VS

(13) 'What happened last night at the party?'

a. The police arrived.	English unaccusative: SV
b. ??La policía vino.	Spanish unaccusative: ??SV
c. *Arrived the police.	English unaccusative: *VS
d. Vino la policía.	Spanish unaccusative: VS

(Lozano, 2006: 147-148)

While word order is constrained in Spanish by the Unaccusative Hypothesis in unfocused contexts, it is constrained by discourse structure and more specifically by information focus at the syntax-discourse interface. Informationally focused elements (i.e. new information in the discourse) are placed in sentence-final position in Spanish (Zubizarreta, 1998) and hence syntactic word order is affected. When the subject is informationally focused as in the answer to the question 'Who called while I was gone?', both unergative and unaccusative verbs trigger VS word orders. In contrast, informational focus is realised only phonologically, but not syntactically, in English, where the focused element is stressed:

(14) 'Who called while I was gone?' (unergative verb)

a. Llamó <u>tu hermana</u>.	Spanish: prosodic and syntactic (VS) effects.
b. YOUR SISTER called.	English: only prosodic effects.

(15) 'Who came while I was gone?' (unaccusative verb)
a. Vino tu hermana. Spanish: prosodic and syntactic (VS) effects.
b. YOUR SISTER came. English: only prosodic effects.

As was the case for overt/null subject distribution, English learners of L2 Spanish must not only face formal syntactic properties but also discursive properties to display native-like pre and postverbal subject distribution. In this respect, two very recent studies will be reviewed (Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006), in which native English adult L2 learners of Spanish are tested on their acquisition of subject inversion according to both syntactic and discourse structure properties. On the basis of earlier null/overt subject distribution research in which grammatical competence is acquired earlier and faster than discourse competence, both studies predict that L2 learners will present more difficulties acquiring word order with informationally focused structures than in neutral contexts, where the distribution is determined by the unaccusative-unergative distinction.

Hertel (2003) seeks to explore whether and at what stage in development learners of Spanish are sensitive to word order distinctions in unaccusative and unergative constructions in neutral and focused discourse contexts. The author assumes that learners acquire Spanish word order by accessing the L2 input and the UG-constrained knowledge of the lexicon. She argues that superficial awareness of the input underdetermines the knowledge the learner has to acquire, explicit classroom instruction on word order is clearly insufficient for acquisition and negative evidence is rarely provided for non-native word order as it does not lead to ungrammaticality.

Hertel bases her account on the generative model of L2A called 'Constructionism' and proposed by Herschensohn (2000). L2 parametric change is essentially lexical and gradual and does not involve parametric clustering of properties, as in L1A. It is linked to the acquisition of morphological features of lexical items and proceeds construction

by construction. L2A is fully constrained by UG and characterised by initial transfer of L1 settings (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996), subsequent underspecification of morphological features (Eubank, 1996) and gradual acquisition of L2 constructions, producing variability and indeterminacy, and a final stage in which L2 learners may achieve native-like competence together with a possible residual indeterminacy in particular lexical items.

Hertel's (2003) study included 24 beginner, 15 low intermediate, 18 high intermediate and 24 advanced learners of Spanish as well as 18 native speakers of Spanish, who formed the control group. All learners were native speakers of English and were undergraduate university students or graduate university students and Spanish instructors in the case of the advanced group. The learners completed a contextualised written production task in which they were presented with short stories and had to answer a question which targeted at unaccusative and unergative verbs with different information structures. The questions focused on the entire sentence or on the subject, thus triggering a discourse-neutral interpretation or an informationally focused subject, respectively. In the first case, VS orders were expected in unaccusative constructions whereas SV orders were expected with unergative verbs. Focused-subject questions should elicit VS orders with both types of verbs. An example story is given below:

(16)

You and your friend Sergio are at a party. Sergio leaves to use the bathroom. While he is in the bathroom, Sara, the life of every party, arrives. When Sergio returns he notices that everyone seems much more festive.
Sergio asks you: *¿Qué pasó?*
What do you answer? _____

Target answer: *Llegó Sara.*
arrived Sara.
'Sara arrived'. (Hertel, 2003: 287)

As can be seen in Table 7, results on the answers to the global questions show that inversion in unaccusatives was mainly produced by the advanced learners and the control group, as the lower proficiency learners produced little or no inversion, possibly transferring their L1 word order. As for global questions with unergative verbs, percentages of VS orders are very low, though advanced learners produced significantly more inverted sentences than the other learner groups and the native speakers. According to the author, advanced learners seem to have generalised inversion to the unergative verbs in this type of questions. All groups except for beginners produced more VS sentences with unaccusatives than with unergatives, though the difference in verb type is only significant in the case of advanced learners and the native group. Results on focused subject questions reveal that beginner and low intermediate learners transfer their L1 SV order again, showing that they are not sensitive to Spanish discourse structure and producing practically no VS responses with either type of verb. High intermediate and advanced learners increasingly produce more VS orders with unnacusative and unergative verbs. Table 7 summarises the results:

Table 8: Mean percentage of VS responses produced for global and subject focused questions (based on Hertel, 2003)

	Global questions		Focused Subject Questions	
	Unaccusatives	Unergatives	Unaccusatives	Unergatives
Beginner	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Low Intermediate	5.73%	0.00%	5.00%	0.00%
High Intermediate	9.11%	1.39%	14.67%	13.17%
Advanced	55.54%	33.17%	53.60%	36.26%
Native	38.83%	6.56%	36.42%	32.87%

Hertel concludes that the word order effects of verb class and discourse structure are acquired late in L2 Spanish, namely at the advanced level, and preceded by L1 Transfer. Thus the prediction that discourse constraints on word order would be acquired after verb class lexical constraints on word order is not met in this study, as VS percentages raise earlier for focused subject questions in the two verb types than for global questions in the unaccusative verb type. Following Herschensohn's (2000) lexical view of

parametric change, Hertel places the beginner learners into the first acquisition stage, where no inversion was produced as a result of L1 Transfer. The low and high intermediate learners are placed into the intermediate stage, which is characterised by UG-constrained variability and indeterminacy and the advanced learners' production is explained in terms of incomplete acquisition in the final stage. That is to say, although advanced learners show native-like sensitivity to verb class and discourse structure, the lexical and focus-related inversion remains optional.

Lozano (2006) carried out a very similar study to test the distribution of SV and VS word order in adult advanced L2 Spanish on the basis of syntactic (i.e. Unaccusative Hypothesis) and discourse (i.e. information focus) constraints. The author hypothesises that in unfocused contexts, constrained by syntactic properties, advanced learners will show native-like competence, whereas in informationally focused contexts, constrained by properties at the syntax-discourse interface, advanced learners will diverge from native grammars and show optionality, as these properties seem to be persistently problematic.

The study included two experimental groups of 18 Greek and 17 English adult advanced learners of Spanish and 14 native Spanish speakers. All learners were university students and completed a contextualised acceptability judgement test with paired target sentences. Each contextualised stimulus and question represented an unfocused or informationally focused environment with unergative and unnacusative verbs, thus favouring a SV or VS word order. Learners were provided with both orders and were required to rate their acceptability on a 5-point rating scale. An example of a target stimulus is given below:

(17)

Tú estás en una fiesta con tu amiga Laura. Laura sale de la habitación y en ese momento llega la policía porque hay mucho ruido en la fiesta. Cuando Laura vuelve, te pregunta: '¿Quién llegó?' Tú contestas:

a. La policía llegó. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
b. Llegó la policía. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Results on unfocused contexts with unergative verbs reveal that both Greek and English learners of Spanish significantly prefer SV to VS, as native speakers do and as predicted by the author's hypothesis. The acceptance of SV does not differ between groups, though the acceptance of the pragmatically odd VS order does differ between groups, with the English and Greek groups accepting a higher percentage of VS orders than the native control group. As for the unfocused contexts with unaccusative verbs, results show that both groups of learners significantly prefer VS to SV, as the native control group does and supporting the author's predictions. In this case, the acceptance of both VS and SV does not differ between groups, showing native-like knowledge.

Regarding informationally focused contexts, where VS is the preferred order with both unergative and unaccusative verbs, results reveal that whereas the native control group significantly prefers VS to SV order with both types of verbs, L2 learners simultaneously accept both SV and VS orders, resulting in non-native optionality. Between-group comparisons show that although the learners' acceptance of the preferred VS order does not differ significantly from that of the native control group, their acceptance of the pragmatically odd SV order is significantly higher that that of the control group.

Overall, results clearly indicate that properties at the syntax-discourse interface are persistently more problematic for advanced speakers than syntactic properties, as was observed in previous studies of pronominal distribution (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997; 1999). As Lozano puts it:

> "[…] when constructions are simultaneously governed both by formal-syntactic constraints and by discursive constraints at the syntax-discourse interface, it appears that the acquisition of core properties precedes the acquisition of discursive properties, whose acquisition could well be delayed until end-states" (2006: 179)

The author suggests that the advanced L2 learners in this study have indeed acquired the formal uninterpretable licensing properties of the Null Subject Parameter on T (Rizzi, 1997a), which allow for the possibility of a pre-verbal null expletive subject and hence of overt postverbal subjects, and the lexical verb class distinction. Yet in acquiring the word order discursive properties in Spanish, Lozano suggests that learners go through a temporary optionality stage where they are not sensitive to the uninterpretable strong feature of the functional focus head, which displaces the focused element to the sentence-final position[61]. We will now summarise the main findings reviewed in this chapter and conclude by stating the issues to be explored in our subsequent analysis.

4.4 Summary of previous findings in the literature and issues to explore[62]

The above review of second language acquisition research on L2 English and L2 Spanish subject development can be summarised in a number of generalisations about L1 Spanish speakers learning L2 English and L1 English speakers learning L2 Spanish with respect to subject development:

L1 Spanish – L2 English

1. No indication of clustering effects of the Null Subject Parameter traditional properties.
2. Acceptance and production of ungrammatical null pronominal subjects and null expletive subjects (generally higher in the case of expletives), which decreases as proficiency increases and proves much lower than in the learners' L1, which might show initial transfer and some sensitivity to the target grammar input containing overt subjects.

[61] Lozano (2006) terms this phenomenon "Impaired Syntax-discourse Functional Features".
[62] Tables 9 and 10 provide a summary of all the studies reviewed in this chapter.

3. Low acceptance and rejection of ungrammatical postverbal subjects. It remains unclear whether initial transfer affects this property.
4. No developmental correspondence between the decrease in use of missing subjects and the emergence of verbal agreement inflections in the case of adult L2A and unclear relationship in the case of child L2A. Therefore, a clear difference in development between child L1A and L2A is observed.
5. No clear developmental pattern in acceptance/rejection and production of ungrammatical *that*-trace sequences although their presence in the learners' interlanguage might indicate L1 Transfer. However, their status as a property of the 'traditional' Null Subject Parameter has been challenged.
6. L1 Spanish learners of English show more difficulties in acquiring the obligatoriness of overt subjects than L1 Japanese-type learners.

L1 English – L2 Spanish

1. No evidence of clustering of the properties traditionally associated with the Null Subject Parameter.
2. High acceptance and production of missing pronominal subjects and null expletives, although their use is non-native. This points to the possible existence of directionality differences. It seems to be easier to learn to omit subjects than to learn not to omit them in the languages under study.
3. Some acceptance of subject-verb inversion in unaccusative structures but very low incidence of subject-verb inversion with unergative verbs in early stages, which suggests initial L1 Transfer, although L1 Transfer of this property from Spanish to L2 English remains unclear.

4. No developmental correspondence between the use of null subjects and the correct use of verbal agreement inflection. L2 Spanish learners produce and accept null subjects long before they produce accurate verbal morphology. At the same time, no correlation between type of subject and finiteness and type of clause is observed and hence L2 root infinitives might be instances of 'missing inflection', as opposed to L1A.
5. No clear developmental pattern of grammatical *that*-trace sequences, which are accepted at chance rates in L2 Spanish, which casts doubt on their status as a property of the traditional Null Subject Parameter.
6. With respect to null/overt pronoun distribution and word order effects, L2 learners of Spanish are initially more sensitive to the formal syntactic constraints than to the discourse/pragmatic constraints, which are acquired rather late.

Although the amount of research produced in the field of L2A of subjects is enormous, results are rather inconclusive and still controversial and several methodological and empirical issues deserve further investigation. The effects of UG in subject development in both child and adult L2A, the existence of L1 transfer effects, the cluster of properties of the traditional Null Subject Parameter or the status of *that*-trace effects in L2A remain unresolved and need to be analysed under more recent theoretical proposals. Directionality differences in the L2A of English and Spanish with Spanish and English as the L1s have been observed in the data but have not been thoroughly studied and the latest research has mainly dealt with the 'traditional' properties separately but not as a whole to determine their relationship and relevance in subject development as had been the case in the first *pro-drop* studies in L2A. The majority of the studies reviewed here

deal with adult L2A, and when focusing on child L2A, only longitudinal data are studied.

There is a clear need for cross-sectional non-native child subject development data in both L2 English and Spanish, which will shed some new light on both syntactic and discourse constraints on subject use. Adult L2 English and Spanish also deserve to be further studied in relation to the 'traditional' syntactic and discursive properties as a whole and determine to what extent, if any, the Null Subject Parameter can be maintained as such in the L2A of children and adults. With this aim in mind, we will next discuss the research methodology employed in the present thesis.

Table 9: Summary of the review of L2 English subject development studies.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
White (1985, 1986)	Traditional Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)	-Missing Subjects -Subject-verb inversion -*That*-trace effects	Adult L2A	(1985) 5 levels (from Beginners to Advanced) (1986) Intermediate	1985: Spanish French 1986: Spanish Italian French	Cross-sectional: Grammaticality Judgements.	Instruction English-speaking country	Full Access Partial Transfer	- Acceptance of missing subjects initially transferred but decreasing with proficiency. - Low acceptance of postverbal subjects. - Optionality of 'that' in *that*-trace sequences. - No cluster.
Phinney (1987)	Traditional Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)	-Null and overt subject pronouns -Subject-verb agreement	Adult L2A	High beginners Low intermediate	Spanish English	Cross-sectional: Written production.	Instruction	Full Access No Transfer (English→Spanish) Transfer (Spanish→English)	- Accurate verbal agreement. - Higher omission of expletive subjects than referential subjects.
Tsimpli and Roussou (1991)	Traditional Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)	-Null Subjects -Subject-verb inversion -*That*-trace effects	Adult L2A	Intermediate Post-intermediate	Greek	Cross-sectional: Grammaticality Judgements and Translation.	Instruction Non-English-speaking country	Partial Access Full Transfer	- Rejection of null referential pronouns. - High acceptance of null expletive subjects. - Rejection of postverbal subjects. - High acceptance of *that*-trace sequences. - No cluster.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Hilles (1991)	Morphological Uniformity Principle (MUP) (Jaeggli and Safir, 1989)	-Null Subjects - Agreement inflection	Child L2A Adult L2A	From 1 to 4 months after arrival	Spanish	Longitudinal	Naturalistic English-speaking country	Children: Full Access No Transfer Adults: No evidence for UG Access and inconclusive about L1 Transfer	- Children: correlation between inflection development and increase in overt pronominal subjects. - Adults: no correlation and no significant progress.
Lakshmanan (1991, 1994)	Morphological Uniformity Principle (MUP) (Jaeggli and Safir, 1989)	-Null Subjects - Agreement inflection	Child L2A	From 1 to 5 months after arrival	Spanish French Japanese	Longitudinal	Naturalistic English-speaking country	Partial Access Unclear about Full/Partial Transfer	- Null subjects disappear before verbal inflection is acquired (no MUP correlation)
Wakabayashi (2002)	MP: Strong vs. weak D-features in T.	Null Subjects	Adult L2A	Intermediate Advanced	Japanese Spanish	Cross-sectional: Reading Time Measure and Grammaticality Judgements	Instruction English-speaking country	Full Access Partial Transfer	- Japanese learners of English acquire the obligatoriness of subjects much more readily than Spanish learners, who transfer their L1 feature specification and gradually 'delearn' it before learning the L2 feature specification.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Park (2004)	MP: EPP-feature checking; [+int] vs. [-int] agreement features (A&A, 1998)	Null Subjects	Child L2A	9 months after arrival	Korean	Longitudinal (Korean)	Naturalistic English-speaking country	Full Access Inconclusive about Full/Partial Transfer	- Both English and Korean speakers have the same agreement feature value [-interpretable], although Korean permits null subjects for pragmatic reasons, whereas Spanish has [+interpretable] agreement feature values. Hence it is more difficult, but still possible) for Spanish speakers to reset the agreement feature value to English.

Table 10: Summary of the review of L2 Spanish subject development studies.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Liceras (1989)	Traditional Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)	-Null and overt Subjects -Subject-verb inversion -*That*-trace effects	Adult L2A	Beginners, Intermediate, Advanced, High Advanced	French English	Cross-sectional: Grammaticality Judgement Task, Translation, Correction	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Full Access No Transfer	- High acceptance of missing referential and pleonastic subjects. - Some acceptance of ungrammatical overt expletives. - Acceptance of subject-verb inversion with unaccusatives but lower with unergatives. - No clear pattern of development in *that*-trace sequences. - No cluster. Implicational hierarchy.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998)	Traditional Null Subject Parameter (Rizzi, 1982, 1986)	-Null expletives -Null thematic subjects	Adult L2A	Elementary, Intermediate, Majors, Advanced Majors	English	Cross-sectional: Comprehension test (picture interpretation) and a controlled production test	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Full Access L1 Transfer	- Correlation in the progress of acquisition between null pronominal and null expletive subjects. - Improvement in referential interpretation of overt pronouns and overall production of null subjects.
Liceras, Laguardia, Fernández, Fernández and Díaz (1998), Liceras, Díaz and Maxwell (1998) and Liceras and Díaz (1999)	Rizzi's (1994) and Hyams' (1994) reformulation of the Null subject Parameter.	- Null and overt pronominal subjects.	Adult L2A	Early stage, Advanced Intermediate	English/French bilinguals (early stage) Chinese, English, French, German and Japanese (advanced intermediate)	Cross-sectional spontaneous data: Personal interviews and story-telling tasks.	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Partial Access Full Transfer (L2A is not sensitive to parameter resetting)	- Higher production of null subjects with respect to pronominal subjects (licensed by default at spec-VP and identified via UG options subject to individual variation) - Non-native subject use.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Liceras and Díaz (1998) and Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz (1999)	Underspecification Hypothesis (Pragmatic Deficit Hypothesis) (Hyams, 1996)	-Null subjects. - Bare NPs. - Full NPs. - Matrix and non-matrix finite and non-finite verbal forms.	Adult L2A	Beginners Advanced	- English Danish and Swedish. - English/French bilinguals. - Korean and Cantonese.	Cross-sectional spontaneous data: Personal interviews, story-telling tasks and picture description.	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Partial Access Full Transfer	- No correlation between type of subject and finiteness and hence no evidence for the Pragmatic Deficit hypothesis in L2A. - L2 Root infinitives: instances of missing inflection.
Pérez-Leroux and Glass (1997, 1999)	Pragmatic/Discourse constraints on the non-native use of null pronouns: - Overt Pronoun Constraint (Montalbetti, 1984) - Information structure of the sentence. Topic/focus contexts.	Null/overt subject pronoun alternation in OPC and focus/topic environments	Adult L2A	Elementary Intermediate Advanced	English	Cross-sectional: comprehension and translation task.	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Full Access	- L2 learners of Spanish are initially more sensitive to grammatically regulated overt/null pronoun distribution (OPC) than to pragmatic/discourse constraints, which are acquired later.

Study	Formulation of the Null subject Parameter	Issues Explored	Age of informants	Proficiency Level	L1	Data	Acquisition Setting	L2 Assumptions Access/Transfer	Main Findings
Hertel (2003)	Pragmatic and Lexical constraints on subject-verb inversion. - Unaccusative Hypothesis (Burzio, 1986; Rappaport-Hovav and Levin, 2000) - Information focus (Zubizarreta, 1998)	Lexical and discourse-related word order (preverbal and postverbal subjects)	Adult L2A	Beginner Low intermediate High intermediate Advanced	English	Cross-sectional: contextualised written production task.	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	Constructionism (Herschensohn, 2000): UG-constrained L2A and three stages: - Initial Full Transfer. - Underspecification of morphological features: variability. - Near-native acquisition with residual indeterminacy of particular lexical items.	- Word order effects of verb class and discourse structure are acquired late, at the advanced level and are preceded by L1 Transfer.
Lozano (2006)	Pragmatic and Lexical constraints on subject-verb inversion. - Unaccusative Hypothesis (Burzio, 1986; Rappaport-Hovav and Levin, 2000) - Information focus (Zubizarreta, 1998)	Lexical and discourse-related word order (preverbal and postverbal subjects)	Adult L2A	Advanced	English Greek	Cross-sectional: contextualised acceptability judgement test with paired target sentences.	Instruction Non-Spanish speaking country	UG-constrained L2A. Native-like convergence of syntactic word order constraints. Near-native (i.e. optionality) divergence of discursive word order constraints.	- Word order discourse properties are persistently more problematic than formal syntactic properties, which are accurately reset.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 General considerations

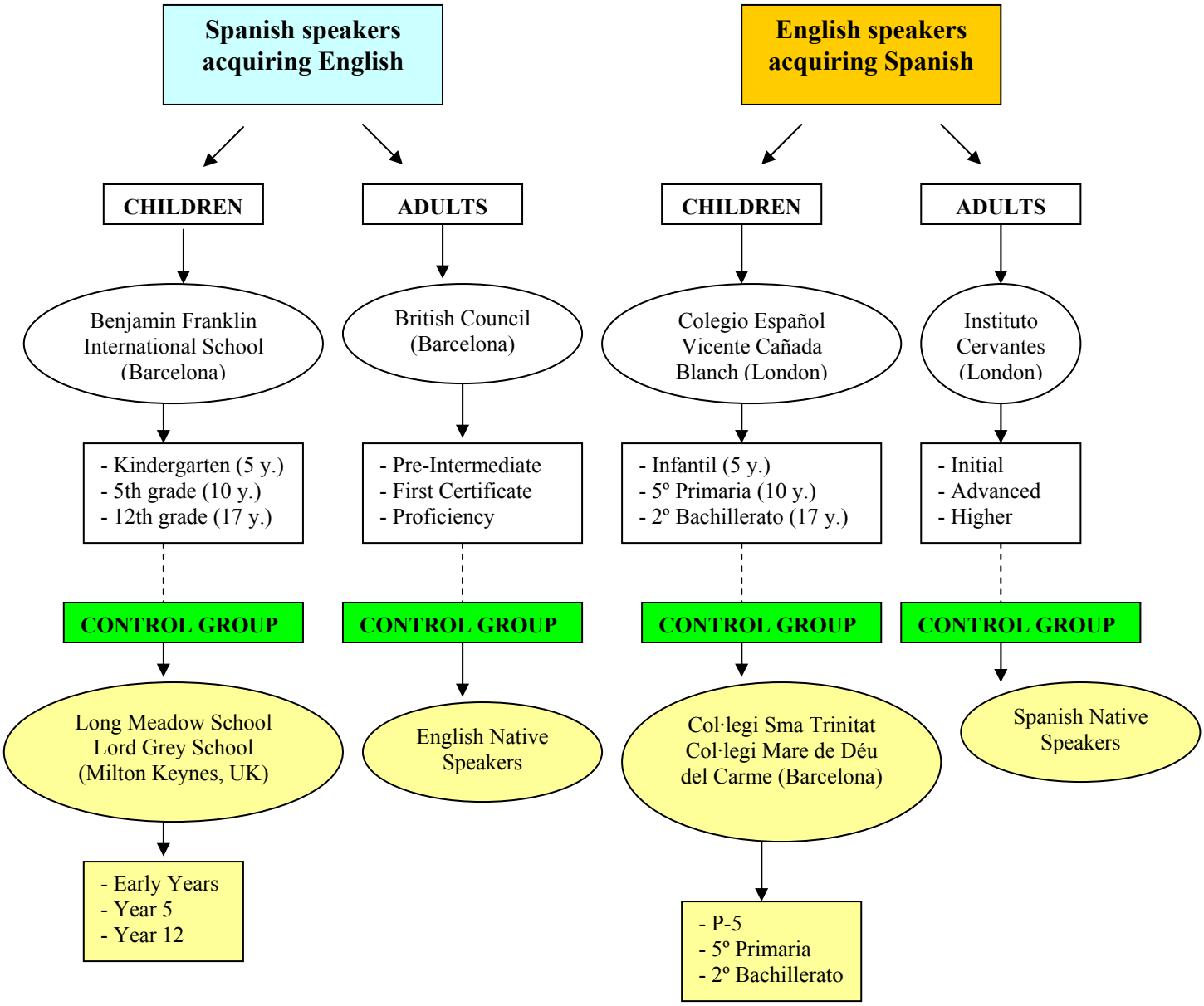
The aim of this chapter is to present the methodological aspects involved in the experimental tasks carried out in the present study. As stated in the introduction, the study analyses subject development in the L2 English of Spanish children and adults living in Spain and the L2 Spanish of British children and adults living in Britain. Child L2 acquisition is examined in an immersion context of an American school in Barcelona and a Spanish school in London, as children in these contexts undergo second language acquisition and developmental stages can be studied[63]. As for adult L2 acquisition, the study focused on L2 acquisition taking place in an institutional classroom setting. Child and adult L2 acquisition will not be compared in this study in that two very distinct processes of acquisition are represented, namely child immersion and adult classroom instruction, which clearly affect the way language develops. Yet the purpose of the study is to separately analyse L2 subject development in both child and adult speakers who are not in the L2-speaking country, bearing in mind the different hypotheses postulated for each group and specified in Chapters 6 and 7.

[63] Children learning an L2 at a state school either in Spain or in Britain are rarely in contact with the real target language and receive an often degenerate input only three hours per week on average. The fact that these children are not immersed in an L2 environment but are explicitly taught as if they were adults makes their L2 development a slow, clumsy and sometimes very difficult process which will not start to be comparable to that of adult L2 learners until puberty. Though equally worth studying, this process of acquisition is not to be considered an instance of child L2 acquisition, but of Foreign Language Learning and hence falls beyond the scope of the present thesis. Therefore, the present study focused on children who faced real L2 acquisition and could thus be tested and examined accordingly.

5.1.1 Informants

A remarkable number of experimental and control groups were required in order to study L2 English and Spanish in children and adults. As for children, three age groups were tested (5 year-olds, 10 year-olds and 17 year-olds) for each language, which corresponded to three L2 developmental stages: initial state, developing grammar state and steady state. Since age was related to the developmental stages in child L2 acquisition in immersion schools, child experimental groups required three control groups per language, each of which corresponding to each age group tested. Regarding adult L2 acquisition, three groups were analysed for each language, which also corresponded to three developmental stages in L2A. Adult experimental groups only required one control group for each language, as age was not relevant for development. On the whole, cross-sectional data were obtained from twelve experimental groups, six of them in Barcelona and the other six in London, and eight control groups, four in the UK and the other four in Spain. The following chart illustrates the experimental and control groups involved in the study for clarification purposes:

Chart 1: Experimental and control groups in the study of L2 English and Spanish.



5.1.2 General Procedure

In order to carry out the study, *Benjamin Franklin International School* in Barcelona, *Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch* in London, the *British Council* in Barcelona and the *Instituto Cervantes* in London were contacted and a report with specific information about the purpose of the study, required informants, levels to be studied and a careful description of the design of the data collection procedures was sent to the Head of Studies of each school. After a number of personal interviews,

permission was obtained to conduct fieldwork and in the children's schools, parents were given a letter of consent to allow children to take part in the study. As for the control tasks, two schools in the UK, *Long Meadow School* and *Lord Grey School* in Milton Keynes and two schools in Barcelona, *Col·legi Santíssima Trinitat* (Badalona) and *Col·legi Mare de Déu del Carme* (Terrassa) were contacted and the same procedure was followed in order to carry out the tasks. Native speakers who formed the adult control groups were contacted individually.

Informants were all informally introduced to the topic of language acquisition and to the purpose of the study, that is, how children and adults acquire L2 English or Spanish in the environment of their schools. In the case of the children groups, a period of familiarisation was needed, where pre-tests were carried out in order to make sure children understood the data collection tasks. As for adults, a sample pre-test was also carried out as a whole class activity before the actual tasks were conducted.

5.1.3 Experimental Method

Since the design of the study aimed at a remarkable number of informants and age groups, collection of cross-sectional data through experimental tasks was thought to be the most suitable method to explore L2 acquisition of subjects. Experimental tasks were preferred over the use of spontaneous data as they enabled us to focus on the data that the study was aimed at and to examine a broad range of level and age groups. The same experimental method was used for both children and adults, namely grammaticality judgements, which are intended to explore the speaker's knowledge of language underlying its use.

Traditional grammaticality judgements have always been a controversial topic of debate in SLA in that there are doubts about whether they are reliable measures of the

L2 learner's syntactic competence and whether they are comparable to grammaticality judgements about one's L1 (Ellis, 1991; Davies and Kaplan, 1998; Johnson et al., 1996; Gass, 1994; Leow, 1996; Liceras, 1993; Mandell, 1999, among others). Perception tasks can often provide a better insight into the learner's language knowledge than production tasks or spontaneous production, where extra linguistic factors may influence the speaker's performance and where only those structures which the speaker can generate are observed. In spite of being controversial in their formulation and interpretation, grammaticality judgement tasks are indeed used in SLA research and many studies keep refining the original and traditional formulation of these tasks and apply objective methods of analysis in order to make them more reliable (Cowart, 1997). Taking the traditional grammaticality judgement task as a point of departure and bearing in mind its weaknesses, the present study has designed different perception tests according to the age of the informants and the language to be tested in order to study L2 subject development.

As for the study of L2 English, two different tasks were designed, namely an elicited oral judgement and correction task for 5 year-old children, supporting the belief that children are able to give grammaticality judgements and thus following Mc Daniel and Cairns (1996), and a written grammaticality judgement and correction task for 10 and 17 year-old children and adults. The task included ungrammatical and grammatical sentences and the element of correction was included in the tasks as it allowed the informants to justify their choice in the judgement of the sentences and the researcher to know more about the learner's knowledge of language. It also served the purpose of making sure that informants were paying attention to the task and not responding randomly. Sentences in these tasks were initially presented without a context, although

informants were given the possibility to provide the context/s which justified their answers.

Regarding the study of L2 Spanish, a different kind of judgement task was designed, since not all properties of subject development could be reduced to the grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast in Spanish, as it could in English. Postverbal subjects and null pronominal subjects are grammatically, but not pragmatically optional in certain contexts, and this had to be reflected in the task. Thus an elicited oral paired grammaticality judgement and preference experiment and a written paired grammaticality judgement and preference task were designed for 5 year-olds, again supporting the idea that judgement tasks can be used with children, and 10-17 year-old children and adults, respectively. Pairs of sentences which either gave two grammatical options or presented the grammatical and ungrammatical options were thought to more accurately measure subject development in L2 Spanish. Therefore, not only acceptance of sentences but also preference could be tested in these experimental tasks. Informants were asked to judge the grammaticality of each sentence within each pair, choose a sentence and state the reason of their preference. This allowed the informants to justify their choices in the judgement of the sentences and the researcher to make sure that informants were paying attention to the task and not responding randomly. In this case, sentences including preverbal/postverbal subjects and null/overt pronominal subjects were presented with a context, which clarified the discourse properties of the subject in the sentences to be judged.

As was explained in Chapter 2, the critical linguistic items to be tested in the sentences of the tasks include the following:

- null and overt pronominal subjects in main and embedded clauses.
- null and overt expletive subjects.

- postverbal/preverbal subjects with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs in main and embedded clauses and in wh- contexts.
- instances of *that*-trace effects.
- instances of verbal inflection to check its relationship with L2 subject development.

As we will see in the next sections, in both L2 English and L2 Spanish experiments, the number of sentences was determined by the linguistic properties that were to be examined and by the age of the informants. For obvious reasons, 5 year-old children were presented with oral versions of the judgement task which included fewer sentences than the older children's and adults' tasks. The experimental tasks that were carried out with 5 year-old children included a minimum of two ungrammatical sentences (L2 English) or two pairs of grammatical/ungrammatical sentences (L2 Spanish) for every linguistic property and the tasks carried out with older children and adults included a minimum of three ungrammatical sentences (L2 English) or pairs of grammatical/ungrammatical sentences (L2 Spanish) for every linguistic property. L2 English tasks also included a grammatical counterpart sentence for each linguistic property to be analysed. Thus L2 English tasks included twenty-eight sentences for 5 year-old children and thirty-six sentences for older children and adults. L2 Spanish tasks included nineteen pairs of sentences for 5 year-old children and twenty-five pairs of sentences for older children and adults.

This chapter is organised as follows: section 5.2 deals with the experimental tasks carried out by Spanish children acquiring English as their L2 and their corresponding control groups. Section 5.3 deals with the experimental tasks conducted with British children acquiring Spanish as their L2 and their corresponding control groups. Finally, Sections 5.4 and 5.5 present the methodological issues involved in the experimental

tasks carried out by adults acquiring L2 English and L2 Spanish and their corresponding control groups.

5.2 Spanish children acquiring English as their L2

Data from child L2 English were collected from April to November 2004 in the *Benjamin Franklin International School* (BFIS), an American school in Barcelona. Children from all over the world as well as Spanish children attend the school from nursery class (3 years) to 12th grade (17 years). Children are taught entirely in English and only hear Spanish in their Spanish Language classes.[64] BFIS was chosen as it proved to be the school which best suited the requirements of the study, namely it provided the most intensive English immersion programme as compared to other similar schools in the area of Barcelona[65]. In order to collect data from different stages of L2 development, the study was aimed at three different groups in the school, namely Kindergarten (5 year-olds), 5th grade (10 year-olds) and 12th grade (17 year-olds). These three groups instantiate an initial state, developing grammar state and steady state of L2 English development. This section is therefore divided into three subsections, each of which dealing with the methodological issues involved in the experimental tasks in each age group.

5.2.1. Kindergarten children at BFIS

There were twenty 5 year-old children in Kindergarten class, who had started attending BFIS at the age of 3 in nursery class. About half of the class had

[64] Children at BFIS also attend Catalan classes if they wish to and 12th grade students may choose whether to get preparation for Spanish or American university entrance exams.

[65] The fact that the school was American whereas, as will be seen in the next sections, data from control groups and from adults come from British English was not taken into account since the grammatical subject properties do not differ in both varieties.

Spanish/Catalan parents, whereas the other half had American parents, mixed American-Spanish parents or parents with other nationalities. Though all family situations were worth studying, the study obviously focused on Spanish/Catalan children, whose home languages were Spanish and Catalan and who were only exposed to English as an L2 at school.

In order to familiarise with the children, I visited the class two days a week for a month and a half before the actual experimental tasks took place and I took part in all class activities with the children. I was introduced as a visiting American teacher who had to write a book about children. I therefore pretended not to understand any Spanish or Catalan so that target children would only communicate in English with me. The class had a tutor and one assistant, who were both American. Thus all communication between them and the children was expected to be in English, though the tutor could understand Spanish and Catalan. All class activities and games were held in English and other school staff such as secretaries, lunch time teachers or assistants addressed the children in English. Only 40 minutes a day of Spanish language class was given but Spanish children tended to address each other in Spanish unless there was any other international student around.

5.2.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 English of Kindergarten Spanish children, an elicited judgement/correction experiment was designed: “Johnny Lion and Susie Cow”. The aim of the experimental task was to elicit judgements and corrections of ungrammaticality from the children. Children were presented with grammatical and ungrammatical sentences uttered by puppets and were prompted to judge whether the sentences sounded strange or funny. Once the sentence was judged,

children had to decide whether to change the sentence or repeat it as it was originally said.

Twenty ungrammatical and eight grammatical sentences were designed according to the properties to be tested and taking vocabulary items from previous class activities. The twenty-eight sentences were divided into two blocks (14 each) which were presented to the child on two different sessions, depending on the children's attitude and tiredness. The specific items to be tested in the sentences included four pronominal null subjects in main (with and without previous reference) and embedded clauses, two null expletive subjects, three postverbal subjects in main and embedded clauses, two instances of *that*-trace effects, three third person singular morphemes –s, two regular past morphemes –ed, two irregular past and two inflected forms in non-inflected positions. The grammatical sentences were designed to act as counterparts of each ungrammatical type of sentence and at the same time served as fillers and enabled us to see whether children were paying attention to the task. The table below illustrates the sentences and their target linguistic items:

Table 1: Sentences and linguistic items in Kindergarten Experiment.

LINGUSTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
3rd person singular -s	(5) My best friend play football twice a week. (9) My sister like rainforests very much. (18) Ms Valerie say that we have to clean up the tables.
Regular past morpheme -ed	(10) Last week we finish our books on rainforests. (24) The two boys fix their problem yesterday.
Irregular past	(20) Last Thursday I take a book from the library. (26) The children in Kindergarten go to the patio yesterday morning.
Inflected forms in non-inflected position	(11) He didn't waited for me! (16) They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.
Null Expletives	(1) Is raining a lot today. (28) Seems that Ms Valerie is very happy today.
Null Subject Main Clause	(7) Elizabeth likes card games. Plays "Snap" every day. (*reference*) (21) Had fun in "Western Night" and he ate a lot of pizza. (*no reference*)

Null Subject Subordinate Clause	(3) My sister is always tired because works a lot! (13) We will not go to the patio if don't clean up the tables.
Postverbal Subjects Main Clause	(8) Has come my granny from America. (25) Cried the baby all night long.
Postverbal Subjects Subordinate Clause	(14) They didn't know when finished the class.
That-trace Effects	(4) Who did you say that came late? (23) Who do you think that will win the game?
Grammatical Sentences	(2) Last Monday we went for lunch very late. (*irregular past*) (6) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day. (*subject main clause*) (12) Who do you think will arrive first? (*that*-trace) (15) It is raining very hard these days. (*Expletive*) (17) We will be late if we don't take the train. (*subject subordinate clause*) (19) He didn't know when the class started. (*preverbal subject subordinate clause*)/(*inflected form in non-infl position*) (22) The children in Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly. (*regular past*)/(*preverbal subject main clause*) (27) My friend John likes toucans and monkeys very much. (3^{rd} *p. sing*)

Out of the nine Spanish/Catalan children in the class, seven children were selected to participate in the study (Alvaro, Lara, Guille, Lisa, Maria, Alexandra and Alba). Two students were left out as permission was not obtained to carry out the study with one of them and the other had severe difficulties in understanding the task and English in general as he had just started attending the school that same year.

Children were individually taken to a classroom where a puppet theatre was set up. Two experimenters were involved in the task; Experimenter 1 (EXP1), who sat by the child, explained the task and prompted the child to judge the sentences uttered by the puppets, and Experimenter 2 (EXP2), a volunteer undergraduate student, who did the puppets show behind the theatre and uttered the sentences. A digital camera was also used to videotape the sessions in order to facilitate the transcription process of the experiment.

EXP1 told the child a brief story about Johnny Lion and Susie Cow (the two puppets), which acted as a prompt for children to judge the sentences: "Johnny Lion and Susie Cow are best friends. They go to the same school but Johnny has had a bit of an ear infection for some days and has stayed at home. Susie Cow is visiting him and is telling him several things about school. The problem is that Johnny's ear is not totally recovered and cannot hear very well and on top of that, Susie Cow sometimes speaks funny. And this is why they need your help". Susie Cow needed the child to repeat what she was saying to Johnny Lion but since she sometimes spoke funny, the child was told to decide whether the sentence uttered sounded right or funny and then repeat it to Johnny Lion or change it so that Johnny Lion could understand better. It was emphasised that what Susie Cow was saying was right and that they had to pay attention to the way she said it. As Susie Cow uttered every sentence, Johnny Lion pretended not to hear or understand well the sentence. EXP1 reminded the child that he/she had to help Susie Cow repeat the sentence for Johnny Lion and Susie Cow talked directly to the child, asked for his/her help and thanked him/her after every sentence. Sentences could be repeated twice, either by the puppet or by EXP1, if the child did not understand or hear them. At the same time, if the child repeated the sentence without paying attention or analysing whether it sounded right or funny, the task was stopped or the response was not given any score and counted as a drop-out.

The presentation of the twenty-eight sentences was ordered in a way that could not create a pattern for the child. That is to say, sentences which tested the same properties were not presented together and grammatical counterpart sentences were carefully inserted among the ungrammatical ones (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet). The task was originally designed to take place in two sessions of fourteen

sentences each. However, depending on the child's attitude and tiredness, the whole task was carried out in one only session or in more than two sessions.

5.2.2 Fifth grade children at BFIS

There were two 5th grade classes at BFIS with fifteen students each. Twelve students had Spanish/Catalan parents and the rest had either American parents, mixed American-Spanish parents or parents from other nationalities. As in Kindergarten, all classes and activities were held in English and they also had a 45 minute session of Spanish every day. A session termed *Catalan Enrichment* (Catalan oral practice) and another session termed *Catalan/Spanish culture* were also part of the students' weekly schedule. The tutors of the two classes were American and communication between them and the students was expected to be in English. Spanish/Catalan students communicated in Spanish unless other international students were around.

All students in 5th grade participated in the experimental task, as requested by the teachers, so that all students did the same activity at once. Yet we only analysed those children whose parents were Spanish/Catalan and who had attended BFIS since nursery or pre-Kindergarten class, that is to say, who had been immersed into an English-speaking L2 environment from the 3 years of age.

5.2.2.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 English of 5th grade Spanish children, a grammaticality judgement and correction test was designed. Children were given 36 written sentences to judge and correct if necessary in two sessions of 20 minutes in order for them to be able to cope efficiently with the task

Twenty-two ungrammatical and fourteen grammatical sentences were designed according to the properties to be studied. Some of the sentences were taken from the experimental task previously carried out in Kindergarten class, though some vocabulary items were adapted. The thirty-six sentences were divided into two blocks (18 each) which were presented to the children in two different sessions, as mentioned above. The specific items to be tested in the sentences included three null pronominal subjects (one with previous reference and two without previous reference) in main clauses, three null pronominal subjects in embedded clauses, six null expletive subjects (one weather expletive, two expletives with raising structures, one expletive in an unaccusative structure, one existential expletive and one extra posed expletive), four postverbal subjects in main and embedded clauses, three instances of *that*-trace effects, and only three instances of inflectional morphemes, namely one third person singular morpheme –s, one regular past morpheme –ed and one inflected form in a non-inflected position. It is worth mentioning that inflection does not have such direct relationship to subject development at this intermediate stage and this is why there are only three instances of inflection in the task. As it was the case in the Kindergarten experimental task, the grammatical sentences were designed to act as counterparts of each ungrammatical type of sentence and at the same time, served as fillers to see whether children were paying attention to the task. The table below illustrates the sentences and their target linguistic items:

Table 2: Sentences and linguistic items in the 5th and 12th grade task[66].

LINGUISTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
3rd person singular	(19) Martha never forget her homework.
Regular past morpheme -ed	(17) Last week we finish our class project.
Inflected forms in non-	(13) He didn't waited for me!

[66] This table is the same for the 12th grade experimental task, as we will see in subsequent sections.

inflected position	
Null Expletives	(1) Are five American students in my class. (*existential*) (5) Seems that our students are working well. (*raising*) (8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting. (*extra posed*) (16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground. (*unaccusative*) (22) Is said that rainforests are in danger. (*raising*) (34) Is raining a lot these days. (*weather verb*)
Null Subjects in Main Clause	(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day. (*reference*) (10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30. (*no reference*) (32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun. (*no reference*)
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clause	(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot. (20) We will not go to the patio if don't finish the homework. (25) Our French teacher said had a dog.
Postverbal Subjects in Main Clause	(15) Has come my sister from the United States. (29) Cried the baby all night long.
Postverbal Subjects in Subordinate Clause	(9) They didn't know when finished the class. (26) She didn't explain why complained the students.
That-trace Effect	(2) Who did you say that came late? (28) Who did the teacher say that was ill? (33) Who do you think that will win the game?
Grammatical Sentences	(3) My cousins came over for the vacation. (*Postverbal Subj Main Clause*) (6) There are two music teachers in the school. (*Existencial Expletive*) (7) They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun. (*Null Pron. Subj. Main clause. No reference*) (12) It snowed very little last winter. (*Weather Expletive*) (14) Who do you think will arrive first? (*That*-trace *effect*) (18) She didn't like the book at all. (*Inflected verb in non-infl position*) (21) It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam. (*Extraposition it*) (23) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day. (*Null Pron. Subj. Main clause. Reference*) (24) It seems that we are going on a trip next week. (*Raising Expletive*) (27) Ian helped his little sister with her homework. (*Past morpheme –ed*) (30) Mike usually gets to school at 8 am. (*3rd person morpheme –s*) (31) There arrived two new students. (*Unaccusative Expletive*) (35) We will be late if we don't take the train. (*Null*

	Pron. Subj. Subordinate Clause) (36) He didn't know when the class started. (*Postverbal Subject Subordinate Clause*)

A pre-test, consisting of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure children understood the task clearly. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to the children, who first had to provide their first names[67], ages, languages they usually spoke at home, their parents' nationalities and since when they had been students at BFIS.

As mentioned above, the task consisted of 36 sentences (18+18 sentences) to be analysed in two sessions of 20 minutes on two different days. The sentences were presented in an order that could not create a pattern for the children, thus grammatical and ungrammatical sentences alternated and sentences which tested the same linguistic phenomenon were not presented together (See Appendix A for a model of the task)[68]. The children were told to imagine they were language teachers and to carefully and individually read the sentences and decide whether they sounded right or wrong. They were also given the possibility of not being sure about the sentence, although it was emphasised that they should leave this option as a last resort. It was specifically clarified that they did not have to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure. Once they had decided, they had to circle "Right", "Wrong" or "Not Sure" below the sentence and if they had decided "Wrong" they were told to correct what they thought had to be corrected. They were also told to imagine a context if that was easier for them and to specify such a context in the space provided for the correction of the sentence. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Children were also told to

[67] Children could either provide their real first names or invent them, as they would only be used by the experimenter in order to make the transcription process easier.
[68] The same experiment sheet was used for the 12th grade task, which will be explained below.

carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. After 20 minutes, the tests were collected.

As mentioned above, only 12 students were analysed (Diego, Santi, Andrea, Laura A., Juan Antonio, Paula, Nina V., Patricia, Sara, Nina L., Laura M. and Dani), as they met the requirements to carry out the task. Their parents were Spanish/Catalan, their home language(s) was/were therefore Spanish/Catalan and they had attended BFIS since nursery class or pre-Kindergarten class.

5.2.3 Twelfth Grade children at BFIS

In the 12th grade class at BFIS, the majority of students had American parents, mixed American-Spanish parents or parents from other nationalities. Only eight students had Spanish/Catalan parents and were therefore eligible for the study. As in the other levels, all classes were held in English, though students from 12th grade can choose whether to get preparation for Spanish or American university entrance exams. This determines whether a student attends more or less classes in Spanish. Communication between students and teachers was expected to be in English and in this case, all students tended to communicate in English to each other regardless of their nationalities. Only those students whose parents were Spanish/Catalan took part in the task, as requested by the teachers. These students also had to have attended BFIS since nursery or pre-Kindergarten class and hence had to have been immersed into an English-speaking L2 environment from early childhood.

5.2.3.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 English of 12th grade Spanish teenagers, the grammaticality judgement and correction test used with 5th grade students was also used with 12th grade students, though in different conditions. Students were also given 36 written sentences to judge and correct if necessary but they did the task in one session of 25 minutes, as this was considered to be enough time for 17 year-olds to complete the task.

The sentences in the test were the same as in the 5th grade task and hence the specific linguistic items to be tested in the sentences were the same as well[69]. A pre-test, consisting of two sample sentences, was done as a whole class activity to make sure students understood the task clearly. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to the students who, as requested by the teachers, did not provide their first names but specified their ages, languages they usually spoke at home, their parents' nationalities and since when they had been students at BFIS[70].

The sentences were presented in an order that could not create a pattern for the students, thus grammatical and ungrammatical sentences alternated and sentences which tested the same linguistic phenomenon were not presented together (see Appendix A for the model of the 5th grade and 12th grade task). The procedure of the task was again the same as in the 5th grade class, in which students were told to individually read the sentences, decide whether they sounded "Right" or "Wrong" and correct them if necessary. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Children were also told to carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to

[69] See Table 2 in section 5.2.2.1.
[70] 12th grade students were referred to as ST1, ST2, ST3 and so forth in the transcription documents.

go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. After 25 minutes, the tests were collected.

5.2.4 Monolingual English Children Control Group

English children control data were collected in January 2005 in a community primary school (*Long Meadow School*)[71] and a community secondary school (*The Lord Grey School*)[72] in Milton Keynes, United Kingdom. The Long Meadow School is located in the growing area of Shenley Brook End, Milton Keynes and depends on the Milton Keynes Council. It offers education to children from Early Years (4-5 years old) to Year 7 (11-12 years old). The Lord Grey School is located in Bletchley, Milton Keynes, and admits students from Year 8 (12-13 years old) to Year 13 (18-19 years old). In order to collect control data parallel to the three levels of L2 English studied in Barcelona, research focused on the Early Years class (Tadpoles Class - 5 year-olds) and the Year 5 class (10 year-olds) from the Long Meadow School and on the Year 12 class from the Lord Grey School.

As for the Tadpoles class and since only one week was given for research, I spent three whole days with the children taking part in all their class activities in order to familiarise with them. A leader teacher, a teaching assistant and a nursery nurse were present in the class at all times, which enabled children to work and play in small groups. I was introduced as a visiting teacher from Spain who would make children talk and play in different games and activities. Children were briefly introduced to where Spain was and to what a university was and that motivated them to get to know me and talk to me. Attention was paid to those children who had permission to take part in the

[71] www.longmeadow.milton-keynes.sch.uk
[72] www.lordgrey.org.uk

experimental tasks and whose parents were British[73]. Some practice sessions on the task were conducted with these children to make sure they understood it clearly.

After three days of observation and some practice, the experimental task "Johnny Lion and Susie Cow" which had been carried out at BFIS, was conducted again with children from the Tadpoles class at Long Meadow School. Ten children took part in the experiment and seven of them (Kiah, Becky, Jacob, Shannon, Bailey, Alexander and Claudia) were taken to make up the definite control group for the seven children in the experimental group at BFIS. The general procedure of the task remained the same though some small changes had to be made. Children were also taken individually to a class where a small puppet theatre was set up to do the task. The twenty-eight sentences were adapted to British English, as some of the words were American, and some names in the sentences were also changed such as "Valerie" (teacher in Kindergarten class at BFIS) into "Mary", who was the leader teacher in the Tadpoles class (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet). The structure of the sentences, the linguistic items to be tested and the order of presentation remained exactly the same. No video camera was used, as no permission to record the children was obtained, which obliged the experimenter to take notes as the task was carried out. Experimenter 2 (EXP2) (i.e. the experimenter who did the puppets at BFIS) was a Teaching Assistant from the Tadpoles class, who knew the children well, and had to prompt them more actively than at BFIS, since Experimenter 1 (EXP1) had to be taking notes. The prompt story about Johnny Lion and Susie Cow remained basically the same though in order to justify that Susie Cow sometimes spoke funny, the children were told that she was a Spanish speaker who was learning English. This proved to motivate children to pay attention to the sentences and correct them if they sounded funny. As for the timing of the experiment, although it

[73] Some children in the Tadpoles class had Indian and Pakistani parents who spoke English as well as Hindi or Urdu with their children and were therefore not selected for the study which focused on monolingual English children.

was initially planned that children would carry it out in two different sessions, as it had been the case at BFIS, all of them proved to be capable of listening and judging the twenty-eight sentences in only one session.

The experimental task in the Year 5 class (i.e. 10-year-olds) in Long Meadow School took place in two sessions of 20 minutes on the same day. All students participated in the experimental task, as requested by the teachers so that all students did the same activity at once. A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure children understood the task clearly. Children were then delivered the grammaticality judgement and correction test, which had also been given to 10 year-olds at BFIS, in two sessions of 18 sentences each. The structure of the test, the sentences and the linguistic items to be tested remained mainly the same although some changes in vocabulary items were made (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet). Children were told to imagine they were language teachers and that the sentences were said by Spanish learners of English and had to be corrected if necessary. As had been the case with the children at BFIS, they were also encouraged to imagine a context if that was easier for them and specify it together with the correction. After 20 minutes, the tests were collected, and although all children took part in the task, twelve tests were selected from children who had their parents' permission and whose parents were both British[74] (Chris, Ellie, Ross, Christopher, Shirley, Bethany W., Jade, Vicky, Bethany M., Charlotte, Olivia and Caroline) to make up the definite control group for the 5th grade children at BFIS.

As for the 12 Year class (i.e. 17 year-olds) from the Lord Grey School, the experimental task was not conducted in class but the school preferred students to do it separately and at different times, that is to say, in the study room, in the school library

[74] As it was the case with the Early Years class, some children in Year 5 class had parents from nationalities other than British who spoke other languages at home and were therefore excluded from the study.

or in the computer room. Students were first individually asked by the experimenter whether they wanted to participate in the task and whether English was their first language. The grammaticality judgement and correction test was the same as in the Year 5 class (see Appendix A), thus the structure, linguistic items and order of the sentences remained the same as in the experimental 12th grade group. Fourteen students took part in the task, which had to be done in one only session of 25 minutes, as in the experimental group. Eight students were finally selected to make up the definite control group for the eight 12th grade Spanish students (Craig, Joe, Mark, Keziah, Leia, Emma, Mariah and Luke).

5.2.5 Transcription and Coding of the Data

As for the experimental tasks with Kindergarten children and their control group, children's responses were transcribed for each sentence (see Appendix B for a detailed transcription). The data were coded in the statistical package SPSS (14.0) for each child and an SPSS file was created which included thirty-two variables: informants, language (native, non-native), every ungrammatical sentence (20) and every grammatical counterpart (8+2)[75]. Regarding 5th grade and 12th grade children and their control groups, children's analyses of each sentence (i.e. Right/Wrong/Not Sure and the correction) were read and carefully transcribed (see Appendix B for a detailed transcription). An SPSS file was created which included thirty-eight variables: informants, language (native, non-native), every ungrammatical sentence (22) and every grammatical counterpart of every type of ungrammaticality (14).

In order to codify the ungrammatical sentences, a 0 was given when the child corrected the ungrammatical item (Kindergarten and control group) or when the child

[75] Two grammatical sentences, (19) and (22), had two grammatical conditions each, which acted as counterpart to the relevant ungrammatical sentences. This is the reason why there are two more variables than sentences.

corrected the ungrammaticality of the sentence after having chosen "Wrong" (5th and 12th grades and control groups). Only circling "Wrong" was not enough to get the score; sentences had to be corrected in order to get a 0. A 1 was given when the child did not correct the ungrammaticality of the sentence and a 2 was given when the child hesitated or made a move towards grammaticality even though the response was not completely grammatical (Kindergarten and control group) or when the child circled "Not Sure" below the sentence (5th and 12th grades and control groups). In the Kindergarten experiment, hesitation was taken to indicate that the child perceived the oddness of the sentence though s/he was not able to produce the target grammatical construction. Other lexical changes in the sentences were not taken into account in any experiment. The following examples illustrate these scoring criteria:

(1) (13) We will not go to the patio if don't clean up the tables.
Maria (Kindergarten): We will not go to the patio if **we** don't clean up the tables. **(=0)**

(2) (14) They didn't know when finished the class.
Lara (Kindergarten): They didn't know when finished the class. **(=1)**

(3) (3) My sister is always tired because works a lot!
Alvaro (Kindergarten): My sister is very tired because **aaaaa (doubt/hesitation)** works a lot. **(=2)**

(4) (10) Last week we finish our books on rainforests.
Alvaro (Kindergarten): **This** week we **finish** our books on rainforests. **(=2)**

(5) (8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Paula (5th grade): Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting. **(=0)**

(6) (16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.
Nina L. (5th grade): Right. **(=1)**

(7) (2) Who did you say that came late?
ST2 (12th grade): Wrong.: Who did you say came late? **(=0)**

As for the coding of the grammatical sentences in the Kindergarten task and its control group, a 0 was given when the grammaticality of the sentence was kept; a 1 was

given when the grammaticality of a sentence was removed and a 2 was given when the child hesitated, though hesitations did not occur in this case. In the case of 5th and 12th grade students and their control groups, a 0 was given when the grammaticality of the sentence was kept, that is to say, when "Right" was chosen. A 1 was given when "Wrong" was chosen and therefore the grammaticality of the sentence was removed and a 2 was given when the child chose "Not Sure" and hesitated on the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of the sentence. As was the case with ungrammatical sentences, lexical changes that did not affect the grammaticality/ungrammaticality of the original sentence were not taken into account. The following examples illustrate these scoring criteria:

(8) (6) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.
Alexandra (Kindergarten): My sister *likes* apples so *he* eats one every day. **(=0)**

(9) (27) My friend John likes toucans and monkeys very much.
Alvaro (Kindergarten): My **sister like** toucans and monkeys very much. **(=1)**

(10) (14) Who do you think will arrive first?
Andrea (5th grade): Right **(=0)**.

(11) (21) It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam.
Nina L. (5th grade): Wrong: Mike it surprised that she couldn't pass the exam. **(=1)**

(12) (36) He didn't know when the class started.
ST3 (12th grade): Right **(=0)**.

For all groups and for both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, drop-outs (i.e. when no response was given or children stated that it was too difficult or that they could not remember) were not given any score. For instance:

(13) (12) Who do you think will arrive first?
Maria: **very difficult.**

Once all children's responses were coded for each variable, another SPSS file was created, where correction of ungrammaticality (0), grammaticality kept (0) and

hesitations (2) were coded in percentage format for all experimental and control groups of Spanish children acquiring L2 English in order to compare all the groups. Variables did not represent sentences in this file, but type of ungrammaticality and grammaticality present in the experimental task. Several statistical tests from SPSS were finally applied to the data, which will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3 British Children acquiring Spanish as their L2

Data from child L2 Spanish were collected in March 2005 in *Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch*, a Spanish school in London, which depends on the *Ministerio Español de Educación y Ciencia*. Children whose parents are Spanish, British-Spanish, British and from other nationalities, especially Moroccan, attend the school from *Educación Infantil* (4-5 years old) to *2º Bachillerato* (17-18 years old). The school follows the Spanish curriculum and children are taught entirely in Spanish, though they attend English Language classes and some of the subjects are taught alternatively in English as from 1º Primaria (5-6 years old). Communication between children and teachers and other school staff is expected to be in Spanish although some English words and expressions are often used. The majority of the children were born in Spain or in the UK but their parents were from Spain, especially from Galicia. A great percentage of children were born of mixed Spanish-British couples and another remarkable percentage of children formed the 3rd generation of Spanish immigrants whose children and grandchildren stayed in the UK and married British people. Some other children had parents from other nationalities and a small percentage of children had British parents. The study obviously focused on the cases of children whose parents were British and thus had Spanish as their L2 in an immersion school programme. However, there were only a few such cases and the study had to analyse children from

mixed British-Spanish families, whose home language was entirely English. That is to say, the main requirement for children to take part in the study was that they were only exposed to Spanish at school and that their background and home language was English. This school was chosen as it proved to be the school in the UK which best suited the requirements of the study, namely it provided the most intensive Spanish immersion programme as compared to other bilingual schools in the UK.

In order to collect data from different stages of L2 development and to keep parallelism with the previous study on L2 English, the study was aimed at three different groups in the school, namely *Infantil B* (5 year-olds), *5º Primaria* (10 year-olds) and *2º Bachillerato* (17 year-olds), which represented an initial state, developing grammar state and steady state of L2 Spanish development in those children whose first language was English. This section is therefore divided into three subsections, each of which dealing with the methodological issues involved in the experimental tasks in each age group.

5.3.1 Infantil B class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch

There were twenty 5 year-olds in the *Infantil B* class, who started attending the Spanish school a year before. The majority of the children were Spanish and only six were born of British parents or mixed Spanish-British parents whose home language was English and were thus eligible for the study. Since the number of informants in the L2 English experiment at BFIS was seven, some more children were needed to make sure there could be an L2 Spanish experimental group of seven children in order to have comparable data. It was decided that some children from *1º Primaria* (6 year-olds), who met the criteria for the study could take part in it.

As there was only one week to conduct research and before the actual experimental task took place, I spent two days in *Infantil B* class and one day in *1º Primaria*, taking part in all class activities in order to familiarise with the children. Both courses had a tutor and a teaching assistant who were Spanish and hence communication in class was basically in Spanish, though all teaching staff could speak English reasonably well. I was introduced to the children as a visiting Spanish teacher who would be involved in all class activities and who would organise some games for them.

5.3.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

An elicited paired grammaticality judgement and preference experiment was designed in order to elicit judgements of grammaticality and of preference between pairs of sentences. Children were presented with pairs of sentences, which represented grammaticality and ungrammaticality in Spanish (inflection, expletives, *that*-trace effects, postverbal subjects in Wh-questions and pronominal subjects which co-refer with a subject in a previous clause) and different grammatical options in Spanish (postverbal subjects with unaccusative, unergative and transitive verbs and pronominal subjects in main clauses). These pairs of sentences were uttered by puppets, who prompted children to judge whether each sentence in each pair sounded right or wrong and to decide which sentence they preferred or they would most often say.

Although it would have been desirable to have had the same format of test that was used for the Kindergarten children with L2 English at BFIS (i.e. elicited judgement/correction experiment), it would have also been inadequate, given the optionality of postverbal subjects and of null pronominal subjects in certain contexts in the Spanish language. That is to say, not all properties of subject development could be

reduced to the grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast in Spanish, as it could in English. Thus pairs of sentences which either gave two grammatical options or presented the grammatical and ungrammatical options were thought to more accurately measure subject development in L2 Spanish. Therefore, not only acceptance of sentences but also preference could be tested in this experimental task[76].

Twenty pairs of sentences were designed according to the properties to be tested and taking vocabulary items which were accessible to children. The specific linguistic items to be tested in the pairs of sentences included two pronominal subjects in main clauses, three pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses, three expletive subjects, two postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, a postverbal subject with a transitive verb, two postverbal subjects with unergative verbs (one in a neutral environment triggering SV and the other in a presentational focus environment triggering VS), two postverbal subjects in Wh-questions, two instances of *that*-trace effects and three instances of grammatical/ungrammatical verbal inflection. As in the L2 English experimental tasks, the grammatical sentences also served as fillers against which the experimental sentences were judged and which allowed the experimenter to see whether the children were paying attention to the task. The sentences containing pronominal null/overt subjects in main clauses and postverbal subjects with unaccusative and unergative verbs were preceded by a question which set up the appropriate context of interpretation to be taken into account in the preference analysis. The table below illustrates the sentences in the task and the target linguistic items:

Table 3: Sentences and linguistic items in the experimental task in *Infantil B*.

LINGUISTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
Inflection	(8) a. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada. b. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada. (10) a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.

[76] The same explanation applies to the older children and adult L2 Spanish groups.

	b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro. (15) a. Mis padres salen ayer a cenar. b. Mis padres salieron ayer a cenar.
Pronominal Subjects Main Clause	(5) ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana? a. Creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes. b. Yo creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes. (13) ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde? a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir al parque. b. Finalmente decidimos ir al parque.
Pronominal Subjects Subordinate Clause	(2) a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres) b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (11) a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mi hermanita) b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir. (17) a. Si ella se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta (ella=Marta) b. Si se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta.
Expletive Subjects	(4) a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día. b. La semana pasada llovió cada día. (9) a. Hay cinco niños en la clase. b. Ello hay cinco niños en la clase. (12) a. Es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme. b. Ello es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme.
Postverbal Subjects Unaccusative Verb	(1) ¿Quién ha llegado al colegio? a. Ha llegado la nueva profe al colegio. b. La nueva profe ha llegado al colegio. (6) ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente? a. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos. b. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
Postverbal Subjects Unergative Verb	(16) ¿Quién llamó desde España? a. Llamó mi abuelo desde España. b. Mi abuelo llamó desde España. (20) ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el cole? a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el cole. b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el cole.
Postverbal Subjects Transitive Verb	(19) a. María come muchos caramelos. b. Come muchos caramelos María.
Postverbal Subjects Wh-questions	(14) a. Mi madre no sabe quién es la profesora. b. Mi madre no sabe quién la profesora es. (18) a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos? b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?
That-trace Effects	(3) a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido? b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido? (7) a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer? b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

During the three days of observation and familiarisation, several practice and pre-test sessions using sentences which were similar to the target ones were conducted to make sure children understood the task and could participate in the experimental session. In order to have a comparable group to the L2 English group in Barcelona and based on the pre-tests which were carried out during the days of observation, seven children were selected to participate in the study (Olivia, Isabella, George, Charles, Estefania, Enrico and Danny). As stated above, two children were taken from the *1º Primaria* class, namely Olivia and Charles. Out of the seven children, four had British parents (Olivia, George, Charles and Danny) and the other three had mixed British-Spanish parents but were uniquely exposed to English at home.

Children were individually taken to a classroom where a puppet theatre was set up. Two experimenters were involved in the task, Experimenter 1 (EXP1), who sat by the child, explained the task, prompted the child to react to the sentences uttered by the puppets and took notes of the child's responses (i.e. acceptance, rejection and preference choice), and Experimenter 2 (EXP2), the *Infantil B* class's teaching assistant, who did the puppets show, uttered the sentences and also prompted the child to react to the stimuli[77].

In this experiment, several finger puppets, which were animals, were involved. Children had to pick up one finger puppet which they would use as they reacted to the sentences. EXP2 had two finger puppets, which uttered the pairs of sentences and EXP1 had another puppet, which explained the task and encouraged the child to take part in it. EXP1's puppet told the children that the two puppets at the puppet theatre were learning Spanish because they wanted to go on holidays to Spain in the summer. Before going to Spain, they were doing a Spanish course and children had to help EXP1's puppet be

[77] No permission to videotape the children was obtained in this school.

their teachers and decide whether what the puppets were saying sounded right or funny. It was emphasised that what the puppets said was true and that the children had to pay more attention to the way they said it. Each EXP2's puppet uttered a sentence in each pair. After every sentence was uttered, EXP1's puppet asked the child whether the sentence sounded right or funny and after the two sentences were uttered, children were asked which sentence in each pair they preferred, or which puppet had spoken better. Once the child had responded, EXP1's puppet thanked and praised him/her for every pair of sentences. The presentation of the pairs of sentences was ordered in a way that could not create a pattern for the child. That is to say, sentences which tested the same properties were not presented together but carefully separated one from the other (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet used to present the sentences and take notes of the children's responses). Sentences could be repeated twice, either by the puppet or by EXP1, if the child did not understand or hear them well. At the same time, if the child was not paying attention or was responding randomly without reflecting upon the sentences, the task was stopped or the response was counted as a drop-out and not given any score. The task could either take place in one or several sessions depending on the child's attitude, tiredness and willingness. In this case, the majority of the children could carry out the task in one session of approximately 15 minutes.

5.3.2 5º Primaria class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch

There was a *5º Primaria* class at *Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch* with 35 ten year-old students. The majority of them had Spanish parents, especially from Galicia or mixed Spanish/British parents whose language of communication was Spanish. Some of the students had mixed Spanish/British parents whose only language of communication was English or belonged to the third generation of Spanish people

who immigrated to the UK and therefore had British parents. A small proportion of the children had British parents or parents from other nationalities, especially Moroccan and Swedish. As it was mentioned above, all class activities were held in Spanish although some subjects were alternatively held in English. The tutor was Spanish and communication between the students and all teaching and school staff was expected to be in Spanish. All students generally communicated to each other in Spanish although sometimes English was used, especially if British students were around. All students in *5º Primaria* participated in the experimental task, as requested by the teacher, but the study only analysed those children whose parents were British or mixed British/Spanish but their home language was only English and who had attended *Colegio Español* since the *Infantil* class, that is to say, who had been immersed into a Spanish-speaking environment from the 4 years of age and only at school.

5.3.2.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 Spanish of 10 year-old British children, a paired grammaticality judgement and preference test was designed, where children were presented with written pairs of sentences and had to produce judgements of grammaticality and of preference. As in the case of 5 year-olds, these pairs of sentences represented grammaticality and ungrammaticality in Spanish (inflection, expletives, *that*-trace effects, postverbal subjects in Wh-questions and pronominal subjects which co-refer with a subject in a previous clause) and different grammatical options in Spanish (postverbal subjects with unaccusative, unergative and transitive verbs and pronominal subjects in main clauses). The present test obviously included more pairs of sentences than the 5 year-olds' one and was designed to take place in one

25-30 minute session, although children who could not cope with the task were given an extra 10 minute session the following day.

Twenty-five pairs of sentences were designed according to the properties to be studied and taking vocabulary items which were accessible to children. Some sentences were taken from the experimental task previously carried out in *Infantil B* class, though more pairs of sentences were added to the test. The specific linguistic items to be tested in the pairs of sentences included three pronominal subjects in main clauses, a pronominal subject in separate clauses, two pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses, four expletive subjects, two postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, two postverbal subjects with a transitive verb, two postverbal subjects with an unergative verb (one in a neutral environment triggering SV and the other in a presentational focus environment triggering VS), three postverbal subjects in Wh-questions, three instances of *that*-trace effects and three instances of grammatical/ungrammatical verbal inflection. As in the L2 English experimental tasks, the grammatical sentences also served as fillers against which the experimental sentences were judged and which allowed the experimenter to see whether the children were paying attention to the task. The sentences containing pronominal null/overt subjects in main clauses and postverbal subjects with unaccusative and unergative verbs were preceded by a question which set up the appropriate context of interpretation to be taken into account in the preference analysis. The table below illustrates the sentences in the task and the target linguistic items:

Table 4: Sentences and linguistic items in the experimental task in *5º Primaria*[78].

LINGUISTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
Inflection	7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada. b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada. 16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro. b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro. 24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.

[78] Table 4 will be the same for the experiment in *2º Bachillerato*, as will be seen below.

	b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.
Pronominal Subjects Main Clause	5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés. b. En Bélgica hablan Francés. 9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana? a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado. b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado. 17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde? a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid. b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
Pronominal Subjects Subordinate Clause	12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres) b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. 22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mi hermanita) b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir. 25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta) b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.
Expletive Subjects	2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa. b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa. 10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día. b. La semana pasada llovió cada día. 14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen. b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen. 19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy. b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.
Postverbal Subjects Unaccusative Verb	4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente? a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos. b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos. 23. ¿Quién ha llegado? a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés. b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.
Postverbal Subjects Unergative Verb	1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia? a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia. b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia. 11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio? a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio. b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.
Postverbal Subjects Transitive Verb	6. a. María come muchas ensaladas. b. Come muchas ensaladas María. 18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados. b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.
Postverbal Subjects Wh-questions	8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos? b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren? 13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia. b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es. 20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia? b. ¿Con quién estudia María?
That-trace Effects	3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido? b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

	15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español? b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español? 21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer? b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure children understood the task clearly. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to the children, who first had to provide their first names[79] and ages and specify the course they were doing, when they started attending the *Colegio Español*, their parents' nationalities and the language(s) they normally spoke at home.

The presentation of the pairs of sentences was ordered in a way that could not create a pattern for the students. That is to say, sentences which tested the same properties were not presented together but carefully separated one from the other (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet)[80]. Children were told to imagine that they were language teachers and that the sentences had been written by learners of Spanish. Thus children had to carefully and individually read the pairs of sentences and specify whether each of the sentences sounded right or wrong. They were told not to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure and once they had analysed each sentence within a pair, students had to choose which sentence they preferred or they would most often say and specify why. It was also emphasised that the task was not evaluating their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Children were also told to carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. After 25-30

[79] Children could either provide their real first names or invent them, as they would only be used by the experimenter in order to make the transcription process easier.
[80] The same experiment sheet was used for the *Bachillerato* task, which will be explained below.

minutes, the tests were collected. Only two students, who were not eligible for the study, needed an extra 10 minute session the following day to complete the task.

Thirteen students of the *5º Primaria* class were selected to make up the definite experimental group (Jackie, Alexa, James, Olivia, Stefano, Adam, Oscar, Jack, Chelsea, Ethan, Jessica, Adrian and Patrick) as they met the requirements to carry out the task. Their parents were either British or mixed Spanish/British but their home language had always been English and they had attended *Colegio Español* since *Infantil* class.

5.3.3 2º Bachillerato class at Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch

There were two classes of *2º Bachillerato*, where the majority of students had Spanish parents or mixed Spanish/British parents whose language of communication was Spanish. Some students had only been students in the *Colegio Español* for two years, as their parents had sent them to London on their own to study *Bachillerato* in this school. Only eight students had either British parents or mixed British/Spanish parents who only spoke English at home and were therefore eligible for the study. As in the other levels, all classes were held in Spanish, except for the English language class and students normally get preparation for the Spanish university entrance exams, though they can also apply for British universities. Communication between students and teachers was expected to be in Spanish, although students used both Spanish and English to communicate with each other. Only those students whose parents were British or mixed British/Spanish but spoke only English at home and who had attended the school since *Infantil* class or *1º Primaria* class (Drolma, Miguel, Jeannie, Elias, Carol, Talia, Imanol and Owen) took part in the study, as requested by the teachers.

5.3.3.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 Spanish of 17 year-old British students, the paired grammaticality judgement and preference test used with *5º Primaria* was also used with *Bachillerato* students. Students were also presented with 25 written pairs of sentences and had to produce judgements of grammaticality and of preference in a 15-20 minute session.

The sentences in the test were the same as in the *5º Primaria* task and hence the specific linguistic items to be tested in the sentences were the same as well[81]. As was the case in the *5º Primaria* class, a pre-test, consisting of two sample sentences, was done as a group activity to make sure students understood the task clearly. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to students, who specified their names, ages, language(s) they spoke at home, their parents' nationalities and since when they had been students at *Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch.*

The presentation of the pairs of sentences in the task was ordered in a way that could not create a pattern for the students. That is to say, sentences which tested the same properties were not presented together but carefully separated one from the other (see Appendix A for a model of the experiment sheet for *Bachillerato* as well as *5º Primaria* classes). The procedure of the task was again the same as in the previous group tested, in which students were told to imagine that they were language teachers and that the sentences had been written by learners of Spanish. Thus students had to carefully and individually read the pairs of sentences and specify whether each of the sentences sounded right or wrong. It was specifically clarified that they did not have to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure. Once they had analysed each sentence within a pair, students had to choose which sentence they preferred or they

[81] See Table 4 in section 5.3.2.1.

would most often say and specify why. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Students had to carry out the task in the specified order, intuitively react to every sentence and not go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. After 15-20 minutes, the tests were collected.

5.3.4 Monolingual Spanish Children Control Group

Spanish children control data were collected in April 2005 in *Col·legi Santíssima Trinitat* in Badalona (Barcelona) and *Col·legi Mare de Déu del Carme* in Terrassa (Barcelona). *Col·legi Santíssima Trinitat* offers education to children from *P-3* (3-4 years old) to *4º ESO* (15-16 years old) and it is located in a Spanish speaking neighbourhood. Although the official teaching language is Catalan, children in this school are Spanish speakers at home and mainly speak Spanish to one another within school. The language of communication between teachers and students is expected to be Catalan but children often address teachers in Spanish. *Col·legi Mare de Déu del Carme* offers the complete cycle of Primary and Secondary education, from *P-3* (3-4 years old) to *2º Bachillerato* (17-18 years old) and it is located in a mixed Spanish/Catalan speaking neighbourhood. Both Spanish and Catalan speaking children tend to speak Catalan within the school environment during primary school. However, the tendency to speak Spanish at school increases considerably during secondary school years.

In order to collect control data parallel to the three levels of L2 Spanish studied in *Colegio Español Vicente Cañada Blanch* in London, mainly Spanish speaking

informants were needed[82]. This is why research focused on the *P-5* class (5-6 year-olds) and the *5º Primaria* class (10-11 years-old) from the *Col·legi Santíssima Trinitat* (and not from the *Col·legi Mare de Déu del Carme*) and the *2º Bachillerato* class from the *Col·legi Mare de Déu del Carme.*

Regarding the control P-5 class, I spent two whole days with the children taking part in all their class activities in order to familiarise with them. Only a teacher was present in the class and I was introduced as a visiting teacher from the university who would make some children talk and play in different games and activities. Research was focused on those children who had permission to take part in the experimental tasks and who mainly spoke Spanish. Some practice sessions on the task were conducted with these children to make sure they understood it clearly.

After the observation sessions, the same elicited grammaticality judgement and preference experiment that was carried out at *Colegio Español* in London, was conducted again with children from the control *P-5* class. Ten children took part in the experiment and seven of them (Dani, Sergio, Eric, Manuel, Christian, Javi and Edu) were taken to make up the definite control group for the seven children in the experimental group. The general procedure and structure of the task, the prompt story, the number of sentences, the linguistic items to be tested and the order of presentation remained broadly the same. Children were also individually taken to a class where a puppet theatre was set up to do the task. A volunteer postgraduate student from the university was EXP2 and hence did the puppets show, uttered the sentences and prompted the children to react to the stimuli, whereas EXP1 explained the task, also prompted the children to react to the sentences and took notes of the children's responses (i.e. acceptance, rejection and preference choice). After every sentence was

[82] Children who attend schools in Catalunya obviously speak both Catalan and Spanish. However, the study focused on those children who spoke Spanish at home and with their friends and only spoke Catalan in some contexts within the school environment so as to get more accurate control data.

uttered, EXP1's puppet asked the child whether the sentence sounded right or funny and after the two sentences were uttered, children were asked which sentence in each pair they preferred, or which puppet had spoken better. Sentences could be repeated twice, either by the puppet or by EXP1, if the child did not understand or hear them well. At the same time, if the child was not paying attention or was responding randomly without reflecting upon the sentences, the task was stopped or the response was counted as a drop-out and not given any score. The task could either take place in one or several sessions depending on the child's attitude, tiredness and willingness. In this case, all children could carry out the task in one session of approximately 10-15 minutes.

The experimental task in the control *5º Primaria* class took place in only one session of 20-25 minutes. All students participated in the experimental task, as required by the teacher, so that all students did the same activity at once. A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure children understood the task clearly. Children were then delivered the paired grammaticality judgement and preference test that was administered to the experimental group, where children were presented with written pairs of sentences and had to produce judgements of grammaticality and of preference.

The general procedure and structure of the task, the number of sentences, the linguistic items to be tested and the order of presentation remained the same as in the experimental group. Children were also told to imagine that they were language teachers and that the sentences had been written by learners of Spanish. Thus children had to carefully and individually read the pairs of sentences and specify whether each of the sentences sounded right or wrong. It was specifically clarified that they did not have to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure. Once they had analysed each sentence within a pair, students had to choose which sentence they preferred or

they would most often say and specify why. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Children were also told to carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. Although all students in the class participated in the task and in order to have the same number of subjects as in the experimental group, thirteen tests were selected from children who had their parents' permission and who were Spanish speakers at home (Daniel, Lorena, Eva, Adrián, Alba, Eduard, Celeste, Rubén, Manolo, Ricard, Dani, Javier and Tomás) to make up the definite control group for the 10 year-old children at *Colegio Español.*

The experimental task in the *Bachillerato* control group took place in only one session of 10-15 minutes. Only those students who were mainly Spanish speakers and hence eligible for the study, took part in the study, as requested by the teacher and were taken to another class to do the task. A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done as a group activity to make sure students understood the task clearly. Students were then delivered the paired grammaticality judgement and preference test that was administered to the experimental group, where they were presented with written pairs of sentences and had to produce judgements of grammaticality and of preference. The general procedure and structure of the task, the number of sentences, the linguistic items to be tested and the order of presentation remained the same as in the experimental group. Sixteen students took part in the task, out of whom eight (Alicia, Manel, Cristina, Lorena, Carlos, Karol, Alberto and Toni) were finally selected to make up the definite control group for the eight students in the experimental group.

5.3.5 Transcription and Coding of the Data

As for the experimental tasks with *Infantil* children and their control group, children's responses were noted down for each pair of sentences, that is, the acceptance or rejection of each sentence within a pair and the preference for a given sentence (see Appendix B for a detailed transcription). The data were coded in the statistical package SPSS (14.0) for each child and two SPSS files were created, namely one for acceptance/rejection and the other for preference. The acceptance file included forty variables: informants, language (native, non-native) and every sentence (38). The preference file included twenty-one variables: informants, language (native, non-native) and every pair of sentences (19). As for the experimental tasks with 5º Primaria and 2º Bachillerato and their control groups, children's analyses of each sentence (i.e. ✓ or ✕ and the explanation of the choice of the preferred sentence) were transcribed (see Appendix B)[83] and coded in two SPSS files, one for acceptance/rejection and the other for preference. The acceptance file included fifty-two variables: informants, language (native, non-native) and every sentence (50) and the preference file included twenty-seven variables: informants, language (native, non-native) and every pair of sentences (25).

Regarding the coding in the acceptance files, a 0 was given when the child either rejected a grammatical sentence or accepted an ungrammatical sentence (i.e. when the child judged the sentence incorrectly). A 1 was given when the child either accepted a grammatical sentence or rejected an ungrammatical sentence (i.e. when the child judged the sentence correctly). No 2s were given, as the children judged every sentence and no hesitations occurred. As for the preference files and since the children could prefer one of the two sentences or both, three scores were used, 0, 1 and 2. A 0 was given if the

[83] Children's responses were literally transcribed and hence spelling and grammatical mistakes that the children might have produced appear as such in the transcription document.

child preferred the "English option" of the pair and a 1 was given if the child preferred the "no English option" of the pair. For example, in the pair of sentences:

(14) ¿Quién llamó desde España?
a. Llamó mi abuelo desde España.
b. Mi abuelo llamó desde España.

"b" illustrates the English option of the property tested, namely the fact that the subject is in preverbal position, whereas "a" illustrates the "no English option" in that the subject is in postverbal position. It is worth mentioning that the term "English option" is not restricted only to English possible structures, as "b" is perfectly possible in Spanish. Since in the case of postverbal and preverbal subjects and overt pronominal subjects and null pronominal subjects in main clauses, both options are grammatically, but not pragmatically, possible in Spanish, the coding scores could not be termed "English option" and "Spanish option", as they would have been if the properties to be tested only included expletive subjects, *that*-trace effects and pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses. Finally, a 2 was given when the child preferred both sentences in a pair and thus did not find any significant differences between them. For both acceptance and preference files, drop-outs (i.e. when no response was given) were not given any score.

A remark should be made here with respect to the pairs of sentences which tested inflection. These pairs did not differentiate between English and Spanish possibilities, but provided the correct and incorrect version of tense or person in an inflected verb in Spanish. Therefore, in the preference SPSS file, a 0 was given if the child preferred the sentence with the correct inflected verb, a 1 was given if the child preferred the sentence with the incorrect inflected verb and a 2 was given if the child preferred both sentences, that is to say, if the child was not aware of the inflection distinction at hand.

Once all children's responses were coded for each variable, two new SPSS files were created, where acceptance of grammatical sentences/rejection of ungrammatical sentences (1) on the one hand, and preference for the "English option" (0) and preference for both sentences (2) on the other, were coded in percentage format for all experimental and control groups of British children acquiring L2 Spanish in order to compare all the groups. Variables from the former acceptance SPPS files were grouped into nine variables, each representing each type of linguistic phenomenon which was tested (inflection, pronominal subjects in main clauses, pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses, expletives, postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, postverbal subjects with transitive verbs, postverbal subjects with Unergative verbs, postverbal subjects with Wh-questions and *that*-trace effects) and not every sentence. Variables from the former preference SPSS files were also grouped into eighteen variables, each representing the preference for the "English option" (9) and the preference for both sentences (9) for each type of linguistic phenomenon which was tested. Several statistical tests from SPSS were finally applied to the data, which will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4 Spanish Adults acquiring English as their L2 and English Control Group

5.4.1 Experimental Group: British Council Barcelona

Data from adult L2 English were collected during November 2004 at the British Council in Barcelona, where general English courses are offered from Beginners to Proficiency level as well as children's courses, specialised business English courses, communication skills courses and culture and translation, among others. The present study was interested in Spanish/Catalan adults who were learning general English as an

L2 in an institutional classroom setting, where students attended class four and a half hours per week in two sessions. The environment in which these adults learn their L2 radically differs from the immersion setting where children had been previously studied, which is why adult L2 groups test different hypotheses (see Chapter 7).

As it was the case with children acquiring their L2 and in order to collect data from different stages of L2 adult development, the study was aimed at three levels within the school, namely Pre-Intermediate (PI) Level (2nd year), First Certificate (FC) Level (5th year) and Proficiency (P) Level (8th year)[84], which represented an initial state, developing grammar state and advanced state of L2 English adult development.

5.4.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 English of Spanish adults, the grammaticality judgement and correction test that was designed for 5th and 12th grade students at BFIS and their control groups was conducted at the three levels under study[85]. Adult students were given 36 written sentences to judge and correct if necessary in a 20-30 minute session depending on the level to be tested. The same test was carried out for the three levels, though the timing of the experiment varied and vocabulary help was provided to PI students so that they could cope with the task without lexical interference.

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[84] The names of the levels belong to the school's studies plan and might mislead the reader. Pre-intermediate level corresponds to the second year and it was chosen to represent the initial state, as the students from the Beginners' class (1st year) had only been exposed to the language for a month. First Certificate (FC) Level corresponds to the 5th year, and being at the beginning of the academic year, FC class was chosen to represent a good and consolidated intermediate level of L2 English. Finally, Proficiency Level corresponds to the 8th year in the school and the students, who have normally studied English for more than 8 years, are in an advanced state of development. The last level group does not represent a steady state, as there is not enough evidence that students cannot improve their L2 knowledge and proficiency.

[85] Some minor lexical changes were made in order to adapt the sentences to British English (see Appendix C for a model of the experiment sheet).

As in the experimental tasks with the children, the test consisted of twenty-two ungrammatical and fourteen grammatical sentences designed according to the properties to be studied. The specific items to be tested in the sentences included three null pronominal subjects (one with previous reference and two without previous reference) in main clauses, three null pronominal subjects in embedded clauses, six null expletive subjects (one weather expletive, two expletives with raising structures, one expletive in an unaccusative structure, one existential expletive and one extra posed expletive), four postverbal subjects in main and embedded clauses, three instances of *that*-trace effects, and only three instances of inflectional morphemes, namely one third person singular morpheme –s, one regular past morpheme –ed and one inflected form in a non-inflected position. It is worth mentioning that inflection is assumed not to have such direct relationship to subject development in adults and this is why there are only three instances of inflection in the task. The grammatical sentences were designed to act as counterparts of each ungrammatical type of sentence and at the same time, served as fillers to see whether informants were paying attention to the task. The table below illustrates the sentences and their target linguistic items:

Table 5: Sentences and linguistic items in the adult L2 English task.

LINGUISTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
3rd person singular	(19) Martha never forget her homework.
Regular past morpheme -ed	(17) Last week we finish our class project.
Inflected forms in non-inflected position	(13) He didn't waited for me!
Null Expletives	(1) Are five American students in my class. (*existential*) (5) Seems that our students are working well. (*raising*) (8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting. (*extra posed*) (16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground. (*unaccusative*) (22) Is said that rainforests are in danger. (*raising*) (34) Is raining a lot these days. (*weather verb*)
Null Subjects in Main	(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

Clause	(*reference*) (10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30. (*no reference*) (32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun. (*no reference*)
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clause	(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot. (20) We will not go home if don't finish the homework. (25) Our French teacher said had a dog.
Postverbal Subjects in Main Clause	(15) Has come my sister from the United States. (29) Cried the baby all night long.
Postverbal Subjects in Subordinate Clause	(9) They didn't know when finished the class. (26) She didn't explain why complained the students.
That-trace Effect	(2) Who did you say that came late? (28) Who did the teacher say that was ill? (33) Who do you think that will win the game?
Grammatical Sentences	(3) My cousins came over for the vacation. (*Postverbal Subj Main Clause*) (6) There are two music teachers in the school. (*Existencial Expletive*) (7) They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun. (*Null Pron. Subj. Main clause. No reference*) (12) It snowed very little last winter. (*Weather Expletive*) (14) Who do you think will arrive first? (*That*-trace *effect*) (18) She didn't like the book at all. (*Inflected verb in non-infl position*) (21) It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam. (*Extraposition it*) (23) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day. (*Null Pron. Subj. Main clause. Reference*) (24) It seems that we are going on a trip next week. (*Raising Expletive*) (27) Ian helped his little sister with her homework. (*Past morpheme –ed*) (30) Mike usually gets to school at 8 am. (*3rd person morpheme –s*) (31) There arrived two new students. (*Unaccusative Expletive*) (35) We will be late if we don't take the train. (*Null Pron. Subj. Subordinate Clause*) (36) He didn't know when the class started. (*Postverbal Subject Subordinate Clause*)

The experimenter contacted the teachers of the different groups of the levels involved who had volunteered to contribute to the data collection and arranged class times when the task could be carried out. Three groups per level participated in the task

and this resulted in 33 Pre-Intermediate informants, 27 First Certificate informants and 31 Proficiency informants. The experimenter generally introduced informants to the topic of language acquisition and explained that she wanted to study how adults learnt English as an L2 in the environment of a classroom setting. A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure informants understood the task clearly and help with some vocabulary items was provided to Pre-intermediate students. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to the informants, who first had to provide their ages, studies or profession, languages they usually spoke at home and since when they had been learning English[86]. Pre-Intermediate informants had an average age of 32.33 ranging from 18 to 58, spoke either Catalan or Spanish at home, were mainly university students and professional graduates, though there were 4 housewives, and had been learning English generally for 1-2 years. First-Certificate students had an average age of 22.66 ranging from 18 to 37, spoke mainly Catalan at home, were university students and professional graduates and the majority of them had learnt some English at school and had been studying it again for 2-3 years, since Pre-Intermediate or Intermediate levels. Proficiency students had an average age of 25.90, ranging from 19 to 45, spoke Catalan or Spanish at home, were university students and graduates and the majority of them had learnt some English at school and then had studied it again for more than 7 years.

The sentences in the task were presented in an order that could not create a pattern for the informants, thus grammatical and ungrammatical sentences alternated and sentences which tested the same linguistic phenomenon were obviously not presented together (see Appendix C for a model of the task). The students were told to imagine they were language teachers and to carefully and individually read the sentences and

[86] As requested by the school, students did not provide their first names on the task and hence they were referred to as PI1, PI2, PI3, etc. for Pre-Intermediate students, FC1, FC2, FC3, etc. for Fist Certificate students, and P1, P2, P3, etc. for Proficiency students.

decide whether they sounded right or wrong. They were also given the possibility of not being sure about the sentence, although it was emphasised that they should leave this option as a last resort. It was specifically clarified that they did not have to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure. Once they had decided, they had to circle "Right", "Wrong" or "Not Sure" below the sentence and if they had decided "Wrong" they were told to correct what they thought had to be corrected. They were also told to imagine a context if that was easier for them and to specify such a context in the space provided for the correction of the sentence. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Students were also told to carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences. After the allotted time, the tests were collected. Informants were extremely interested in knowing how well they did in the tests and what the expected responses should have been. Therefore, after the tests were collected, students had a feedback session with their teachers where they went over the sentences as a follow-up activity and hence the experimental task could be considered to be useful for the students too.

As for the transcription and coding process, the same procedure as in the analysis of Spanish children with L2 English was followed here (see section 5.2.5). Students' analyses of each sentence were read and carefully transcribed (see Appendix D for a detailed transcription of Pre-Intermediate, First Certificate and Proficiency students' responses as well as the control group's responses). The data were first coded in an SPSS file which included sentence variables and all the data from the three levels of adult L2 English and the control group examined and then re-coded in percentage format in another SPSS file which included variables representing sentence types.

Several statistical tests from SPSS were finally applied to the data, which will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 7.

5.4.2 Control Group

Control group data from monolingual adult English speakers were obtained during December 2004. The study focused on monolingual English speakers living in an English speaking country who were neither linguists nor language teachers in order to avoid bias in the results. Thirteen British informants who were aware of the study but had no relationship with the research field of language acquisition were contacted and asked to participate in the control group task. The informants were first introduced to the task and given specific instructions on how to carry it out. The test previously given to the experimental groups in Barcelona was sent to the native speakers and they were specifically asked to complete the test in a 15 minute session. The informants had an average age of 34.15 and were all university graduates working in a variety of areas which are not related to the language world. The general procedure of the task, the sentences, order of presentation and linguistic items to be tested remained the same as in the experimental group. It is worth mentioning that only a control group was needed for this part of the study, as we were dealing with adults with three different levels of English, as opposed to the children's part of the study, where three different control groups were needed, one for each age-level group that took part in the experimental task.

5.5 British Adults acquiring Spanish as their L2 and Spanish Control Group

5.5.1 Experimental Group: Instituto Cervantes London

Data from adult L2 Spanish were collected during March 2005 at the *Instituto Cervantes London*, where general Spanish courses are offered from an initial to a higher level as well as specialised business Spanish courses, written Spanish and conversation courses, translation courses and preparation for official exams. The study was interested in British adults who were learning general Spanish as an L2 in an institutional classroom setting, where students could attend class three or six hours a week depending on the kind of course in one or two sessions.

As it was the case with children acquiring Spanish as their L2 and in order to collect data from different stages of Spanish L2 adult development, the study was aimed at three levels within the school, namely A4 (Initial), C1 (Intermediate-Advanced) and D4 (Higher)[87] thus representing an initial state, developing grammar state and advanced state of L2 Spanish adult development.

5.5.1.1 Design of the experiment and Data Collection

In order to study the subject development of the L2 Spanish of British adults, the paired grammaticality judgement and preference test that was designed for *5º Primaria* and *Bachillerato* students at *Colegio Español* and their control groups was conducted at the three levels under study. Students were presented with 25 written pairs of sentences and had to produce judgements of grammaticality and of preference in a 20-30 minute session depending on the level to be tested. As in the experiments with British children,

[87] The names of the levels belong to the school's studies plan and might mislead the reader. The school offers four main levels: Initial (A), Intermediate (B), Advanced (C) and Higher (D). Each of these levels is divided into four modules of thirty hours each (A1, A2, A3, A4, B1, B2, etc.) which can be done as separate courses or as two-module courses. Courses begin every term (3 hours per week -1 module, 6 hours per week -2 modules) or semester (2 hours per week -1 module, 4 hours per week -2 modules). Thus A4 students were at the end of their Initial level (approximately at the end of the 2nd year), C1 students were at the beginning of the Advanced level (approximately at the beginning of the 5th year) and D4 students were at the end of their Higher level (approximately at the end of the 8th year).

these pairs of sentences represented grammaticality and ungrammaticality in Spanish (inflection, expletives, *that*-trace effects, postverbal subjects in Wh-questions and pronominal subjects which co-refer with a subject in a previous clause) and different grammatical options in Spanish (postverbal subjects with unaccusative, unergative and transitive verbs and pronominal subjects in main clauses). The same test was carried out for the three levels, though the timing of the experiment varied and vocabulary help was provided to A4 (Initial Level) students so that they could cope with the task without lexical interference.

The test consisted of twenty-five pairs of sentences, designed according to the properties to be studied. The specific linguistic items to be tested included three pronominal subjects in main clauses, a pronominal subject in separate clauses, two pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses, four expletive subjects, two postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, two postverbal subjects with a transitive verb, two postverbal subjects with an unergative verb (one in a neutral environment triggering SV and the other in a presentational focus environment triggering VS), three postverbal subjects in Wh-questions, three instances of *that*-trace effects and three instances of grammatical/ungrammatical verbal inflection. As in the L2 English experimental tasks, the grammatical sentences also served as fillers against which the experimental sentences were judged and which allowed the experimenter to see whether the informants were paying attention to the task. The sentences containing pronominal null/overt subjects in main clauses and postverbal subjects with unaccusative and Unergative verbs were preceded by a question which set up the appropriate context of interpretation to be taken into account in the preference analysis. Table 4, which illustrated the sentences and target linguistic items in the children's task, is repeated below as Table 6 for the adults' task:

Table 6: Sentences and linguistic items in the adult L2 Spanish experimental task in *Instituto Cervantes London.*

LINGUISTIC ITEM	**SENTENCES**
Inflection	7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada. b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada. 16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro. b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro. 24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar. b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.
Pronominal Subjects Main Clause	5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés. b. En Bélgica hablan Francés. 9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana? a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado. b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado. 17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde? a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid. b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
Pronominal Subjects Subordinate Clause	12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres) b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. 22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita) b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir. 25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta) b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.
Expletive Subjects	2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa. b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa. 10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día. b. La semana pasada llovió cada día. 14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen. b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen. 19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy. b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.
Postverbal Subjects Unaccusative Verb	4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente? a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos. b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos. 23. ¿Quién ha llegado? a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés. b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.
Postverbal Subjects Unergative Verb	1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia? a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia. b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia. 11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio? a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio. b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.
Postverbal Subjects Transitive Verb	6. a. María come muchas ensaladas. b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

	18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados. b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.
Postverbal Subjects Wh-questions	8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos? b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren? 13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia. b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es. 20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia? b. ¿Con quién estudia María?
That-trace Effects	3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido? b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido? 15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español? b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español? 21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer? b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Several groups per level participated in the task, although only students whose first language was English could take part in the task[88], which resulted in 17 A4 (Initial Level) informants, 18 C1 (Intermediate Level) informants and 7 D4 (Higher Level) informants. A pre-test, consisting of a couple of sample sentences, was done in class as a whole class activity to make sure informants understood the task clearly and help with some vocabulary items was provided to A4 students. The experimenter delivered the tests and gave instructions to the informants, who first had to provide their first names, ages, studies or profession, their first language and other languages they might speak and since when they had been learning Spanish. A4 informants had an average age of 32.82 ranging from 23 to 57, were mainly professionals who needed Spanish for their jobs and university students, only a few of them could speak another foreign language and all of them had started learning Spanish in A1 level at the *Instituto Cervantes*. C1 informants had an average age of 36.05 ranging from 19 to 58, were university students and professional graduates, only a few of them could speak another foreign language and the majority of them had started learning Spanish in A1 level at the *Instituto Cervantes*, though some of them had previously learnt some Spanish at school. D4

[88] Students from a number of nationalities attend Spanish classes at *Instituto Cervantes London* and hence some of them were not eligible for the study, not having English as their first language.

informants had an average age of 50.14, ranging from 36 to 65, were professional graduates, some of them could speak another foreign language, all of them had started learning Spanish at least 8 to 10 years before the task was carried out and all of them were directly related to the Spanish language, either because of their job or friends and relatives living in Spain.

As mentioned above, the task consisted of twenty-five pairs of written sentences to be analysed in a 20-30 minute session depending on the level to be tested. The presentation of the pairs of sentences was ordered in a way that could not create a pattern for the students. That is to say, sentences which tested the same properties were not presented together but carefully separated one from the other (see Appendix C for a model of the experiment sheet). Students were told to imagine that they were language teachers and that the sentences had been written by learners of Spanish. Students had to carefully and individually read the pairs of sentences and specify whether each of the sentences sounded right or wrong. It was specifically clarified that they did not have to focus on the content of the sentences but on their structure. Once they had analysed each sentence within a pair, students had to choose which sentence they preferred or they would most often say and specify why. It was also emphasised that the task was by no means assessing their knowledge and that any kind of answer was equally relevant. Students were also told to carry out the task in the specified order, to intuitively react to every sentence and not to go back to any of them. They were allowed to ask the experimenter if they had any doubts about the task or the sentences and after the specified time, the tests were collected. As it was also the case with Spanish adults learning English, British informants had a feedback session with their teachers where they went over the sentences and could learn from the task.

As for the transcription and coding process, the same procedure as in the analysis of British children with L2 Spanish (see section 5.3.5) was followed here. Students' analyses of each sentence (i.e. ✓ or ✕ and the explanation of the choice of the preferred sentence) were read and carefully transcribed (see Appendix D for a detailed transcription of A4, C1, D4 and control group students' responses)[89]. The data were first coded in two SPSS files, namely one for acceptance/rejection and the other for preference for all the groups and then re-coded in percentage format in two new SPSS files, which contained acceptance of grammatical sentences/rejection of ungrammatical sentences (1) on the one hand, and preference for the "English option" (0) and preference for both sentences (2) on the other. Several statistical tests from SPSS were finally applied to the data, which will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 7.

5.5.2 Control Group

Control group data from adult Spanish speakers were obtained during April 2005 in Barcelona. Although people who are born in Catalunya are Catalan/Spanish bilinguals and therefore none of the informants from Barcelona was a monolingual Spanish speaker, it was determined that knowledge of Catalan would not affect the results, as these two languages display a very similar syntax of subjects. However, and in order to have a more accurate control group, the study focused on informants who always spoke Spanish, at home and at work, and who had only spoken Catalan at school and when required to. None of the informants were linguists or language teachers in order to avoid bias in the results.

Thirteen Spanish speakers who were aware of the study but had no relationship with the research field of language acquisition were contacted and asked to participate

[89] Students' responses were literally transcribed and hence spelling and grammatical mistakes that they might have produced appear as such in the transcription document.

in the control group task. Informants carried out the test previously given to the experimental groups in London either in the university or at the experimenter's house. These informants agreed to provide their first names, had an average age of 26.61 and were all university graduates or professionals working in a variety of areas which are not related to the language world. The general procedure of the task, the sentences, order of presentation and linguistic items to be tested remained the same as in the experimental group though the control group was only given 15 minutes to complete the task, as was also the case with the adult English speaking control group. It is worth mentioning that only a control group was needed for this part of the study, as we were dealing with adults with three different levels of Spanish, as opposed to the children's part of the study, where three different control groups were needed, one for each age-level group that took part in the experimental task.

Having presented the methodological aspects of data collection and analysis, the next two chapters will be devoted to the presentation of results of child and adult L2 English and Spanish and their subsequent discussion in relation to the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis.

Chapter 6: Child L2 English and Spanish Subject Development: Results and Discussion

6.1 Child L2 hypotheses and predictions

This chapter presents and analyses the results of the experimental tasks carried out with the three age groups of children acquiring L2 English and the other three age groups acquiring L2 Spanish and their corresponding control groups. All children groups attend immersion schools in Spain (in the case of L2 English), *Benjamin Franklin International School - Barcelona* and in England (in the case of L2 Spanish), *Instituto Español Vicente Cañada Blanch – London*, and all children started acquiring their L2 at the age of 4 thus fully qualifying as child L2 learners.

Before presenting our data, we should recall the aim of the present study, namely to explore the non-native English and Spanish acquisition of subject properties in children and adults and in relation to UG Access and L1 Transfer. Let us also summarise the six research questions which frame our study and were introduced in Chapter 1:

Research question 1

Is the L2 initial state characterised by clustered transfer of subject properties associated with L1 parameter values?

Research question 2

Is L2 development characterised by clustered acquisition of subject properties associated with the L2 parameter values?

Research question 3

What are the theoretical implications of the results of the present research for the Partial/Full Transfer and Partial/Full UG Access positions to L2A?

Research question 4

Can the same theoretical approach to L2A be maintained for both children and adults?

Research question 5

Can the notion of "Null Subject Parameter" as in L1A be maintained in L2A?

Research question 6

Are there any directionality of acquisition differences between English L2A (by Spanish speakers) and Spanish L2A (by English speakers)?

The hypothetical answers to these research questions with respect to child L2 development, which, as we hypothesise, essentially differs from adult L2 development, are based on a Full UG Access position and a Full L1 Transfer position (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2004) (cf. Chapter 3), by which the learners transfer the cluster of properties associated with the L1 feature value of the parameter and are able –but not deemed- to acquire the cluster of syntactic properties associated to the different L2 parameter value.

Concerning the syntactic nature of subjects in English and Spanish, we assume (cf. Chapter 2) the hypothesis that the difference between the two languages mainly stems from the nature of the Agreement features on the verb (Platzack, 2004; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998). Having strong pronominal [+interpretable] Agreement features on the verb, Spanish checks the EPP by raising the verb to T and therefore empty subjects and postverbal subjects, which stay in their base-generated position Spec-vP, are allowed. Preverbal subjects are merged in an adjunct position higher than TP and normally arise for pragmatic/discourse reasons and expletive subjects are necessarily null, as the EPP is already checked by the verb. English preverbal subjects are necessarily overt, as Agreement is [-interpretable] and the verb does not raise to T, which has a weak V-feature, and they overtly raise from Spec-vP to Spec-TP to check

the EPP feature on T. Postverbal subjects are therefore disallowed and expletive subjects are also necessarily overt. We also assume that *that*-trace effects are not a property of the cluster of subject properties in the traditional Null Subject Parameter, which in fact is redefined as the Agr-Parameter. *That*-trace effects are assumed to be a separate phenomenon linked to the T-to-C movement asymmetry outlined in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004a) and Gallego (2006) (cf. Chapter 2), and therefore we expect a developmental pattern which differs from that of the other properties examined.

From the set research questions and the theoretical assumptions made in the present study we establish the following specific hypotheses and their subsequent predictions:

Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A

> Child L2A's initial state consists of UG + a developing L1 grammar. In the case at hand, the feature value responsible for the subject properties is already in place at the age of 4, when children start their L2A (cf. Rizzi, 2005). Therefore, the value of the verbal feature Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial state grammars of English and Spanish-speaking children, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

Hypothesis 1 predicts that the cluster of L1 subject properties related to the verbal Agr feature will transfer to L2 English and Spanish. More specifically, children with L1 Spanish should initially transfer a [+strong, +interpretable] Agr value to their L2 English and children with L1 English should initially transfer a [+weak, -interpretable] Agr verbal feature to their L2 Spanish as well. We thus expect children with L1 Spanish and L2 English to initially allow null subject pronouns in main and subordinate clauses, null expletive subjects and postverbal subjects and children with L1 English and L2 Spanish to initially reject null subject pronouns and postverbal subjects and accept overt expletives. That transfer of clustered properties is predicted implies that children should respond to the three subject properties alike. Children's reaction to *that*-trace effects is expected to be unrelated to the other subject properties, as it is hypothesised not to be

part of the cluster. Results are expected to differ significantly from those of the control groups.

Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A

> Having Full UG Access and being immersed in L2 input, child L2 learners are able to reset the L1 value of the Agr feature into the L2 value and therefore clustered acquisition of subject properties is possible in child L2A.

It follows from *Hypothesis 2* that children with L2 English will reset the [+strong, +interpretable] value of the Agr feature into the [+weak, -interpretable] value of their target language and consequently, since the verb will no longer overtly raise to TP and check the EPP feature on T, their acceptance of null subject pronouns and null expletives is expected to drop together with postverbal subjects. Children with L2 Spanish, in turn, are predicted to gradually allow missing subjects in main and embedded clauses, accept postverbal subjects and reject overt expletives. Therefore, children's responses in the data are expected to pattern with the results of the native control groups and the children's reaction to grammatical and ungrammatical sentences is expected to be similar. *Hypothesis 2* also implies that a gradual increase in native-like results will be observed in relation to age and that children may become native-like in terms of ultimate attainment. Yet this outcome is not inevitable as performance factors may come into play.

Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A

> As the process of child L2A is hypothesised to be fully UG-constrained and UG-driven (i.e. as parameter resetting is predicted to be possible) and although ultimate attainment is not inevitably successful, child L2A resembles the process of L1A in at least two respects:
> - subject and verbal inflectional development are related.
> - the acquisition of subject properties takes place earlier in null subject languages than in non-null subject languages (cf. Rizzi, 2002; 2005).

Hypothesis 3 predicts that the data will show a positive correlation between subject and inflection development in both L2 English and Spanish, as in L1A, and that directionality effects of acquisition are expected. As Rizzi (2002) points out, the observation that null subjects in early child language pattern differently in terms of distribution and acquisition in null subject languages and in non-null subject languages might indicate the possible existence of two subject parameters, namely the Null Subject Parameter and the Root Subject Drop Parameter. While the former is quickly fixed on the correct value the latter is delayed with respect to the negative value. In other words, children rapidly acquire the setting of the Null Subject Parameter, producing null subjects in all syntactic environments in the case of null-subject language children and not allowing them in non-initial positions (i.e. subordinate clauses or wh-environments). However, children acquiring a non-null subject language are reported to continue dropping subjects in the specifier position of the root for a longer period (Haegeman, 1995, 1996a; Rizzi, 2000; Clahsen, Kursawe and Penke, 1995, Roeper and Rohrbacher, 1995)[90]. We predict that, although UG Access is granted for both experimental groups, children with L2 Spanish will display native-like results earlier than children learning L2 English.

Hypothesis 4 (Child L2 Spanish)

> Pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects are acquired later than purely syntactic constraints, as in the case of adults (Lozano, 2006; Hertel, 2003; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999). Yet children will become aware over time and experience of the discourse contrasts and their syntactic consequences (i.e. presence/absence of pronominal subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects and their corresponding functional focus projections) in L2 Spanish subject use.

Hypothesis 4 predicts that once the syntactic constraints of subject properties in L2 Spanish are acquired, children's results will display native-like sensitivity to

[90] Section 4 in this chapter will expand on the discussion of Rizzi's (2002, 2005) proposal and its implication for our data.

focus/discourse contrasts responsible for subject distribution. This delay in acquisition is expected, as discourse contrasts are expressed prosodically in spoken language but not syntactically in English and non-native-like word order does not result in ungrammaticality or lack of comprehension and hence input data may be confusing.

In order to provide an explanation to the research questions and test our hypotheses, the data analysis in the present chapter will specifically tackle the following five objectives:

① Compare three stages/ages (5, 10 and 17 year-olds) in child L2A with respect to all the conditions testing subject properties in the tasks.

② Compare control native and non-native data at the three stages/ages and for each condition examined in the tasks.

③ Compare the development of the subject properties among themselves at each of the three stages/ages.

④ Compare subject and inflectional development through the three stages/ages.

⑤ Test directionality of acquisition effects by comparing the acceptability data from the L2 English and the L2 Spanish tasks.

These aims will be pursued for child L2 English data in section 2 and child L2 Spanish data in section 3, using statistical measures of the SPSS 14.0 software and analysing the results. A summary of results and general discussion are presented in section 4.

6.2 Child L2 English Subject Development

6.2.1 Results[91]

The data will be analysed in terms of percentages of rejection of ungrammaticality and acceptance of grammaticality with respect to the linguistic structures present in the sentences. As was described in Chapter 5, ungrammatical sentences were grouped into six variable conditions representing 'Verbal Inflection', 'Null Subjects in Main Clauses', 'Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses', 'Null Expletives', 'Postverbal subjects' and '*That*-trace sequences'. Grammatical sentences were grouped into the same variable conditions representing 'Verbal Inflection', 'Overt Subjects', grouping null subjects in main and subordinate clauses under the same variable, 'Overt Expletives', 'Preverbal Subjects' and '*(That)-trace* sequences'. Percentages of hesitations with each mentioned variable will also be analysed, although they are extremely low. Section 6.2.1.1 will compare the results of each variable along the three stages examined. Then control native and non-native data will be contrasted for each variable in section 6.2.1.2. Section 6.2.1.3 will compare the development of subject properties within each stage and section 6.2.1.4 will look at the relationship between subject and inflectional development along the three stages.[92]

A word about the data is necessary here. Bearing in mind that the sample sizes are relatively small and in order to verify that the appropriate statistical tests were applied, we ran the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality of distribution with the Lillefors significance correction to all variables for each case group. Some variables and/or case groups do not appear in the following tables, since they are constants and their normality could not be calculated. Only the blue-shadowed significance results ($p>.05$) indicate normality of distribution and hence the data are not normally distributed, which

[91] The level of significance will be $\alpha= .05$ all throughout the analysis.
[92] Directionality of acquisition effects will be analysed in section 6.3.1.5.

implies that non-parametric statistical tests have to be applied in order to analyse the results:

Table 1:

Test of normality – Rejection of Ungrammatical Conditions

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
	Age and L1	Statistic	df	Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.289	12	.007
	British control 10 year-olds	.262	12	.022
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.278	8	.070
	British control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.428	12	.000
	British control 10 year-olds	.499	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
	British control 17 year-olds	.371	8	.002
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.446	12	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	.299	7	.059
	British control 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.400	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-*That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	British control 5 year-olds	.270	7	.133
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.490	12	.000
	British control 10 year-olds	.205	12	.176
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.311	8	.022
	British control 17 year-olds	.371	8	.002
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	.215	7	.200(*)
	British control 5 year-olds	.315	7	.034
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.245	12	.044
	British control 10 year-olds	.257	12	.028
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
	British control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000

* This is a lower bound of the true significance.
a Lilliefors significance correction.

Table 2:

Test of normality – Acceptance of Grammatical Conditions

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
	Age and L1	Statistic	df	Sig.
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Verb Inflections	Spanish 5 year-olds	.492	6	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Spanish 10 year-olds	.209	12	.153
	British control 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	.492	6	.000
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000

Acceptance of Grammaticality-Preverbal Subjects	Spanish 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-That-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	.407	6	.002
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000

a Lilliefors significance correction.

Table 3:

Test of normality - Hesitations

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
	Age and L1	Statistic	df	Sig.
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	.357	7	.007
	British control 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	.296	7	.063
	Spanish 10 year-olds	.499	12	.000
	British control 17 year-olds	.455	8	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	.435	7	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-*That*-trace sequences	Spanish 10 year-olds	.417	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Spanish 10 year-olds	.499	12	.000
	Spanish 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Spanish 10 year-olds	.530	12	.000

a Lilliefors significance correction.

6.2.1.1 A comparison of the three stages/ages: 5, 10 and 17 non-native year-olds

In order to compare the reaction of the three groups of non-native child L2 learners of English with respect to the variables tested, a non-parametric one-way analysis of variance Kruskal-Wallis test was first applied in order to find significant differences among the three groups. Table 4 and Table 5 below indicate the level of significance of the difference of results among the three groups with respect to rejection of ungrammaticality and acceptance of grammaticality.

Table 4: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Rejection of Ungrammaticality

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median [93]%	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	41.66	8.57	12.766	.002
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	66.66	11.88		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	21.94		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	6.14	10.132	.006
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	83.33	15.92		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	91.66	18.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	4.93	16.172	<.001
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	16.42		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	18.31		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	9.50	6.470	.039
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	14.29		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c [94]	17.50		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	33.33	4.14	18.194	<.001
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	16.54		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	18.81		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	0.00	10.86	15.232	<.001
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	0.00	10.42		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	83.33	22.13		

Table 5: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test: Acceptance of Grammaticality

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp. Sig.
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Verb Inflections	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00	12.57	2.857	.240
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00c	14.50		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	14.50		
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Overt Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	22.50	12.743	.002
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	80.00	11.42		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	80.00	10.44		
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Overt Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00	13.00	1.160	.560
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	13.92		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	15.00		
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Preverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	14.50	1.250	.535
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	13.38		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	14.50		
Acceptance of Grammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	0.00	7.33	11.071	.004
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	14.92		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	16.00		

[93] Since this analysis makes use of non-parametric statistical tests, *medians* (i.e. the type of average calculated by arranging all values in order and selecting the one in the middle so that half of the values are smaller and half of them larger than the median), and not *means* are compared.
[94] c stands for "constant", that is to say, that all values are identical.

The null hypothesis in the Kruskal-Wallis test is that the medians obtained by each age group with respect to each variable are the same. As we can see in Table 4 and for all "Rejection of Ungrammaticality" variables, the p-value is < .05. Hence the null hypothesis is abandoned and at least one of the age groups has a significantly different median in each variable. Only two "Acceptance of Grammaticality" variables in Table 5, namely "Overt Expletives" and "*That*-trace sequences" have a significant p-value indicating that at least one of the age groups has a significantly different median. As for the other three variables, the null hypothesis of equal medians is accepted, which indicates that the three age groups reacted similarly to them.

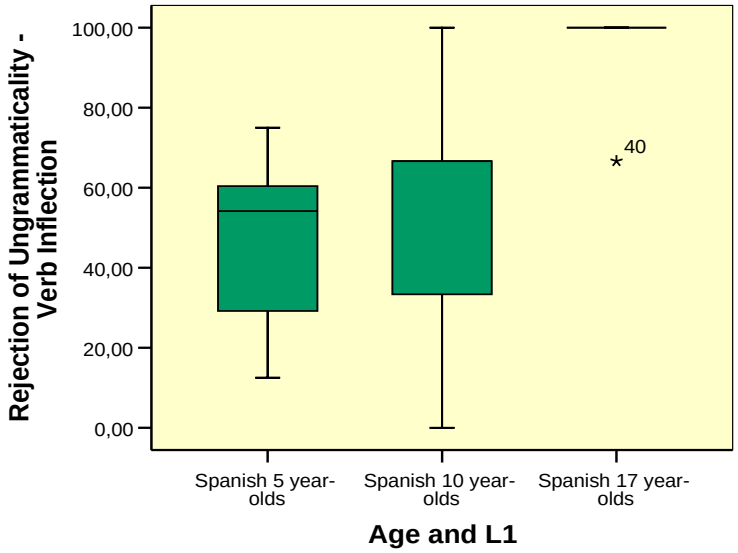
In order to find out where in the groups the significant difference emerges and to specifically compare the development of rejection and acceptance through the three age groups, the Mann-Whitney U test, with the null hypothesis of equal medians, was applied to each variable. Results are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6: Mann-Whitney U Test between 5 and 10 year-olds and 10 and 17 year-olds. Rejection Variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	54.16	45.83	31.000	.347
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	66.66	52.77		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	11.500	.003
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	28.57	11.000	.007
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	83.33	72.22		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	91.66	83.33	40.000	.517
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	42.85	6.500	.001
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	86.11		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	41.500	.472
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in SubordinateClauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	71.42	26.500	.128
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	88.88		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	36.000	.136
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	33.33	28.47	1.000	<.001
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	89.58		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	96.87	37.500	.284
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	0.00	14.28	42.000	1.000
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	0.00	8.33		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	83.33	70.83	5.000	<.001

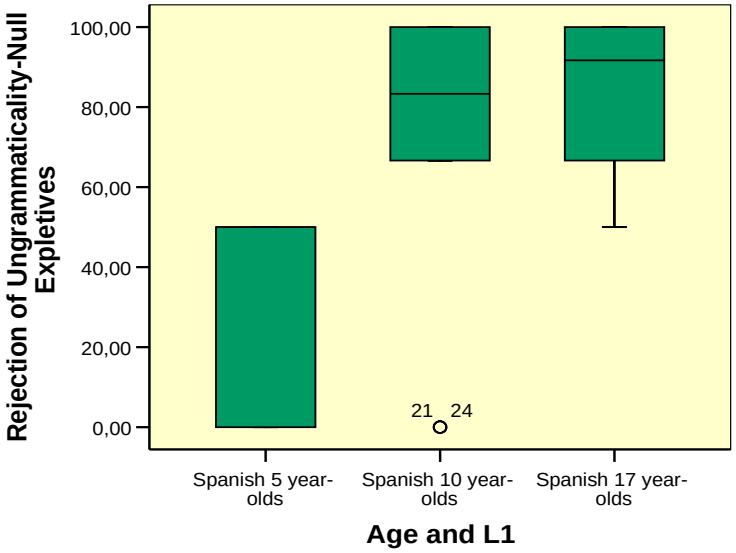
With respect to Rejection of Ungrammaticality of Verb Inflection, a significant difference is observed between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups (U 11.500, p= .003), whereas the first two age groups show a rather similar percentage of rejection of ungrammaticality. Graph 1 provides a box-and-whisker plot which illustrates the data distribution of Verb Inflection through the three age groups. Both 5 year-olds' and 10 year-olds' results show similar medians (54.16% vs 66.66%) and a remarkable deal of dispersion in the data, which significantly differs from the 17 year-old group, whose median is 100.00% with an extreme value of 66.66%.

Graph 1: Box-and-whisker plot of "Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



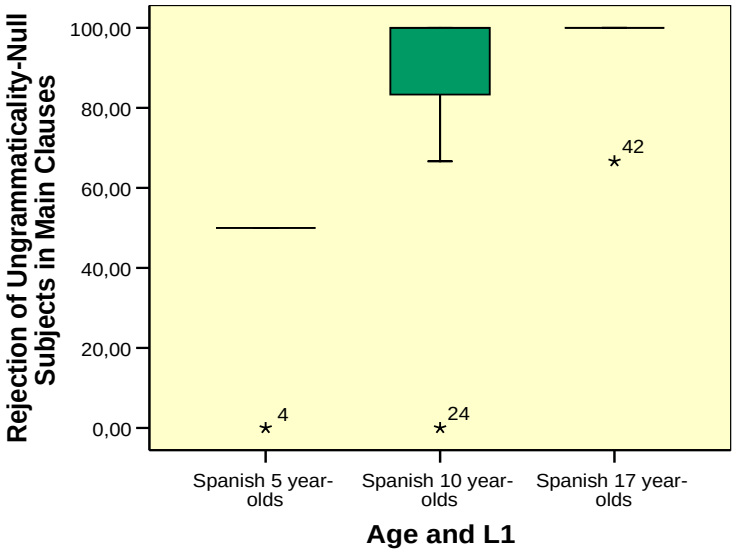
As for the presence of Null Expletives in the task, the 5 year-old group differed significantly from the 10 year-old group (U 11.000, p= .007), which showed similar results to the 17 year-old group. Graph 2 indicates no overlap of dispersion between the first and the other two groups, whose medians are 83.33% and 91.66%, respectively. Only the 10 year-old group presents two outliers of 0.00%.

Graph 2: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Expletives" in the three experimental groups.



With a similar increase-by-age tendency, the presence of Null Subjects in Main Clauses presents rejection medians of 50.00% in the 5 year-old group and of 100.00% in the older groups, with a statistically significant difference between the 5 and the 10 year-old groups (U 6.500, p= .001). As is shown in Graph 3, not much variability is observed in the results of the three groups, except for the presence of three extreme values in the data.

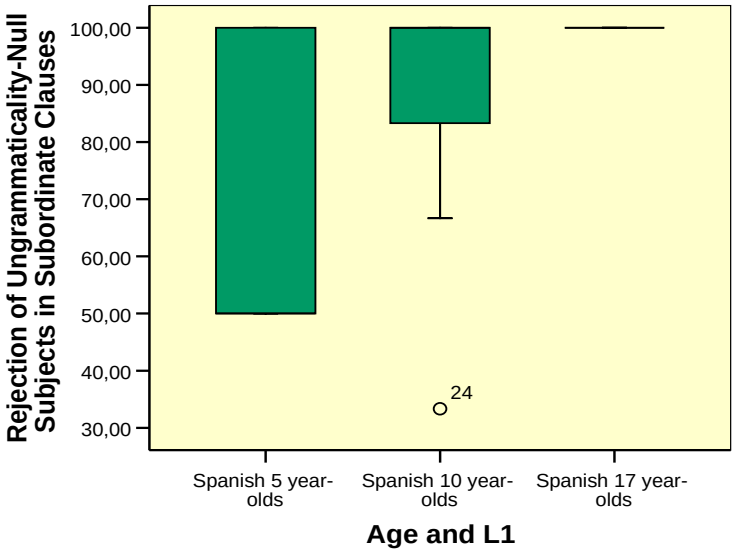
Graph 3: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



Results on the presence of Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses display greater variability in the 5 and 10 year-old groups. No significant difference emerges between

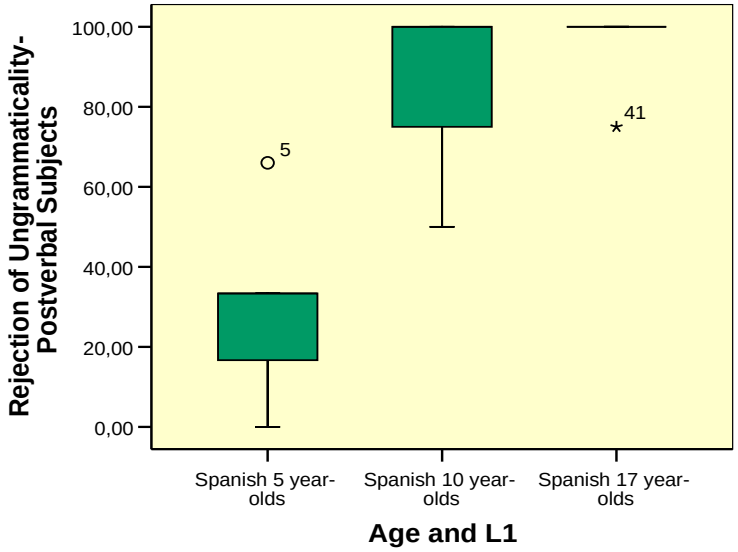
the first and second group or the second and third group. Although the medians of the 5 and 10 year-old groups seem to differ (50.00% vs 100.00%), a closer examination of results reveals no statistically significant difference, since their means come closer to each other (71.42% vs 88.88%) and their dispersion of results overlaps, as Graph 4 indicates. The statistical comparison between the two independent samples proves non-significant (U 25.600, p= .128). No variability is observed in the 17 year-old group, as their results display a constant value of 100.00%.

Graph 4: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



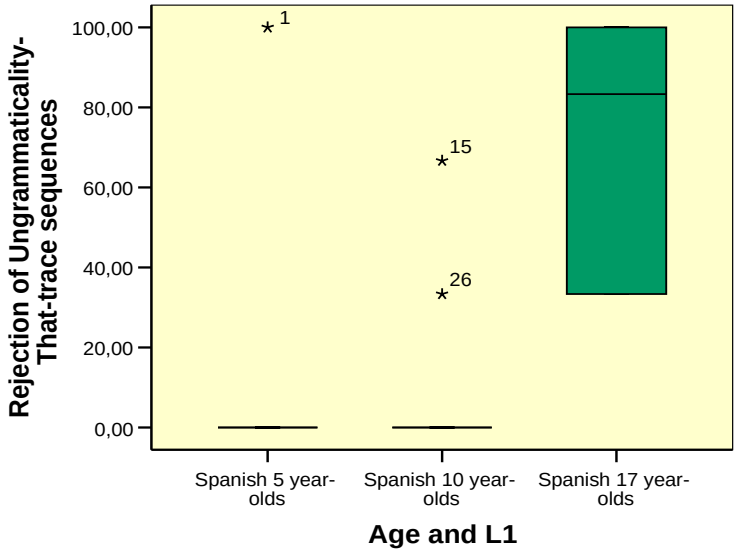
The ungrammaticality of Postverbal Subjects in L2 English displays low rejection on the part of the 5 year-old group (with the exception of an outlier of 66.66%), whose rejection mean and median are 28.47% and 33.33%, respectively. A significant difference is observed between the first and second group, whose median is 100.00% (U 1.000, p< .001). As shown in Graph 5, the 10 and 17 year-old groups produce similar results and identical medians (i.e. 100.00%) although the 10 year-old group displays a greater deal of variability.

Graph 5: Box-and-whisker plot of "Postverbal Subjects" in the three experimental groups.



The ungrammaticality of *That*-Trace sequences proves to be the most complex one to identify. Both the 5 and 10 year-old groups have median values of 0.00% and mean values of 14.28% and 8.33%, respectively, which are not significantly different. A significant difference is observed between the second and the third group (U 5.000, p< .001), whose median is of 83.33%, although variability is observed in Graph 6 below.

Graph 6: Box-and-whisker plot of "*That*-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



Regarding the Acceptance of Grammaticality Variables, Table 7 below indicates that the three experimental groups obtained much higher median and mean percentages

and much more uniform results within and between the groups. The previous Kruskal-Wallis test pointed significant differences between groups in only two variables, namely "Overt Expletives" and "*That*-trace Sequences" to which the Mann-Whitney U test was applied. With respect to the acceptance of "Overt Expletives", a significant difference occurs between the 5 and 10 year-old groups (U 10.500, p= .003), as the first one is a constant value with a median and mean values of 100%, whereas the 10 year-old group presents an acceptance mean of 78.33% and median of 80.00. Grammatical instances of "(That)-trace Sequences" also raise a significant difference in acceptance rates and more specifically between the 5 and the 10 year-old groups (U 15.000, p= .011), whose medians are 0.00% and 100.00%, respectively.

Table 7: Mann-Whitney U test between 5 and 10 year-olds and 10 and 17 year-olds. Acceptance Variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Acceptance of Grammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00	95.83	-	-
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00c	100.00		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	-	-
Acceptance Grammaticality- Overt Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	10.500	.003
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	80.00	78.33		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	80.00	77.50	47.500	.965
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Overt Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00	92.85	-	-
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	97.22		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	-	-
Acceptance of Grammaticality- Preverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	-	-
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	91.66		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	-	-
Acceptance of Grammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	0.00	33.33	15.000	.011
	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	91.66		
	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	44.000	.414

The experimental groups' results on hesitations about the ungrammaticality or grammaticality of the sentences presented in the tests were generally low and as age and proficiency increased no hesitations occurred. The 5 year-old group obtained 0.00% hesitation median values in all variables although some other hesitations occurred

resulting in very low mean percentages, expect for Rejection of Ungrammaticality in "Verb Inflection" and "Null Subjects in Main Clauses", whose medians were of 12.50% and 50.00% and whose means were of 12.50% and 42.85%, respectively. As for the 10 and 17 year-old groups, they obtained 0.00% hesitation median values in all grammatical and ungrammatical variables, although with some of the variables some hesitations occurred also resulting in minimal mean percentages.

6.2.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses

Our second comparative analysis contrasts non-native and native control results in each age/stage group. Percentages of acceptance of grammaticality are generally rather high and hence very similar to the native control results. This is why we will focus on the Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables in the experimental and control groups.

As Table 8 illustrates, native and non-native 5 year-old results differ significantly ($p < .05$) in all variables except in "*That*-trace Sequences". Whereas the control group obtains rejection medians of 100.00% in "Verb Inflection", "Null Expletives" and "Null Subjects", non-native percentages are significantly lower. In the case of "Postverbal Subjects", the control median is not so high (66.66%) but still significantly higher than that of the experimental group (33.33%). "*That*-trace Sequences" behave differently from the other variables and prove rather difficult for both groups, whose difference of results is not significant. The two medians seem to differ notably (i.e. 0.00% in the experimental group and 50.00% in the control group), the results from the native control group show a remarkable deal of variability and they range from 0.00% to 100.00%, as can be seen in Graph 12 below.

Table 8: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 5 year-old groups.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	54.16	45.83	4.500	.010
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00	87.50		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	28.57	.000	.001
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	42.85	.000	<.001
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in SubordinateClauses	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	50.00	71.42	10.500	.023
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	33.33	28.47	3.000	.005
	Control 5 year-olds	7	66.66	76.18		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 5 year-olds	7	0.00	14.28	14.500	.131
	Control 5 year-olds	7	50.00	50.00		

Results from the 10 year-old groups show that the informants' reaction to ungrammatical properties has developed. As can be seen in Table 9, results from the experimental group on "Verb Inflection", "Null Expletives" and "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" clearly do not differ significantly (p> .05) from those of the control group and hence the null hypothesis of equal medians of the Mann-Whitney U Test is accepted. As for the ungrammatical "Postverbal Subjects", the medians of both groups are 100.00% and yet the difference of results is significant, albeit marginally (U 48.000, p= .033), since the control group's percentage is a constant value of 100% whereas the experimental group's mean percentage is 89,58% and a great deal of dispersion is observed, as can be seen in Graph 11. "*That*-trace Sequences" also display a significant difference of medians (U 21.500, p= .002) between the two groups. The mean percentage of rejection of the experimental 10 year-old group is even lower than that of the experimental 5 year-old group, whereas the results of the control group remain similar and also display a great deal of variability, as can be seen in Graph 12.

Table 9: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 10 year-old groups.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	66.66	52.77	67.000	.759
	Control 10 year-olds	12	66.66	58.33		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	83.33	72.22	58.000	.394
	Control 10 year-olds	12	91.66	82.49		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	86.11	65.000	.568
	Control 10 year-olds	12	100.00	94.44		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in SubordinateClauses	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	88.88	54.000	.070
	Control 10 year-olds	12	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	100.00	89.58	48.000	.033
	Control 10 year-olds	12	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- *That*-trace sequences	Spanish 10 year-olds	12	0.00	8.33	21.500	.002
	Control 10 year-olds	12	49.99	52.77		

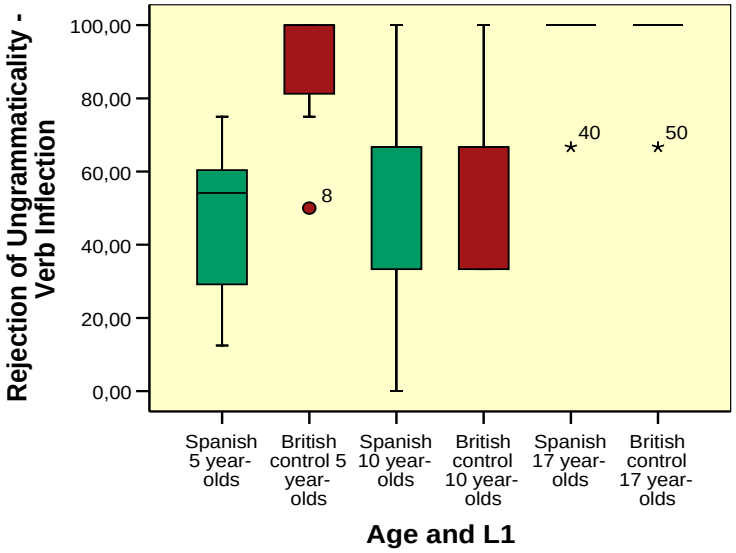
Table 10 presents the results of the 17 year-old experimental and control groups. All variables show high median and mean percentages and no significant differences (p> .05) between native and non-native speakers emerge with respect to Rejection of Ungrammaticality. The null hypothesis of equal medians is observed here. As can be seen in the graphs below, results are much more uniform, except for "*That*-trace Sequences", whose non-native percentage of rejection, though high and non-significantly different from the native one, is still the lowest of all variables with a median of 83.33% and a mean of 70.83% and a great deal of dispersion.

Table 10: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 17 year-old groups.

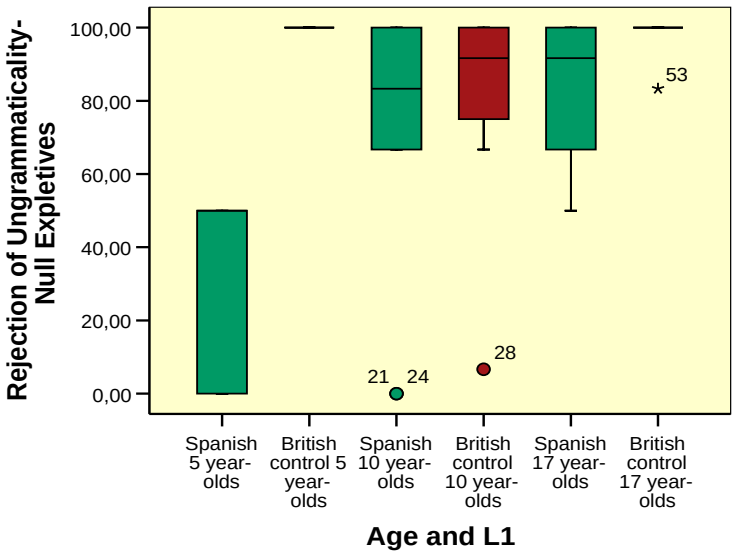
Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	91.66	83.33	19.000	.095
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	97.91		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	23.500	.239

	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	83.33		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Postverbal Subjects	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	100.00	96.87	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-*That*-trace sequences	Spanish 17 year-olds	8	83.33	70.83	25.500	.446
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	83.33		

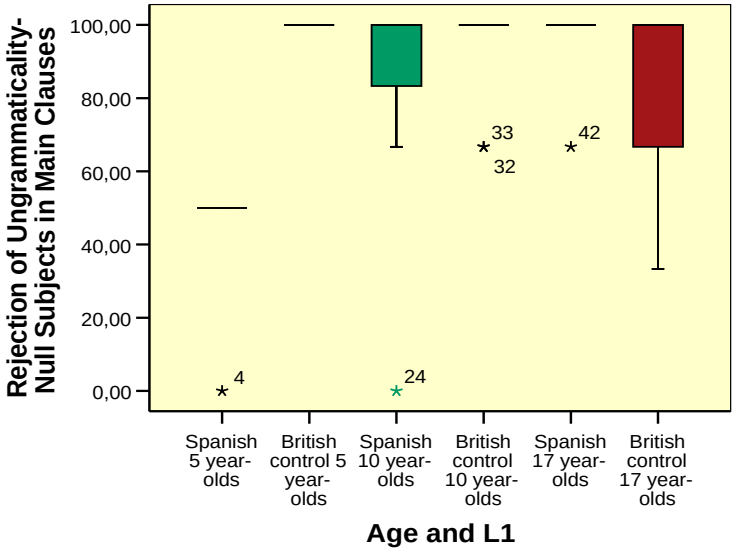
Graph 7: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



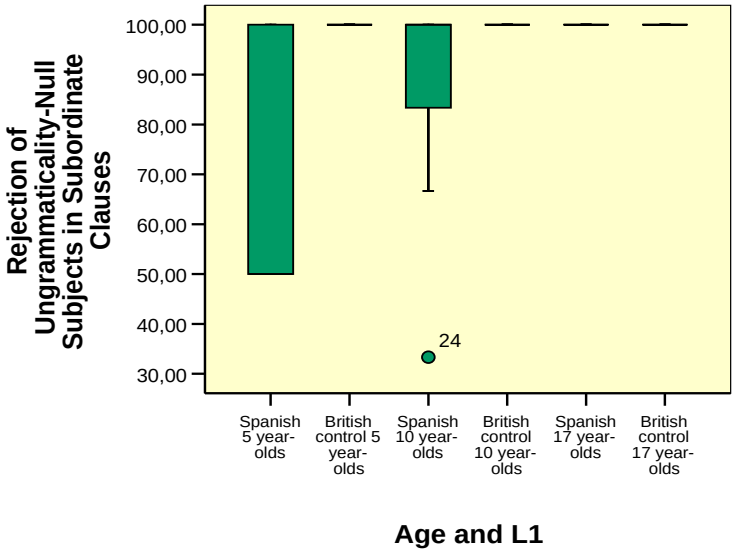
Graph 8: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null Expletives" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



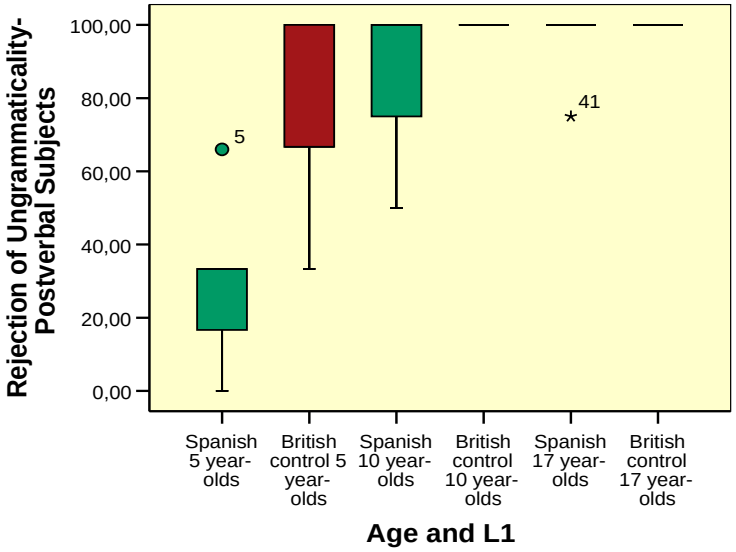
Graph 9: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null Subjects in Main Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



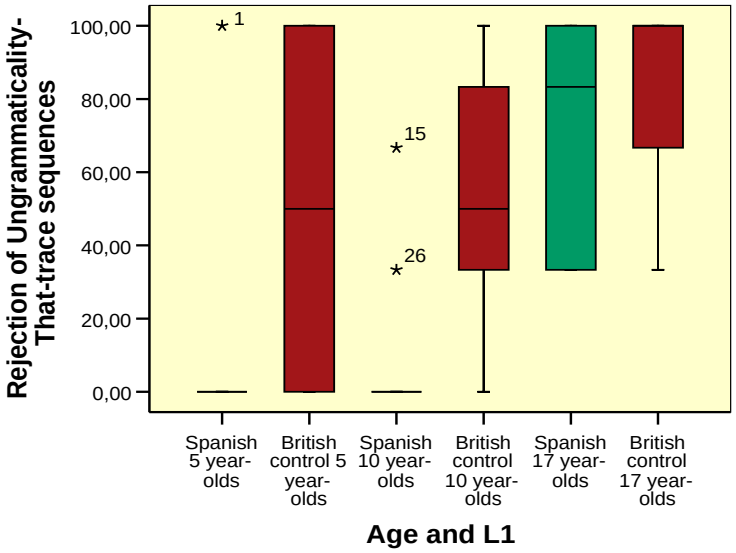
Graph 10: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 11: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Postverbal Subjects" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 12: Box-and-whiskers plot of "*That*-trace Sequences" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



6.2.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages/ages

In order to examine whether the different subject properties tested in the experimental task display similar behaviour in terms of L1 Transfer and acquisition, the Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables were statistically compared to one another at each of the three non-native stages/ages. The Acceptance of Grammaticality variables were not compared among themselves since as was seen in section 6.2.1.2, their values

were all similarly high, indicating the learners' sensitivity to the grammatical-ungrammatical distinction in their L2. The Null Expletives, Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses, Postverbal Subjects and *That*-trace Sequences rejection variables were included in the analysis. The "*That*-trace Sequences" variable was included precisely to determine whether it follows the same developmental pattern as the subject properties variables. For each stage/age group, paired comparisons of related samples were carried out using the non-parametric Wilcoxon Z test with the Bonferroni correction, which tests the null hypothesis that two related (i.e. from the same sample) medians are the same.

Table 11 illustrates the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the 5 year-old group. The null hypothesis of equal medians is maintained for all variables (p>.05), which indicates that all variables, including the *That*-trace Sequences variable, pattern alike in the 5 year-old children.

Table 11: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the 5 year-old experimental group[95].

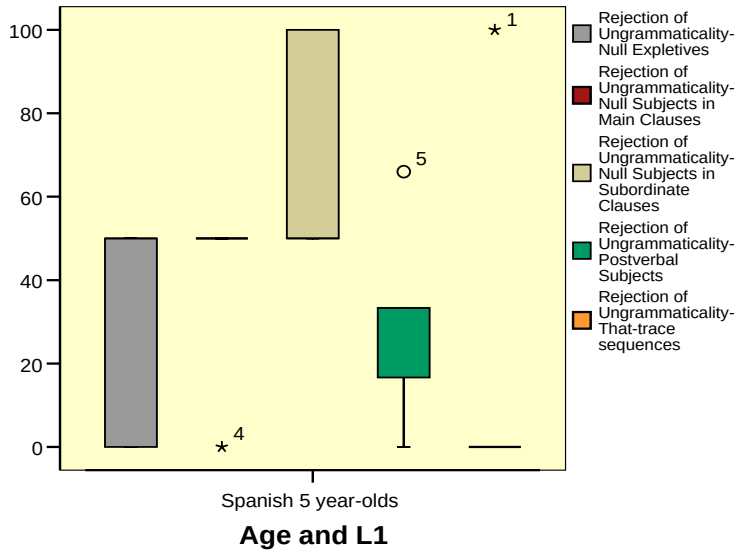
	Null Expletives	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null Expletives		Z (-1.414) p= .157	Z (-1.857) p= .063	Z (-.106) p= .916	Z (-1.000) p= .317
Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Z (-1.414) p= .157		Z (-1.633) p= .102	Z (-1.364) p= .172	Z (-1.633) p= .102
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-1.857) p= .063	Z (-1.633) p= .102		Z (-2.379) p= .170	Z (-1.994) p= .460
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-.106) p= .916	Z (-1.364) p= .172	Z (-2.379) p= .170		Z (-.687) p= .492
That-trace Sequences	Z (-1.000) p= .317	Z (-1.633) p= .102	Z (-1.994) p= .460	Z (-.687) p= .492	

Graph 13 below illustrates the distribution of results and the non-significant differences among the different medians, whose values are significantly lower than the native speakers' values (see section 6.2.1.2), except in the case of *That*-trace effects, which prove similarly difficult to process for the control group and hence they do not

[95] If the obtained p-values were already non-significant (i.e. p >,05), the Bonferroni correction was not applied.

seem to be part of the cluster of subject properties. Regarding the remaining variables, the fact that no Rejection median has a higher value than 50.00%, that equality of medians can be maintained and that native speakers' results are significantly different points to the existence of clustered L1 Transfer of subject properties in Child English L2A, as was hypothesized and will be further discussed in section 6.2.2.

Graph 13: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 5 year-old non-native group.

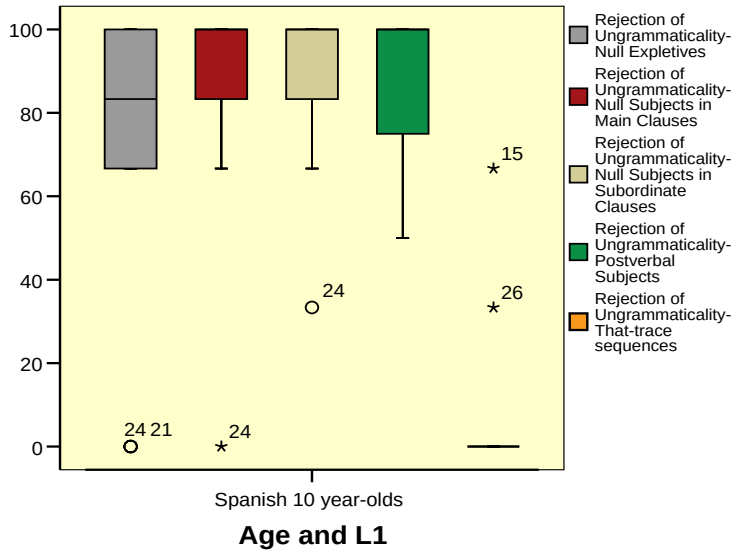


As for the 10 year-old group and as Table 12 indicates, the null hypothesis of equal medians is maintained among all variables except for the *That*-trace Sequences variable, whose median is significantly different from Null Subjects in main and subordinate clauses and Postverbal Subjects ($p<.05$) and almost significantly different from Null Expletives ($p= .070$). Graph 14 clearly pictures the distribution of results and the significant differences between the *That*-trace Sequences variable, whose median is 0.00% and the rest, whose medians range from 83.33 to 100.00%. As was reported in section 6.2.1.2, these median results are not significantly different from those of the control native group (except in the case of *That*-trace Sequences ($p=.002$) and Postverbal Subjects ($p=.033$)), which indicates that children are acquiring the new feature value responsible for the L2 subject properties.

Table 12: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the 10 year-old experimental group.

	Null Expletives	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null Expletives		Z (-1.983) p= .470	Z (-2.200) p= .280	Z (-1.695) p= .900	Z (-2.699) p= .070
Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Z (-1.983) p= .470		Z (-.272) p= .785	Z (-.677) p= .498	Z (-3.020) p= .030
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-2.200) p= .280	Z (-.272) p= .785		Z (-.135) p= .892	Z (-3.129) p= .020
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-1.695) p= .900	Z (-.677) p= .498	Z (-.135) p= .892		Z (-3.106) p= .020
That-trace Sequences	Z (-2.699) p= .070	Z (-3.020) p= .030	Z (-3.129) p= .020	Z (-3.106) p= .020	

Graph 14: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 10 year-old non-native group.

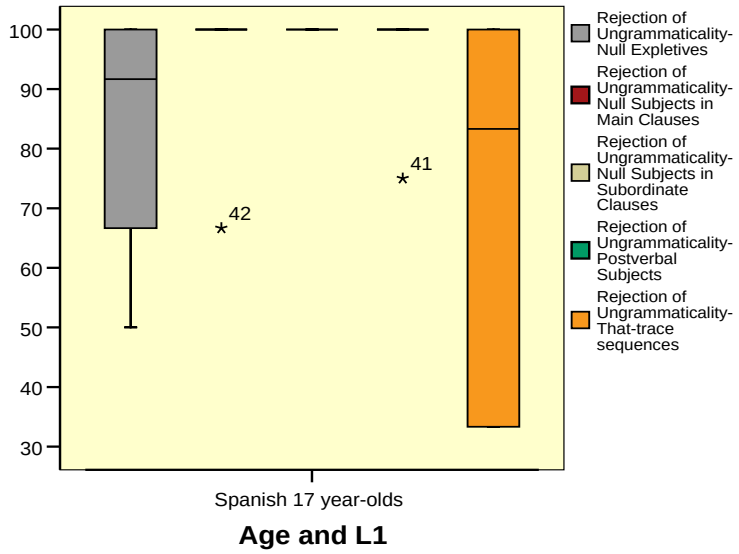


The results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the 17 year-old group are presented in Table 13. The null hypothesis of equal medians can be maintained for all variable comparisons (p>.05), which indicates that their developmental pattern is similar. As can be seen in Graph 15, all medians have a higher value than 90.00%, except the *That*-trace Sequence variable, whose median is 83.33%. These results are all statistically similar to those of the control group (see section 6.2.1.2), which points to the full acquisition of the feature value responsible for the cluster of English L2 subject properties, as will be further discussed in section 6.2.2.

Table 13: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the 17 year-old experimental group.

	Null Expletives	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null Expletives		Z (-1.225) p= .221	Z (-1.857) p= .630	Z (-1.841) p= .660	Z (-1.414) p= .157
Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Z (-1.225) p= .221		Z (-1.000) p= .317	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-1.656) p= .980
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-1.857) p= .630	Z (-1.000) p= .317		Z (-1.000) p= .317	Z (-1.890) p= .590
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-1.841) p= .660	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-1.000) p= .317		Z (-1.841) p= .660
That-trace Sequences	Z (-1.414) p= .157	Z (-1.656) p= .980	Z (-1.890) p= .590	Z (-1.841) p= .660	

Graph 15: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 17 year-old non-native group.



6.2.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development

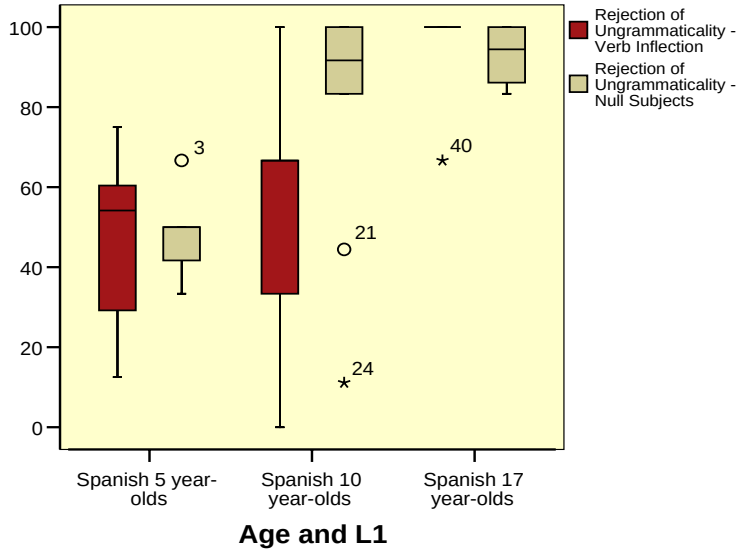
The last statistical analysis in child L2 English focuses on our hypothesis that child L2A and child L1A may be similar with respect to the relationship between subject and inflectional development. More specifically, we aimed at testing whether inflection and null subject variables are developmentally correlated. The three rejection variables dealing with null/overt subject properties, namely Null Expletives, Null Subjects in Main Clauses and Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses were grouped into one new variable referred to as "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Null Subjects". The Postverbal

Subjects variable was not included in the analysis since the L1 English developmental correlation typically affects overt/missing subjects, that is to say children stop producing and accepting null subjects as they acquire and use appropriate inflection. In our analysis and if the same correlation holds, L2 children should reject inappropriate verb inflection as they reject the occurrence of null expletives and null pronominal subjects in main and subordinate clauses. Table 14 presents the means and medians of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables for each experimental age group and Graph 16 presents their graphic representation.

Table 14: Descriptive statistics of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables.

Variable	Group	Mean %	Median %
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Spanish 5 year-olds	45.83	54.16
	Spanish 10 year-olds	52.77	66.66
	Spanish 17 year-olds	95.83	100.00
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects	Spanish 5 year-olds	47.61	50.00
	Spanish 10 year-olds	82.40	91.66
	Spanish 17 year-olds	93.05	94.44

Graph 16: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" and "Null Subjects" for each experimental age group.



The Spearman's Rho correlation test was applied to the two variables (see Table 15) obtaining a significant correlation coefficient of 0.575 with a significance value of .002, which implies that for child L2 English, "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Verb Inflection" and "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Null Subjects" are positively correlated along the three experimental age groups.

Table 15: Spearman's Rho correlation between Verb Inflection and Null Subjects.

			Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects
Spearman's Rho	Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Correlation coefficient	1.000	.575(**)
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.002
		N	27	27
	Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects	Correlation coefficient	.575(**)	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.
		N	27	27

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

6.2.2 Discussion: Child L2 English

The previous section presented the results of the different statistical tests applied to the data from child L2 English. This section analyses and interprets these results on the light of the hypotheses and predictions posed at the beginning of the chapter and relating them to previous relevant findings in the literature.

Data from child L2 English were examined according to Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables and Acceptance of Grammaticality variables. As expected and as a general tendency, an increase-by-age percentage of correct judgements was observed in the case of Rejection Variables and for all subject properties. "*That*-trace Sequences" proved to be the most problematic tested linguistic property for child L2 learners, whose percentages of correct judgements were extremely low in the 5 and 10 year-old groups and display a sudden increase to a median value of 83.33% in the 17-

year-old group (see Table 6). The children's reaction to this property did not follow the same developmental pattern as the other subject properties, whose increase in judgement accuracy was regular and steady along the three age groups. The presence of significant differences between the percentages of correct judgements from the three age groups indicates a clear and relevant developmental process in child L2 English subjects. As for the Acceptance of Grammaticality variables, the three experimental groups obtained much higher and more uniform results within and between the groups (see Table 7). No clear development is observable in terms of the children's reaction to grammatical sentences in that median percentages reach 100.00% even in the 5 year-old groups for all subject properties. "*That*-trace Sequences" are again the exception, as the 5 year-old group's median percentage in 0.00% although it sharply rises to 100.00% in the 10-year-old group. This strong difference between the children's reaction to grammatical and ungrammatical sentences indicates that children are indeed sensitive to grammaticality-ungrammaticality distinctions and hence it is a first approximation to the conclusive statement that UG is operative in child L2A.

Hesitations were also measured in the three experimental age groups, although they were only observed in the 5 year-old group's ungrammatical "Verb Inflection" and "Null Subjects in Main Clauses". They were also present in the other variables and in the 10 and 17 year-old groups although their mean values were so low that their median values were 0.00% and hence their occurrence was minimal. 5 year-old children's hesitations could be easily observed since the task was oral and are indicative of the children's awareness of ungrammaticality but incapacity to positively discern and correct the target ungrammatical element, which also points towards their linguistic sensitivity and not to child L2 merely relying on imitation or cognitive abilities. Some of the children even change other linguistic elements in the sentences as even if they are

conscious of the fact that something is not appropriate they cannot work out exactly what it is. Other children correctly change the linguistic item but remain unsure and hesitant about it. Some examples of hesitations and changes are included below:

(1)

Task Sentence: My sister is always tired because works a lot!
Target Sentence: My sister is always tired because she works a lot!
Alvaro: My sister is **very** tired because **aaa (doubt/hesitation)** works a lot.

(2)

Task Sentence: The children in Kindergarden go to the patio yesterday morning.
Target Sentence: The children in Kindergarden went to the patio yesterday morning.
Lisa: The children **of** Kindergarden **(doubt/pause) they going** to patio.

(3)

Task Sentence: Has come my granny from America.
Target Sentence: My granny has come from America.
Alexandra: **Have** come **(doubt/hesitation)** my granny from America.

Focusing on the results of the 5 year-old L2 English children and comparing them to their control native group, we can observe that percentages of correct judgements are significantly lower than those of the control group in all Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables except for "*That*-trace Sequences" in which the control group obtained lower and hence more similar results to the experimental group (see Table 8), whose results were extremely low, thus showing the different developmental path of this property. Results from "Verb Inflection" are also significantly lower than those of the control group, thus keeping a parallel development to subject use. After a year of being exposed to L2 English, Spanish children from the 5 year-old group allow a statistically significant percentage of null expletive subjects, null subjects in main and subordinate clauses and postverbal subjects, which are the L1 properties related to the verbal [+strong +interpretable] Agr feature value of the children's L1 Spanish. This Spanish

L1 feature is already acquired when these children start their acquisition of L2 English at the age of 4 (Rizzi, 2002, 2005). Being fully acquired, if this feature value transfers to the initial stages of child L2 English and is responsible for the tested cluster of subject properties, we would expect children to respond to all the tested subject properties alike. That is to say, we expect the 5 year-old group's results of the different variables not to be significantly different from each other.

As was seen in section 6.2.1.3, the null hypothesis of equal medians could not be rejected for any variables, which implies that the children's results in all subject variables are not significantly different from each other, which, together with the fact that they significantly diverge from the control group, indicate that there is clustered transfer of subject properties from L1 Spanish to L2 English in the 5 year-old experimental group. Contrary to what was expected, results of "*That*-trace Sequences" were also non-significantly different from those of the other properties. Yet the fact that their developmental process is different from the other subject properties and that they remain similarly problematic for the control native children sets them apart from the occurrence of missing and postverbal subjects. As for the four subject properties at hand, namely "Null Expletives", "Null Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Postverbal Subjects", although their percentages of correct judgements are not significantly different from each other, "Postverbal Subjects" and "Null Expletives" obtained lower percentages than "Null Subjects", namely mean values of 28.47% and 28.57%, respectively (see Table 8). This implies that children in this study found it more difficult to judge and correct ungrammatical null expletives and postverbal subjects than missing referential subjects. The fact that L1 Spanish children accepted more ungrammatical null expletives than null referential subjects in L2 English confirms the results from Phinney (1987) and Tsimpli and Roussou (1991),

although these studies examined adult L2 learners and hence are hardly comparable. These results also confirm Lakshmanan's (1991, 1994) longitudinal study on child L2 English, whose L1 Spanish-speaking child, Marta, produced significantly more null expletives than null referential subjects. Unfortunately, no comparable cross-sectional (Spanish) child L2 English studies are reported in the literature as far as we know. The low rejection of ungrammatical postverbal subjects observed in this study contrasts to their low acceptance in White (1985), although the study deals with adult L2 speakers of English and does not present the results of postverbal subjects according to proficiency levels.

Bearing in mind the results analysed so far, we can safely assume *Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A*, at least for child L2 English and in terms of their acceptance or rejection to the linguistic structures derived from the Agr verbal feature, which is repeated below:

Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A ✓

> Child L2A's initial state consists of UG + a developing L1 grammar. In the case at hand, the feature value responsible for the subject properties is already in place at the age of 4, when children start their L2A (cf. Rizzi, 2005). Therefore, the value of the verbal feature Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial state grammars of English and Spanish-speaking children, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

The predictions resulting from Hypothesis 1 are borne out by the data presented so far. 5 year-old children with L2 English allow a significant percentage of null referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects which is significantly lower than that of the control group and hence the L1 Spanish [+strong +interpretable] verbal feature Agr transfers to the early stages of child L2 English causing the clustered transfer of the subject properties associated with it.

Regarding the 10 year-old experimental group, percentages of correct judgements have increased considerably and are all non-significantly different from those of the

control group except for "Rejection of Ungrammatical Postverbal Subjects" and "Rejection of Ungrammatical *That*-trace Sequences" (see Table 9). In the case of "Postverbal Subjects", the non-native children's median and mean percentage are indeed rather high though their native counterparts obtained a median and mean constant value at 100.00%, which is why a significant difference results. "*That*-trace Sequences" display a much more significant difference between the experimental and the control groups, although for the latter this property also remains problematic, as its relatively low median and mean values show in comparison to the other subject variables. The percentage of correct judgements of "Verb Inflection" has risen although it is lower than those of the other variables but non-significantly different from that of the control group, which is lower than expected. Children with L2 English are gradually increasing their rejection to null referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects. If they are part of the same cluster of properties triggered by the verbal feature Agr, we would also expect the children's results on these properties not to differ significantly from each other.

When comparing the 10 year-old children's results of the subject properties at hand to each other (see Table 12), we observed that the null hypothesis of equal medians could not be rejected for any variables except for the "*That*-trace Sequences" variable, which is significantly different from the remaining variables being analysed and which again is set apart from the other traditional subject properties. Thus the children's reaction to "Null Expletives", "Null Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Postverbal Subjects" displayed non-significantly different results. Likewise, their percentages of correct judgements are rather high and, except for "Postverbal Subjects", near native-like, or at least, non-significantly different from the native children's, and the children's reaction to grammatical (i.e. Acceptance Variables)

and ungrammatical (i.e. Rejection Variables) sentences is therefore getting more and more similar. In short, the data from the 10 year-old group is indicative of the resetting process of the Spanish L1 value of the Agr feature into the L2 English [+weak – interpretable] Agr feature value. This gradual developmental process observed in relation to age is expected to be corroborated in the case of the 17 year-old group where children will have been immersed into English for more than ten years. If results are as expected, the resetting of the Agr feature value and hence the previously assumed Full Access to UG will be confirmed for child L2 English.

Results from the 17 year-old child L2 English experimental group have increased considerably in all variables tested, whose median percentage values of correct judgements reach 100.00% except in the case of "Null Expletives" and "*That*-trace Sequences" with median values of 91.66% and 83.33%, respectively. No significant differences emerge between the experimental and the control groups' results, which are all highly similar and uniform with almost no dispersion or variability of results. Some variability was observed in the results of "Null Expletives" by the experimental group, although their median and mean values were also significantly high and non-significantly different from the control group. As expected, "*That*-trace Sequences" remained problematic for both groups even though their percentages of correct judgements were high, and their graphic representation shows a remarkable deal of dispersion and variability (see Graph 12). As predicted, the paired comparisons of the subject properties in the experimental group were non-significantly different from each other, thus showing similar development and confirming the full acquisition of the L2 English Agr feature value responsible for the children's rejection of missing referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects. Within these near-native results, "Null Expletives" prove to be more –though not statistically significantly- difficult for non-

native L2 speakers than the other subject properties, which is in line with the previous findings in the literature (Phinney, 1987; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991 for adult L2 English and Lakshmanan, 1991, 1994 for child L2 English). "*That*-trace Sequences" have always developed differently from the other subject properties and even though their results are not statistically different from the other variables in the 17 year-old group, this was not the case in the other two experimental groups and their development displays a great deal of variability. They might have already been acquired by 17 year-old children but this does not necessarily imply that they are part of the same cluster of subject properties of the Agr verbal feature, which is indeed confirmed by previous – but only adult L2- studies in the literature (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991).

In short, we can also assume *Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A*, as far as child L2 English is concerned, which is repeated below:

Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A ✓

> Having Full UG Access and being immersed in L2 input, child L2 learners are able to reset the L1 value of the Agr feature into the L2 value and therefore clustered acquisition of subject properties is possible in child L2A.

As predicted by *Hypothesis 2*, the children's acceptance of null subject pronouns, null expletives and postverbal subjects gradually dropped reaching native-like levels in the 17 year-old group. Clustered acquisition of subject properties is observed in the comprehension data presented in this study. Yet we need to bear in mind that this native-like outcome is not inevitable in child L2A, as even if UG is involved here, we are not dealing with a deterministic process of language acquisition (i.e. L1A) and that extra linguistic and aptitude problems might also come into play.

The confirmation of *Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A* corroborates the adequacy of Full Access/Full Transfer (Swchartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998,

2003, 2004) for the process of child L2A, by which the children initially transfer the cluster of properties associated with the L1 feature value of the parameter (i.e. [+strong +interpretable] Agr L1 Spanish feature value) and are able but not deemed to acquire the cluster of syntactic properties associated to the different L2 parameter value (i.e. [+weak –interpretable] Agr L2 English feature value). Once parameter-resetting to L2 English has taken place, the verb will no longer overtly raise to TP and check the EPP feature on T. Therefore, subjects will overtly raise from Spec-vP to Spec-TP to check the EPP feature on T and hence postverbal subjects will be disallowed and expletive subjects necessarily overt, which is corroborated by the data.

As was seen in Chapter 4 and according to previous findings in the literature, no indication of clustering effects of the Null Subject Parameter traditional properties was found in L2A studies. However, studies which had examined the existence of clustering of subject properties in L2 English had dealt with adult L2A (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou), which as will be seen in Chapter 7 differs substantially from child L2A.

As part of *Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A* and to conclude our discussion on child L2 English[96], we focus now on the relationship between subject and inflectional development. In this case, we examined the relationship between the correct judgement percentages of ungrammatical instances of "Null Subjects", including null referential subjects in main and subordinate clauses and null expletive subjects in L2 English and the correct judgement percentages of ungrammatical instances of L2 English verb inflection. In the process of acquisition of English as an L1, subject use and verb inflection are developmentally related. As children acquire and use appropriate inflection, they stop producing and accepting null subjects. In other words, null subjects are very rarely found in finite contexts or in subordinate sentences in child L1 English,

[96] Directionality of acquisition effects will be discussed at the general discussion section (i.e. Section 4) at the end of the chapter, once results from child L2 Spanish have been interpreted.

whereas they continue to be used in non-finite contexts and at the specifier of the Root (Rizzi, 1994; Roeper and Rohrbacher, 1995 among others). As was seen in section 6.2.1.4, correct judgements of ungrammatical verb inflection and null subjects in L2 English are developmentally and positively correlated. Yet it is worth noticing that although the 5 year-old group obtained a very similar mean and median percentages with respect to verb inflection and null subjects, the 10 year-old group sharply increased their percentage of correct judgements of null subjects while slightly raised their percentage of correct judgements of verb inflection. 17 year-olds obtained extremely high and similar mean and median values in both variables. This developmental correlation in child L2 English was also found in Hilles (1991) and adds evidence to the fact that child L2A is fully constrained and driven by UG and that at least in this respect, it follows a parallel developmental pattern to that of child L1A in which the acquisition of subjects and inflection are also correlated. The first part of *Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A*, repeated below, is confirmed:

Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A

As the process of child L2A is hypothesised to be fully UG-constrained and UG-driven (i.e. as parameter resetting is predicted to be possible) and although ultimate attainment is not inevitably successful, child L2A resembles the process of L1A in at least two respects:

- subject and verbal inflectional development are related. ✓

We will now present and discuss child L2 Spanish data and re-examine the hypotheses posed at the beginning of the chapter. Directionality of acquisition effects will also be analysed and explained.

6.3. Child L2 Spanish Subject Development

6.3.1 Results

As became evident in Chapter 5 section 5.3.1.1, L2 Spanish development could not be tested using sets of grammatical and ungrammatical variables and measuring rejection and acceptance, as was done to analyse L2 English, as not all properties of subject development can be reduced to the grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast in Spanish, as they can in English. Thus pairs of sentences which either gave two grammatical options or presented the grammatical and ungrammatical options were thought to more accurately measure subject development in L2 Spanish. Not only acceptance of sentences but also preference was tested in this experimental task and hence two SPSS files, two sets of variables and two sets of results were obtained. The first set of variables includes nine Acceptance Variables, which test the learners' correct judgements (i.e. acceptance of grammatical sentences and rejection of ungrammatical sentences) of Verb Inflection, Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses, Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses, Null/Overt Expletive Subjects, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts and *That*-trace Sequences. The second set of variables includes ten Preference Variables, which test the learners' preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection and for what has been termed in Chapter 5 as "the English option", that is to say the learners' preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses, Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses, Overt Expletive Subjects, Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs, Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs, Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs in contexts which trigger VS, Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs in contexts which trigger SV, Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts and (That)-trace

Sequences. Nine additional variables are also included in the Preference file, which measure the learners' preference for both options in each pair of sentences, that is to say, the learners' lack of preference for either grammatical or ungrammatical verb inflection, null or overt subjects, preverbal or postverbal subjects and *that*-trace or (That)-trace sequences. As we will see, percentages of "Preference for both" tend to be higher in the sentence pairs containing two grammatically correct sentences displaying a pragmatic/discourse contrast than in the sentence pairs containing a grammatical and an ungrammatical sentence.

Section 6.3.1.1 will compare the results of each acceptance and preference variable along the three experimental age groups. In section 6.3.1.2, experimental non-native and control native data will be compared for each variable. Section 6.3.1.3 will compare the development of subject properties within each stage and section 6.3.1.4 will look at the relationship between subject and inflectional development along the three stages. Finally, section 6.3.1.5 will determine possible directionality of acquisition effects by statistically comparing the child L2 English and child L2 Spanish subject development.

As was done in section 6.2 for child L2 English, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality of distribution with the Lillefors significance correction was applied to each variable for each case group. Results of these tests are displayed in Tables 16 and 17. Some variables and/or case groups do not appear in the following tables, since they are constants and their normality cannot be calculated. Only the blue-shadowed significance results ($p>.05$) indicate normality of distribution. Overall, the data are not normally distributed, which implies that non-parametric statistical tests have to be applied in order to analyse the results:

Table 16:

Test of Normality – Acceptance Variables

Age and L1		Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	.185	7	.200(*)
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.338	7	.015
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.383	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.239	13	.040
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.455	8	.000
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.338	7	.015
	British 10 year-olds	.303	13	.002
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.226	13	.068
	British 17 year-olds	.375	8	.001
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.299	8	.034
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	.332	7	.019
	British 10 year-olds	.189	13	.200(*)
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.303	13	.002
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.392	13	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	British 10 year-olds	.415	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.532	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.371	8	.002
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.327	8	.012
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Intransitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	.435	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.248	13	.028
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.295	13	.003
	British 17 year-olds	.377	8	.001
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	British 10 year-olds	.250	13	.026
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
That-trace sequences	British 5 year-olds	.332	7	.019
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.338	7	.015
	British 10 year-olds	.309	13	.001
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000

* This is a lower bound of the true significance.
a Lilliefors significance correction.

Table 17:

Test of Normality – Preference Variables

	Age and L1	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	.173	7	.200(*)
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	British 10 year-olds	.303	13	.002
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.456	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	.296	7	.063
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.258	7	.174
	British 10 year-olds	.288	13	.004
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.505	13	.000
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	British 10 year-olds	.431	13	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	.214	7	.200(*)
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.256	7	.182
	British 10 year-olds	.269	13	.011
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.283	13	.005
	British 17 year-olds	.455	8	.000
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.455	8	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 5 year-olds	.435	7	.000
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.435	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.392	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.352	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	British 10 year-olds	.532	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.505	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.325	8	.013
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	.296	7	.063
	British 10 year-olds	.415	13	.000
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	.258	7	.174
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000

	British 10 year-olds	.470	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preference for both Grammatical and Ungrammatical Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	.331	7	.020
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.360	7	.007
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.421	7	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 10 year-olds	.258	13	.018
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.285	13	.005
	British 17 year-olds	.300	8	.033
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.325	8	.013
	British 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.338	7	.015
	British 10 year-olds	.426	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.234	13	.049
	British 17 year-olds	.513	8	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 10 year-olds	.393	13	.000
	British 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.371	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.295	13	.003
	British 17 year-olds	.228	8	.200(*)
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.327	8	.012
	Spanish Control 5 year-olds	.504	7	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 10 year-olds	.431	13	.000
	Spanish Control 10 year-olds	.456	13	.000
	British 17 year-olds	.300	8	.033
	Spanish Control 17 year-olds	.325	8	.013
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 10 year-olds	.431	13	.000
Preference for both *That*-trace/(That)-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	.421	7	.000
	British 10 year-olds	.453	13	.000

* This is a lower bound of the true significance.
a Lilliefors significance correction.

6.3.1.1 A comparison of the three stages/ages: 5, 10 and 17 non-native year-olds

With the aim of comparing the percentage of correct judgements and the preference percentage of the three age groups of non-native child L2 learners of Spanish and in order to detect significant differences among the three groups, a non-parametric one-way analysis of variance Kruskal-Wallis test was applied. Tables 18 and 19 below

indicate the level of significance of the difference of results among the three groups with respect to the variables tested.

Table 18: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Acceptance Variables: Correct Judgements

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp .Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	5.50	21.703	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	17.50		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	17.50		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	75.00	11.43	7.214	.027
	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	12.42		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	20.56		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	9.14	13.255	.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	12.35		
	British 17 year-olds	8	66.66	22.69		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	83.33	9.21	9.848	.007
	British 10 year-olds	13	87.50	13.08		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	21.44		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	17.07	9.613	.008
	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	10.35		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	19.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00c	11.00	3.089	.213
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	15.27		
	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	16.31		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	16.43	1.533	.465
	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	12.65		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	15.81		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	6.14	16.303	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	14.08		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	22.50		
That-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	7.14	10.344	.006
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	15.42		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	19.44		

Table 19: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Preference Variables

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp .Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	5.50	21.715	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	17.50		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	17.50		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	22.43	12.649	.002
	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	14.04		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	8.31		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	23.07	15.788	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	14.19		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	7.50		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	19.64	7.349	.025
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	14.19		

	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	10.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	16.64	6.120	.047
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	16.81		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	8.88		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	14.50	.000	1.000
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	14.50		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	14.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	17.50	6.247	.044
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	16.12		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	9.25		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	17.00	7.784	.020
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	15.92		
	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	10.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	22.64	13.882	.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	13.19		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	9.50		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	21.43	9.840	.007
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	12.65		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	11.44		

As was explained in section 6.2.1.1, the null hypothesis of the Kruskal-Wallis H test is that the medians obtained by each case group with respect to each variable are the same. Table 18 indicates that for all Acceptance variables except for "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" and "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs", the p-value is <.05 and therefore the null hypothesis of equal medians is abandoned, since at least one of the age groups has a significantly different median. The level of significance obtained in "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive and Unergative Verbs" (p>.05) indicates that the hypothesis of equal medians is accepted and that the three age groups obtained similar results in each of these two variables. As for the Preference variables and as can be seen in Table 19, only the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" has a non-significant p-value (p>.05), whereas the remaining variables have a significant p-value, indicating that at least one of the age groups in each variable has a significantly different median.

As was done in our previous analysis of child L2 English, the Mann-Whitney U test, with the null hypothesis of equal medians, was applied to each variable in order to find

out where in the groups the significant difference emerges and to compare the development of correct judgements and preference through the three age groups. Results from Acceptance variables (i.e. correct judgements) are presented in Table 20.

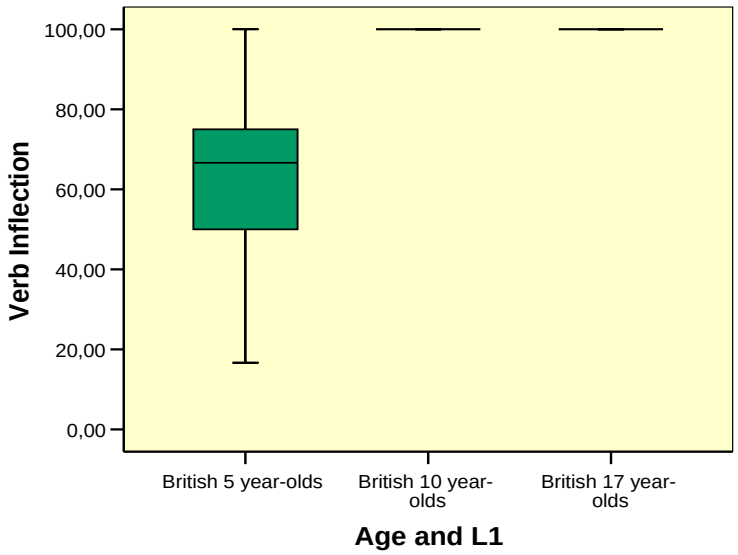
Table 20: Mann-Whitney U Test between the 5 and 10 year-olds and between the 10 and 17 year-olds. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	61.90	6.500	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	100.00		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	100.00	52.000	1.000
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	75.00	85.71	38.500	.553
	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	84.61		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	97.91	18.000	.005
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	38.09	33.000	.272
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	44.87		
	British 17 year-olds	8	66.66	66.66	11.500	.002
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	83.33	78.56	32.000	.276
	British 10 year-olds	13	87.50	85.57		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	98.43	20.000	.011
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	96.42	23.500	.047
	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	82.69		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	100.00	20.000	.007
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00c	50.00	31.500	.111
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	59.61		
	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	62.50	48.000	.727
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	85.71	33.500	.297
	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	75.00		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	84.37	40.000	.346
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	15.000	.014
	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	80.76		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	16.000	.004
That-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	16.500	.016
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	85.89		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	35.000	.141

The "Verb Inflection" variable shows a significant difference between the British 5 and 10 year-old groups (U 6.500, p=.000), whereas the 10 and the 17 year-old groups present the same percentage of correct judgements. Graph 17 provides a box-and-whisker plot which illustrates the distribution of results of "Verb Inflection" through the

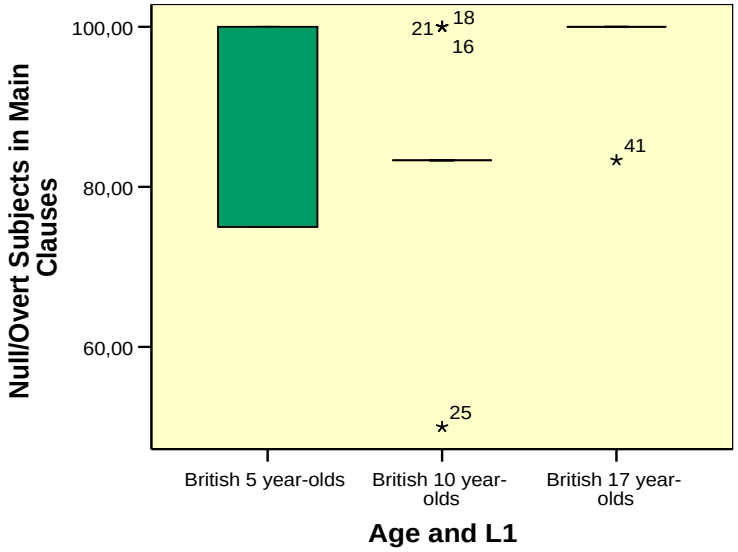
three age groups. British 5 year-olds' results present a median of 66.66% and a mean of 61.90% and show a remarkable deal of dispersion of results. The remaining two age groups, 10 and 17 year-olds, present identical medians and means (100.00%) and hence no variability is observed.

Graph 17: Box-and-whisker plot of "Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



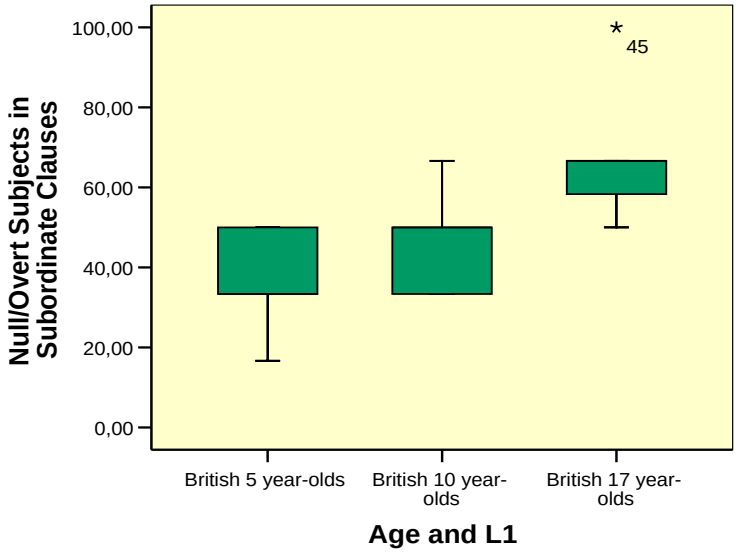
As for the correct judgements of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", the same increasing tendency is observed, although a significant difference is observed between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups (U 18.000, p=.005), whereas the first two age groups show a rather similar percentage of correct judgements. As Graph 18 indicates, results of the 5 year-old group show variability and a median of 75.00%, and the 10 year-old group obtained a percentage median of 83.33% and four extreme values. The 17 year-old group has a median value of 100.00% and apart from one extreme value shows no dispersion of results.

Graph 18: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



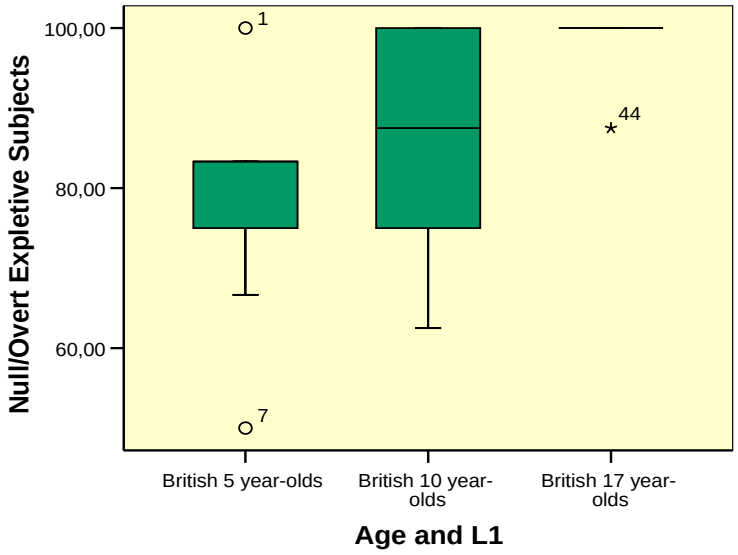
With respect to the variable "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", although the first two groups display similar medians, there is a statistically significant difference between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups (U 11.500, p=.002). Results on this variable are much lower in the three groups than in the judgements of null and overt subjects in main clauses, with medians of 33.33%, 50.00% and 66.66% for the 5, 10 and 17 year-old groups, respectively and as Graph 19 shows. Child learners of L2 Spanish seem to have more problems in acquiring subjects in subordinate clauses than in main clauses.

Graph 19: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



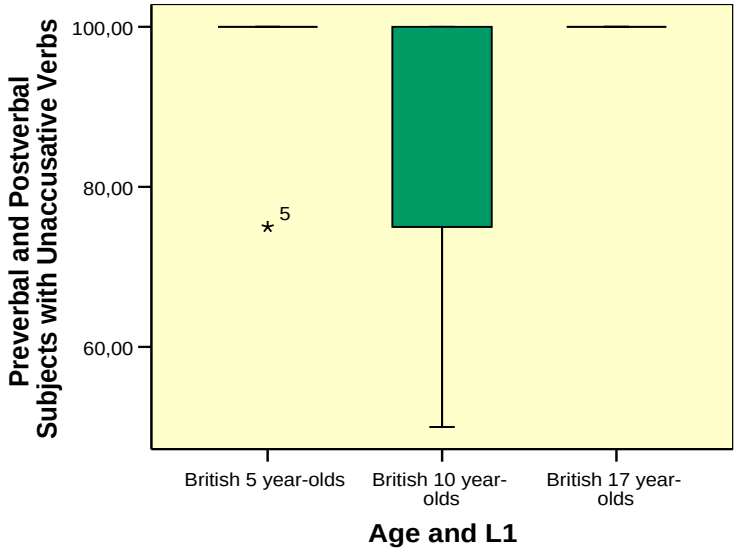
"Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" present high percentages of correct judgements, which also increase by age. A significant difference is also found between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups (U 20.000, p=.011), whose medians are 87.50% and 100.00% and whose results do not overlap. As can be seen from Graph 20, no variability is observed in the 17 year-old group, except for an extreme value, whereas 10 year-olds display remarkable dispersion of results, which overlaps with the results from the 5 year-old group. Showing less variability, the 5 year-old group has a percentage median of 83.33% and two outliers at 50.00% and 100.00%.

Graph 20: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" in the three experimental groups.



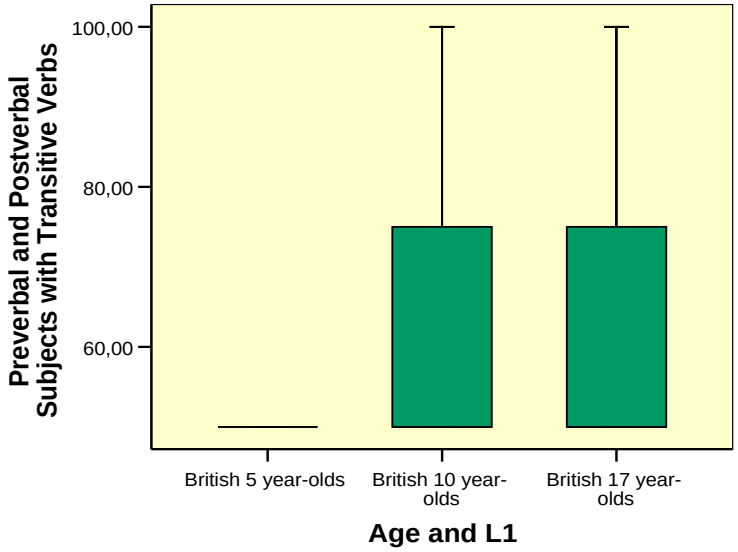
Two significant differences emerge in the results of correct judgements of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs", namely between the 5 and 10 year-old groups and the 10 and 17 year-old groups (U 23.500, p=.047 and U 20.000, p=.007), although an increase-by-age tendency is not observed here. As we see in Graph 21, both the 5 and the 17 year-old groups have a median of 100.00% and show no variability, whereas the 10 year-old group has a median of 75.00% and its distribution of results ranges from 50.00% to 100.00%.

Graph 21: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



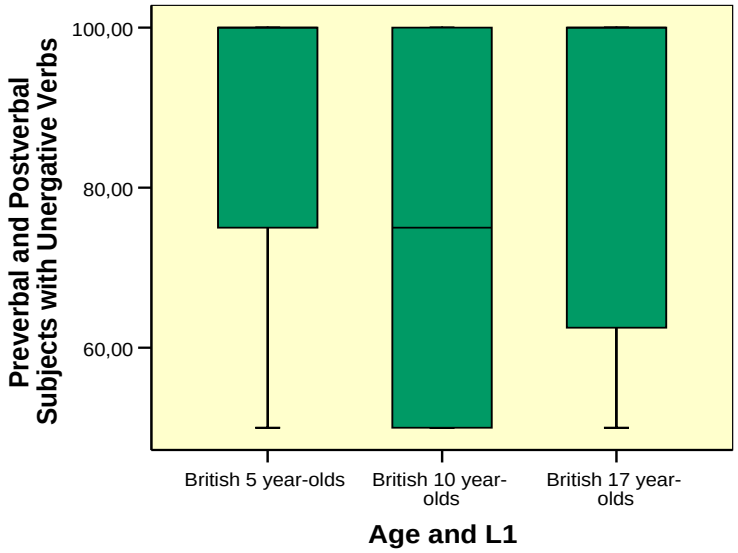
The Mann-Whitney U test null hypothesis of equal medians holds in the results of the "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" variable, as the three groups have a median of 50.00%, although their means differ slightly and follow an increasing tendency. Postverbal subjects with transitive verbs are not commonly used and rather marked in Spanish and are often incorrectly judged as ungrammatical by L2 learners. Graph 22 illustrates the distribution of results in the three non-native groups. The 5 year-old group displays a constant median value of 50.00% and hence no variability is observed. The older groups show a similar and greater deal of variability which ranges from 50.00% to 100.00%.

Graph 22: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



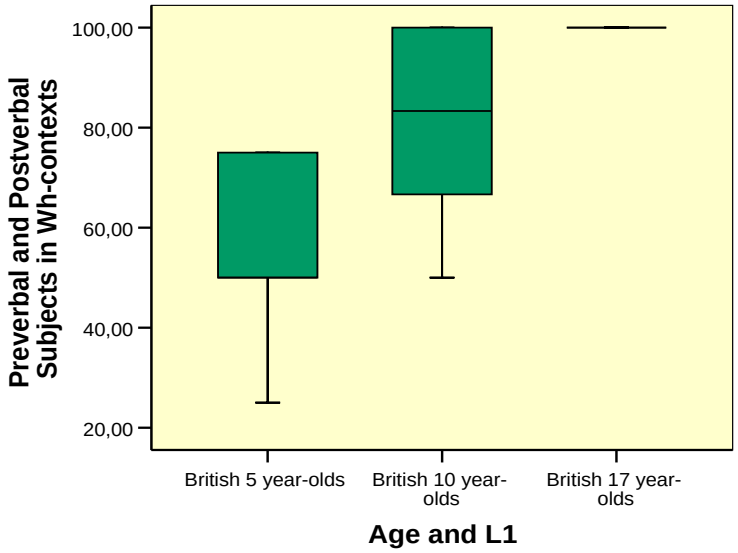
"Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" displays a great deal of overlapped variability and no significant differences emerge among the three groups of L2 learners. As Graph 23 shows, results range from 50.00% to 100.00% in the three groups and while the percentage median of correct judgements in the 10 year-old group stands at 75.00%, the younger and older groups have a median of 100.00%. Both preverbal and postverbal subjects are grammatical (without taking into account stylistic and pragmatic differences in the acceptance variables), which, as will be further discussed, raises percentages of correction in the three "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects" variables.

Graph 23: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



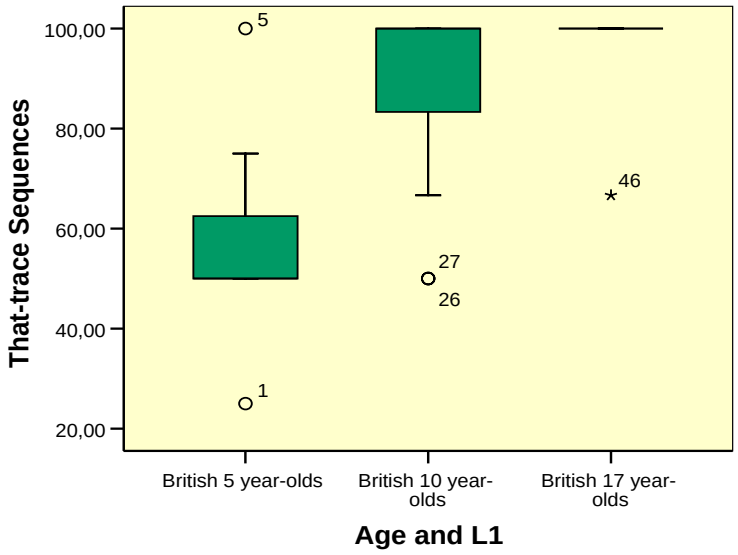
A rather different picture emerges from the results on "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts", where an increasing tendency is observed. Results from the 5 year-old group are significantly different from those of the 10 year-old group (U 15.000, p= .014), which in turn are significantly different from the 17 year-old group's (U 16.000, p= .004). As can be seen in Graph 24, the first two age groups display percentage medians of 50.00% and 83.33%, respectively and some variability, whereas results in the 17 year-old group represent a constant value at 100.00% and hence no variability.

Graph 24: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" in the three experimental groups.



Similar results are obtained in the correct judgements of "*That*-trace Sequences", although it is only the 5 and the 10 year-old group that are significantly different (U 16.500, p= .016) with 50.00% and 100.00% medians, respectively. As it was the case with the previous variable, the 17 year-old group obtained constant results at 100.00%. Graph 25 illustrates the distribution of results and the presence of some outliers and extreme values.

Graph 25: Box-and-whisker plot of "*That*-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



The Mann-Whitney U test was also applied to the set of "Preference Variables", which tested the learners' preference for grammatical verb inflection and for the "English option" (i.e. overt subjects, preverbal subjects and (that)-trace sequences). Except for the "Verb Inflection" variable , the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", which is the most natural expected order and the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in contexts triggering SV orders, results are expected to follow a general falling tendency, since the "English option" (i.e. L1 Transfer) is expected to gradually disappear. Results are displayed in Table 21.

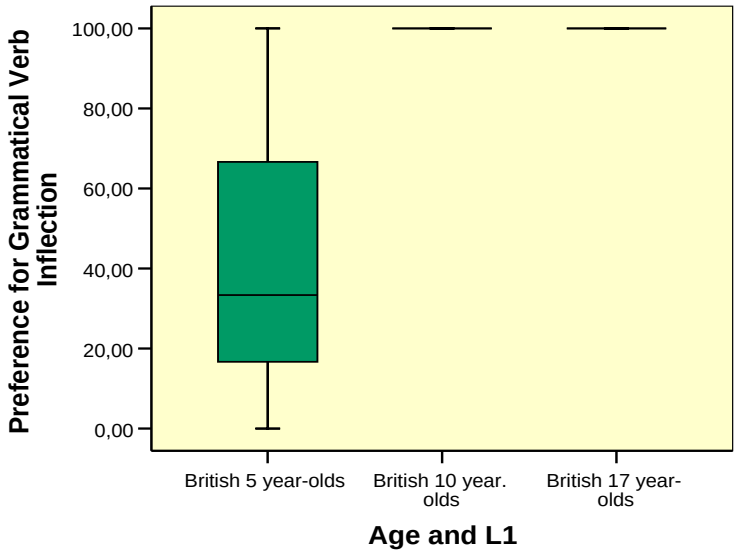
Table 21: Mann-Whitney U Test between the 5 and 10 year-olds and between the 10 and 17 year-olds. Preference variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	42.85	6.500	<.001
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	52.000	1.000
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	64.28	13.500	.008
	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	23.07		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.000	4.16	26.000	.031
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	71.42	13.500	.008
	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	28.20		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	24.000	.015
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	23.80	25.500	.072
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	7.69		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	36.000	.089
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	50.00	45.500	1.000
	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	50.00		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50	22.000	.018
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	45.500	1.000
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	52.000	1.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	71.42	41.000	.666
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	61.53		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50	26.500	.031
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	42.000	.463
	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	92.30		
	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	50.00	30.000	.031
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	12.500	.005
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	12.81		

	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	36.000	.090
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	16.000	.008
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	7.69		
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	4.16	46.500	.559

Regarding the "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", we can observe a very significant difference between the 5 year-old group and the other two groups (U 6.500, p<.001), which obtained percentage medians of 100.00% and do not show any variability. The 5 year-old group shows a much lower median (33.33%), since as we will see below, the majority of the children in this group showed a preference for both grammatical and ungrammatical instances of verb inflection, thus not being totally aware of verb inflection grammaticality.

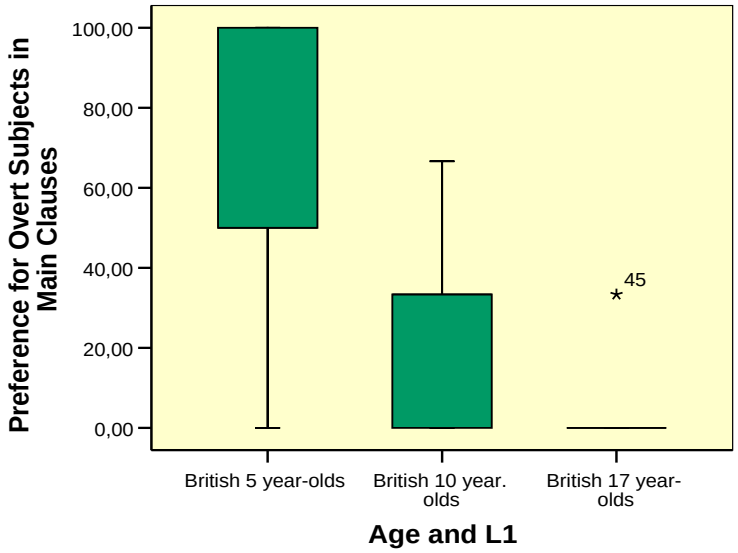
Graph 26: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



The "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" shows a clear decrease-by-age tendency, as was expected. The sentences included in the task to test this variable involved a neutral non-emphatic context and hence a null subject was expected. The age/stage groups display medians of 50.00%, 33.33% and 0.00% and significant differences can be observed between the 5 and the 10 year-old groups (U 13.500,

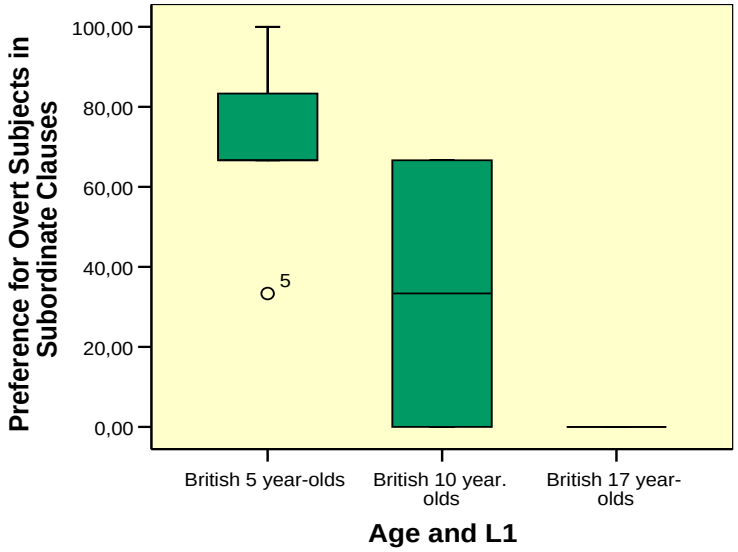
p=.008) and the 10 and 17 year-old groups (U 26.000, p=.031), as Graph 27 indicates. Except for an extreme value, no variability is found in the 17 year-old group's results.

Graph 27: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



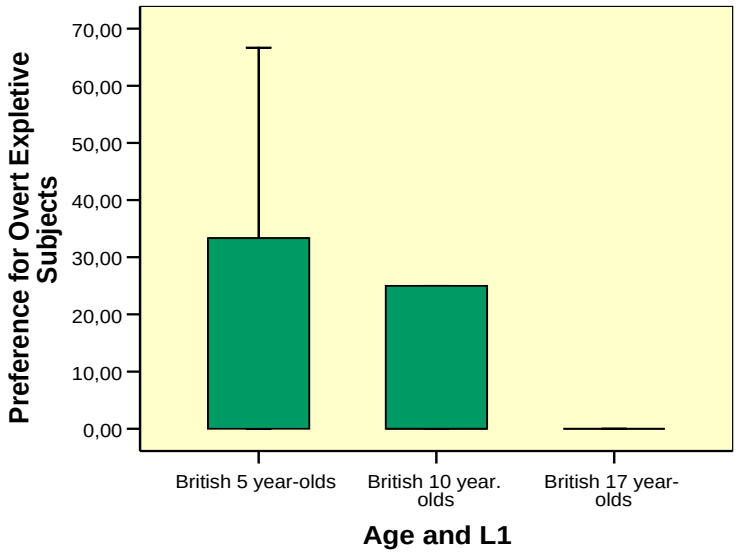
In subordinate clauses similar results are obtained. Sentences testing this variable in the task triggered missing subjects as no contrastive context was provided. A declining tendency is observed with percentage medians of 66.66%, 33.33% and 0.00%, respectively. Both the 5 and 10 year-old groups and the 10 and 17 year-old groups differ significantly (U 13.500, p=.008 and U 24.000, p=.015) and while the first two groups show certain degree of dispersion of results, the 17 year-old group has a constant result value of 0.00%. Graph 28 illustrates the results on this variable.

Graph 28: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



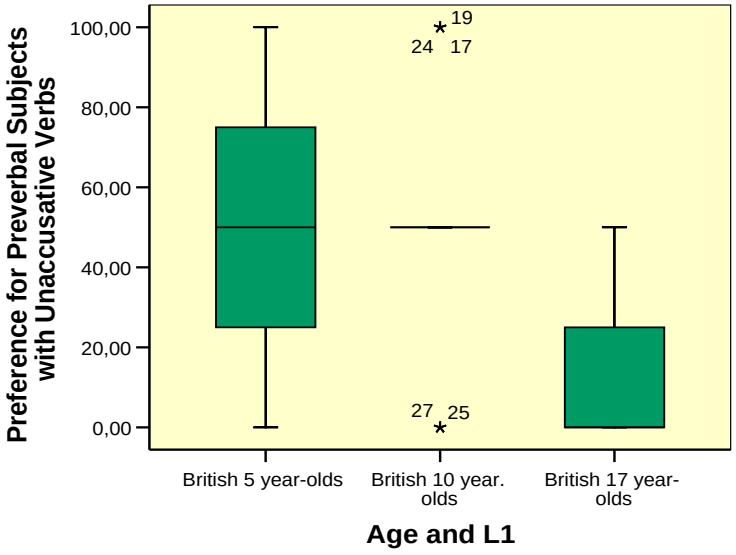
"Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" displays lower results already from the 5 year-old group, whose percentage median is only 33.33% and has a mean value of 23.80%. No significant differences are found among any of the groups, whose variability of results overlap. Both the 10 and the 17 year-old groups have a 0.00% median, although the 10 year-old group shows variability whereas the 17 year-old group displays a constant result value, as can be seen in Graph 29 below.

Graph 29: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" in the three experimental groups.



As was explained in Chapter 4 section 4.3.5.2 the discourse neutral word order for unergative verbs is SV whereas for unaccusative verbs it is VS and in informationally focused structures both unergative and unaccusative verbs trigger VS word orders. The sentences in the task that tested "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" present neutral and focused environments and trigger VS word order. A decreasing tendency is observed with the first and second groups displaying a percentage median of 50.00% whereas the 17 year-old group shows a 0.00% median and is therefore significantly different from the other two groups (U 22.000, p=.018). The 5 year-old group shows a great deal of variability thus implying that very young children are not yet aware of any discourse constraints. The results from the 10 year-old group present a number of extreme values at 100.00% and 0.00% and the 17 year-old group's variability of results ranges from 50.00% to 0.00%, as can be seen in Graph 30.

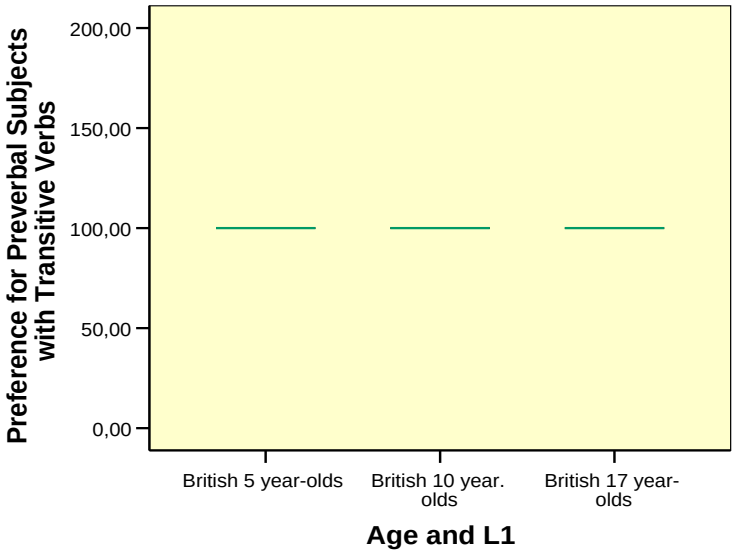
Graph 30: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



A 100.00% "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" is observed in the three experimental groups and with no variability of results. A VS order in transitive constructions is indeed a marked or unnatural order, which native speakers often reject

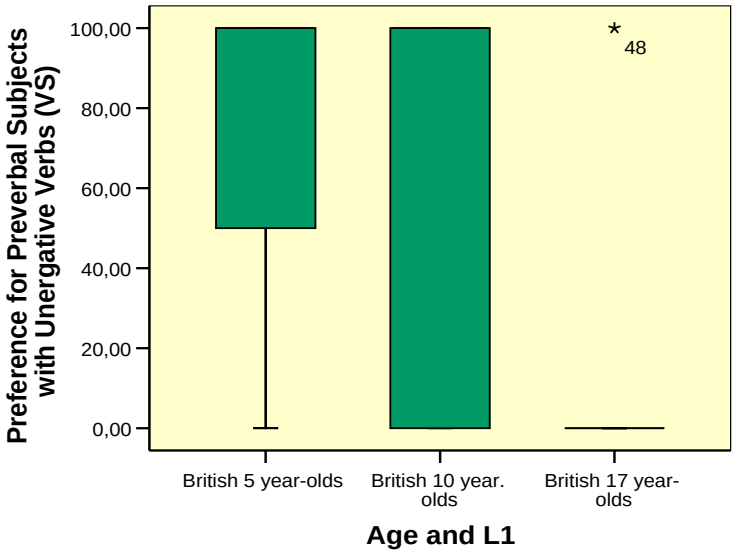
and which non-native speakers clearly do not prefer. Graph 31 illustrates the unanimous distribution of results.

Graph 31: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



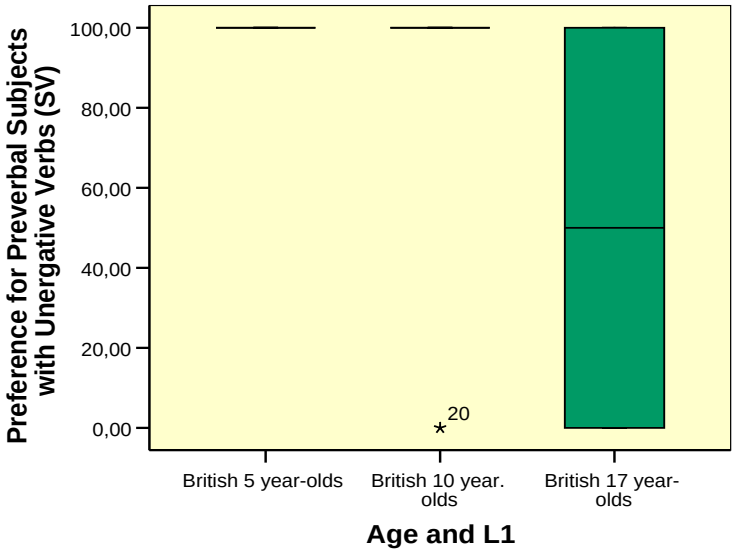
As can be seen in Graph 32, "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in focused contexts, where a VS order is triggered, shows a great deal of dispersion of results in the first two groups, although their percentage medians are 100.00% and their means reach 71.42% and 61.53%, respectively. A significant difference is observed between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups, whose median is 0.00% (U 26.500, p=.031).

Graph 32: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" in the three experimental groups.



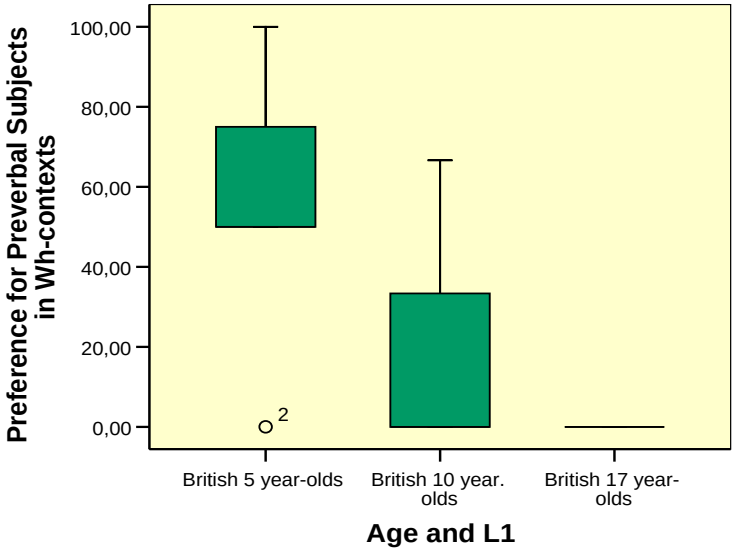
Rather different results are obtained in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in neutral contexts, where an SV order is expected. As Graph 33 indicates, both 5 and 10 year-old groups display a percentage median of 100.00%, which shows their clear preference for preverbal subjects. The 17 year-old group has a median value of 50.00% although its results range from 100.00% to 0.00%, which shows some awareness of the preverbal/postverbal subject verb order but not clear sensitivity to the pragmatic/discourse distinction. A significant difference of results is clearly observed between the 10 and the 17 year-old groups (U 30.000, p=.031).

Graph 33: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" in the three experimental groups.



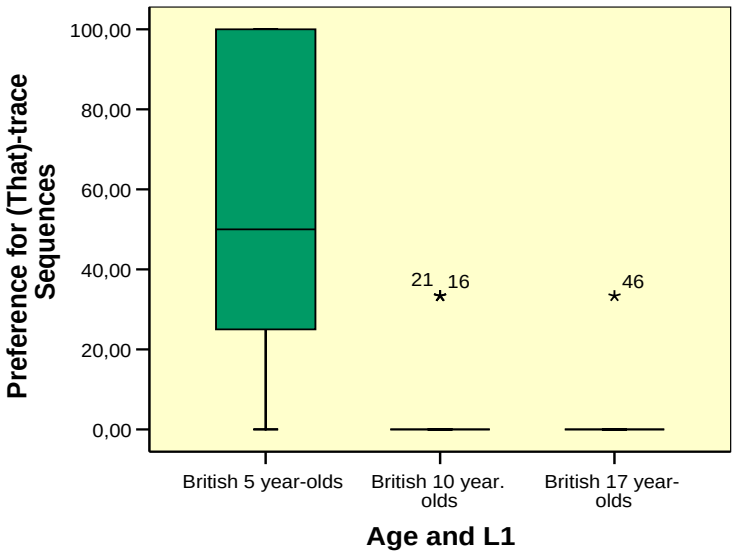
In the case of Wh-contexts, the preverbal/postverbal distinction corresponds to an ungrammaticality/grammaticality contrast and as was predicted, the falling tendency is more clearly observed. Medians are significantly different between the 5 and the 10 year-old groups (U 12.500, p=.005). As Graph 34 illustrates, the first two groups show considerable variability though their medians are 50.00% and 0.00%, respectively, and overlapping of results is minimal. The 17 year-old group displays a clear constant result value of 0.00%.

Graph 34: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" in the three experimental groups.



The last preference variable, shown in Graph 35, tests the non-native speakers' preference for "*That*-trace Sequences" with the complementiser missing. As the choice of preference here also implied a grammatical/ungrammatical distinction, a decreasing tendency of results was also expected. With a great deal of variability, the 5 year-old group shows a 50.00% median value, which is significantly different from that of the 10 year-old group (and the 17 year-old group), whose medians are 0.00% (U 16.000, p=.008).

Graph 35: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



In short and as for the Acceptance Variables, a growing tendency of correct judgements has been observed in all variables except in the Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects, where rather high but variable results were obtained. Preference Variables showed a decreasing tendency as the variables tested the learners' preference for the L1 feature value, or in other words, for the "English option". The Preverbal/Postverbal Subject distinction was not grammatical but discursive here, and results show a slight tendency towards the L2 discourse specifications. These results will be discussed and interpreted in section 6.3.2 below.

A word is needed to refer to those learners who could not decide which of the two alternatives in each pair of sentences in the task they preferred the most, since none sounded better than the other, which indicates that no grammatical and/or pragmatic distinction is made on the part of the learner. Table 22 below presents the percentage medians and means of undecided responses. Results are generally very low and no significant differences among the age groups are found except in the "Preference for both Grammatical/Ungrammatical Verb Inflection"[97].

Table 22: Descriptive statistics of the "Preference for both" variables from the three experimental groups.

"Preference for both" Variables	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %
Preference for both Gram.l/ Ungram. Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00	28.57
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00c	0.00
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00
	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	30.76
	British 17 year-olds	8	16.66	20.83
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00	4.76
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	25.64
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	4.16
Preference for both Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	11.53
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00	7.14
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	26.92
	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	43.75

[97] Kruskal-Wallis Test: Chi-square 9.683, p=.008.

Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00c	0.00
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	15.38
	British 17 year-olds	8	25.00	31.25
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	10.25
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both (That)-trace and *That*-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	0.00	21.42
	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	15.38
	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00

As we will justify in section 6.3.2 below, learners have a stronger tendency to prefer both alternatives in a sentence pair which includes two grammatically correct sentences displaying a discourse contrast than in a sentence pair containing a grammatical and an ungrammatical sentences. As will be argued, purely syntactic contrasts are more readily acquired than pragmatic constraints.

6.3.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses

As was done with L2 English, non-native L2 Spanish and native Spanish control groups' results on each age/stage group were statistically compared for each acceptance and preference variable with the Mann-Whitney U test of paired independent samples. Tables and graphs are provided to describe the results for each group and variable.

As Table 23 indicates, non-native and native 5 year-old groups' percentages of correct judgements do not differ significantly in all variables. Results are significantly different ($p<.05$) in "Verb Inflection", "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "*That*-trace Sequences", where the control native group obtained percentage medians of 100.00%, while the results of the 5 year-old experimental group are much lower. With respect to "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses", the two groups behave in a similar way and no

significant differences are observed. Whereas median percentages of correct results are considerably high when judging null and overt subjects in main clauses (i.e. 75.00% in the experimental group and 100.00% in the control group, with even more similar mean percentages, namely 85.71% vs 96.42%), they are much lower but still very similar to each other in the case of null and overt subjects in subordinate clauses (i.e. 33.33% vs 50.00% median values and 38.09% vs 40.47% mean values). Results on the acceptance of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs" are similarly high in both groups, whose medians reach 100.00%. As was seen in the previous section, "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" pattern differently from results of the other related variables all through the three age/stage groups. Whereas preverbal verbs sound completely natural in these contexts, postverbal verbs are considered extremely marked and they tend to be judged as ungrammatical by both the experimental and the control group, thus yielding percentage of median results of 50%. Graphs 35-43 below show the native - non-native comparison of results for each variable in the three age/stage groups.

Table 23: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 5 year-old groups. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	61.90	8.000	.029
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00	90.47		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	75.00	85.71	14.000	.107
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00	96.42		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	38.09	21.500	.674
	Control 5 year-olds	7	50.00	40.47		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	83.33	78.56	3.500	.003
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	96.42	21.000	.317
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00c	50.00	14.000	.060
	Control 5 year-olds	7	50.00	71.42		

Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	85.71	17.500	.141
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	.000	.001
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
That-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	9.000	.037
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00	85.71		

Results from the 10 year-old groups show that the experimental informants' correct judgements percentages have increased, although they do not reach the native speakers' levels of competence in all variables. As can be seen in Table 24 and in Graph 35, "Verb Inflection" displays no significant difference between the control and the experimental groups, whose percentage medians reach 100.00% of correctness. As for "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs" both groups also obtain similarly high percentages of correctness and the hypothesis of equal medians can be maintained. Similarly to the 5 year-old groups, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" seem to present difficulties for native and non-native informants, whose medians reach 50.00% and they mostly reject postverbal subjects in this construction. "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" continue to display low results in comparison to the other variables, though a significant difference between the two groups can be observed (U 24.500, p=.001). Non-native children's results on "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "*That*-trace Sequences" have also increased but the significant difference between the experimental and the control group is maintained, as the latter presents a constant percentage median value of 100.00%.

Table 24: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 10 year-old groups. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00	84.500	1.000
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	84.61	81.000	.842
	Control 10 year-olds	13	83.33	85.89		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	44.87	24.500	.001
	Control 10 year-olds	13	66.66	66.66		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 10 year-olds	13	87.50	85.57	26.000	<.001
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	82.69	62.500	.201
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00	90.38		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	59.61	64.500	.135
	Control 10 year-olds	13	50.00	51.92		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 10 year-olds	13	75.00	75.00	80.500	.825
	Control 10 year-olds	13	75.00	73.07		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 10 year-olds	13	83.33	80.76	26.000	<.001
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
That-trace Sequences	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	85.89	45.500	.007
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		

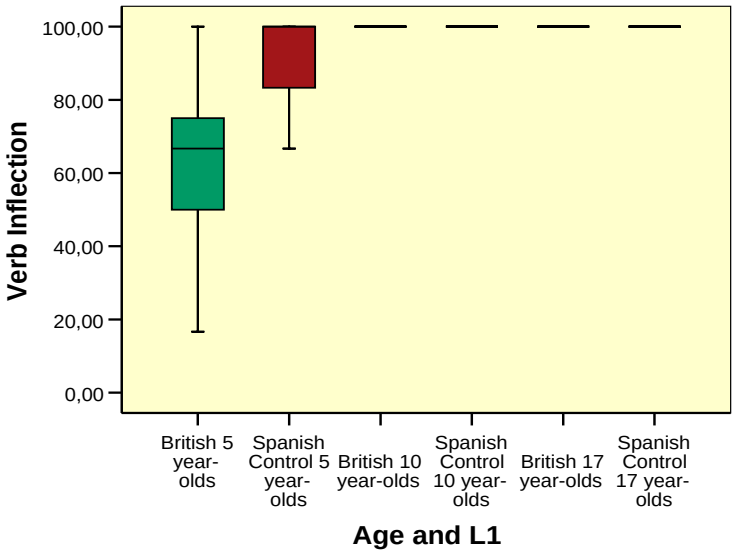
Table 25 presents the results of the 17 year-old experimental and control groups. All variables except "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", have reached median values of 100.00% in both groups and hence no significant differences emerge. "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" also maintain the null hypothesis of equal medians, although their median and mean values are much lower than in the other variables and we can observe that not much development has taken place in the correct acceptance/rejection of such constructions. A word is needed on the results from "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", where the only significant difference between the 17 year-old groups occurs

(U 12.000, p=.015). Unexpectedly, non-native children's results are significantly higher that those of the control group, whose percentage median and mean are considerably high but in which some variability of results is observed, as can be seen in Graph 36.

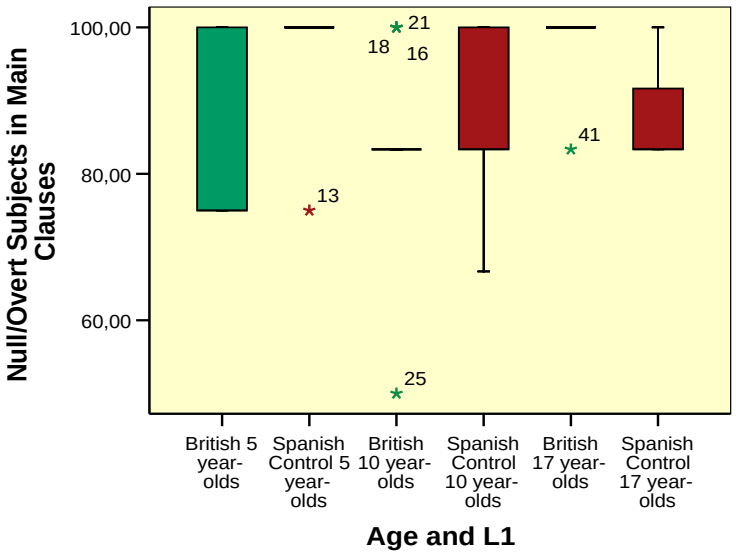
Table 25: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 17 year-old groups. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	97.91	12.000	.015
	Control 17 year-olds	8	83.33	87.49		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 17 year-olds	8	66.66	66.66	30.000	.824
	Control 17 year-olds	8	58.33	66.66		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	98.43	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	62.50	16.500	.079
	Control 17 year-olds	8	75.00	78.12		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	84.37	23.000	.213
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	96.87		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	97.91		
That-trace Sequences	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00	95.83	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		

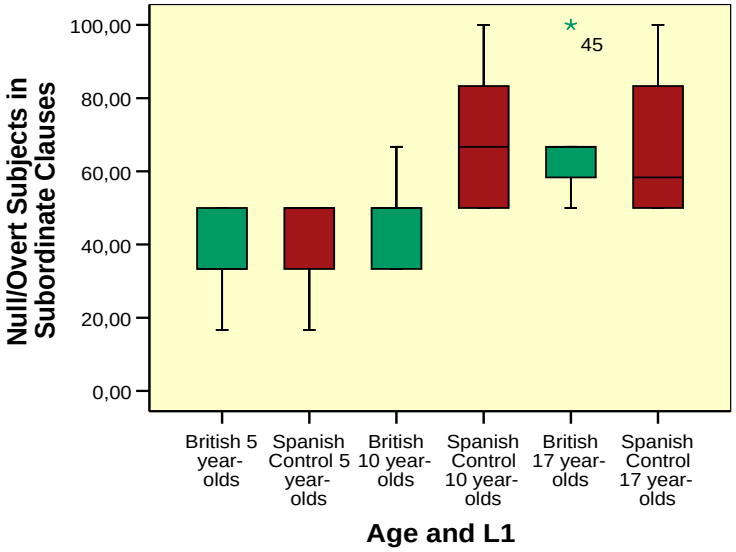
Graph 35: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



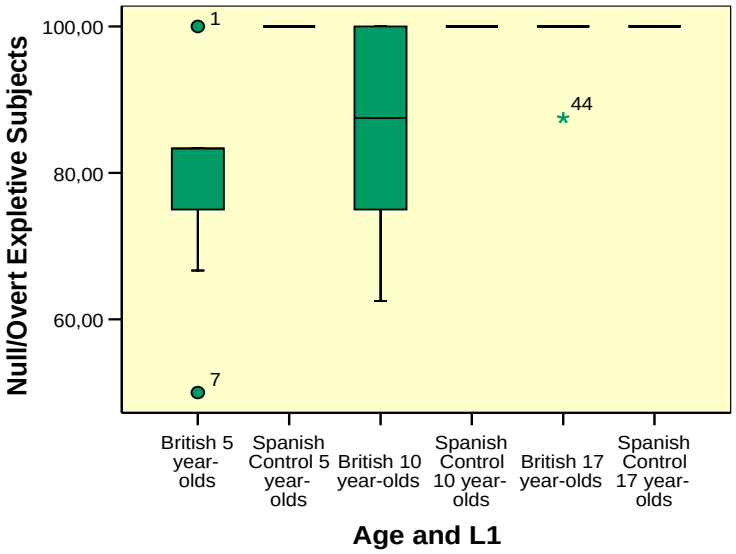
Graph 36: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



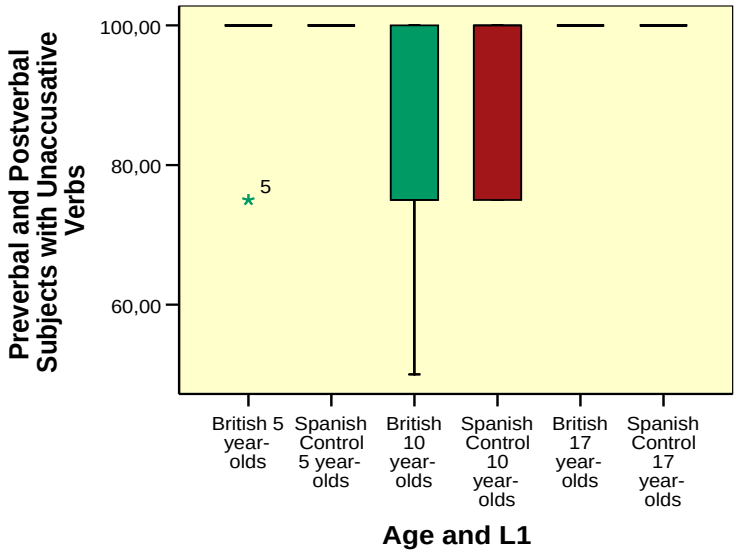
Graph 37: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



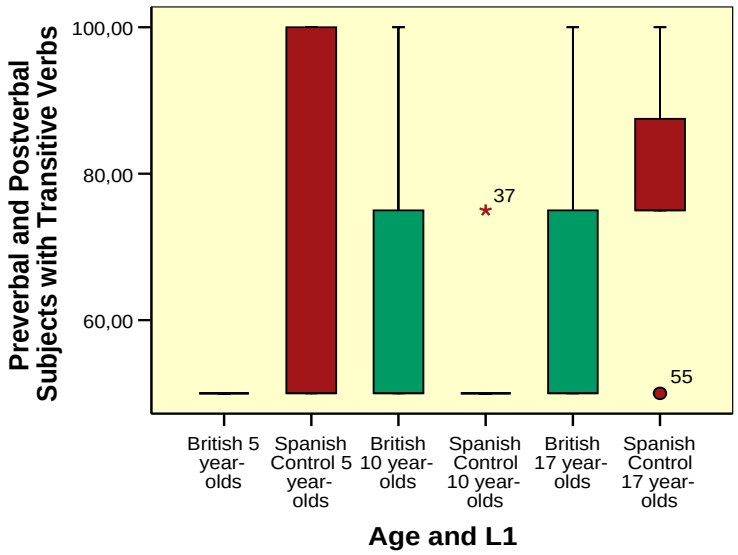
Graph 38: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



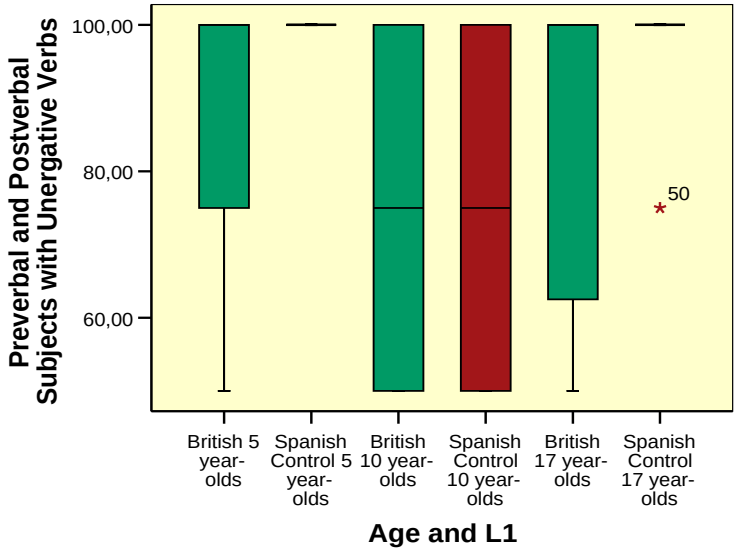
Graph 39: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



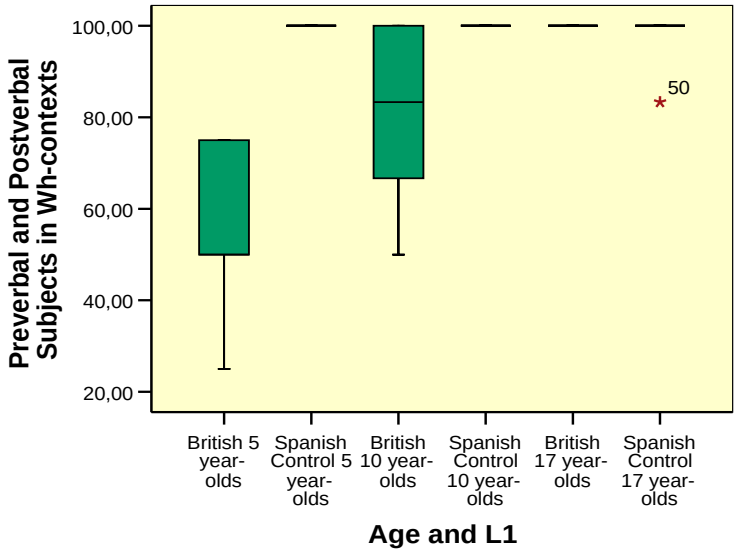
Graph 40: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



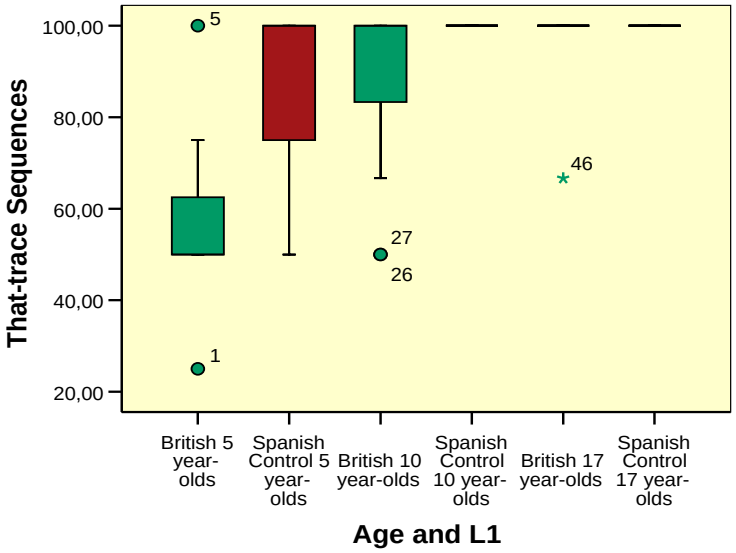
Graph 41: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 42: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 43: Box-and-whiskers plot of "*That*-trace Sequences" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



With respect to the preference variables in the control and experimental 5 year-old groups, results are similar to those of the acceptance variables, in that significantly different medians occur in the same variables. Control 5 year-old children prefer grammatical verb inflection significantly more than the experimental informants, whose median only reaches 33.33% in this variable and dispersion of results ranges from 0.00% to 100.00%. As for "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects", which is the "English option", non-native children prefer it significantly more (U 10.500, p=.024) than native children, who never chose it. Results are also significantly different between the two 5 year-old groups in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and in "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences", where control children display percentage medians of 0.00%, whereas non-native children's results reach medians of 50.00%. As for the other variables, both groups show similar results and hence the null hypothesis of equal medians of the Mann-Whitney U test can be maintained. British experimental children and control children prefer overt subjects in main and subordinate clauses, when a null subject would be required, and preverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, when a postverbal subject would be required, with percentage median values of 50.00%,

66.66% and 50.00%, respectively. As for "Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", they were preferred with constant value results of 100.00% by both groups and hence postverbal subjects with transitive verbs were totally dispreferred. Likewise, no significant differences between groups were found in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in focused structures triggering VS word order and in neutral contexts triggering SV word order. In contexts triggering a VS word order, the non-native children have stronger preference for preverbal subjects than native children (i.e 100.00% vs 0.00%). Yet their mean values come closer to each other and as can be observed in Graph 50, their variability of results overlaps completely and ranges from 100.00% to 0.00%, which makes the difference of results non-significant. As will be discussed in section 6.3.2, preverbal subjects are always preferred by L2 learners in all contexts, except with unaccusative verbs, where preverbal and postverbal subjects are equally preferred.

Table 26: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 5 year-old groups. Preference variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	42.85	9.500	.043
	Control 5 year-olds	7	66.66	80.94		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	64.28	24.500	1.000
	Control 5 year-olds	7	50.00	64.28		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 5 year-olds	7	66.66	71.42	24.000	.945
	Control 5 year-olds	7	66.66	71.42		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 5 year-olds	7	33.33	23.80	10.500	.024
	Control 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	50.00	19.500	.493
	Control 5 year-olds	7	50.00	35.71		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	24.500	1.000
	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00	71.42	14.000	.122
	Control 5 year-olds	7	0.00	28.57		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative	British 5 year-olds	7	100.00c	100.00	14.000	.060

Verbs (SV)	Control 5 year-olds	7	100.00	57.14		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	3.500	.003
	Control 5 year-olds	7	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 5 year-olds	7	50.00	57.14	9.000	.027
	Control 5 year-olds	7	0.00	7.14		

The preference for the "English option" lowers considerably as age and exposure to the L2 increase and thus results get closer and closer to those of the native group in the 10 year-old children. As Table 27 illustrates, only three variables display significantly different results between native and non-native speakers, namely "Preference for Overt subjects in Subordinate Clauses", "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts". Yet the experimental group's median and mean values are reasonably low, which indicates clear development. As for "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", both groups display constant value results of 100.00%, suggesting that inflection has developed not only in the experimental group but also in the control group. Results on "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" have lowered in both groups according to the L1 (for the control group) and the target L2 grammar (for the experimental group). The Preverbal/Postverbal distinction remains problematic when it comes to preference and discourse matters. Preverbal and postverbal subjects are still equally preferred (i.e. with a median value of 50.00%) with unaccusative verbs by both native and non-native children, whereas the expected word order is VS in both focused and neutral contexts in Spanish. As was the case with the 5 year-old groups, preverbal subjects are preferred with transitive verbs by both groups with constant result values of 100.00%, which confirms the strongly marked status of postverbal subjects with transitive verbs. As will be discussed in section 6.3.2, children L2 learners do have certain knowledge that postverbal subjects are grammatical in Spanish though they

entirely disprefer them. Regarding the preferred word order with neutral and focused contexts with unergative verbs, preverbal subjects are highly preferred by the two groups, even in the focused context, where a postverbal subject is pragmatically preferred. In short, discourse factors related to word order remain problematic for both native and non-native speakers at this age/stage.

Table 27: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 10 year-old groups. Preference variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00	84.500	1.000
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	23.07	54.500	.079
	Control 10 year-olds	13	0.00	10.25		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 10 year-olds	13	33.33	28.20	48.000	.026
	Control 10 year-olds	13	0.00	5.12		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	7.69	58.500	.033
	Control 10 year-olds	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 10 year-olds	13	50.00	50.00	64.500	.267
	Control 10 year-olds	13	50.00	34.61		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00	84.500	1.000
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	61.53	78.000	.697
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00	53.84		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	British 10 year-olds	13	100.00	92.30	78.000	.547
	Control 10 year-olds	13	100.00	84.61		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	12.81	58.500	.033
	Control 10 year-olds	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 10 year-olds	13	0.00	7.69	65.000	.071
	Control 10 year-olds	13	0.00c	0.00		

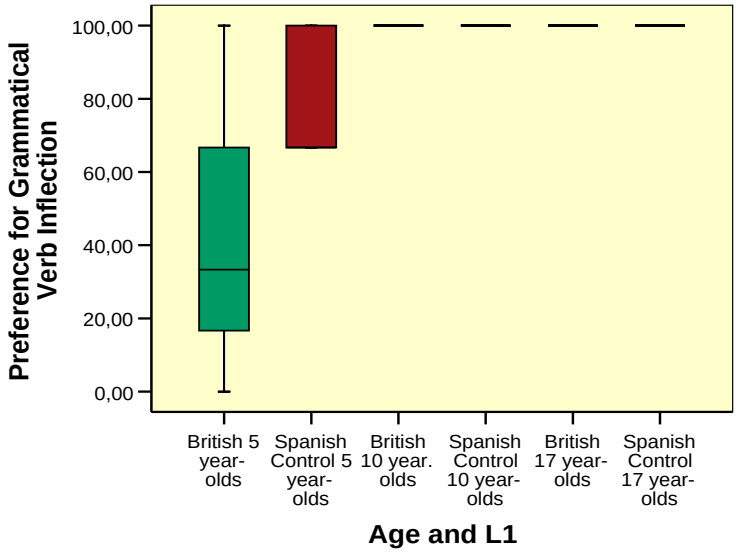
Target-like preference is already in place for the 17 year-old groups. No significant differences in the results emerge between the experimental and the control group, whose preference judgements are syntactically and pragmatically native-like. We can see in

Table 28 and in Graphs 44-53 that median values of preference for grammatical verb inflection and for the "English option" stand at 100.00% and 0.00%, respectively. Postverbal subjects are correctly preferred with unergative verbs in focused contexts (VS) and with unaccusative verbs, and correctly dispreferred with unergative verbs in neutral contexts (SV). Not surprisingly, preverbal subjects are strongly preferred with transitive verbs with constant result values of 100.00%, as the transitive structures presented in the task do not involve focused contexts.

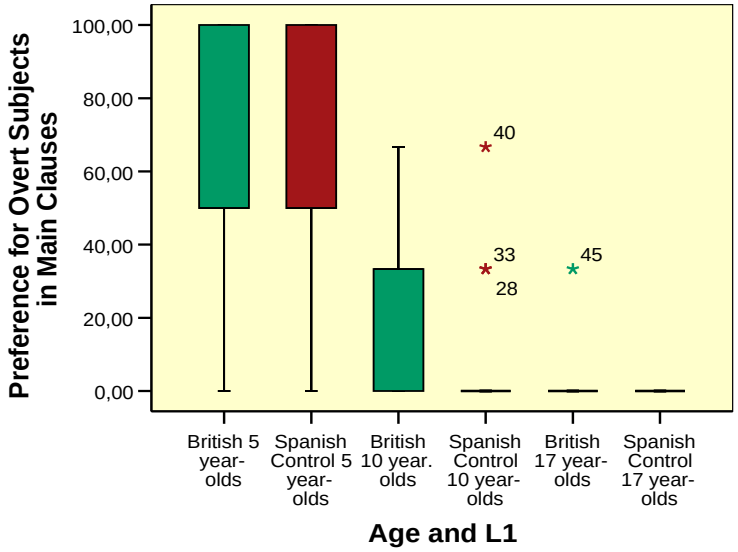
Table 28: Mann-Whitney U Test between experimental and control 17 year-old groups. Preference variables.

Variable	Age and L1	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	4.16	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	British 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00	12.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	British 17 year-olds	8	50.00	50.00	20.000	.117
	Control 17 year-olds	8	100.00	87.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00	32.000	1.000
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	British 17 year-olds	8	0.00	4.16	28.000	.317
	Control 17 year-olds	8	0.00c	0.00		

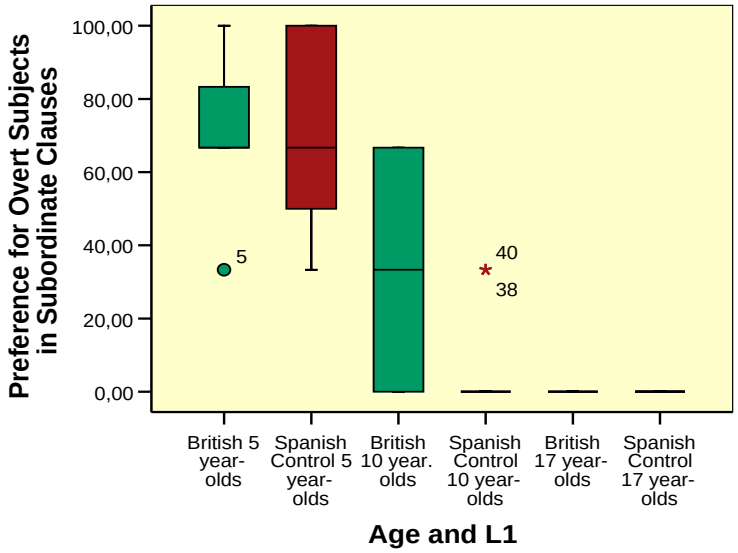
Graph 44: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



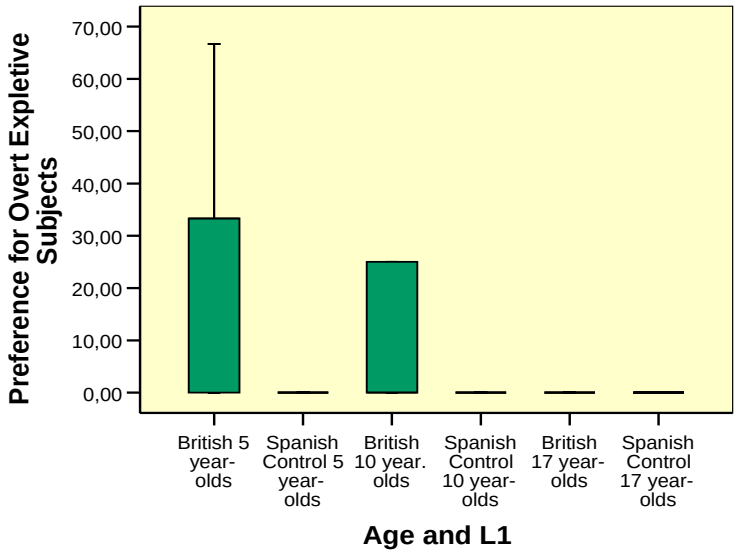
Graph 45: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



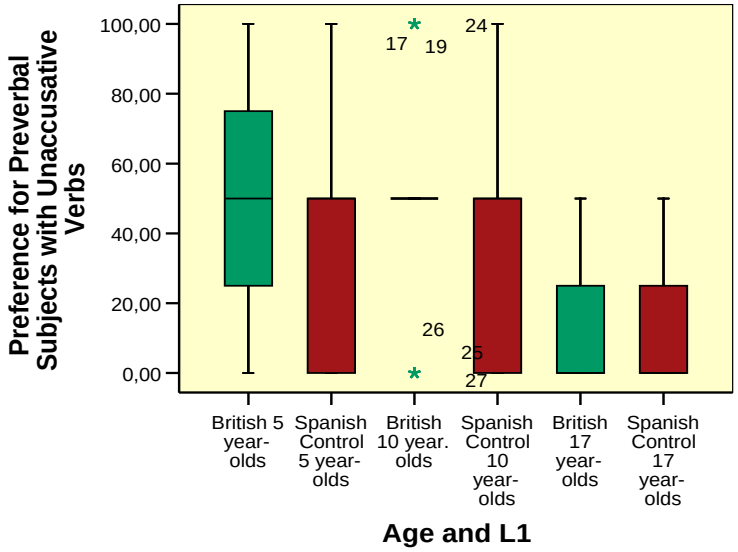
Graph 46: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



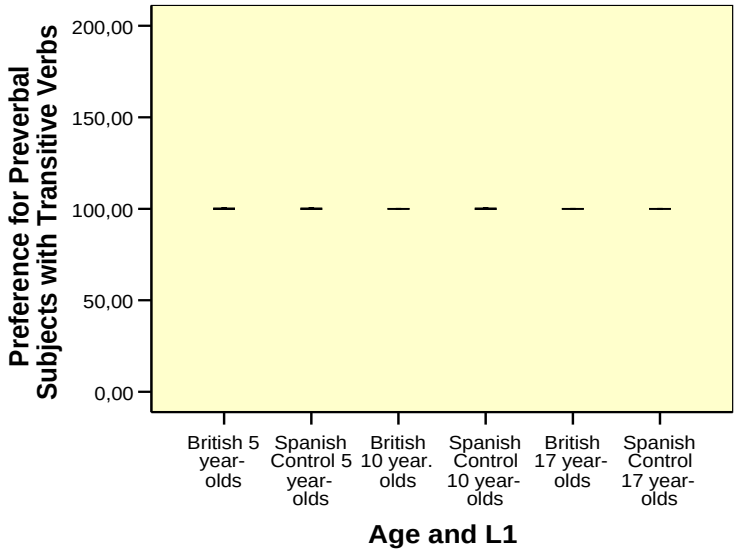
Graph 47: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



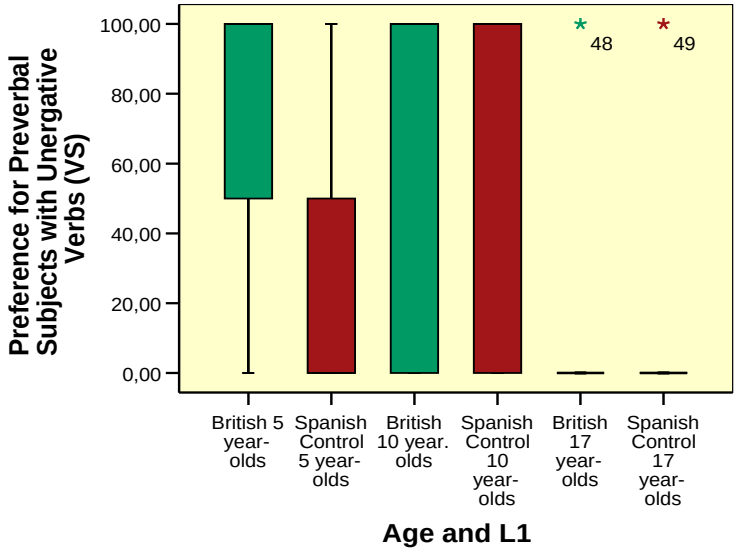
Graph 48: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



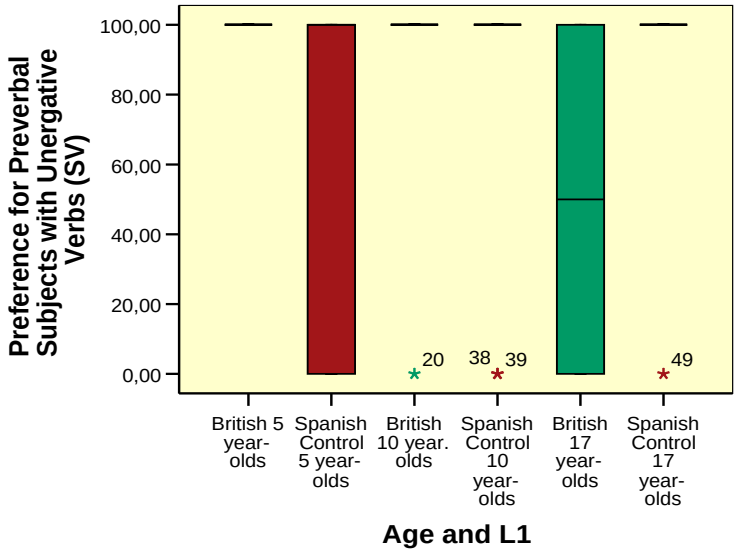
Graph 49: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



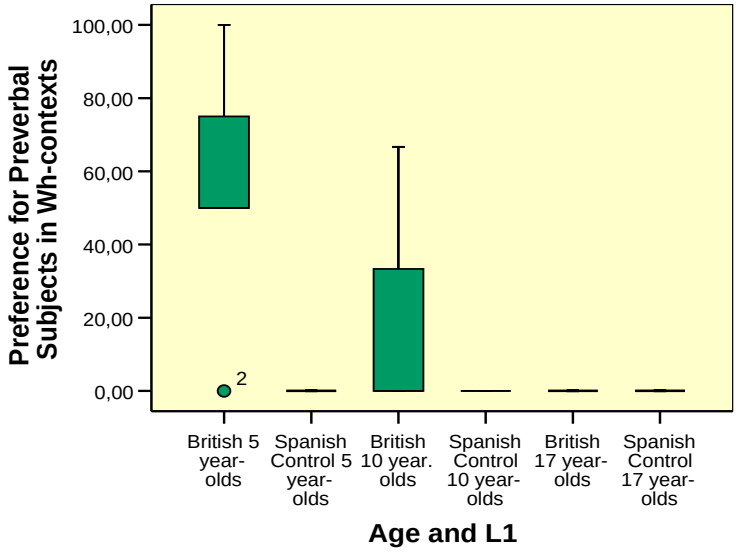
Graph 50: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



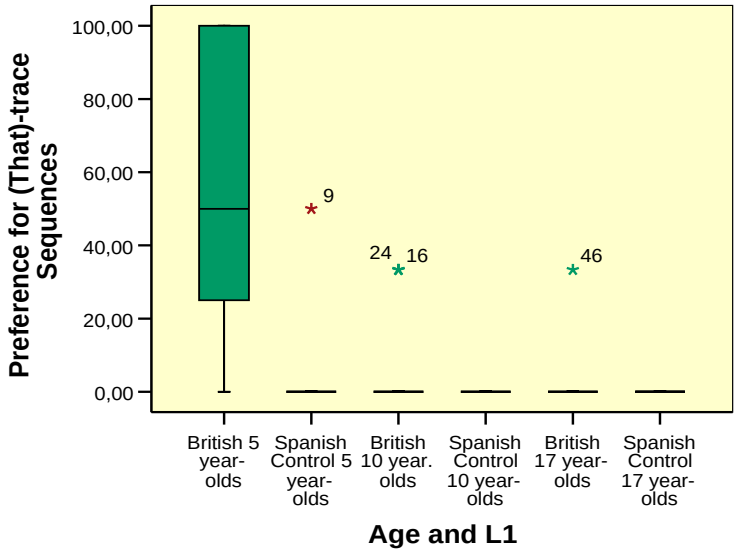
Graph 51: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 52: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



Graph 53: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" for the three experimental and the three control groups.



In sum, there is a clear tendency for correct judgements to increase and for preference for the "English option" to lower with age reaching native-like levels. Yet the experimental group's percentage values of discourse/pragmatically related variables (i.e. overt subjects in main and declarative clauses and preverbal subjects with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs) are less native-like than the purely syntactic judgements in the acceptance variables. As for the native control group, their preference judgements of discourse/pragmatically related variables are not as accurate as expected. We will

now analyse the development of the subject properties traditionally related to the Null Subject Parameter at each of the three stage/age experimental groups.

6.3.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages/ages

As was done with the L2 English experimental groups, the acceptance/rejection (i.e. correct judgements) of null/overt expletive subjects, null/overt pronominal subjects in main and subordinate clauses, preverbal/postverbal subjects[98] and *That*-trace sequences were statistically compared to one another at each of the three non-native stage/age groups to determine their similar or distinct behaviour in terms of L1 Transfer and acquisition. Only Acceptance Variables were considered to be indicative of the learners' structural acquisition of the feature value responsible for L2 subject development, as Preference Variables were generally taken to illustrate the learners' discursive and pragmatic use of subjects. For each group, paired comparisons of related samples were carried out using the non-parametric Wilcoxon Z test with the Bonferroni correction[99], which tests the null hypothesis that two related medians are the same.

Table 29 displays the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the 5 year-old L2 Spanish group. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for any variables ($p>.05$), which suggests that all variables, including the *That*-trace Sequences variables behave similarly in the 5 year-old group.

[98] In order to carry out this analysis, the four Acceptance Variables dealing with preverbal/postverbal subjects with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs and in Wh-contexts, where postverbal subjects are obligatory, were grouped into a single variable, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects to facilitate the analysis.

[99] As was done in the analysis of L2 English, if the obtained p-values were already non-significant (i.e. $p>.05$), the Bonferroni correction was not applied.

Table 29: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the 5 year-old L2 Spanish experimental group.

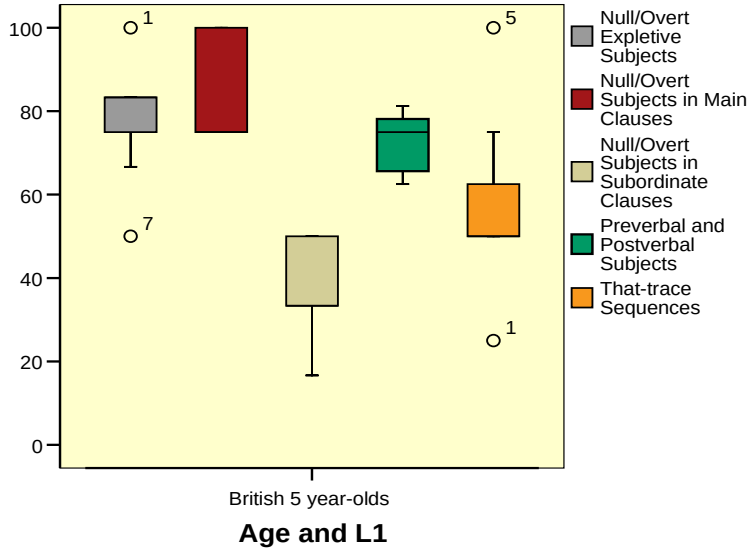
	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-2.375) p= .180	Z (-1.581) p= .114	Z(-2.214) p= .270	Z (-1.807) p= .071
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-2.375) p= .180		Z (-2.375) p= .180	Z (-2.375) p= .180	Z (-1.461) p= .144
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-1.581) p= .114	Z (-2.375) p= .180		Z (-1.016) p= .310	Z (-1.577) p= .115
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z(-2.214) p= .270	Z (-2.375) p= .180	Z (-1.016) p= .310		Z (-1.442) p= .149
That-trace Sequences	Z (-1.807) p= .071	Z (-1.461) p= .144	Z (-1.577) p= .115	Z (-1.442) p= .149	

Graph 54 presents the distribution of results and the non-significant differences among the medians. Percentages of correct judgements are reasonably high in the case of null/overt subjects in main clauses, null/overt expletive subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects[100], namely 75.00%, 83.00% and 75.00%, respectively. Percentages are a bit lower, though not significantly different, in the case of null/overt subjects in subordinate clauses (33.00%) and *that*-trace sequences (50.00%), although the former displays no significant difference from the control group, whose percentage is 50.00% (see section 6.3.1.2) and the latter is significantly different from the control group, whose median is 100.00%. The experimental group's percentages of correct judgements of null/overt subjects in main clauses are non-significantly different from the control group's either, although in the three remaining variables significant differences exist between native and non-native speakers. In short, subject variables appear to behave similarly in the 5 year-old group. Yet the fact that percentages are generally high and that not all variable medians significantly differ from the ones in the control group suggests that the hypothesised period of clustered L1 Transfer of subject

[100] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 75.00% for the experimental 5 year-old group and of 87.50% for the control group. These two medians are significantly different (Mann-Whitney U 0.000, p=.001).

properties is now over at this stage of Child L2 Spanish and that some development is already taking place. We should notice that *That*-trace Sequences display the lowest percentage value which is significantly different from the control group's. Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses even have a lower median value, although it is not significantly different from that of the control group. As will be argued in section 6.3.2, *That*-trace Sequences are not part of the cluster of subject properties triggered by the same feature.

Graph 54: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 5 year-old non-native group.



Regarding the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the 10 year-old L2 Spanish group, the null hypothesis of equal medians is rejected for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" variable, whose median is significantly different from that of the other variables. Likewise, "Null/Overt Expletives" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" are also significantly different from each other. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected ($p>.05$) as far as the remaining paired comparisons are concerned, as can be seen in Table 30.

Table 30: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the 10 year-old L2 Spanish experimental group.

	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-3.220) p= .010	Z (-.395) p= .693	Z (-2.132) p= .330	Z (-.046) p= .963
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-3.220) p= .010		Z (-3.188) p= .010	Z (-3.182) p= .010	Z (-2.971) p= .030
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-.395) p= .693	Z (-3.188) p= .010		Z (-2.848) p= .040	Z (-.134) p= .894
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z (-2.132) p= .330	Z (-3.182) p= .010	Z (-2.848) p= .040		Z (-1.782) p= .075
That-trace Sequences	Z (-.046) p= .963	Z (-2.971) p= .030	Z (-.134) p= .894	Z (-1.782) p= .075	

Graph 55 illustrates the distribution of results and the significant and non-significant differences among the medians of the variables. All percentage medians have clearly increased with respect to the results from the 5 year-old group, except "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects", which has remained at 75.00%[101] and it is not significantly different from the corresponding control group. "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" show a median of 83.33%, which is not significantly different from the control group either (see section 6.3.2.1). The three remaining variables, "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", "Null/Overt Expletives" and "*That*-trace sequences", display a median value of 50.00%, 87.50% and 100.00%, respectively in the experimental group, and all of them are significantly different from the corresponding value of the control group. The experimental group's result on the "*That*-trace Sequences" variable is significantly different from the one obtained by the control group, although both medians reach 100.00%. The experimental group shows much more variability of results and a mean value of 85.89%, whereas the control group shows a constant value of 100.00%. In short, median values in the 10 year-old group

[101] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 75.00% for the experimental 10 year-old group and of 81.25% for the control group. These two medians are not significantly different from each other (Mann-Whitney U 60.000, p=.205).

have generally increased but their behaviour with respect to each other and the control group's results is rather variable, which might indicate that development is still taking place.

Graph 55: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 10 year-old non-native group.

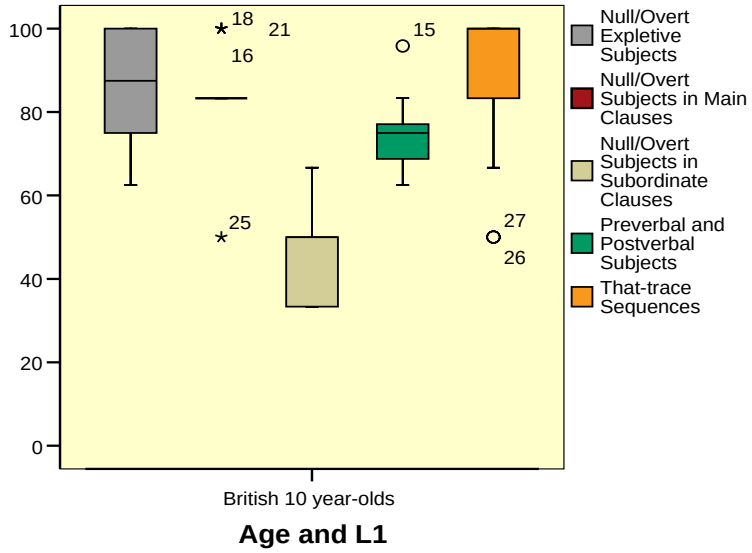


Table 31 displays the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the 17 year-old L2 Spanish group. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for any variables (p>.05), which indicates that all variables behave similarly at this stage. Graph 56 below shows the distribution of results and the non-significant differences among medians. All variables display high median percentages of correct judgements[102], with the lowest one being "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" at 66.66%, which is not significantly different from that of the control group at 58.33%. As for the other variables, no significant differences emerge between the experimental and the control groups (see section 6.3.2.1), except in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" in which the experimental group (100.00%) is significantly higher than the control group (83.33%) (U 12.000, p= .015). In short, median values of

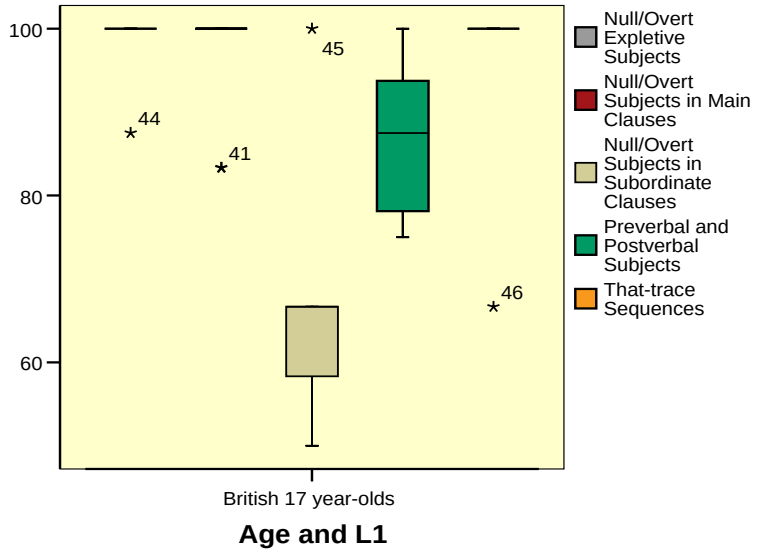
[102] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 87.50% for the experimental 17 year-old group and of 93.75% for the control group. These two medians are not significantly different from each other (Mann-Whitney U 18.000, p=.128).

the 17 year-old experimental group are generally high and non-significantly different from the control group, suggesting clear development and clustered acquisition of subject properties.

Table 31: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the 17 year-old L2 Spanish experimental group.

	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	*That*-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-2.414) p= .160	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-2.036) p= .420	Z (-.447) p= .655
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-2.414) p= .160		Z (-2.456) p= .140	Z (-2.246) p= .250	Z (-2.271) p= .230
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-2.456) p= .140		Z (-1.975) p= .480	Z (-.447) p= .655
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z (-2.036) p= .420	Z (-2.246) p= .250	Z (-1.975) p= .480		Z (-1.527) p= .127
That-trace Sequences	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-2.271) p= .230	Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-1.527) p= .127	

Graph 56: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the 17 year-old non-native group.



6.3.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development

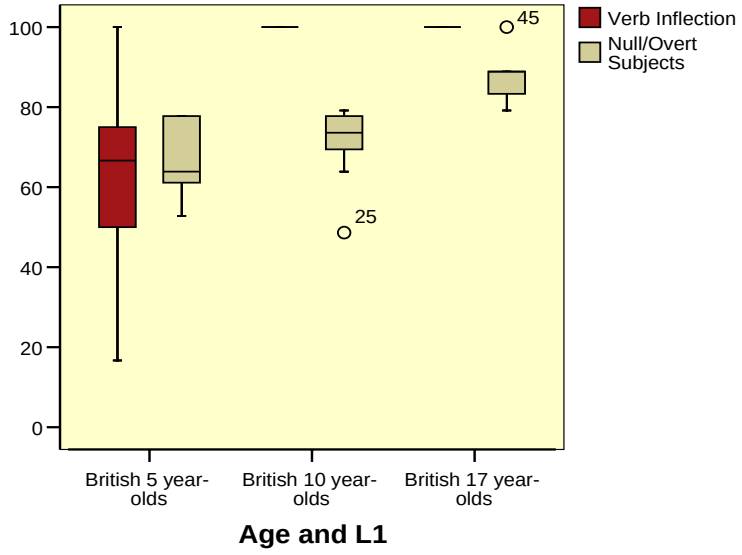
As was done with child L2 English and under the hypothesis that inflection and subject development might be correlated, we statistically tested the correlation between "Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection" and "Acceptance/Rejection of Null

Subjects". The three acceptance variables dealing with null/overt subject properties, namely "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Null/Overt Expletives" were grouped into a new variable referred to as "Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects". If the correlation holds, L2 children should increase their correct judgements of verb inflection as they also increasingly provide correct judgements of null and overt subjects. Table 32 presents the descriptive statistics of Verb Inflection and Null/Overt Subject variables for each experimental age group and Graph 57 illustrates their graphic representation.

Table 32: Descriptive statistics of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables.

Variable	Group	Mean %	Median %
Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	British 5 year-olds	61.90	66.66
	British 10 year-olds	100.00	100.00c
	British 17 year-olds	100.00	100.00c
Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects	British 5 year-olds	67.45	63.88
	British 10 year-olds	71.68	73.61
	British 17 year-olds	87.67	88.88

Graph 57: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" and "Null/Overt Subjects" for each experimental L2 Spanish group.



As can be observed in the graph, both variables have an increasing developmental tendency. Yet as results from "Verb Inflection" sharply rise from the 5 to the 10 year-old groups reaching a constant median value of 100.00%, which is maintained in the 17 year-old group, results from "Null/Overt Subjects" show a more steady increase, which reaches a median value of 88.88% in the 17 year-old group. The Spearman's Rho correlation test was applied to the two variables (see Table 33) obtaining an almost significant correlation coefficient of .350 with a significance value of .068, which implies that for child L2 Spanish, there is a certain positive association, though not a clear statistic correlation, between "Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection" and "Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects" along the three experimental age groups[103].

Table 33: Spearman's Rho correlation between Verb Inflection and Null/Overt Subjects.

			Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	Acceptance/Rejections of Null/Overt Subjects
Spearman's Rho	Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	Correlation coefficient	1.000	.350
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.068
		N	28	28
	Acceptance/Rejections of Null/Overt Subjects	Correlation coefficient	.350	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.068	.
		N	28	28

6.3.1.5 Directionality of acquisition effects.

As part of Hypothesis 3 and on the assumption that UG is fully available in child L2A, we finally aimed at testing whether subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, as occurs in L1A (Rizzi, 2002, 2005). At the same time, the existence of consistent directionality of acquisition effects would confirm the effect of

[102] The correlation would be fully significant if the significance level was α=.1.

the L1 on L2A. At the same time, if percentages of correct judgements are significantly higher in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, our hypothesis that it is generally easier to learn to omit subjects (i.e. L1 English → L2 Spanish) than to learn to obligatorily provide them (i.e. L1 Spanish → L2 English) will be confirmed, for which a principled explanation will be given in section 6.3.2.

In order to carry out the statistical comparison between the L2 English children and the L2 Spanish children, Mann-Whitney U tests were performed on each variable. Rejection variables from the L2 English data and Acceptance/Rejection variables from the L2 Spanish data were grouped together as six variables[104] to which statistical comparisons were applied between the L2 English and the L2 Spanish groups in each age group.

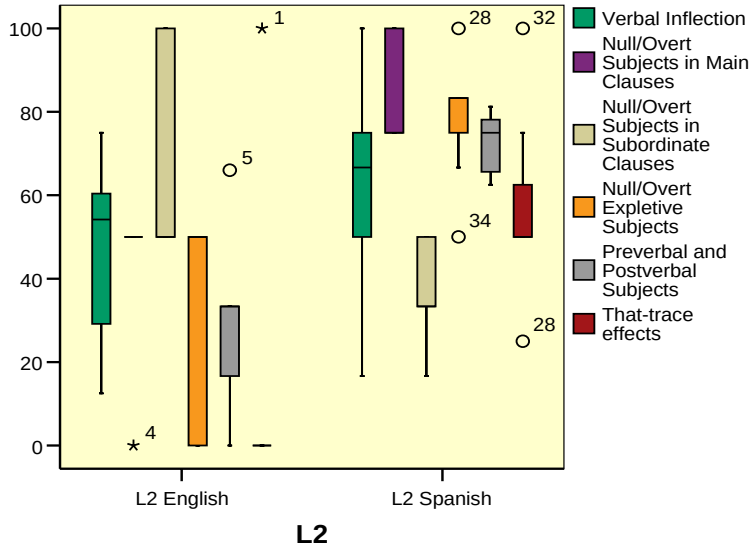
As for the 5 year-old groups, who had been exposed to the L2 in a school immersion context for one year at the time of testing, the median and mean values of correct judgements are higher in the case of L2 Spanish children than in L2 English children in all variables except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", where the percentage median value of the L2 English groups is significantly higher than that of the L2 Spanish group. Regarding the remaining variables, significant differences between the two groups with the higher value belonging to the L2 Spanish group are found in all variables except for "Verb Inflection", where even if the L2 Spanish group obtained higher result values, the difference is not statistically significant ($p>.05$). Results are displayed in Table 34 and Graph 58 below.

[104] The different "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" variables in the L2 Spanish group were grouped into one new variable to facilitate the comparison.

Table 34: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish 5 year-olds.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	7	45.83	54.16	18.000	.404
	L2 Spanish	7	61.90	66.66		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	7	42.85	50.00	.000	.001
	L2 Spanish	7	85.71	75.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	7	71.42	50.00	6.000	.011
	L2 Spanish	7	38.09	33.33		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	7	28.57	50.00	2.000	.003
	L2 Spanish	7	78.56	83.33		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	7	28.47	33.33	2.000	.003
	L2 Spanish	7	72.32	75.00		
That-trace Sequences	L2 English	7	14.28	0.00	6.500	.015
	L2 Spanish	7	57.14	50.00		

Graph 58: Results from the 5 year-old L2 English and L2 Spanish groups.



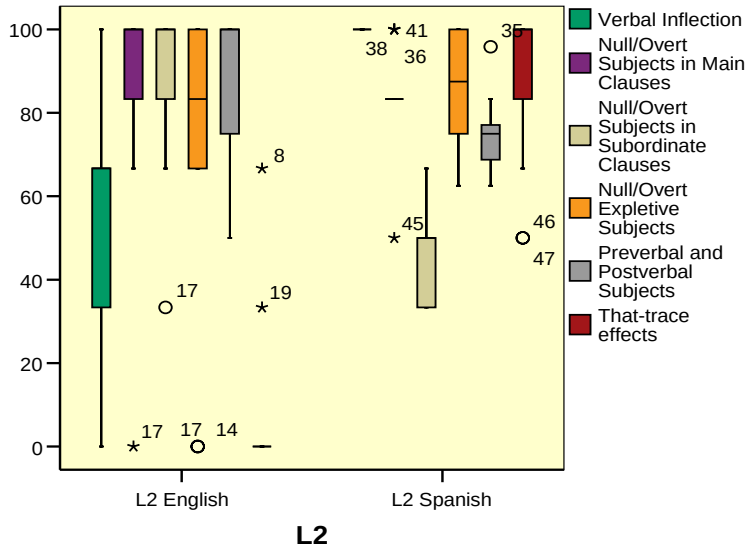
Results from the 10 year-old groups are a bit more balanced between the two groups, with the L2 English group obtaining similar values to and in some cases higher values than the L2 Spanish group. As Table 35 indicates, in the "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and in the "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects", the L2 English group obtained significantly higher median values than the L2 Spanish group. Non-significant differences were observed in the case of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" and

"Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and finally, "Verb Inflection" and "*That*-trace Sequences" show significantly higher results for the L2 Spanish group. In short and as indicated in Graph 59, directionality of acquisition effects are beginning to disappear in the process of subject development.

Table 35: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish 10 year-olds.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	12	52.77	66.66	13.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	13	100.00	100.00c		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	12	86.11	100.00	50.500	.103
	L2 Spanish	13	84.61	83.33		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	12	88.88	100.00	11.500	<.001
	L2 Spanish	13	44.87	50.00		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	12	72.22	83.33	66.000	.504
	L2 Spanish	13	85.57	87.50		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	12	89.58	100.00	31.000	.009
	L2 Spanish	13	74.51	75.00		
That-trace Sequences	L2 English	12	8.33	0.00	2.500	<.001
	L2 Spanish	13	85.89	100.00		

Graph 59: Results from the 10 year-old L2 English and L2 Spanish groups.



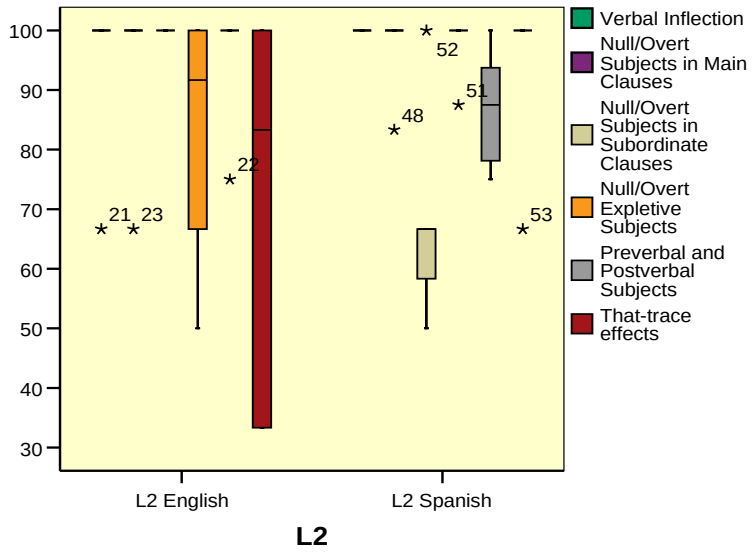
Once results have reached similar levels with respect to the native control groups, directionality of acquisition effects appear to have almost vanished, as Table 36 and

Graph 60 illustrate. With the exception of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Clauses", in which the L2 English group displays significantly higher results than the L2 Spanish group, non-significant differences are observed between the two groups in the remaining variables and results are generally high.

Table 36: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish 17 year-olds.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	8	95.83	100.00	28.000	.317
	L2 Spanish	8	100.00	100.00c		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	8	95.83	100.00	31.500	.927
	L2 Spanish	8	97.91	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	8	100.00	100.00	4.000	.001
	L2 Spanish	8	66.66	66.66		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	8	83.33	91.66	18.000	.073
	L2 Spanish	8	98.43	100.00		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	8	96.87	100.00	10.500	.015
	L2 Spanish	8	86.71	87.50		
That-trace Sequences	L2 English	8	70.83	83.33	18.500	.083
	L2 Spanish	8	95.83	100.00		

Graph 60: Results from the 17 year-old L2 English and L2 Spanish groups.



6.3.2 Discussion: Child L2 Spanish

Data from child L2 Spanish were presented according to "Acceptance Variables", which represent the children's correct judgements (i.e. acceptance of grammatical sentences and rejection of ungrammatical sentences) and "Preference Variables", which stand for the children's preference for grammatical Verb Inflection and for their L1 subject properties (i.e. overt referential subjects and expletives, preverbal subjects and (That)-trace sequences).

As for the children's correct judgements (i.e. Acceptance Variables) and as expected, an increase-by-age tendency is generally observed. Although results are remarkably high already in the 5 year-old experimental group, the presence of significant differences between the percentages of correct judgements from the three age groups in practically all variables indicates a clear and relevant developmental process in child L2 Spanish subjects. As we saw in Table 20, "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" prove to be rather problematic in the three age groups, as its results are quite low in comparison to the other variables and development is discrete, its median values ranging from 33.33% in the 5 year-old group to 66.66% in the 17 year-old group. As we will see, the fact that subjects might be null or overt is quite readily acquired in L2 Spanish. Yet native-like use in main or subordinate clauses, where null subjects tend to be used to avoid redundancy in non-emphatic constructions, proves difficult to acquire. "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" also display different results, namely median values of 50.00% in the three groups, although their mean values present a slight increasing tendency from 50.00% to 62.50%. Postverbal subjects with transitive verbs are extremely unnatural for native speakers, though possible in marked or focused utterances. In the present task, the sentences with transitive verbs were completely neutral and children generally tended to

judge them as correct with preverbal subjects and as incorrect with postverbal subjects, though their correct judgements improved slightly with age and proficiency. The percentage of correct judgements of "*That*-trace Sequences" is remarkably high, bearing in mind the low results obtained in child L2 English and similarly to the other variables it follows an increasing developmental pattern.

The general picture emerging from the results of "Preference Variables" is a decreasing tendency, since the "English option" (i.e. L1 Transfer) is expected to gradually disappear (see Table 21). This falling tendency is not observed in "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", as expected, or in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", where the three experimental age groups obtained constant median and mean values at 100.00%, since postverbal subjects with transitive verbs result in marked and unnatural constructions. In "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)", where preverbal subjects were triggered by a discourse neutral context, a falling tendency is observed, thus indicating a generalisation of postverbal subjects as children acquire the L2 subject properties. As we will see below, discourse constraints on subject use prove more difficult than syntactic properties to acquire. All in all, the general presence of significant differences between the different groups' results points to the children's relevant development of subject properties in L2 Spanish.

Regarding the L2 Spanish 5 year-old group and its comparison to the corresponding control group, percentages of correct judgements do not differ significantly in all acceptance variables, only in "Verb Inflection", "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "*That*-trace Sequences". We should notice that these variables where significant differences between the experimental and the control group are observed are the variables which display a grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast. On the contrary, the remaining acceptance

variables express a discourse contrast, as syntactically, both null and overt subjects and preverbal and postverbal subjects are allowed in Spanish. 5 year-old children are already aware that null and postverbal subjects are possible in L2 Spanish, although as will be seen in the "Preference Variables" their use is far from being native-like. Yet "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" presents rather low results though not statistically different from those of the control group, for whom this context is similarly problematic. Very accurate results are obtained in "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" with unaccusative and unergative verbs though the latter are a bit lower (see Table 23). In short, and as occurred with L2 English children, L2 Spanish children are sensitive to grammaticality/ungrammaticality distinctions as ungrammaticality pairs of sentences generally yield lower results than grammaticality pairs of sentences, which is indicative of UG being in operation in child L2A.

A very similar situation is observed in the "Preference Variables", where significant differences between the experimental and the control children are only observed in those variables expressing a grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast, namely "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects", "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences", where results from the control children are significantly higher in "Verb Inflection" and significantly lower in the remaining three variables than the experimental children. As for the "Preference for Overt Subjects" in main and subordinate clauses, median and mean percentages are considerably high (i.e. strong preference for the "English option") for both groups, which shows the strong difficulty which both experimental and control groups encounter when judging grammatical pairs of sentences with a discourse/pragmatic contrast. "Preference for Preverbal Subjects" with different verb classes shows that transitive verbs clearly yield a strong preference

for preverbal subjects in both groups and that unaccusative verbs yield a preference for preverbal subjects at chance level for the experimental group and a bit lower for the control group. Unergative verbs in focused contexts, which trigger postverbal subjects, yield a considerable preference for preverbal subjects in experimental children and a very low preference for preverbal subjects in control children, though the difference between them is not statistically significant. Finally, unergative verbs in neutral contexts, which trigger preverbal subjects, yield an almost significantly higher preference for preverbal subjects in experimental children than in control children, who might be generalising postverbal subjects.

Although the statistical comparison of all subject acceptance variables in the 5 year-old L2 Spanish group (see section 6.3.1.3, Table 29) established no significant differences among them and hence subject properties are shown to behave similarly in the 5 year-old group, we need to bear in mind that at the time of testing percentages of correct judgements are generally high and significant contrasts with the control group are only found in the grammatical/ungrammatical variables. Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that 5 year-old children are already aware of the possibility of allowing null subjects and postverbal subjects in L2 Spanish. That is why we cannot assume clustered Transfer of subject properties derived from the [+weak –interpretable] Agr feature value from L1 English into L2 Spanish at this stage. After a year of being exposed to Spanish, 5 year-old children are aware of the existence of null and postverbal subjects, although they prefer them in main clauses and with unaccusative verbs, respectively, but at the same time allow a significant percentage of overt expletive subjects and preverbal subjects in Wh-contexts. The acceptance of ungrammatical overt expletives and the higher acceptance of postverbal subjects with

unaccusative verbs than with unergative verbs were already pointed out in Liceras (1989) for adult L2 Spanish.

With the data at hand, clustered transfer of the L1 English Agr feature value cannot be assumed for 5 year-old children, although there is no evidence to reject it as it might have occurred earlier in the children's process of L2 Spanish acquisition. Therefore, *Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A* can be neither confirmed nor rejected on the light of the L2 Spanish data examined:

Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A **?**

> Child L2A's initial state consists of UG + a developing L1 grammar. In the case at hand, the feature value responsible for the subject properties is already in place at the age of 4, when children start their L2A (cf. Rizzi, 2005). Therefore, the value of the verbal feature Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial state grammars of English and Spanish-speaking children, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

If the 5 year-old children's data provided evidence that the L1 English Agr feature value still remained in L2 Spanish and that no development had taken place, children should consistently reject null and postverbal subjects with any kind of verbs. The observed lack of systematic rejection in the results of the subject properties points to the existence of a gradual development towards the resetting of the Agr feature value to L2 Spanish, as we assumed would be the case for child L2A. In fact, and as will be justified below, we have been suggesting the existence of directionality of acquisition differences, by which it seems to be easier to learn to omit subjects than to learn not to omit them in the languages under study.

Considerable development has taken place in the 10 year-old experimental group, although the correct judgement percentages do not reach the native speakers' levels of competence in all acceptance variables (see Table 24). Results from the control group are significantly higher than those of the experimental group in the case of "Null/Overt

Expletive Subjects", "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts", "*That*-trace Sequences" and "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses". In the first three variables, the experimental children's results have increased to over 80.00%, although the control group reaches a constant median and mean value of 100.00%. "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" remain problematic for both groups although their percentages have risen and the difference is significant this time. "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" remain at chance rates in the 10 year-old experimental and control groups, since practically all instances of postverbal subjects with this kind of verbs are judged as ungrammatical or impossible by virtue of rendering an extremely marked interpretation. A remarkable drop in percentage of correct judgements should be noticed with respect to "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" with unaccusative and unergative verbs, which obtained rather high percentages in the 5 year-old groups. Such decrease affects both the experimental and the control group, although the results on the unaccusative constructions continue being slightly higher than the unergative ones, and indicates a lack of systematic development which, together with the fact that significant differences were observed in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", point to the fact that, although development is clearly present and children are aware of L2 Spanish subject properties, full clustered acquisition has not taken place yet. However, percentages of correct judgements are certainly high and the problematic areas of acquisition seem to be those related to discourse/pragmatic constraints, whose acquisition is usually delayed with respect to the purely syntactic constraints (Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999; Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006).

10 year-old children's results on "Preference Variables" keep a consistent parallelism to the results from the "Acceptance Variables" in that significant differences

between the experimental and control groups are found in the same variables (see Table 27). Yet percentages for the "English option" are accurately really low and these significant differences emerge as a result of the control group's constant median and mean values at 0.00%. Thus the variables related to grammaticality/ungrammaticality distinctions are not so problematic at this stage, as neither are the discourse-related variables on null subjects in main and subordinate clauses, where experimental children correctly obtained very low percentages for the "English option". What remains problematic in terms of preference and discourse is the preverbal/postverbal distinction. Preverbal and postverbal subjects are still equally preferred with unaccusative verbs by both groups, while the expected word order is VS in both focused and neutral contexts in Spanish. As for transitive verbs, the strong preference for preverbal subjects by both groups with constant 100.00% percentage values confirms the strongly marked status of postverbal subjects in this construction. Regarding the neutral and focused contexts with unergative verbs, preverbal subjects are highly preferred by both groups, even in the focused context, where a postverbal subject is pragmatically preferred. Children have certain knowledge that postverbal subjects are possible and grammatical in L2 Spanish though they entirely disprefer them, as discourse factors have proven to remain difficult for both native and non-native speakers at this age.

The statistical comparison of subject properties acceptance variables shows that at this age/stage some significant differences are observed. The low percentage in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" makes it significantly lower than the remaining variables and similarly, "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" also differ significantly from each other. No clustered acquisition of the target Agr feature value has occurred yet, though a gradual increase in native-like results and a clear development in, at least, the purely syntactic subject

properties are observed and indicate that the resetting process of the Agr feature is possible through age and expected to be corroborated in the case of the 17 year-old group where children will have been immersed into Spanish for more than ten years. If results are as expected, the resetting of the Agr feature value and hence the previously assumed Full Access to UG will be confirmed for child L2 Spanish, as it was for child L2 English.

Results from the acceptance variables of the 17 year-old group have clearly attained native-like levels and reach a 100.00% median value in all variables, except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs". Neither the former nor the latter are significantly different from their control children's results though the development of the first has been almost unnoticeable from the beginning and the apparent lack of development of the second confirms the strongly marked and unnatural status of the constructions even for the native speakers, some of whom consider them ungrammatical. Leaving aside the "naturalness" reasons for the lack of development of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", the fact that only "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" remain problematic for 17 year-old children is rather suspicious, bearing in mind that all the other properties associated to the Agr feature value of L2 Spanish are fully acquired and with native-like results. An explanation will be given once the 2Preference Variables" are analysed.

Results on "Preference Variables" are fully native-like. "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" remains at a constant median and mean value of 100.00% for both groups and as expected, "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" also shows a constant 100.00% value. The remaining variables, including "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", accurately show 0.00% median values,

showing that the "English option" (i.e. subject properties associated with the L1 Agr feature value) has vanished completely and that children are fully aware of both the syntactic and discourse properties of subjects in L2 Spanish. They even show sensitivity to the different word orders triggered by the neutral and the focused contexts with unergative verbs. While the preference for preverbal subjects was correctly 0.00% in focused contexts triggering postverbal subjects, their preference for preverbal subjects was higher in neutral contexts triggering SV orders. We should notice that the low acceptance results obtained in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" might be due to the way the data on this variable were coded and not to lack of competence on the part of the children. Results on this variable have indeed increased with age and preference results were clearly higher, thus indicating that development was taking place along with the other properties. It is clear that children are aware of the contrast between null and overt pronominal subjects in subordinate clauses but they considered a great number of overt subjects in subordinate clauses where the antecedent was clear as grammatical, whereas we coded them as ungrammatical thus resulting in a greater percentage of incorrect judgements. In fact, these overt subjects should rather be considered pragmatically odd and not completely ungrammatical, though adult native speakers judged them as ungrammatical and the literature has often considered them ungrammatical (Luján, 1999 – see section 2.7.1), which brought us to code them as ungrammatical. Below are some examples of these sentences:

(4) a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mi hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

(5) a. Si ella se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta (ella=Marta)
b. Si se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta.

According to our coding, children were expected to judge (4)a and (5)a as ungrammatical, since the subject pronoun cannot refer to the lexical antecedent but to

another entity (Luján, 1999). Children showed awareness of the contrast in the preference variables, but in the acceptance variables they still judged them as grammatical.

Full and clustered acquisition of L2 Spanish subject properties is confirmed by the statistical paired comparisons of acceptance subject properties variables of the 17 year-old group. No significant differences were found among the results and little variability, which together with the fact that results are native-like and no significant differences are found with respect to the control group, suggest a similar development and confirm the full acquisition of the L2 Spanish Agr feature value responsible for the children's acceptance of missing referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects. "*That*-trace Sequences" are assumed not to be part of the picture even though their development in L2 Spanish is more accurate than in L2 English and its results are native-like in the last experimental group. Yet they are not part of the syntactic cluster of subject properties triggered by the Agr verbal feature, as was justified in section 2.6.

Therefore, we can also assume *Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A*, as far as child L2 Spanish is concerned, which is repeated below:

> *Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A* ✓
>
> Having Full UG Access and being immersed in L2 input, child L2 learners are able to reset the L1 value of the Agr feature into the L2 value and therefore clustered acquisition of subject properties is possible in child L2A.

As predicted by *Hypothesis 2*, the children's rejection of null subject pronouns, null expletives and postverbal subjects gradually dropped reaching native-like levels in the 17 year-old group. Clustered acquisition of subject properties is observed in the comprehension data presented in this study. Yet and as we also mentioned in our discussion on child L2 English, this native-like outcome is not inevitable in child L2A,

as even if UG is involved here, we are not dealing with a deterministic process of language acquisition (i.e. L1A) and that extra linguistic and aptitude problems might be involved as well.

Although *Hypothesis 1 – Child L2A* could not be confirmed for child L2 Spanish due to lack of evidence, the confirmation of *Hypothesis 2 – Child L2A* corroborates at least the adequacy of a Full Access approach (Swchartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2005) to the process of child L2A and we might quite safely assume that Full clustered Transfer is also relevant in child L2 Spanish, although it ceases to occur earlier than the time of testing. Children initially transfer the cluster of properties associated with the L1 feature value of the parameter (i.e. [+weak -interpretable] Agr L1 English feature value) and are able but not deemed to acquire the cluster of syntactic properties associated to the different L2 parameter value (i.e. [+strong +interpretable] Agr L2 Spanish feature value). Once parameter-resetting to L2 Spanish has taken place, the verb will overtly raise to TP and check the EPP feature on T. Therefore, null subjects will be allowed as well as postverbal subjects and overt expletive subjects will be necessarily rejected, which is corroborated by the data.

As was seen in Chapter 4 and according to previous findings in the literature, no indication of clustering effects of the Null Subject Parameter traditional properties was found in L2A studies. However, studies which had examined the existence of clustering of subject properties in L2 English had dealt with adult L2A and had included *That*-trace effects in the cluster of properties (Liceras, 1989) (see section 4.3.1). Clustering effects were found in Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998), although only null pronominal and expletive subjects were analysed and only in adult L2 Spanish. Comparisons are thus hardly feasible.

Before dealing with *Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A* (i.e. inflectional and subject development and directionality of acquisition effects), we will briefly comment on *Hypothesis 4 – Child L2 Spanish*, which predicts that although pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects initially (i.e. in the 5 and 10 year-old groups) present more problems than purely syntactic constraints, children will eventually display native-like sensitivity to focus/discourse contrasts responsible for subject distribution. Again, studies which test L2 Spanish subject use are mainly devoted to adults and hence comparisons would not be relevant (Liceras et al. 1998, 1998, 1999; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999; Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006). Hypothesis 4, repeated below, and its predictions are confirmed for child L2 Spanish:

Hypothesis 4 (Child L2 Spanish) ✓

> Pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects are acquired later than purely syntactic constraints, as in the case of adults (Lozano, 2006; Hertel, 2003; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999). Yet children will become aware over time and experience of the discourse contrasts and their syntactic consequences (i.e. presence/absence of pronominal subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects and their corresponding functional focus projections) in L2 Spanish subject use.

Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A predicts that child L2A will resemble child L1A in at least two respects as far as the acquisition of subjects is concerned. Although according to the Full Access/Full Transfer approach adopted here for child L2A, this is not identical to child L1A and ultimate attainment is not inevitably successful, the fact that child L2A is hypothesised to be fully UG-constrained and UG-driven (i.e. parameter resetting is predicted to be possible) points to the possibility for some aspects of child L2A to develop in a parallel fashion to child L1A. If this is confirmed, the direct involvement of UG in child L2A will also be corroborated.

The first prediction of Hypothesis 3 was also examined in child L2 English, namely the existence of a positive statistic correlation between subject and verbal inflection development. In child L2 Spanish this correlation is also expected to hold, as it occurs in child Spanish, where subject and inflectional elements are both acquired from very early on in the process of L1 acquisition. All throughout the three experimental age groups, both acceptance/rejection variables, namely "Verb Inflection" and "Null/Overt Subjects" have an increasing developmental tendency (see Table 32) with very similar median and mean values in the 5 year-old groups. However, results from "Verb Inflection" sharply increase to a constant value of 100.00% which is maintained in the 10 and 17 year-old groups, whereas results from "Null/Overt Subjects" display a more steady and regular increase, which reaches a median value of 88.88% in the 17 year-old group. A certain positive correlation exists, though it is not a clear statistic correlation as the significance value is only almost significant.

It is important to bear in mind that we are dealing with comprehension data and that production was not tested in the present study. In fact, no developmental correspondence between the production and use of null subjects and correct verbal inflection in L2 Spanish has been found in the literature. Morphological variability in verb inflection is often present in L2 learners' utterances long after their use of null subjects has developed, since these instances of optional verb inflection are not syntactically constrained but instances of "missing inflection" (see section 3.3.2), as opposed to L1A (Liceras and Díaz, 1998; Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz, 1999). Yet again, these studies were only based on adult L2 Spanish.

The second prediction of *Hypothesis 3* refers to the possible existence of directionality of acquisition effects. That is to say, we aimed at testing whether subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, as it seems to be the

case intuitively and as it has been reported to be the case for certain type of subjects in child L1A (Rizzi, 2002, 2005).

As Rizzi (2002, 2005) points out, the observation that null subjects in early child language display a different distribution and acquisition pattern in the acquisition of null subject languages and in non-null subject languages might indicate the possible existence of two subject UG parameters, namely the traditional Null Subject Parameter and the Root Subject Drop Parameter. The former is quickly fixed on the target value whereas the latter is delayed with respect to the negative value[105]. In other words, children rapidly acquire the setting of the Null Subject Parameter. Children acquiring null subject languages like Italian or Spanish produce null subjects in all syntactic environments from very early on (Guasti, 1996; Rizzi, 1992, 1994, 2000; Bel, 2001) and children acquiring a non-null subject language, such as English or French, never allow null subjects in non-initial positions (i.e. subordinate clauses or wh-environments) but continue dropping subjects in the specifier position of the root for a much longer period (Haegeman, 1995, 1996a; Rizzi, 2000; Clahsen, Kursawe and Penke, 1995; Roeper and Rohrbacher, 1995).

Our intuition that subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish than in L2 English could be well accounted for if we assume that since child L2 learners have full and direct access to UG, they are faced with a similar – though not identical because of L1 effects- situation to L1A. Children acquiring L2 English will drop null subjects for longer, especially in root positions as a consequence of the delayed setting of the Root Drop Parameter, whereas children acquiring L2 Spanish, for whom the Null Subject

[105] Rizzi (2002, 2005) argues that this extends to other linguistic properties and he proposes two groups of parameters, namely those which do not give rise to parametric discontinuity that can be observed in production and which are fixed according to Wexler's (1998) Very Early Parameter Setting (VEPS) and those which give rise to parametric discontinuity (i.e. target inconsistencies observable in the data). The Null Subject Parameter would belong to the first group whereas the Root Subject Drop Parameter would belong to the second group.

Parameter is mostly relevant (i.e. what we have been referring to as verbal Agr feature value), will more readily acquire the L2 Spanish subject properties.

According to our statistical comparisons between L2 English and L2 Spanish age groups, and bearing in mind that both groups of speakers had the same number of years and conditions of exposure to the L2 language, results from the L2 Spanish 5 year-old group are significantly higher and hence more accurate than those of the L2 English groups for all variables except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" where the situation is reversed[106] (see Table 34). Focusing only on null/overt subjects and to test Rizzi's hypotheses on L2A, we observe a strong difference between the L2 English group's low results on "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" and "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", both of which are found in root positions in the task sentences, and their surprisingly high results on "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses". This indicates that children acquiring L2 English continue to allow more null subjects in root positions than in subordinate positions, whereas L2 Spanish children obtain much higher and more accurate results on the subject properties. Directionality of acquisition effects are indeed present in the 5 year-old groups. Yet as results reach similar levels with respect to the native control groups this imbalance starts to vanish in the 10 year-old group and has completely disappeared in the 17 year-old group.

In short, Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A is also confirmed and we can safely assume that child L2A displays some common points with child L1A:

Hypothesis 3 – Child L2A

As the process of child L2A is hypothesised to be fully UG-constrained and UG-driven (i.e. as parameter resetting is predicted to be possible) and although ultimate attainment is not inevitably successful, child L2A resembles the process of L1A in at least two respects:

- subject and verbal inflectional development are related. ✓

[106] A possible explanation for the L2 Spanish group's low results on "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" has already been provided in this same section.

- the acquisition of subject properties takes place earlier in null subject languages than in non-null subject languages (cf. Rizzi, 2002; 2005). ✓

Directionality of acquisition effects might also shed some light on the effects of the L1 on L2A, as they might also be caused by the effects of L1 Transfer. The data confirm that, syntactically speaking[107], it is generally easier to learn to omit subjects and allow them in postverbal position (i.e. L1 English → L2 Spanish) than to learn to obligatorily provide them and obligatorily place them in preverbal position (i.e. L1 Spanish → L2 English). We have also observed that, all conditions being equal, the presence of L1 Transfer carries on for longer in L2 English than in L2 Spanish and that results on "Verb Inflection" are significantly higher in the L2 Spanish groups than in the L2 English groups. This means that for child L2A, it is much simpler to reset a [+weak –interpretable] Agr verbal feature into a [+strong +interpretable] Agr verbal feature than vice versa. In other words, having an L1 where subjects need to overtly raise to spec-TP or expletive subjects need to merge at spec-TP to check the EPP, learners can more easily acquire the Agr verbal feature, which in Platzack's (2004) (see section 2.4.2) terms is the head of PersP and by being a bound morpheme it amalgamates with the raised verb in TP and checks the EPP. As a consequence, null and postverbal subjects become possible. Intuitively, one could argue that the simpler the syntax of the target language seems to be (i.e. L2 English with obligatory preverbal and overt subjects) the easier it is to acquire it. Yet the data confirm that what might seem a more difficult syntactic process to acquire it is indeed a much more readily acquired mechanism. We could further argue that the strong presence of inflection in the L2 Spanish input makes the resetting of the Agr verbal feature more accessible whereas the inevitable poor presence of overt inflection in L2 English input makes the child L2 learners rely on their

[107] We have already observed that pragmatic/discourse constraints present some difficulties of acquisition.

L1 Agr feature value for longer. However, this is clearly beyond the scope of the present study and a possibility that could well be entertained in further research.

One last aspect is to be mentioned, namely the fact that "*That*-trace Sequences" also present significantly more accurate results in L2 Spanish than in L2 English in the three age groups. The difference is especially significant in the 5 and 10 year-old groups (see Tables 34 and 35). As was explained in section 2.6, the absence and presence of *that*-trace effects in Spanish and English respectively, was accounted for within the T-to-C movement asymmetry and the presence of an uninterpretable T-feature (*u*T) on C, which is deleted by wh-subject movement in English but by T-to-C movement in Spanish, as outlined in Pesestky and Torrego (2001, 2004a) and Gallego (2005). The question is that the resetting of the property responsible for the presence and/or absence of *that*-trace effects is again more readily acquired in L2 Spanish than in L2 English. The specific reasons are to be pursued in further research.

Having presented the results and discussed their implications for child L2 English and child L2 Spanish, we will now summarise the main points in order to conclude the chapter and analyse adult L2 subjects in English and Spanish in the next chapter.

6.4 Summary

6.4.1 Child L2 English Data

- The child L2 English data are generally characterised by a clear increase-by-age development of the children's correct judgements of ungrammatical sentences but very accurate results on the grammatical sentences, which indicates the children's sensitivity to grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrasts and hence their UG-constrained interlanguage.

- 5 year-old group:

- Statistically significant percentage of null expletives, null subjects in main and subordinate clauses and postverbal subjects with respect to the control group's results.

- Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, which suggests clustered L1 Transfer, although children find it more difficult to judge and correct ungrammatical null expletives (Phinney, 1987 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991 for adult L2A and Lakshmanan, 1991, 1994 for child L2A) and postverbal subjects (contra White, 1985) than null referential subjects.

- HYPOTHESIS 1: FULL CLUSTERED L1 TRANSFER → CONFIRMED

- 10 year-old group:

- Percentages of correct judgements have increased considerably and children's reaction to grammatical and ungrammatical sentences gets more similar.

- Results are non-significantly different from control group's results in all variables except for "Postverbal Subjects" and "*That*-trace Sequences", which remain lower.

- Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, except for "*That*-trace Sequences", which clearly sets it apart from the other subject properties.

- Results are indicative of a resetting process of L1 Spanish Agr feature value to the target L2 English.

- 17-year-old group:

- Gradual development towards native-like results is corroborated, as no significant differences are observed with respect to the control group.

- Null expletive subjects continue being the most difficult property acquired though its results are high and not significantly different from the control group.

- Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, which together with the native-like median values indicate resetting of the Agr feature value.

- HYPOTHESIS 2: FULL CLUSTERED L2 FEATURE VALUE ACQUISITION→ CONFIRMED

- Full Transfer/Full Access approach to L2A (Swchartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2005) is confirmed for child L2A, as far as subject development is concerned. The existence of clustered L1 Transfer and clustered acquisition is not found in the majority of adult L2A studies.

- *That*-trace effects are clearly NOT a property of the cluster of subject properties associated with the verbal Agr feature value.

- There exists a correlation between verb inflection and subject development in L2 English (Hilles, 1991), which suggests a parallel development with child L1A.

- HYPOTHESIS 3: SUBJECT AND VERB INFLECTION DEVELOPMENT ARE CORRELATED → CONFIRMED.

6.4.2 Child L2 Spanish Data

- The child L2 Spanish data are characterised by an increase-by-age tendency in the development of correct judgements, although results on syntactic properties are rather accurate from the beginning in spite of there being some significant differences from the control group. Results on the "Preference for the English option" variables follow a falling-by-age tendency, although the discourse/pragmatic properties prove more difficult to acquire.

- 5 year-olds:

- Results are generally rather accurate but significant differences are observed in those variables which express a grammaticality contrast (Verb Inflection, Null/Overt Expletives, Preverbal/Postverbal subjects in Wh-contexts and *That*-trace sequences)

- Children seem to be aware that null and postverbal subjects are possible although judging discourse constraints in subject use is more problematic.

- Acceptance of ungrammatical overt expletives and higher acceptance of postverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs than with unergative verbs (Liceras,1989 for adult L2 Spanish).

- As not all properties present significant differences with respect to the control group, we cannot assume clustered Transfer of subject properties derived from the [+weak –interpretable] Agr feature value from L1 English into L2 Spanish at this stage.

- HYPOTHESIS 1: FULL CLUSTERED L1 TRANSFER → NO EVIDENCE AT THIS STAGE, BUT POSSIBLY OCCURRING EARLIER. SOME DEVELOPMENT SEEMS TO BE ALREADY TAKING PLACE.

- 10 year-old group:

- Results on correct judgements have increased considerably although significant differences are observed with respect to the control group in some variables (Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses, Null/Overt Expletives, Preverbal/Postverbal subjects in Wh-contexts and *That*-trace sequences).

- Percentages of "Preference for the English option" are accurately rather low, although some significant differences are also observed with respect to the control group. Grammaticality contrasts are not so problematic and the judgements on the distribution of null and overt subjects improve. Yet, the postverbal/preverbal subject contrast remains difficult to acquire.

- No clustered acquisition of subject properties has occurred yet, although the gradual increase in native-like results indicates that resetting of the target feature value is possible and expected to be corroborated in the 17 year-old group.

- 17 year-old group:

- Native-like results are observed in purely syntactic properties as well as in discourse/pragmatic constraints in all variables.

- These results indicate full clustered acquisition of the target Agr feature value and the subsequent subject properties.

- HYPOTHESIS 2: FULL CLUSTERED L2 FEATURE VALUE ACQUISITION→ CONFIRMED

- A Full Access to UG approach to child L2A (Swchartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2005) to the process of child L2A and we might quite safely assume that Full clustered Transfer is also relevant in child L2 Spanish, although it ceases to occur earlier than the time of testing.

- Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs were judged as ungrammatical even by native speakers, which confirms their extremely marked and unnatural status.

- *That*-trace effects are clearly NOT a property of the cluster of subject properties associated with the verbal Agr feature value.

- There exists a correlation between verb inflection and subject development in L2 Spanish, which suggests a parallel development with child L1A.

- Subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, which confirms the existence of directionality of acquisition effects and sets a parallelism to child L1A (Rizzi, 2002, 2005).

- For child L2A, it is much simpler to reset a [+weak –interpretable] Agr verbal feature into a [+strong +interpretable] Agr verbal feature than vice versa.

- HYPOTHESIS 3:

- SUBJECT AND VERB INFLECTION DEVELOPMENT ARE CORRELATED → CONFIRMED.

- ACQUISITION OF SUBJECT PROPERTIES TAKES PLACE EARLIER IN NULL SUBJECT LANGUAGES THAN IN NON-NULL SUBJECT LANGUAGES → CONFIRMED.

- Although pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects initially (i.e. in the 5 and 10 year-old groups) present more problems than purely syntactic constraints, children will eventually display native-like sensitivity to focus/discourse contrasts responsible for subject distribution.

- HYPOTHESIS 4: DISCOURSE CONSTRAINTS ON SUBJECT USE IS ALTHOUGH LATER THAN SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS, EVENTUALLY ACQUIRED → CONFIRMED.

Chapter 7: Adult L2 English and Spanish Subject Development: Results and Discussion

7.1 Adult L2 hypotheses and predictions

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the experimental tasks carried out with the three groups of adults learning L2 English and L2 Spanish and to a corresponding control group. All informants started learning English or Spanish as adults or young adults in an instructional classroom setting in Spain and England, respectively, with an average of three to four hours per week. Three proficiency levels were tested, which were referred to as "Beginners" (1 year of adult classroom instruction), "Intermediate" (4-5 years of adult classroom instruction) and "Advanced" (7-8 years of adult classroom instruction) and corresponded to the same number of hours in each L2 group.

As was done in Chapter 6, below are the six research questions, previously introduced in Chapter 1, which frame and guide both our analyses of child and adult L2A development of subjects:

Research question 1

Is the L2 initial state characterised by clustered transfer of subject properties associated with L1 parameter values?

Research question 2

Is L2 development characterised by clustered acquisition of subject properties associated with the L2 parameter values?

Research question 3

What are the theoretical implications of the results of the present research for the Partial/Full Transfer and Partial/Full UG Access positions to L2A?

Research question 4

Can the same theoretical approach to L2A be maintained for both children and adults?

Research question 5

Can the notion of "Null Subject Parameter" as in L1A be maintained in L2A?

Research question 6

Are there any directionality of acquisition differences between English L2A (by Spanish speakers) and Spanish L2A (by English speakers)?

With respect to adult L2A subject development, the hypothetical answers to these research questions are based on a Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991), by which adult interlanguage grammars are unimpaired and hence UG-constrained but L2 learners cannot acquire new parameter values. Instead, and as Full Transfer operates in L2A, L2 learners can only access L1 parameter settings, while parameter-resetting in the L1A sense is claimed to be impossible. Parameters are associated to the functional module, which grows and matures in L1A and therefore it is no longer available to the adult L2 learner. In other words, triggers for parameter setting in the input cannot function as such any more. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar can indeed accommodate L2 input which differs from the L1 by reanalysing the L2 data according to mechanisms and grammatical options of UG and thus achieve a superficial-like L2 structure which is UG-constrained but which is not the result of parameter-resetting and clustering effects.

Regarding the syntactic nature of subjects in English and Spanish and as was explained in Chapter 6 and previously in the introductory chapter of this thesis and in Chapter 2, we assume that Spanish has strong pronominal interpretable Agreement features on the verb, which, after verb-raising, check the EPP on T and hence allow

empty and postverbal subjects and require null expletive subjects. English, on the other hand, has weak non-pronominal uninterpretable Agreement features on the verb and hence the verb cannot rise to T and the EPP must be checked through subject raising or expletive subject merging in Spec-TP, which makes the presence of preverbal subjects or overt expletive subjects obligatory. *That*-trace effects are assumed not to be syntactically related to the set of subject properties of the traditional "Null Subject Parameter" but to result from the T-to-C movement asymmetry (cf. Chapter 2).

Following the same structure as in Chapter 6, the following hypotheses and their corresponding predictions are assumed for adult L2A subject development:

Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A

> Adult L2A's beginner stage is characterised by the Transfer of L1 properties and is UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired). The feature value of verbal Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial stage adult interlanguage grammars of English and Spanish, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

Hypothesis 1 predicts that the cluster of L1 properties related to the Agr feature value will transfer to adult L2 English and Spanish. Spanish speaking adults learning English will initially transfer a [+strong, +interpretable] Agr value to their L2 English and English speaking adults should initially transfer a [+weak, -interpretable] Agr verbal feature to their L2 Spanish as well. Therefore, we expect adults with L2 English to initially accept null subject pronouns in main and subordinate clauses, null expletive subjects and postverbal subjects and adults with L2 Spanish to initially reject null subject pronouns and postverbal subjects and accept overt expletives. If clustered transfer of subject properties is predicted, we expect informants to respond similarly to the three subject properties analysed. Yet *that*-trace effects are predicted to behave differently from the other properties. As Full Transfer affects the initial state, the non-

native speakers' results are predicted to differ significantly from those of the native speakers in the control group.

Hypothesis 2 – Adult L2A

> Having Partial Access to UG, adult L2 learners cannot reset the Agr feature value, as parameter resetting and clustering effects are not available in adult L2A. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar will accommodate L2 structures which are different from the L1 through UG grammatical options and general learning mechanisms. Structures will gradually be superficially native-like but no clustering effects are expected.

It follows from *Hypothesis 2* that both groups of L2 learners will keep the same verbal Agr feature value as their L1, since parameter resetting is not available to adult L2 learners. Yet this does not imply that L2 learners of English will continue to accept null and postverbal subjects or that L2 learners of Spanish will continue to reject empty and postverbal subjects and accept overt expletive subjects. Always UG-constrained, the interlanguage grammars will yield way to general learning mechanisms, such as restructuring, analogy or induction, which will result in superficially native-like structures. Hence results are expected to gradually approach those of the native control speakers. We should observe a gradual decrease in the acceptance of empty and postverbal subjects in L2 English and a gradual increase in the acceptance of empty and postverbal subjects and rejection of overt expletives in L2 Spanish. However, since these changes are only superficial and not triggered by parameter resetting, we do not expect clustering acquisition of the properties. In other words, we do not expect L2 learners to respond to all subject properties in the same way.

Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A

> Since the process of Adult L2A is hypothesised to be UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired) but not the result of parameter-resetting but of learning mechanisms, no resemblance with L1A subject development is expected to be due to grammatical reasons:
>
> - subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related.

- directionality of acquisition effects, if present, are not linguistically motivated but due to external factors.

Hypothesis 3 predicts that subject and inflectional development will not be syntactically related in adult L2A in the way they are in L1A. Although both properties might show an increasing tendency in the percentage of correct judgements, their relation cannot be due to grammatical factors but rather to general developing factors. Directionality of acquisition effects are not expected to be as systematic as they were in the case of child L2A (cf. Chapter 6) or L1A, where the acquisition of subject properties takes place earlier in null subject languages (i.e. L2 Spanish) than in non-null subject languages (i.e. L2 English) . If observed, they might result from extra-linguistic or methodological factors, such as the kind of input learners receive in class.

Hypothesis 4 – Adult L2 Spanish

Pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects are acquired later than purely syntactic constraints (Lozano, 2006; Hertel, 2003; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999) and even the advanced group of L2 learners will not be fully aware of the discourse contrasts and their syntactic consequences (i.e. presence/absence of pronominal subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects and their corresponding functional focus projections) in L2 Spanish subject use.

It follows from *Hypothesis 4*, that focus/discourse contrasts responsible for subject distribution will persistently cause more problems to adult L2 learners than the purely syntactic constraints on subject properties of L2 Spanish. The fact that parameter resetting is not available in adult L2A and that non-native-like word order does not result in ungrammaticality or lack of comprehension might make it difficult for learners to become competent in the discourse constraints of subject use.

As was done in Chapter 6 for child L2A data and in order to provide an explanation to the research questions and test our hypotheses on adult L2 English and Spanish, the data analysis in the present chapter will also tackle the following five objectives:

① Compare three stages/levels in adult L2A with respect to all the conditions testing subject properties in the tasks.

② Compare control native and non-native data at the three stages/levels and for each condition examined in the tasks.

③ Compare the development of the subject properties among themselves at each of the three stages/levels.

④ Compare subject and inflectional development through the three stages/levels.

⑤ Test directionality of acquisition effects by comparing the acceptability data from the L2 English and the L2 Spanish tasks.

These aims will be pursued for adult L2 English data in section 7.2 and adult L2 Spanish data in section 7.3, using statistical measures of the SPSS 14.0 software and analysing the results. A summary of results is presented in section 7.4.

7.2 Adult L2 English Subject Development

7.2.1 Results[108]

As was done in the analysis of Child L2 English, the data will be analysed in terms of percentages of rejection of ungrammaticality and acceptance of grammaticality with respect to the linguistic structures present in the sentences. As was described in Chapter 5, ungrammatical sentences were grouped into six variable conditions representing 'Verbal Inflection', 'Null Subjects in Main Clauses', 'Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses', 'Null Expletives', 'Postverbal subjects' and '*That*-trace sequences'. Grammatical sentences were grouped into the same variable conditions representing 'Verbal Inflection', 'Overt Subjects', grouping null subjects in main and subordinate clauses under the same variable, 'Overt Expletives', 'Preverbal Subjects' and '*(That)-trace* sequences'. Percentages of hesitations with each mentioned variable will also be

[108] The level of significance will be $\alpha = .05$ all throughout the analysis.

analysed, although they are extremely low. Section 7.2.1.1 will compare the results of each variable along the three stages examined. Then control native and non-native data will be contrasted for each variable in section 7.2.1.2. Section 7.2.1.3 will compare the development of subject properties within each stage and section 7.2.1.4 will look at the relationship between subject and inflectional development along the three stages[109].

As occurred in Child L2 English, sample sizes are relatively small and in order to verify that the appropriate statistical tests were applied, we ran the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality of distribution with the Lillefors significance correction to all variables for each case group. Some variables and/or case groups do not appear in the following tables, since they are constants and their normality could not be calculated. No significance results in the following Tables indicate normality of distribution (i.e. p>.05), which implies that non-parametric statistical tests have to be applied in order to analyse the results:

Table 1:

Tests of Normality – Rejection of Ungrammatical Conditions

	Level of L2 English	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	.228	33	.000
	Intermediate	.299	27	.000
	Advanced	.378	31	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	.212	33	.001
	Intermediate	.305	27	.000
	Advanced	.518	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	.211	33	.001
	Intermediate	.386	27	.000
	Advanced	.530	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.505	13	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Beginners	.189	33	.004
	Intermediate	.240	27	.000
	Advanced	.372	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-	Beginners	.241	33	.000

[109] Directionality of acquisition effects will be analysed in section 7.3.1.5.

	Intermediate	.206	27	.005
	Advanced	.376	31	.000
	Beginners	.538	33	.000
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-That-trace sequences	Intermediate	.535	27	.000
	Advanced	.306	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.456	13	.000

a Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 2:

Tests of Normality – Acceptance of Grammatical Conditions

	Level of L2 English	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	.455	32	.000
	Intermediate	.483	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Beginners	.494	32	.000
	Intermediate	.478	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Beginners	.282	32	.000
	Intermediate	.279	27	.000
	Advanced	.368	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Preverbal Subjects	Beginners	.494	32	.000
	Intermediate	.535	27	.000
	Advanced	.530	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Acceptance of Grammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	.370	32	.000
	Intermediate	.423	27	.000
	Advanced	.492	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000

a Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 3:

Tests of Normality - Hesitations

	Level of L2 English	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	.533	33	.000
	Intermediate	.539	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	.422	33	.000
	Intermediate	.539	27	.000
	Advanced	.530	31	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	.473	33	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Beginners	.262	33	.000
	Intermediate	.346	27	.000
	Advanced	.491	31	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-Postverbal	Beginners	.388	33	.000

	Intermediate	.411	27	.000
	Advanced	.492	31	.000
Hesitation about Ungrammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	.344	33	.000
	Intermediate	.321	27	.000
	Advanced	.432	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	.533	33	.000
	Intermediate	.516	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Beginners	.510	33	.000
	Intermediate	.525	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Beginners	.273	33	.000
	Intermediate	.305	27	.000
	Advanced	.418	31	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-Preverbal Subjects	Beginners	.539	33	.000
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Hesitation about Grammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	.469	33	.000
	Intermediate	.511	27	.000
	Advanced	.539	31	.000

a Lilliefors Significance Correction

7.2.1.1 A comparison of the three stages: Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers

A non-parametric one-way analysis of variance Kruskal-Wallis test was first applied in order to compare the reaction of the three groups of non-native adult L2 learners of English with respect to the variables tested and to find significant differences among them. Table 4 and Table 5 below indicate the level of significance of the difference of results among the three groups with respect to rejection of ungrammaticality and acceptance of grammaticality.

Table 4: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Rejection of Ungrammaticality

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median [110] %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp. Sig
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	33	66.66	32.20	17.465	<.001
	Intermediate	27	66.66	49.81		

[110] As in the analysis of Child L2 English and since non-parametric statistical tests are used, *medians* (i.e. the type of average calculated by arranging all values in order and selecting the one in the middle so that half of the values are smaller and half of them larger than the median), and not *means* are compared.

	Advanced	31	100.00	57.37		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	33	66.66	31.33	26.343	<.001
	Intermediate	27	100.00	45.50		
	Advanced	31	100.00	62.05		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	33	33.33	21.95	53.608	<.001
	Intermediate	27	100.00	53.96		
	Advanced	31	100.00	64.66		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Beginners	33	50.00	23.05	50.397	<.001
	Intermediate	27	83.33	47.85		
	Advanced	31	100.00	68.82		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Postverbal Subjects	Beginners	33	50.00	28.30	32.944	<.001
	Intermediate	27	75.00	45.93		
	Advanced	31	100.00	64.90		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	33	0.00	39.20	21.644	<.001
	Intermediate	27	0.00	39.80		
	Advanced	31	0.00	58.65		

Table 5: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test: Acceptance of Grammaticality

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp. Sig
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	33	100.00	42.12	5.614	.060
	Intermediate	27	100.00	44.33		
	Advanced	31	100.00	51.58		
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Beginners	33	100.00	44.23	4.841	.089
	Intermediate	27	100.00	42.39		
	Advanced	31	100.00	51.03		
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Beginners	33	80.00	38.29	13.798	.001
	Intermediate	27	80.00	40.19		
	Advanced	31	100.00	59.27		
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Preverbal Subjects	Beginners	33	100.00	43.23	1.859	.395
	Intermediate	27	100.00	48.13		
	Advanced	31	100.00	47.10		
Acceptance of Grammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	33	100.00	40.31	4.265	.119
	Intermediate	27	100.00	45.00		
	Advanced	31	100.00	51.29		

The null hypothesis in the Kruskal-Wallis test is that the medians obtained by each group with respect to each variable are the same. As can be seen in Table 4, and for all "Rejection of Ungrammaticality" variables, the p-value is <.05. Hence the null hypothesis is rejected and at least one of the age groups has a significantly different median in each variable. As for the "Acceptance of Grammaticality" variables in Table

5, all of them show very high median values in the three groups and only one, namely "Overt Expletives" displays a significant p-value (i.e. p<.05), indicating that at least one of the groups has a significantly different median. The p-value in "Verb Inflection" is marginally significant (p=.060) and the remaining variables have a non-significant p-value and therefore, the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected.

So as to find out where in the groups the significant difference emerges and to specifically compare the development of rejection and acceptance through the three age groups, the Mann-Whitney U test, with the null hypothesis of equal medians, was applied to each variable. Results are displayed in Table 6 and in the graphs below:

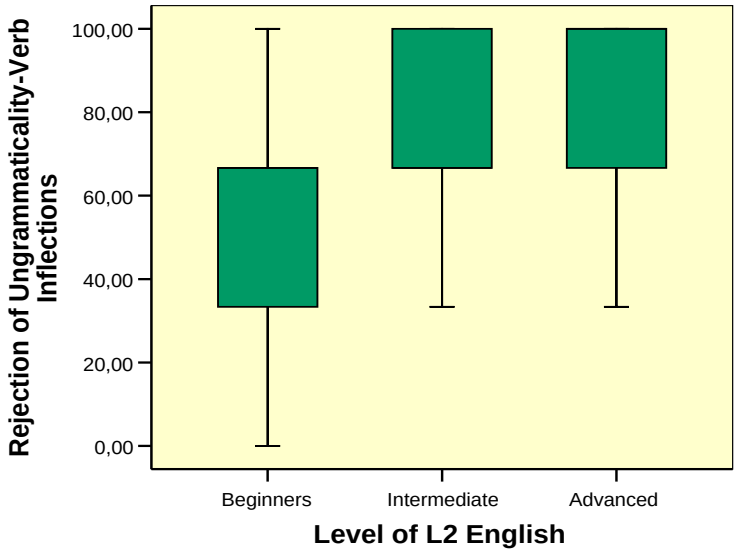
Table 6: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginner and Intermediate and Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers. Rejection Variables.

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	33	66.66	54.54	271.500	.007
	Intermediate	27	66.66	76.54		
	Advanced	31	100.00	84.94	347.500	.215
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	33	66.66	54.54	299.500	.023
	Intermediate	27	100.00	74.68		
	Advanced	31	100.00	95.69	259.000	.002
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	33	33.33	38.38	113.000	<.001
	Intermediate	27	100.00	85.18		
	Advanced	31	100.00	96.77	301.000	.012
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Null Expletives	Beginners	33	50.00	47.06	162.000	<.001
	Intermediate	27	83.33	74.07		
	Advanced	31	100.00	92.25	185.000	<.001
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-Postverbal Subjects	Beginners	33	50.00	46.97	257.500	.004
	Intermediate	27	75.00	67.59		
	Advanced	31	100.00	87.90	228.500	.002
Rejection of Ungrammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	33	0.00	2.02	439.500	.837
	Intermediate	27	0.00	2.46		
	Advanced	31	0.00	19.35	245.000	.001

Concerning Rejection of Ungrammaticality of Verb Inflections, a significant difference is observed between Beginners and Intermediate learners (U 271.500, p= .007), while Intermediate and Advanced learners show a non-significantly different percentage of

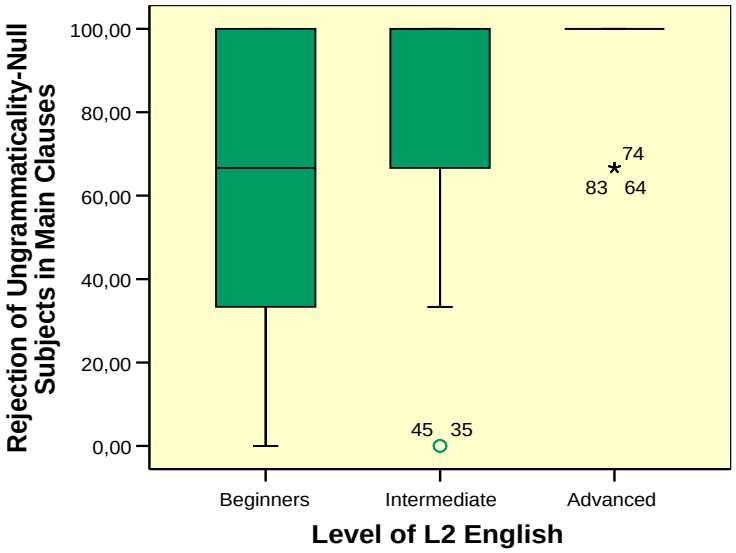
rejection of ungrammaticality. Graph 1 illustrates the data distribution of Verb Inflection along the three experimental groups. Although the medians of the first two groups are the same (66.66%), their means and distribution of results are rather different, which makes them significantly different. The Intermediate and Advanced groups show similar data distribution.

Graph 1: Box-and-whisker plot of "Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



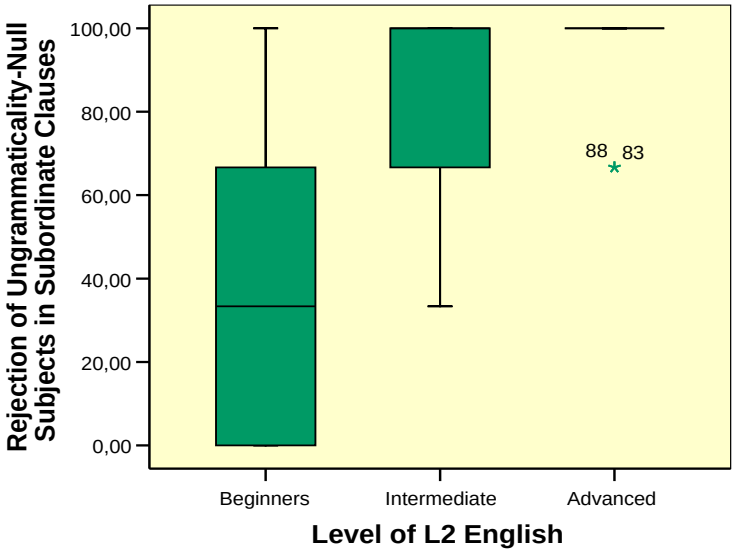
With respect to Null Subjects in Main Clauses, the three experimental groups present significantly different percentages of rejection of ungrammaticality. The null hypothesis of equal medians is rejected for both Beginners and Intermediate learners (U 299.500, p=.023) and for Intermediate and Advanced learners (U 259.000, p= .002). Graph 2 displays the increasing tendency of rejection of ungrammaticality and the different medians and distribution of results.

Graph 2: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



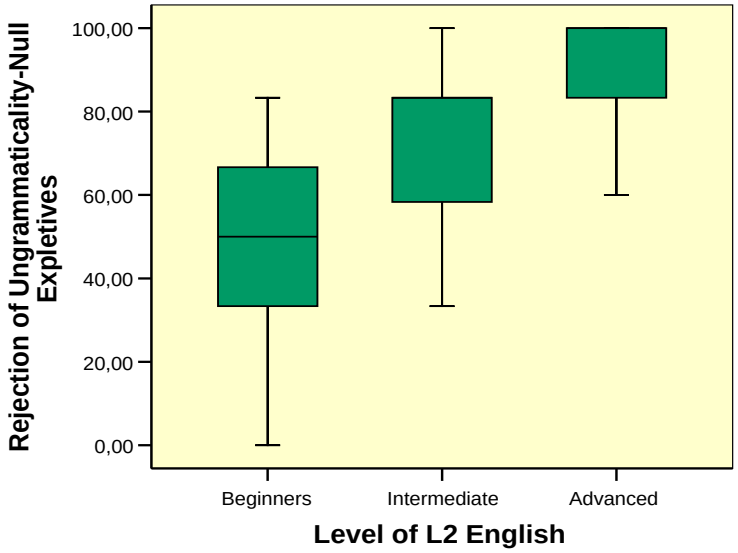
With a similar increasing tendency, the presence of Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses presents rejection medians of 33.33% in the Beginner group and of 100% in the Intermediate and Advanced groups. Yet significant differences are observed not only between the first and the second group (U 113.000, p<.001) but also between Intermediate and Advanced learners, whose means and data distribution is also rather different (U 301.000, p= .012). As can be seen in Graph 3, a great deal of variability is observed in the Beginner group, which decreases as proficiency increases.

Graph 3: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



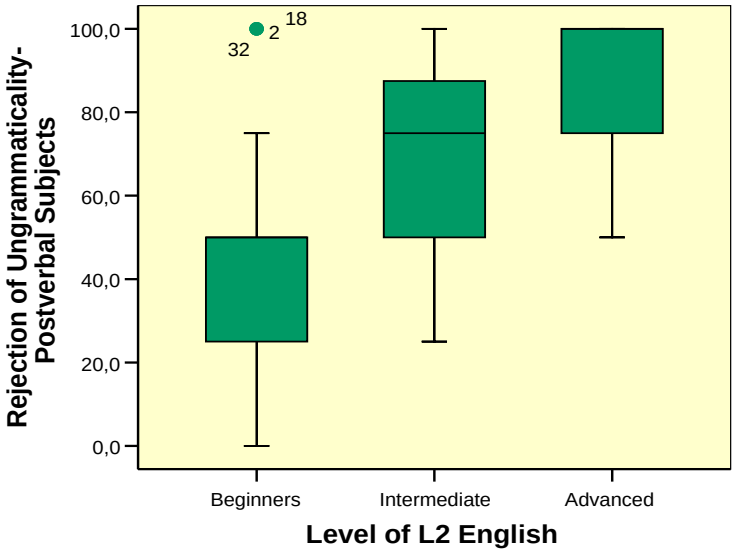
Clearly significant differences are observed between Beginners and Intermediate learners (U 162.000, p<.001) and Intermediate and Advanced learners (U 185.000, p<.001) in the rejection of Null Expletives in the tasks. Graph 4 presents increasing percentage medians of 50.00%, 83.33% and 100.00% and the different distribution of results.

Graph 4: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null Expletives" in the three experimental groups.



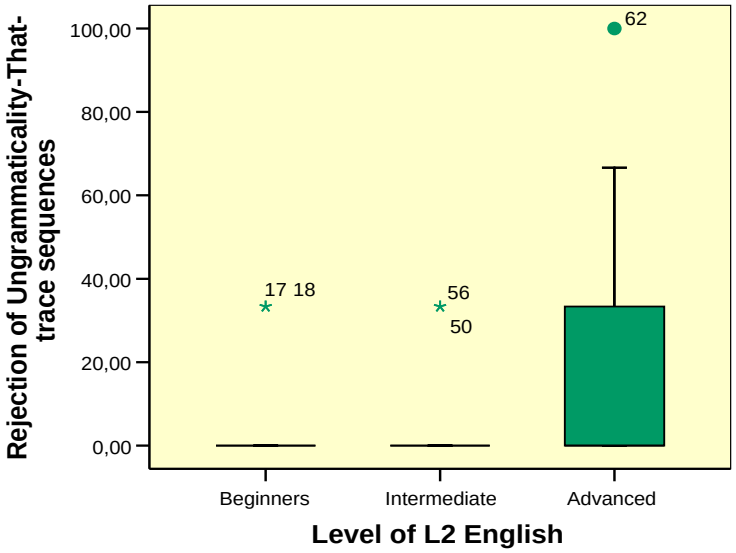
With respect to the presence of Postverbal Subjects in the data, median percentages of rejection of ungrammaticality present significant differences between the Beginners and the Intermediate learners (U 257.500, p=.004) and between the Intermediate and Advanced learners (U 228.500, p= .002). As Graph 5 indicates, a similar increasing tendency is observed through the three groups with medians of 50.00%, 75.00% and 100.00%, respectively.

Graph 5: Box-and-whisker plot of "Postverbal Subjects" in the three experimental groups.



Rejection of Ungrammaticality of That-trace Sequences proves to be the most complex one to identify and hence displays very low results, with median percentages of 0.00%. Yet a significant difference is observed between the Intermediate and Advanced groups (U 245.000, p=.001) as their means are rather different (2.46% vs 19.35%) and the Advanced group presents a great deal of variability of results, as Graph 6 shows.

Graph 6: Box-and-whisker plot of "That-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



Regarding the Acceptance of Grammaticality Variables, Table 7 below indicates that the three experimental groups obtained much higher median and mean percentages and much more uniform results within and between the groups. The previous Kruskal-Wallis test pointed significant differences between groups in only one variable, namely "Overt Expletives" and marginally significant differences in "Verb Inflections", to which the Mann-Whitney U test was applied. With respect to the acceptance of grammatical overt expletives, a significant difference is observed between the Intermediate and the Advanced groups (U 240.000, p=.003) with medians of 80.00% and100.00%, respectively. The marginally significant difference in "Verb Inflection" is found between the Intermediate and Advanced groups (U 353.500, p=.055).

Table 7: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginner and Intermediate and Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers. Acceptance Variables.

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Verb Inflections	Beginners	33	100.00	90.62	425.500	.679
	Intermediate	27	100.00	91.35		
	Advanced	31	100.00	98.92	353.500	.055
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Subjects	Beginners	33	100.00	93.74	-	-
	Intermediate	27	100.00	92.59		
	Advanced	31	100.00	98.92	-	-
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Overt Expletives	Beginners	33	80.00	75.62	424.000	.730
	Intermediate	27	80.00	78.51		
	Advanced	31	100.00	90.80	240.000	.003
Acceptance of Grammaticality-Preverbal Subjects	Beginners	33	100.00	90.62	-	-
	Intermediate	27	100.00	96.29		
	Advanced	31	100.00	95.16	-	-
Acceptance of Grammaticality-That-trace sequences	Beginners	33	100.00	56.25	-	-
	Intermediate	27	100.00	66.66		
	Advanced	31	100.00	80.64	-	-

The experimental groups' results on hesitations about the ungrammaticality or grammaticality of the sentences presented in the tests were generally low (i.e. with 0.00% medians in practically all groups and variables) and became even lower as proficiency increased. Hesitations about ungrammaticality obtained mean percentages

of around 3.00%-15.00% in the case of Beginners and 1.00%-9.00% in the case of Intermediate and Advanced learners. Only in the case of ungrammatical That-trace Sequences did the percentages reach values of 15.00%-20.00% in all three groups. As for hesitations about grammaticality, percentages were generally lower than 5.00%, except for "Overt Expletives" and "(That)-trace Sequences", which reached mean values of up to 12.00% and 24.00%, respectively.

7.2.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses

Our second comparative analysis contrasts non-native and native control results in each level group. Percentages of acceptance of grammaticality are generally very high and hence very similar to the native control results. This is why we will focus on the Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables in the experimental groups as opposed to the control group by applying the Mann-Whitney U Test.

As can be observed in Table 8, the Beginner group significantly differs from the control group in all variables with extremely low p-values (i.e. $p<.001$). Whereas the control group obtains rejection medians of 100.00% and mean values of over 90.00% in all variables, non-native median and mean percentages are significantly lower, ranging from a median value of 0.00% in the case of "That-trace Sequences" to a median value of 66.66% and a mean value of 54.54% in the case of "Verb Inflection" and "Null Subjects in Main Clauses".

Table 8: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginners and the control group.

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Beginners	33	66.66	54.54	39.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	33	66.66	54.54	67.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	97.43		

Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	33	33.33	38.38	26.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	94.87		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Beginners	33	50.00	47.06	2.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Beginners	33	50.00	46.97	19.500	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- That-trace sequences	Beginners	33	0.00	2.02	1.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	89.74		

Table 9 illustrates the Intermediate learners' results compared to the control group's. Results point to a slight development of the informants' reaction to ungrammatical properties, which is nevertheless far from the one observed in the case of child L2 learners (see Chapter 6 section 6.2.1.2). Median values have increased considerably, though they are significantly lower than those of the control group in all variables except for "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", where the median value has increased from 33.33% to 100.00% and the mean value from 38.38% to 85.18%. The greater significant difference occurs in the rejection of "That-trace Sequences", where the Intermediate group maintains very low median (0.00%) and mean (2.46%) values, while the control group reaches a 100.00% median value.

Table 9: Mann-Whitney U Test between Intermediate and the control group.

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Intermediate	27	66.66	76.54	84.500	.002
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Intermediate	27	100.00	74.68	101.500	.012
	Control group	13	100.00	97.43		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Intermediate	27	100.00	85.18	135.500	.149
	Control group	13	100.00	94.87		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Intermediate	27	83.33	74.07	40.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Intermediate	27	75.00	67.59	45.500	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		

Rejection of Ungrammaticality- That-trace sequences	Intermediate	27	0.00	2.46	1.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	89.74		

Regarding the Advanced group's results, the median values of all variables have improved except in the "That-trace Sequences", where the median value remains 0.00%. All the remaining medians reach a 100.00% value, although they display lower mean values and remain significantly different from the control group's results, except "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" for which the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected. Some of the variables in the control group's results are constants and display almost no variability, which contributes to the number of significant differences[111].

Table 10: Mann-Whitney U Test between Advanced and the control group.

Variable	Level of L2 English	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Advanced	31	100.00	84.94	123.500	.010
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Advanced	31	100.00	95.69	191.000	.623
	Control group	13	100.00	97.43		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Advanced	31	100.00	96.77	190.000	.591
	Control group	13	100.00	94.87		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Null Expletives	Advanced	31	100.00	92.25	138.000	.040
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Postverbal Subjects	Advanced	31	100.00	87.90	123.500	.010
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Rejection of Ungrammaticality- That-trace sequences	Advanced	31	0.00	19.35	16.500	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	89.74		

[111] As all median values of the control group reach 100.00% and with the exception of some outliers and extreme values they show no variability, no graphs will be provided here as they would not add any new relevant data to those analysed in the preceding section.

7.2.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three stages.

Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables were statistically compared to one another at each of the three proficiency levels so as to test whether the different subject properties tested in the experimental task display similar behaviour in terms of L1 Transfer and acquisition,. The Acceptance of Grammaticality variables were not compared among themselves since as was seen in section 7.2.1.2, their values were all similarly high, indicating the learners' sensitivity to the grammatical-ungrammatical distinction in their L2. The Null Expletives, Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses, Postverbal Subjects and That-trace Sequences rejection variables were included in the analysis. The "That-trace Sequences" variable was included to determine whether it follows the same developmental pattern as the subject properties variables. For each level group, paired comparisons of related samples were carried out using the non-parametric Wilcoxon Z test with the Bonferroni correction, which tests the null hypothesis that two related (i.e. from the same sample) medians are the same.

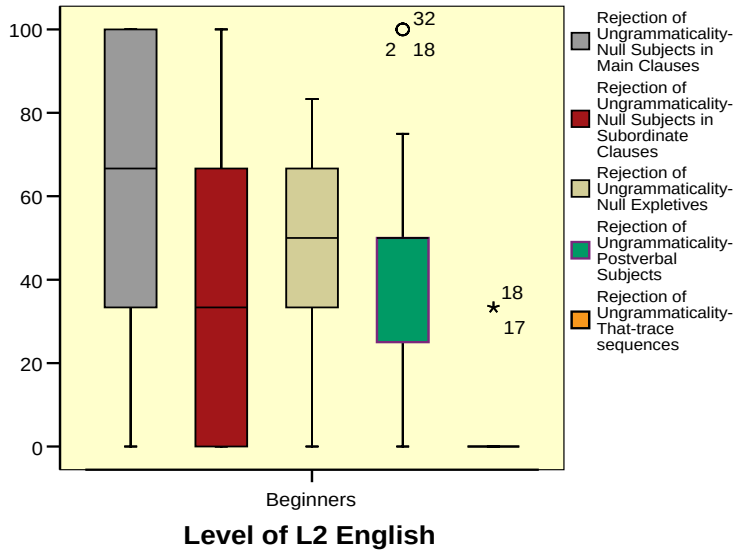
Table 11 presents the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the Beginner experimental group. Some statistically significant differences are observed, indicating that not all variables behave similarly in the Beginner group. The "That-trace Sequences" variable is significantly different from all the remaining variables and at the same time, "Null Subjects in Main Clauses" and "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" are significantly different from each other. As can be seen in Graph 7, results display a great deal of variability and the "That-trace Sequences" variable has a median value of 0.00%, which sets it apart from the other subject properties. Equality of medians cannot be rejected for the remaining variable comparisons, which, together with the fact that all variables' results differed

significantly from those of the control group (see section 7.2.1.2), initially points towards the Full Transfer of the Agr feature responsible for the subject properties.

Table 11: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the Beginner experimental group[112].

	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null Expletives	Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-2.855) p= .040	Z (-1.222) p= .222	Z (-.678) p= .498	Z (-4.702) p< .001
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-2.855) p= .040		Z (-1.668) p= .095	Z (-2.210) p= .270	Z (-4.202) p< .001
Null Expletives	Z (-1.222) p= .222	Z (-1.668) p= .095		Z (-.177) p= .860	Z (-4.970) p< .001
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-.678) p= .498	Z (-2.210) p= .270	Z (-.177) p= .860		Z (-4.924) p< .001
That-trace Sequences	Z (-4.702) p< .001	Z (-4.202) p< .001	Z (-4.970) p< .001	Z (-4.924) p< .001	

Graph 7: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Beginners non-native group.



As for the Intermediate group and as Table 12 indicates, the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for any variables except for the "That-trace Sequences" variable, whose median (0.00%) is significantly different from that of the remaining variables. At the same time, "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Null Expletives" are almost significantly different from each other (Z -1.847, p=.065) as the table below and Graph 8 indicate. Although all variables except "That-trace Sequences"

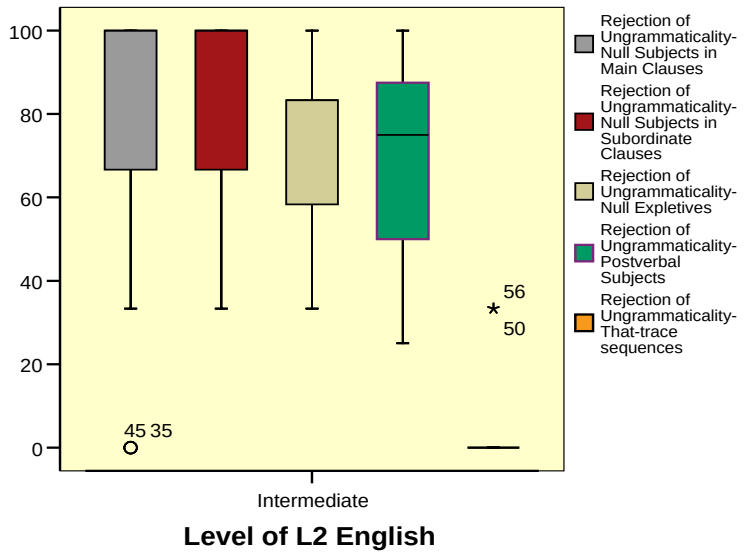
[112] If the obtained p-values were already non-significant (i.e. p >,05), the Bonferroni correction was not applied.

display a non-significantly different behaviour in the Intermediate group, results are still significantly different from those of the control group (section 7.2.1.2), which points towards the fact that learners are still not acquiring the Agr feature value of the target language and therefore clustered acquisition of subject properties is not taking place.

Table 12: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the Intermediate experimental group.

	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null Expletives	Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-1.659) p= .097	Z (-.299) p= .765	Z (-1.084) p= .278	Z (-4.459) p< .001
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-1.659) p= .097		Z (-1.847) p= .065	Z (-2.381) p= .170	Z (-4.667) p< .001
Null Expletives	Z (-.299) p= .765	Z (-1.847) p= .065		Z (-.516) p= .606	Z (-4.575) p< .001
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-1.084) p= .278	Z (-2.381) p= .170	Z (-.516) p= .606		Z (-4.570) p< .001
That-trace Sequences	Z (-4.459) p< .001	Z (-4.667) p< .001	Z (-4.575) p< .001	Z (-4.570) p< .001	

Graph 8: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Intermediate non-native group.



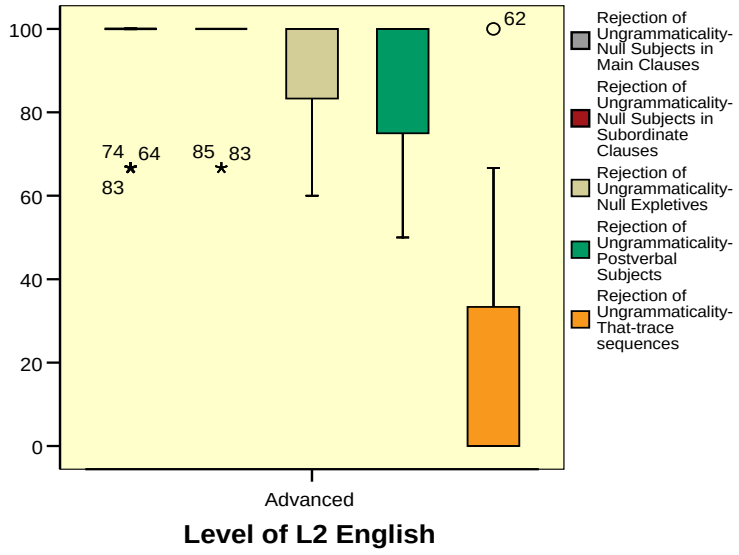
A similar picture emerges from the Advanced group's paired comparisons. Table 13 shows that the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for any variables except for the "That-trace Sequences" variable, whose median remains at 0.00% and is significantly different from that of the remaining variables, as Graph 9 also illustrates. "That-trace Sequences" clearly displays a distinct developmental process, which as will

be argued in section 7.2.2 confirms that they are not part of the set of subject properties examined in the present thesis. The remaining properties display similar results in the Advanced group. Yet most of them are still significantly different from the results of the control group (section 7.2.1.2), and as we will see in section 7.2.2, adult learners will be argued not to acquire the new feature value of verbal Agr, as parameter-resetting is assumed not to be accessible in adult L2A and hence clustered acquisition of target subject properties has not taken place, at least, up to the Advanced level of the learners tested in the present study.

Table 13: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Rejection of Ungrammaticality/subject properties variables in the Advanced experimental group.

	Null Subjects in Main Clauses	Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null Expletives	Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-.447) p= .655	Z (-1.253) p= .210	Z (-2.241) p= .250	Z (-4.867) p< .001
Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-.447) p= .655		Z (-1.508) p= .132	Z (-1.958) p= .50	Z (-4.879) p< .001
Null Expletives	Z (-1.253) p= .210	Z (-1.508) p= .132		Z (-1.298) p= .194	Z (-4.825) p< .001
Postverbal Subjects	Z (-2.241) p= .250	Z (-1.958) p= .50	Z (-1.298) p= .194		Z (-4.817) p< .001
That-trace Sequences	Z (-4.867) p< .001	Z (-4.879) p< .001	Z (-4.825) p< .001	Z (-4.817) p< .001	

Graph 9: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Advanced non-native group.



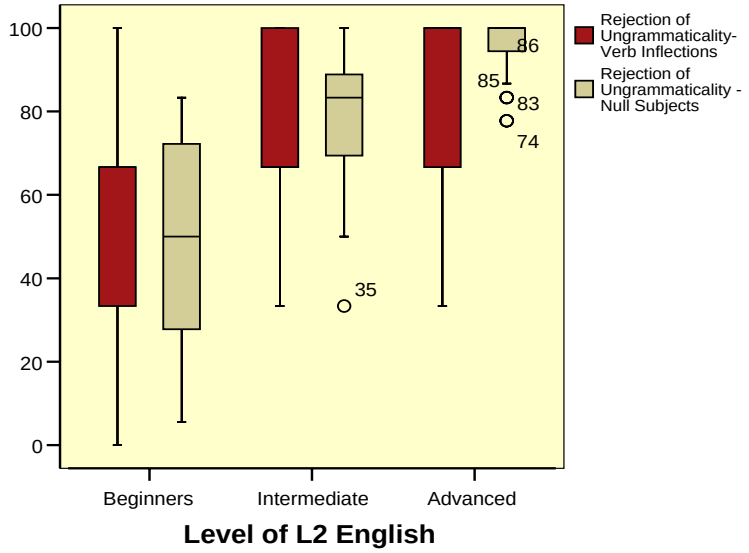
7.2.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development

The last statistical analysis in adult L2 English is centred on testing the relationship between subject and inflectional development. More specifically, we aim at testing whether inflection and null subject variables are developmentally correlated. The three rejection variables dealing with null/overt subject properties, namely Null Expletives, Null Subjects in Main Clauses and Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses were grouped into one new variable referred to as "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Null Subjects". The Postverbal Subjects variable was not included in the analysis since the positive developmental correlation occurring in L1A typically affects overt/missing subjects, that is to say children stop producing and accepting null subjects as they acquire and use appropriate inflection. Yet and even if such correlation holds in adult L2 English, we will argue in section 7.2.2 that the two properties are not syntactically related in the L1 sense, as has been attested on numerous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others). Table 14 presents the means and medians of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables for each experimental age group and Graph 10 presents their graphic representation.

Table 14: Descriptive statistics of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables.

Variable	Group	Mean %	Median %
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Verb Inflection	Beginners	46.66	49.99
	Intermediate	77.98	83.33
	Advanced	94.90	100.00
Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects	Beginners	54.54	66.66
	Intermediate	76.54	66.66
	Advanced	84.94	100.00

Graph 10: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" and "Null Subjects" for each experimental group.



The Spearman's Rho correlation test was applied to the two variables (see Table 15) obtaining a significant correlation coefficient of 0.357 with a significance value of .001, which implies that for adult L2 English, "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Verb Inflection" and "Rejection of Ungrammaticality – Null Subjects" are positively correlated along the three experimental level groups, although it should be noted that the correlation coefficient obtained is not rather high. In other words, adult learners of English generally increase their rejection of ungrammatical null subjects as they also increase their rejection of ungrammatical verb inflection.

Table 15: Spearman's Rho correlation between Verb Inflection and Null Subjects.

			Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Verb Inflections	Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects
Spearman's Rho	Rejection of Ungrammaticality- Verb Inflections	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.357(**)
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001
		N	91	91
	Rejection of Ungrammaticality - Null Subjects	Correlation Coefficient	.357(**)	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.
		N	91	91

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

7.2.2 Discussion: Adult L2 English

As has been the case with child L2 English (see Chapter 6), data from adult L2 English was also examined according to Rejection of Ungrammaticality variables and Acceptance of Grammaticality variables. As expected and as a general tendency, an increase-by-proficiency level percentage of correct judgements was observed in the case of Rejection Variables and for all subject properties. Percentages of correct judgements are remarkably high in the Beginner group (see Table 6) and their increase in accuracy is regular and steady along the three level groups. The presence of significant differences between the percentages of correct judgements from the three level groups indicates a clear and relevant developmental process in adult L2 English subject properties. Ungrammatical "That-trace Sequences" did not follow this general growing tendency and presented extremely low percentages in the three groups, whose median values were of 0.00% and whose mean values only reached 19.35% in the case of Advanced L2 learners. Again, ungrammatical "That-trace Sequences" prove considerably difficult to judge accurately.

As for the Acceptance of Grammaticality variables, the three experimental groups obtained much higher and more uniform results within and between the groups (see Table 7). No clear development is observable in terms of the learners' reaction to grammatical sentences in that almost all median percentages reach 100.00% even in the Beginner group for the majority of subject properties. The only significant difference is observed in the case of grammatical "Overt Expletives" between the Beginner and Intermediate groups, whose median percentage is 80.00% and the Advanced group, which reaches 100.00%. Although not as high as in the other subject properties, grammatical "(That)-trace Sequences" present considerably accurate results in the three groups in comparison to the corresponding ungrammatical variable. Adult learners seem

to be also sensitive to grammaticality/ungrammaticality distinctions, as the different results in Acceptance and Rejection variables indicate. This points to a UG-constrained adult interlanguage or the fact that adult L2 interlanguage is a grammatical system, although this does not necessarily mean that adult L2 learners can reset parametric feature values, as will be seen below.

Hesitations about the judgements were also measured in the three proficiency groups, although they were generally quite low, which meant that L2 learners believed they had clear (although often not target-like) intuitions. As for ungrammatical variables, "That-trace Sequences" presented the highest results on hesitations, which reached values of 15.00%-20.00% in the three experimental groups. Hesitations about grammatical variables are consequently lower as accurate results were higher, although, as expected, "Overt Expletives" and "That-trace Sequences" reached mean values of up to 12.00% and 24.00%, respectively.

The comparison between the results of the non-native Beginner group and the control group shows that percentages of correct judgements are significantly lower than those of the control group in all Rejection of Ungrammaticality subject properties variables (see Table 8). "That-trace Sequences" show the lowest percentage median (i.e. 0.00%) and mean (i.e. 2.02%) values thus resulting in the most difficult construction for L2 learners. Results from "Verbal Inflection" are also significantly lower than those of the control group though their median value reaches over 60.00% and is identical to the results obtained in "Null Subjects in Main Clauses". After a year of being exposed to L2 classroom instruction English, Spanish adult learners of the Beginner group allow a statistically significant percentage of null expletive subjects, null subjects in main and subordinate clauses and postverbal subjects, which are the L1 properties related to the verbal [+strong +interpretable] Agr feature value of the learners' L1 Spanish. If this L1

feature value transfers to the initial stages of L2 English and is responsible for the cluster of subject properties examined here, we would expect those properties to get similar results in the Beginner group. In other words, we expect these subject properties to develop similarly and hence not to be significantly different from each other in the Beginner group.

As was seen in section 7.2.1.3 (Table 11), the null hypothesis of equal medians could not be rejected for any variables, except for "That-trace Sequences", whose results were significantly lower from the rest of variables. "Null Subjects in Main Clauses" were significantly different from "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", although the p-value was almost non-significant (i.e. p= .040). Except for this little difference, the learners' results in all subject variables are not significantly different from each other, which, together with the fact that they significantly diverge from the control group, indicate that there is clustered transfer of subject properties from L1 Spanish to L2 English in the Beginner experimental group. Once again, results confirm that "That-trace Sequences" follow a different developmental pattern and are not part of the cluster of subject properties associated with the Agr verbal feature. Although no significant differences were found among the other variables, we should notice that "Postverbal Subjects" and "Null Expletives" obtained lower percentages of correct judgements than "Null Subjects in Main Clauses", although a bit higher percentage than "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", which contained an antecedent and were more often incorrectly judged as grammatical by the learners. This implies that adult learners in this study found it more difficult to judge and correct ungrammatical null expletives and postverbal subjects than missing referential subjects in main clauses. The fact that L1 Spanish adult learners accepted more ungrammatical null expletives than null referential subjects in L2 English confirms the results from Phinney (1987) and Tsimpli

and Roussou (1991) on L2 English. The low rejection of ungrammatical postverbal subjects observed in this study contrasts to their low acceptance in White (1985), although the study does not present the results of postverbal subjects according to proficiency levels and hence comparisons would be inaccurate.

We can therefore assume *Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A*, at least for adult L2 English and in terms of their acceptance or rejection to the linguistic structures derived from the Agr verbal feature, which is repeated below:

Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A ✓

> Adult L2A's beginner stage is characterised by the Transfer of L1 properties and is UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired). The feature value of verbal Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial stage adult interlanguage grammars of English and Spanish, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

Predictions made by *Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A* are confirmed by the data. L2 learners of English allow a significant percentage of null referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects which is significantly higher than that of the control group and hence the L1 Spanish [+strong +interpretable] verbal feature Agr transfers to the early stages of adult L2 English causing the clustered transfer of the subject properties associated with it. The fact that adult L2A is initially characterised by L1 Transfer and that L2 learners are sensitive to grammaticality distinctions suggests that UG might be involved, even if indirectly and not in the same way as in child L2A where parameter resetting was shown to be possible, in adult L2A.

Regarding the non-native Intermediate group, percentages of correct judgements have slightly improved though not as much as in child L2 development (see Chapter 6 section 6.2.1.2). All variables, except for "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", display significantly lower results than those of the control group, whose median values all reach 100.00%. "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" display a median and mean

value of 100.00% and 85.18%, respectively, which represent a sharp increase with respect to the Beginner group and non-significant difference with respect to the control group. The greater significant difference occurs in the rejection of ungrammatical "That-trace Sequences", whose median value remains at 0.00%. This different developmental path confirms the fact that this property is not part of the Agr cluster of subject properties. L2 learners of English are gradually increasing their rejection to null referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects, although the majority of variables remain significantly different from the control group's results, which might indicate that we are dealing with a distinct developmental process with respect to the "parameter resetting" approach outlines in child L2A. Although development is observed, results are clearly, at least at this stage, non-native like.

Results from the paired comparisons of the subject properties in the Intermediate group (see Table 12) indicate that the null hypothesis of equal medians could not be rejected for any variables except for the "That-trace Sequences" variable, which is significantly different from the remaining variables being analysed and which again is set apart from the other traditional subject properties. Thus the learners' reaction to "Null Expletives", "Null Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Postverbal Subjects" displayed non-significantly different results, although the lowest and hence most difficult subject property for the L2 learners at this stage is "Postverbal Subjects". Yet results are still significantly lower than those of the control group (section 7.2.1.2) and hence there is no indication of clustered acquisition of subject properties, as we had predicted. It is clear though that some development has occurred and that L1 Transfer and its syntactic consequences are not affecting the L2 learners of English as much as they did in the Beginner group, as percentages of correct judgements have increased. However, the L2 learners of English are expected to keep

the same Agr feature value as their L1, since feature value resetting is assumed not to be possible in adult L2A and although learners apparently accept native-like structures. Before characterising it, this developmental process needs to be observed in the Advanced learners' group.

The Advanced experimental group's results show remarkably high percentage median values, although they display a bit lower mean values and remain significantly different from the control group in all variables, except in "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses", whose results are native-like (see Table 10). "Null Expletives" and "Postverbal Subjects" remain significantly different from the control group, although their median and mean values are considerably high, and as expected, "That-trace Sequences" remain problematic for the experimental group, whose median value remains 0.00% and whose mean value has only reached 19.35%. Likewise and in spite of having improved, "Verb Inflection" still displays a significant difference between the experimental and the control groups. The fact that the L2 learners' results are considerably high but still significantly lower than the control group's is due to the significant amount of variability and dispersion of results of all variables except for "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses", where almost no variability is observed, as in the control group's results (see Graphs 1-6). Yet this still indicates that results are clearly not native-like. The paired comparisons of the subject properties in the Advanced experimental group were non-significantly different from each other, except for the "That-trace Sequences" variable, which again illustrates the different developmental path and indicates that adult L2 English presents persistent difficulty with this property, as was confirmed by previous adult L2 English studies (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991). Also corroborated in the literature is the fact that null expletive subjects present more – although not statistically significant - difficulty than

referential missing subjects for L2 learners (Phinney, 1987; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991).

The fact that results from the Advanced group are still significantly different from those of the control group, although "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" display native-like behaviour, indicates that clustered acquisition of the properties of the L2 Agr feature value has not taken place, at least so far. The fact that results are considerably high and accurate but still non-native-like is in line with our hypothesis that parameter-resetting is not available to adult L2 learners, although by resorting to other learning strategies, superficially native-like structures ensue and learners are able to interpret and judge sentences correctly, as the high – but not native-like- results show. We can therefore assume *Hypothesis 2 – Adult L2A*, as far as adult L2 English is concerned, which is repeated below:

> *Hypothesis 2 – Adult L2A* ✓
>
> Having Partial Access to UG, adult L2 learners cannot reset the Agr feature value, as parameter resetting and clustering effects are not available in adult L2A. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar will accommodate L2 structures which are different from the L1 through UG grammatical options and general learning mechanisms. Structures will gradually be superficially native-like but no clustering effects are expected.

Since parameter-resetting is not available to adult L2 learners, the L1 verbal Agr feature value is kept. However, and as predicted by the fact that general learning mechanisms take over in adult L2A, where the L1 and the L2 differ, we observed a gradual decrease in the acceptance of empty and postverbal subjects. As expected and as a consequence of adults only having Partial Access to UG, results are not native-like even in the Advanced group and clustered acquisition of the subject properties has not been observed.

The confirmation of *Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 –Adult L2A* corroborates the adequacy of a Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach to adult L2A (Liceras,

1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991), by which adult interlanguage grammars are unimpaired and hence UG-constrained but L2 learners cannot acquire new parameter values. Instead, and as Full Transfer operates in L2A, L2 learners can only access L1 parameter settings, while parameter-resetting in the L1A sense is claimed to be impossible. Parameters are associated to the functional module, which grows and matures in L1A and therefore it is no longer available to the adult L2 learner. Therefore, triggers for parameter setting in the input cannot function as such any more. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar can indeed accommodate L2 input which differs from the L1 by reanalysing the L2 data according to general learning mechanisms and thus achieve a superficial-like L2 structure which is UG-constrained but which is not the result of parameter-resetting and clustering effects, as it is confirmed by the data. However, clustering effects are seen in the L1 Transfer stage of adult L2A, which confirms that the subject properties examined, namely null pronominal subjects, null expletive subjects and postverbal subjects indeed derive from the verbal Agr feature value and at the same time adds evidence to the fact that adult interlanguage is constrained, if not triggered, by UG. The absence of clustering effects in the acquisition process of the traditional properties of the Null Subject Parameter was also observed in previous research on adult L2 English (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991).

As part of *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A* and to conclude our discussion on adult L2 English[113], we focus now on the relationship between subject and inflectional development. In this case, we examined the relationship between the correct judgement percentages of ungrammatical instances of "Null Subjects", including null referential subjects in main and subordinate clauses and null expletive subjects in L2 English and

[113] Directionality of acquisition effects will be discussed in section 3.2, once results from adult L2 Spanish have been interpreted.

the correct judgement percentages of ungrammatical instances of L2 English verb inflection. As was seen in section 7.2.1.4, correct judgements of ungrammatical verb inflection and null subjects in L2 English are developmentally and positively correlated, though the correlation coefficient is far from perfect. Yet the two properties are not syntactically related in the L1 sense, as has been attested on numerous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others). Unfortunately, and bearing in mind that the kind of data presented here are only comprehension data, we can only assume but not prove that subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related in adult L2 English. Instead, their relationship must result from the general developmental process affecting all properties tested. Such an assumption is in line with a UG-constrained but not parameter-resetting approach to adult L2A, where no resemblance with L1A subject development is expected to be due to grammatical factors, as *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A* indicates:

Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A

Since the process of Adult L2A is hypothesised to be UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired) but not the result of parameter-resetting but of learning mechanisms, no resemblance with L1A subject development is expected to be due to grammatical reasons:

- subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related.

✓ (assumed)

We will now present and discuss the data from adult L2 Spanish and re-examine the hypotheses posed at the beginning of the chapter. Directionality of acquisition effects will also be analysed and explained.

7.3 Adult L2 Spanish Subject Development

7.3.1 Results

As was explained in Chapter 5 section 5.3.1.1 and in Chapter 6 section 6.3.1, L2 Spanish development could not be tested using sets of grammatical and ungrammatical

variables and measuring rejection and acceptance, as was done to analyse L2 English, as not all properties of subject development can be reduced to the grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrast in Spanish, as they can in English. Thus pairs of sentences which either gave two grammatical options or presented the grammatical and ungrammatical options were thought to more accurately measure subject development in L2 Spanish. Not only acceptance of sentences but also preference was tested in this experimental task and hence two SPSS files, two sets of variables and two sets of results were obtained. The first set of variables includes nine Acceptance Variables, which test the learners' correct judgements (i.e. acceptance of grammatical sentences and rejection of ungrammatical sentences) of Verb Inflection, Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses, Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses, Null/Overt Expletive Subjects, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts and That-trace Sequences. The second set of variables includes ten Preference Variables, which test the learners' preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection and for what has been termed in Chapter 5 as "the English option", that is to say the learners' preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses, Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses, Overt Expletive Subjects, Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs, Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs, Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs in contexts which trigger VS, Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs in contexts which trigger SV, Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts and (That)-trace Sequences. Nine additional variables are also included in the Preference file, which measure the learners' preference for both options in each pair of sentences, that is to say, the learners' lack of preference for either grammatical or ungrammatical verb inflection, null or overt subjects, preverbal or

postverbal subjects and that-trace or (That)-trace sequences. As will become evident, percentages of "Preference for both" tend to be extremely low in adult L2 Spanish.

Section 7.3.1.1 will compare the results of each acceptance and preference variable along the three experimental level groups. In section 7.3.1.2, experimental non-native and control native data will be compared for each variable. Section 7.3.1.3 will compare the development of subject properties within each group and section 7.3.1.4 will look at the relationship between subject and inflectional development along the three proficiency levels. Finally, section 7.3.1.5 will determine possible directionality of acquisition effects by statistically comparing the data from adult L2 English and adult L2 Spanish subject development.

As was done in section 7.2 for adult L2 English and in Chapter 6 for child L2A analyses, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of normality of distribution with the Lillefors significance correction was applied to each variable for each case group, whose results are presented in Tables 16 and 17. Some variables and/or case groups do not appear in the following tables, since they are constants and their normality cannot be calculated. Only the blue-shadowed significance results ($p>.05$) indicate normality of distribution, which indicates that the data are not normally distributed and hence non-parametric statistical tests need to be applied.

Table 16:

Tests of Normality – Acceptance Variables

	Level of L2 Spanish	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	.348	17	.000
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.300	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.427	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.435	7	.000
	Native Control Group	.392	13	.000
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.426	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.442	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.331	7	.020
	Native Control Group	.237	13	.045
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	.194	17	.090

	Non-native Intermediate	.249	18	.004
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.366	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.375	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.421	7	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.331	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.254	18	.003
	Non-native Advanced	.214	7	.200(*)
	Native Control Group	.284	13	.005
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.224	17	.024
	Non-native Intermediate	.372	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.435	7	.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	.209	17	.047
	Non-native Intermediate	.283	18	.001
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000
That-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	.160	17	.200(*)
	Non-native Intermediate	.208	18	.038
	Non-native Advanced	.265	7	.147
	Native Control Group	.532	13	.000

* This is a lower bound of the true significance.
a Lilliefors Significance Correction.

Table 17:

Tests of Normality – Preference Variables

	Level of L2 Spanish	Kolmogorov-Smirnov(a)		
		Statistic	df	Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	.362	17	.000
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.268	17	.002
	Non-native Intermediate	.435	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.504	7	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.207	17	.052
	Non-native Intermediate	.259	18	.002
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	.440	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.421	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.504	7	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.292	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.317	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.258	7	.174
	Native Spanish Speakers	.281	13	.006
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.521	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.538	18	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Non-native Beginners	.440	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.334	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.435	7	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.505	13	.000

Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Non-native Beginners	.410	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.449	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.504	7	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	.426	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.494	18	.000
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	.236	17	.013
	Non-native Intermediate	.205	18	.044
	Non-native Advanced	.253	7	.197
Preference for both Grammatical and Ungrammatical Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	.426	17	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.456	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.421	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.504	7	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.431	13	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	.521	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.538	18	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.505	13	.000
Preference for both Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	.456	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.523	18	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.537	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.491	18	.000
	Non-native Advanced	.504	7	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.331	13	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.537	17	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	.497	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.516	18	.000
	Native Spanish Speakers	.532	13	.000
Preference for both Postverbal/Preverbal Subjects	Non-native Beginners	.486	17	.000
	Non-native Intermediate	.538	18	.000
Preference for both That-trace/(That)-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	.426	17	.000

a Lilliefors Significance Correction

7.3.1.1 A comparison of the three proficiency levels: Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced non-native speakers

In order to compare the percentage of correct judgements and the preference percentage of the three proficiency level groups of adult L2 learners of Spanish and so as to detect significant differences among the three groups, a non-parametric one-way

analysis of variance Kruskal-Wallis test was applied. Tables 18 and 19 below indicate the level of significance of the difference of results among the three groups with respect to the variables tested.

Table 18: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Acceptance Variables: Correct Judgements

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp .Sig.
Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	16.35	11.940	.003
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00c	25.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	25.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	83.33	16.97	7.559	.023
	Non-native Intermediate	18	83.33	22.69		
	Non-native Advanced	7	83.33	29.43		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	16.53	10.705	.005
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	22.89		
	Non-native Advanced	7	50.00	30.00		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	12.62	20.142	<.001
	Non-native Intermediate	18	87.50	24.64		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	35.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	17.24	4.362	.113
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	23.64		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	26.36		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	17.74	3.094	.213
	Non-native Intermediate	18	75.00	23.94		
	Non-native Advanced	7	75.00	24.36		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	17.82	3.610	.165
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	23.03		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	26.50		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	11.85	22.116	<.001
	Non-native Intermediate	18	83.33	25.56		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	34.50		
That-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	19.65	.687	.709
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	22.61		
	Non-native Advanced	7	83.33	23.14		

Table 19: Kruskal-Wallis Rank and Test – Preference Variables

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean Rank	Chi-square (Kruskal-Wallis H)	Asymp .Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	16.35	11.961	.003
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00c	25.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	25.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	25.06	3.862	.145
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	19.94		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	16.86		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	25.79	8.837	.012
	Non-native Intermediate	18	33.33	21.72		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	10.50		

Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	17	25.00	26.82	7.953	.019
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	19.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	15.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	23.44	1.579	.454
	Non-native Intermediate	18	75.00	21.42		
	Non-native Advanced	7	50.00	17.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	20.53	1.127	.569
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	21.83		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	23.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	24.82	3.731	.155
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	20.50		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	16.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	20.09	1.056	.590
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	21.67		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	24.50		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	23.47	2.553	.279
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	21.19		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	17.50		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	22.18	.096	.953
	Non-native Intermediate	18	33.33	21.11		
	Non-native Advanced	7	33.33	20.86		

Table 18 shows that the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected in the results of the acceptance variables of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative, Transitive and Unergative Verbs" and "That-trace Sequences", which indicates that even if some development takes place along the three level groups with respect to these properties, results are not significantly different from each other. For all the remaining variables the significance p-value is <.05, which means that at least one of the level groups has a significantly different median. As for the Preference for the "English option" variables in Table 19, only "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Preference for Overt Expletives" display a significant p-value. The results of the three groups in the remaining variables are not significantly different from each other, although a decreasing tendency for the "English option" is observed, as expected.

As was done in our previous analysis of adult L2 English, the Mann-Whitney U test, with the null hypothesis of equal medians, was applied to each variable in order to find out where in the groups the significant difference emerges and to compare the

development of correct judgements and preference through the three level groups. Results from Acceptance variables (i.e. correct judgements) are presented in Table 20.

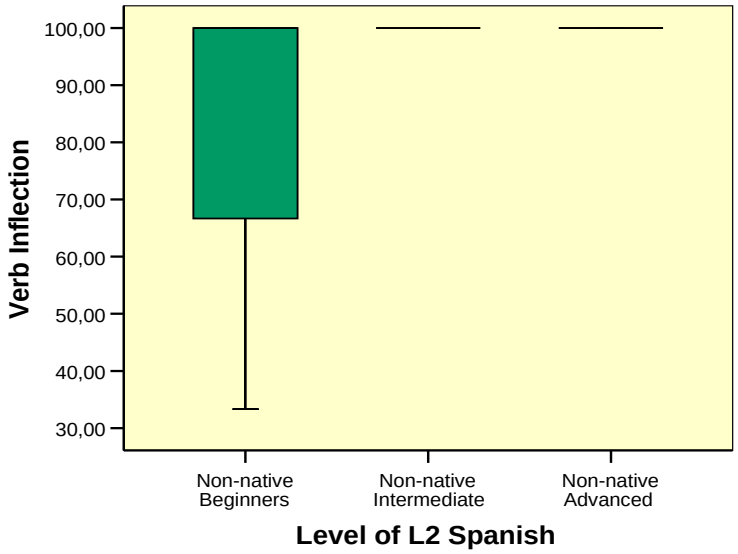
Table 20: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginners and Intermediate learners and between Intermediate and Advanced learners. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	83.33	90.000	.003
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00c	100.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	63.000	1.000
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	83.33	76.46	109.500	.091
	Non-native Intermediate	18	83.33	81.47		
	Non-native Advanced	7	83.33	88.09	41.000	.075
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	44.11	104.000	.027
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	50.92		
	Non-native Advanced	7	50.00	64.28	39.000	.052
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	72.05	58.000	.001
	Non-native Intermediate	18	87.50	88.19		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	24.500	.009
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	76.47	107.500	.104
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	84.72		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	89.28	56.000	.619
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	63.23	109.000	.118
	Non-native Intermediate	18	75.00	75.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	75.00	75.00	63.000	1.000
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	75.00	77.94	116.000	.185
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	86.11		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	92.85	53.500	.499
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	58.82	45.000	<.001
	Non-native Intermediate	18	83.33	85.18		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	28.000	.016
That-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	49.01	132.000	.479
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	58.33		
	Non-native Advanced	7	83.33	59.52	62.000	.950

The "Verb Inflection" variable displays a significant difference between Beginners and the Intermediate groups (U 90.000, p=.003), whereas it is a constant (i.e. 100.00%) in the Intermediate and Advanced groups. As can be seen in Graph 11, the three groups

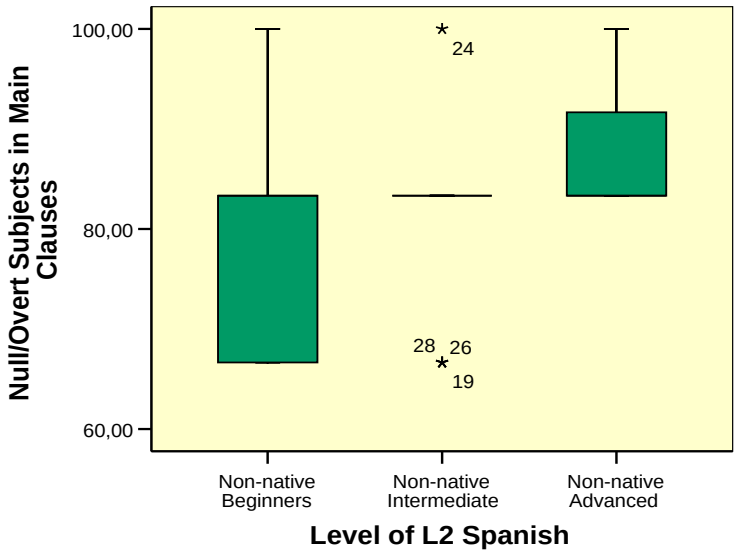
obtained very high median and mean scores, although the results from the Beginner group show a great deal of variability.

Graph 11: Box-and-whisker plot of "Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



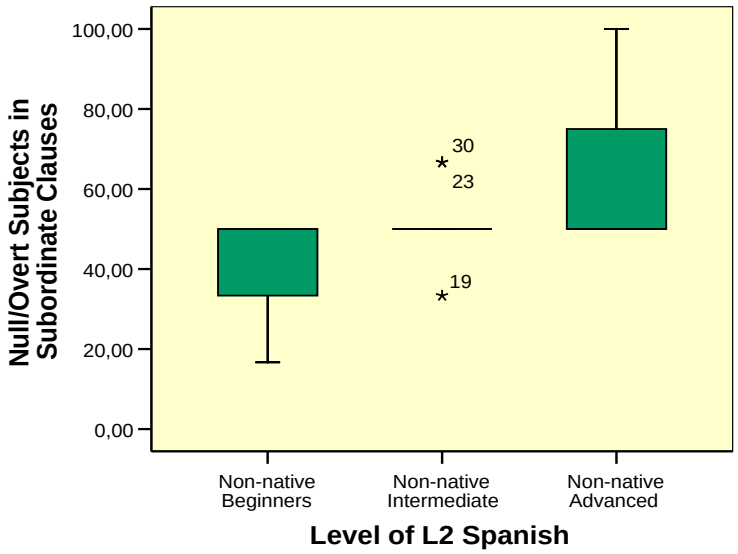
Although the median value of the three level groups in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" is the same (i.e. 83.33%), their means and distribution of results in Graph 12 show a developmental tendency. No significant differences are observed between the Beginner and the Intermediate groups or between the Intermediate and the Advanced groups, which implies that the significant difference in results is found between the Beginner and the Advanced groups.

Graph 12: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



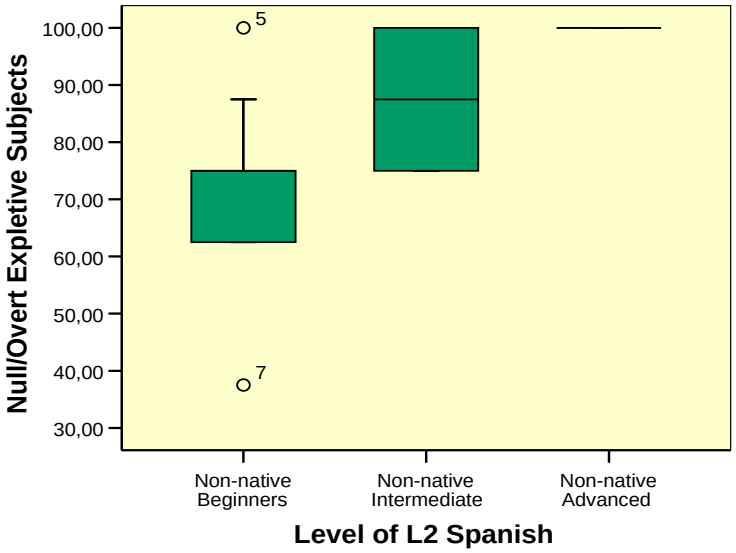
Similarly, the percentage median value in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" is the same in the three proficiency level groups of adult L2 Spanish (i.e. 50.00%). However, Graph 13 shows that their means and distribution of results indicate an increasing developmental pattern. A significant difference is found between the Beginner and the Intermediate groups (U 104.000, p=.027) and a marginal significant difference is observed between the Intermediate and the Advanced groups (U 39.000, p=.052).

Graph 13: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



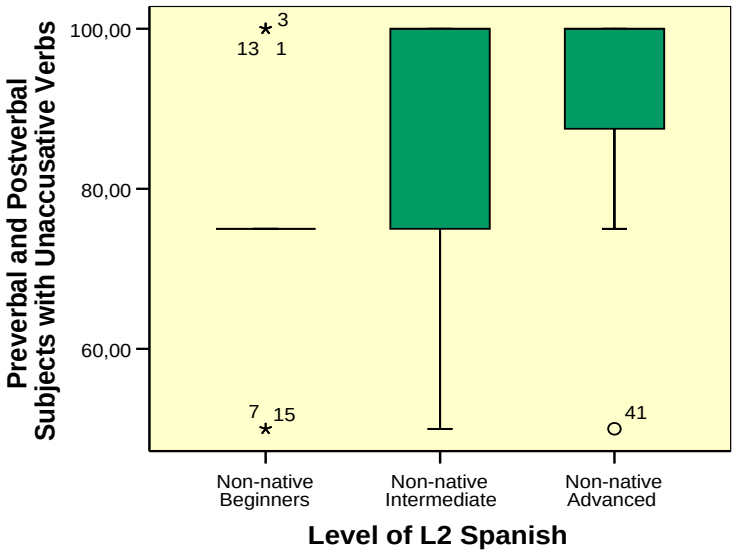
As for "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects", results from the Beginner group are significantly different from those of the Intermediate group (U 58.000, p=.001), which in turn are significantly different from those of the Advanced group (U 24.500, p=.009). Graph 14 illustrates the increasing tendency of correct judgements along the three level groups, the significant differences in their medians and distribution of results.

Graph 14: Box-and-whisker plot of "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" in the three experimental groups.

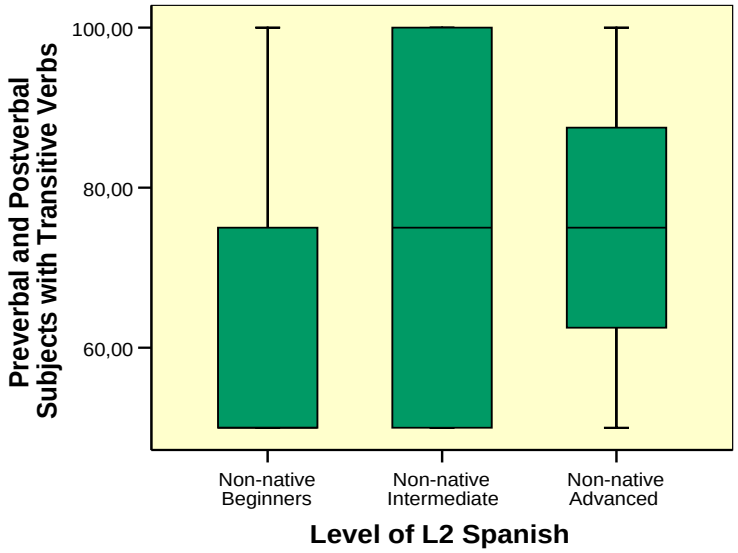


With respect to "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative, Transitive and Unergative Verbs", results from the adult learners of L2 Spanish do not present any significant differences. The three variables present an increasing developmental tendency and their median and mean percentage values of correction are remarkably high in the three groups (i.e. over 50.00%), as the following graphs illustrate.

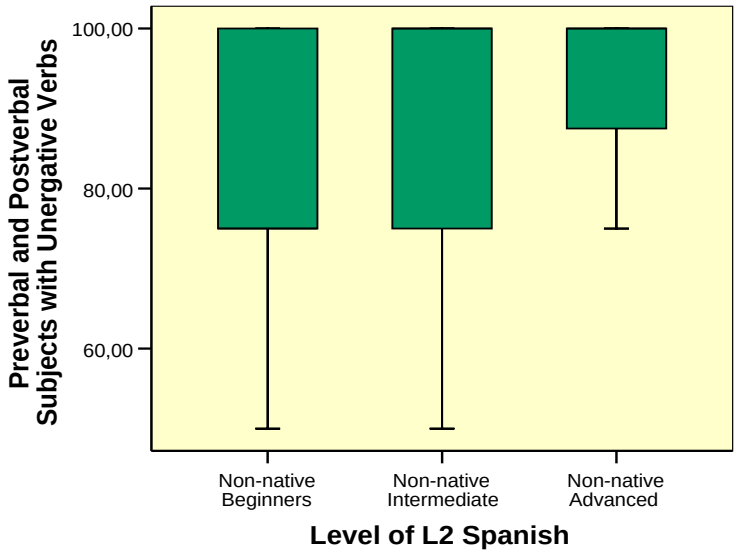
Graph 15: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



Graph 16: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" in the three experimental groups.

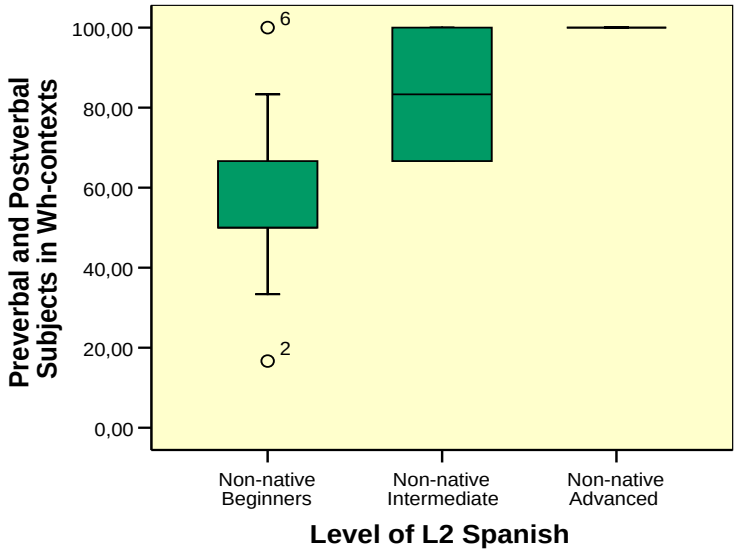


Graph 17: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



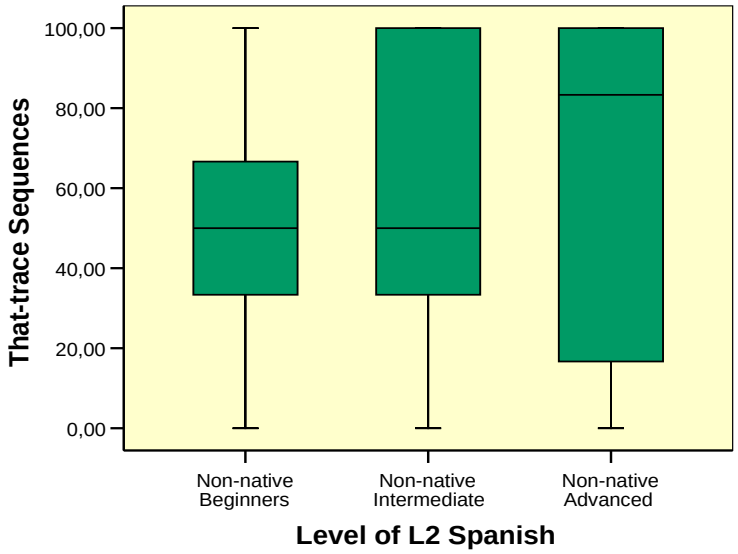
A rather different picture emerges from the results of correct judgements of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts", where two significant differences are observed, namely between Beginners and Intermediate learners (U 45.000, p<.001) and between Intermediate and Advanced learners (U 28.000, p=.016). As Graph 18 shows, there is clear increasing development in percentage of correct judgements and decreasing dispersion of results as proficiency increases.

Graph 18: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" in the three experimental groups.



A great deal of overlapping variability and dispersion of results is observed in the results of "That-trace Sequences", which results in non-significant differences among the learners' groups, as can be seen in Graph 19. Median and mean values are remarkably higher than those observed in the results of adult L2 English and the expected increasing tendency is maintained in this variable.

Graph 19: Box-and-whisker plot of "That-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



The Mann-Whitney U test was also applied to the set of "Preference Variables", which tested the adult learners' preference for grammatical verb inflection and for the

"English option" (i.e. overt subjects, preverbal subjects and (that)-trace sequences). Except for the "Verb Inflection" variable, the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", which is the most natural expected order and the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" in contexts triggering SV orders, results are expected to follow a general falling tendency, since the "English option" (i.e. L1 Transfer) is expected to gradually disappear. Yet only three variables are expected to show significant differences between the group results, as the Kruskal Wallis H test indicated. Results are displayed in Table 21.

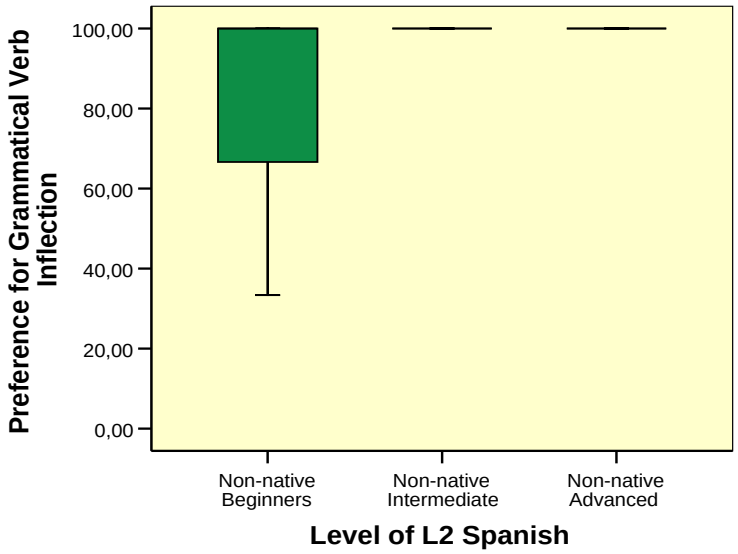
Table 21: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginners and Intermediate learners and between Intermediate and Advanced learners. Preference variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	78.42	90.000	.003
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00c	100.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	63.000	1.000
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	21.56	116.000	.157
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	11.11		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	4.76	54.000	.464
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	45.09	122.000	.285
	Non-native Intermediate	18	33.33	31.47		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00	28.000	.016
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	17	25.00	17.64	96.000	.030
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	8.33		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	3.57	51.000	.351
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	50.00	67.64	139.500	.629
	Non-native Intermediate	18	75.00	58.33		
	Non-native Advanced	7	50.00	42.85	51.000	.434
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	94.11	143.500	.518
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	97.22		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	59.500	.533
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	70.58	121.500	.221
	Non-native Intermediate	18	50.00	50.00		
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	28.57	49.500	.342
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Non-native Beginners	17	100.00	64.70	141.500	.637
	Non-native Intermediate	18	100.00	72.22		
	Non-native Advanced	7	100.00	85.71	54.500	.487
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	11.76	137.000	.471
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	9.25		

	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00	52.500	.260
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	17	33.33	45.09	145.500	.797
	Non-native Intermediate	18	33.33	42.59		
	Non-native Advanced	7	33.33	42.85	62.500	.975

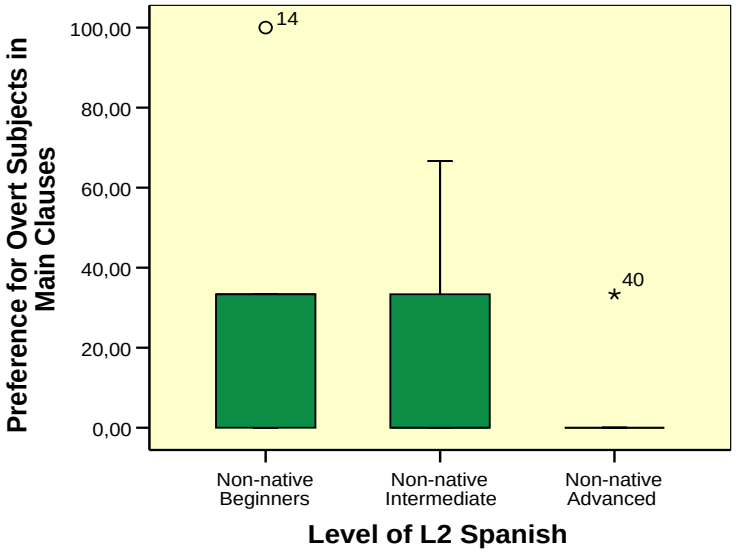
Although preference results for "Grammatical Verb Inflection" are remarkably high, there is a significant difference between the Beginner and the Intermediate groups (U 90.000, p=.003). Both Intermediate and Advanced learners have a constant mean and median value of 100.00% with no variability, as Graph 20 indicates, whereas the distribution of results in the Beginner group is much larger.

Graph 20: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" in the three experimental groups.



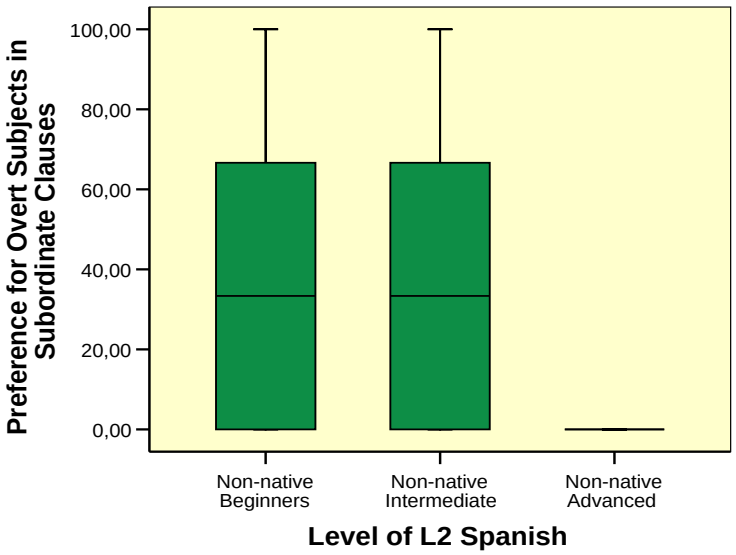
A falling tendency to prefer "Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" is observed, as expected, and median and mean percentages are considerably low, with some variability in the Beginner and Intermediate groups. Yet no significant differences emerge from the results, as Graph 21 shows.

Graph 21: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



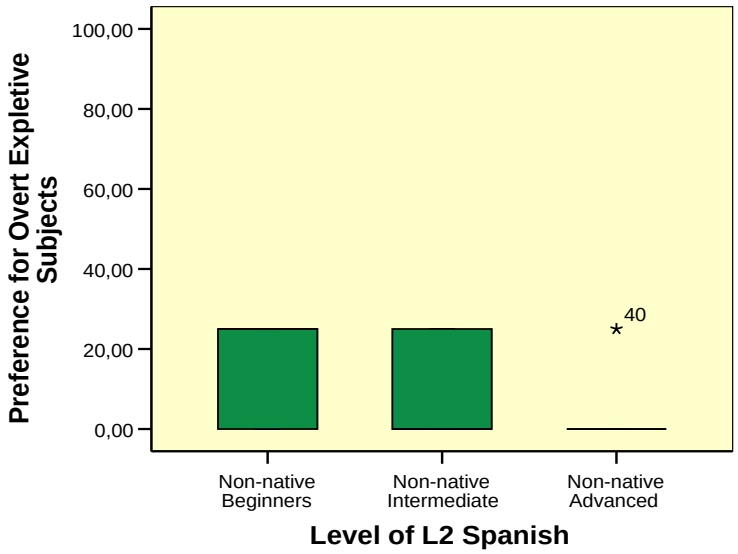
"Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" displays a significant difference between Beginners and Intermediate learners and the Advanced group (U 28.000, p=.016), which shows a constant median and mean value of 0.00%. With a median value of 33.33%, both Beginners and Intermediate learners show a great deal of variability in the results ranging from 0.00% to 100.00%, as Graph 22 indicates.

Graph 22: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" in the three experimental groups.



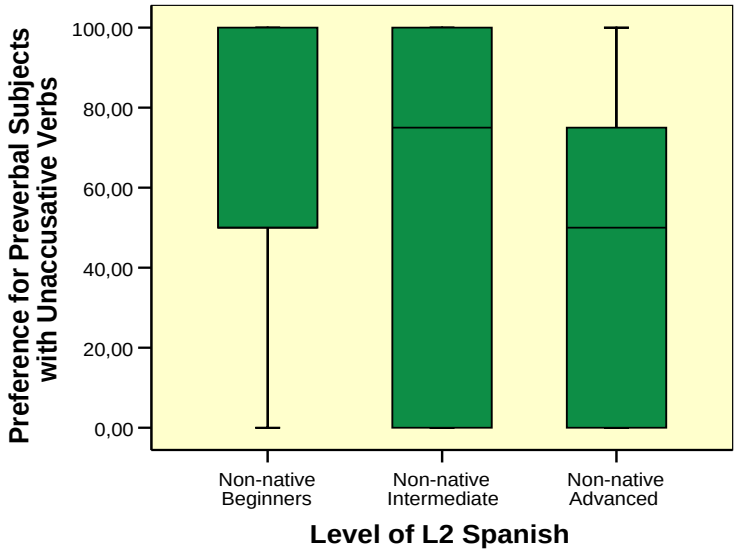
With respect to "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects", very low results are also obtained in the three groups, with median values of 25.00% in the Beginner group and 0.00% on the remaining two groups. Although the first and second groups show similar variability and results distribution, as can be seen in Graph 23, their medians are significantly different (U 96.000, p=.030).

Graph 23: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" in the three experimental groups.



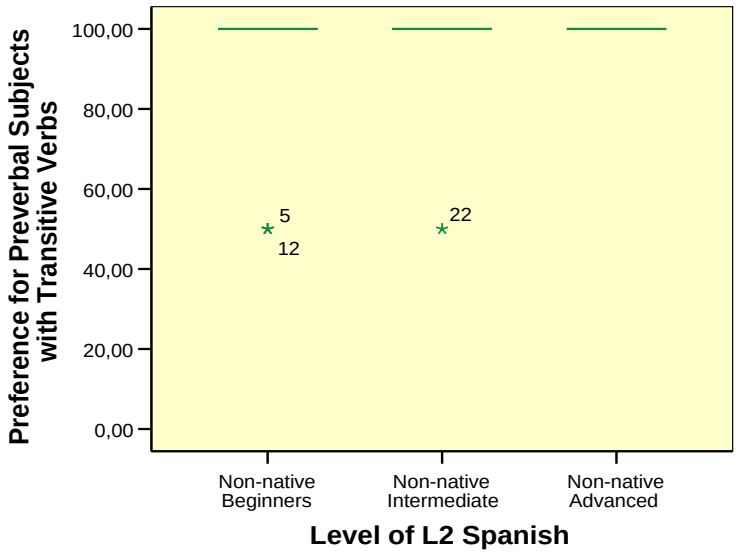
No significant differences are observed between the groups in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" and as Graph 24 illustrates, results display a great deal of variability. Median values are remarkably high in the three groups, indicating that the learners tend to prefer preverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs, although postverbal subjects should be preferred pragmatically. However, the mean percentage values show a falling tendency (i.e. 67.64%, 58.33% and 42.85%), indicating that the learners' pragmatic competence might be delayed, as expected.

Graph 24: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



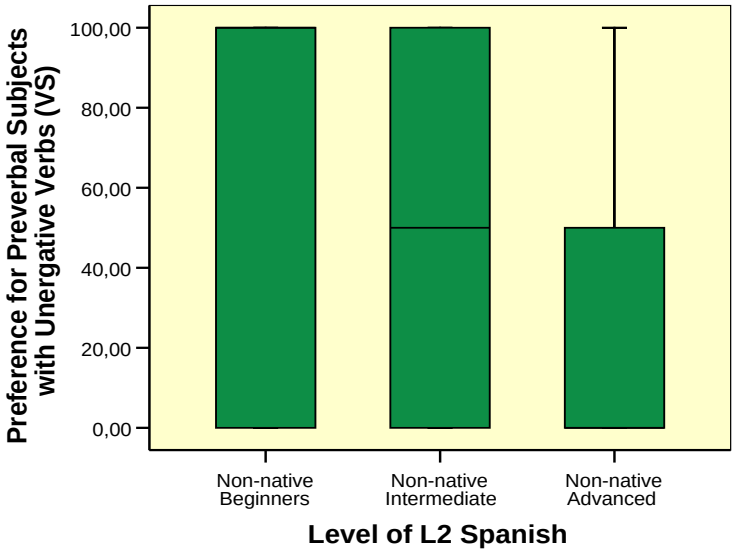
"Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" is almost absolute, as it is also the case with native speakers, who consider SV to be the most natural order with transitive verbs, as we will see in the next section. Median values reach 100.00% in all three groups and only three extreme values prevent the Beginner and Intermediate groups from reaching a mean value of 100.00% as well. As Graph 25 indicates, no significant differences are observed between the groups either.

Graph 25: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" in the three experimental groups.



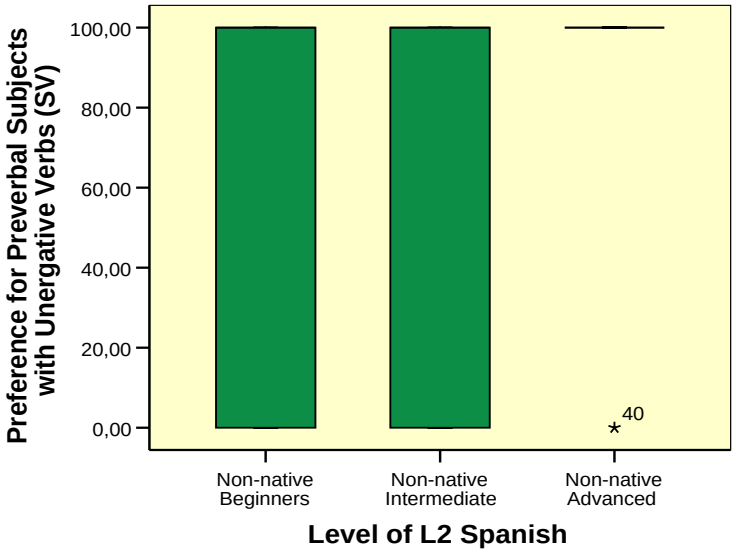
Results from "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" in pragmatic contexts which trigger postverbal subjects show a decreasing tendency, although a lot of variability is displayed and no significant differences are observed. As Graph 26 shows, median values reach 100.00% in the case of Beginner learners and 50.00% and 0.00% in the case of Intermediate and Advanced learners, respectively.

Graph 26: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" in the three experimental groups.



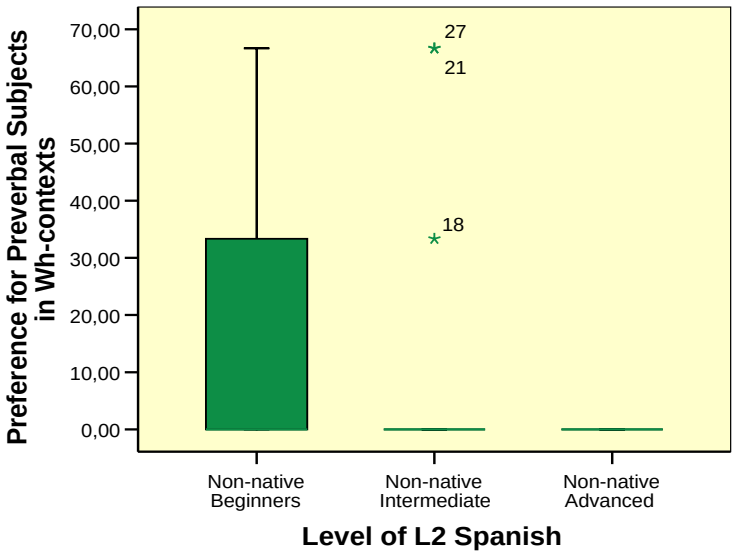
In the case of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" in pragmatic contexts which trigger preverbal subjects, results are much more accurate, with median values reaching 100.00% in the three groups, although Beginner and Intermediate learners show a lot of variability, as Graph 27 indicates. Mean values range from 64.70% in the case of Beginner learners and 72.22% in the case of Intermediate learners to 85.71% in Advanced learners.

Graph 27: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" in the three experimental groups.



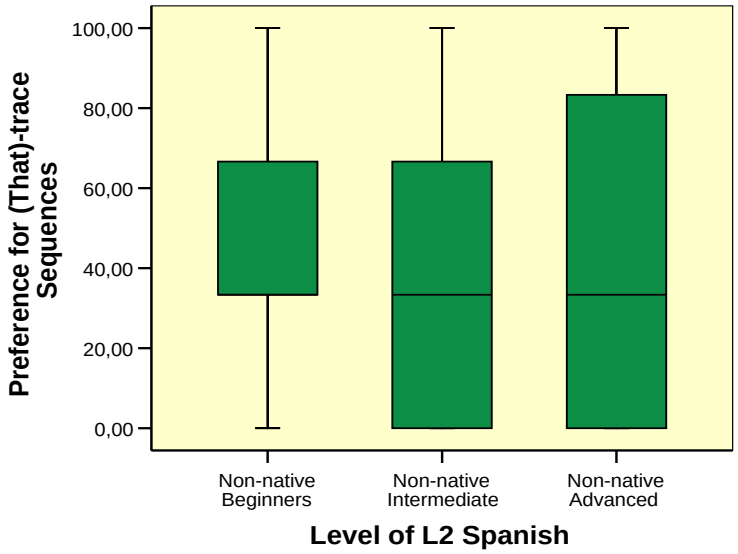
"Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" create a syntactically ungrammatical environment and the three groups accurately obtained very low scores, with median values of 0.00% and extremely low mean values. Graph 28 shows some variability in the case of Beginner learners and no significant differences between the three groups.

Graph 28: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" in the three experimental groups.



No significant differences between the groups and a great deal of variability characterise the results from "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences". Graph 29 shows identical median values of the three groups (i.e. 33.33%) and very similar mean values (i.e. 45.09%, 42.59% and 42.85%, respectively).

Graph 29: Box-and-whisker plot of "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" in the three experimental groups.



A word is needed to refer to those learners who could not decide which of the two alternatives in each pair of sentences in the task they preferred the most, since none sounded better than the other, which indicates that no grammatical and/or pragmatic distinction is made on the part of the learner. Table 22 below presents the percentage medians and means of undecided responses. Results are extremely low and no significant differences among the groups are found except in the "Preference for both Grammatical/Ungrammatical Verb Inflection" and "Preference for both (That)-trace and That-trace Sequences"[114].

[114] Kruskal-Wallis Test: Chi-square 8.127, p= .017 for both variables.

Table 22: Descriptive statistics of the "Preference for both" variables from the three experimental groups.

"Preference for both" Variables	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %
Preference for both Gram./ Ungram. Verb Inflection	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	11.76
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00c	0.00
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	9.80
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	11.11
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	4.76
Preference for both Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	3.92
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	1.85
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	7.35
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	2.77
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	2.94
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	11.11
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00	7.14
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	2.94
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00c	0.00
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	8.82
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	8.33
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	7.84
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00	1.85
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00
Preference for both (That)-trace and That-trace Sequences	Non-native Beginners	17	0.00	11.76
	Non-native Intermediate	18	0.00c	0.00
	Non-native Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00

7.3.1.2 A comparison between non-native and native control responses

As was done with adult L2 English, non-native adult L2 Spanish and native Spanish control group's results from each level group were statistically compared for each acceptance and preference variable with the Mann-Whitney U test of paired independent samples. Tables and graphs are provided to describe the results for each group and variable.

As can be seen in Table 23 and for all variables, acceptance results from the Beginner learners and the control group are significantly different (i.e. $p<.05$). Median values obtained by the experimental group are remarkably high as was pointed out in

section 7.3.1.1 but statistically different from those of the control group, which reach 100.00% in all variables except in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" with median values of 83.33% and 66.66%, respectively and in "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" with a median value of 75.00%[115]. Section 7.3.2 will expand on these low native results.

Table 23: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginner non-native speakers and the control group. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	Beginners	17	100.00	83.33	65.000	.010
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	17	83.33	76.46	42.500	.002
	Control group	13	83.33	89.74		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	17	50.00	44.11	30.000	<.001
	Control group	13	66.66	73.07		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Beginners	17	75.00	72.05	8500	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	99.03		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Beginners	17	75.00	76.47	19.500	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Beginners	17	50.00	63.23	58.500	.020
	Control group	13	75.00	80.76		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Beginners	17	75.00	77.94	39.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Beginners	17	50.00	58.82	8.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
That-trace Sequences	Beginners	17	50.00	49.01	14.000	<.001
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		

Only a slight development in terms of correct acceptance and rejection of grammatical and ungrammatical constructions (i.e. correct judgements) is observed in the case of Intermediate learners. The variables' median values have increased slightly, although results from the native control group are significantly higher than those of the

[115] Results from the control group are repeated in each table, as we only had a control group in adult L2A tasks.

experimental group in all variables except in "Verb Inflection", where both the experimental and the control group obtained a constant median and mean value of 100.00%, and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", where both groups obtained a median value of 75.00%, although the mean value of the control native speakers reached 80.76%.

Table 24: Mann-Whitney U Test between Intermediate non-native speakers and the control group. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	Intermediate	18	100.00c	100.00	117.000	1.000
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Intermediate	18	83.33	81.47	66.500	.011
	Control group	13	83.33	89.74		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Intermediate	18	50.00	50.92	49.500	.002
	Control group	13	66.66	73.07		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Intermediate	18	87.50	88.19	51.500	.003
	Control group	13	100.00	99.03		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Intermediate	18	100.00	84.72	71.500	.013
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Intermediate	18	75.00	75.00	100.500	.480
	Control group	13	75.00	80.76		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Intermediate	18	100.00	86.11	71.5000	.013
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Intermediate	18	83.33	85.18	58.000	.005
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
That-trace Sequences	Intermediate	18	50.00	58.33	42.000	.001
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		

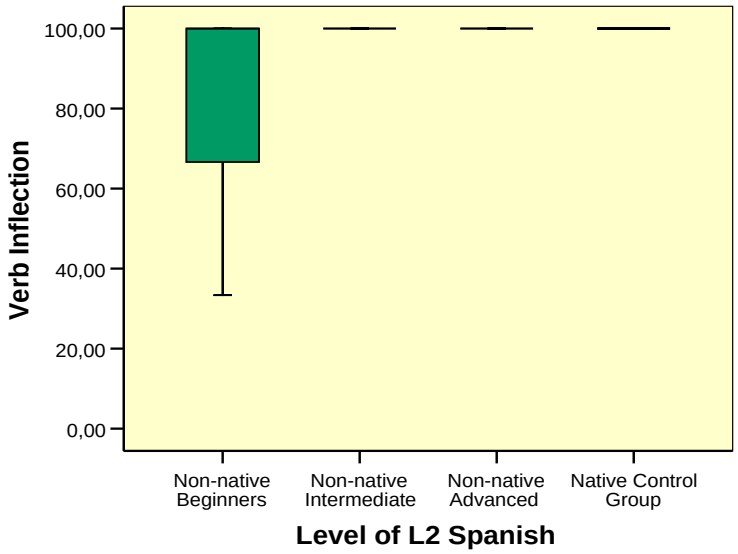
Table 25 shows the Mann-Whitney U Test results from the experimental Advanced learners group and the native control group. Accurate results have risen remarkably as is shown by the fact that only the results from three variables remain significantly different from those of the control group, namely "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs" and "That-trace Sequences". Below are the graphs

of each Acceptance variable with the results of the three experimental groups together with the results of the control group. It is worth noticing that in those three cases in which the control group's results are under 100.00%, namely "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" and in "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", the experimental group always remains below, which indicates that the three properties remain problematic for both groups.

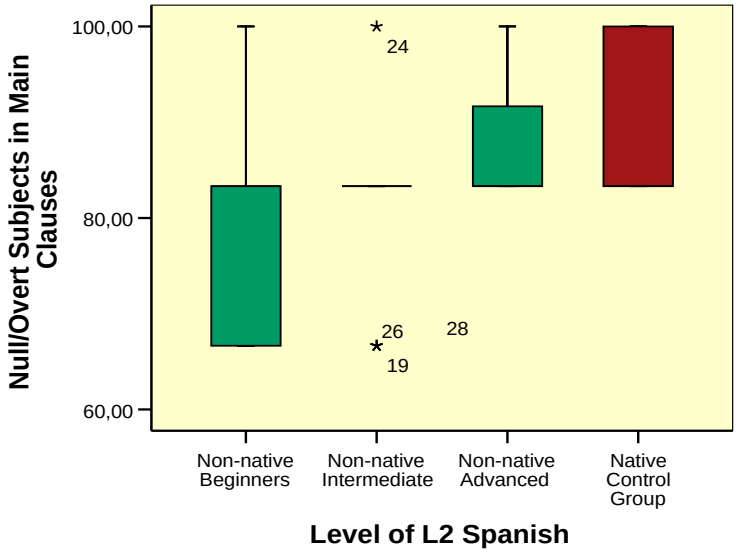
Table 25: Mann-Whitney U Test between Advanced non-native speakers and the control group. Acceptance variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Verb Inflection	Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	45.500	1.000
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Advanced	7	83.33	88.09	41.000	.666
	Control group	13	83.33	89.74		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Advanced	7	50.00	64.28	35.000	.377
	Control group	13	66.66	73.07		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	42.000	.463
	Control group	13	100.00	99.03		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Advanced	7	100.00	89.28	32.500	.048
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Advanced	7	75.00	75.00	38.000	.526
	Control group	13	75.00	80.76		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs	Advanced	7	100.00	92.85	32.500	.048
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	42.000	.463
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		
That-trace Sequences	Advanced	7	83.33	59.52	21.500	.012
	Control group	13	100.00	98.71		

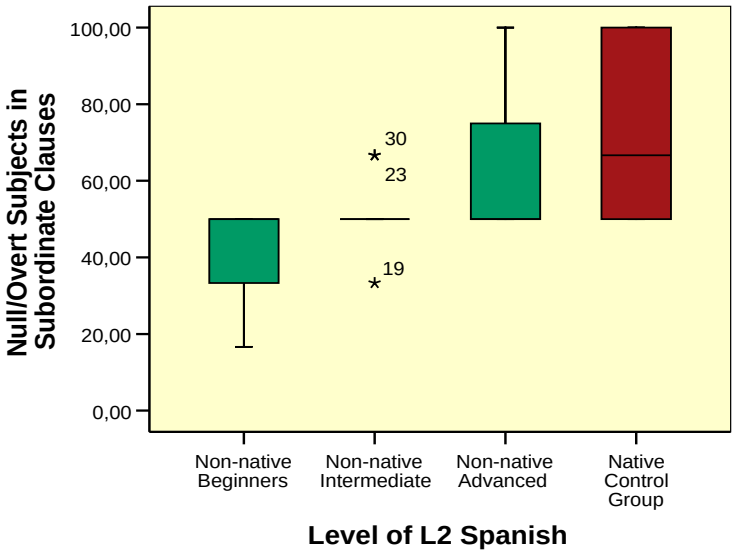
Graph 30: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



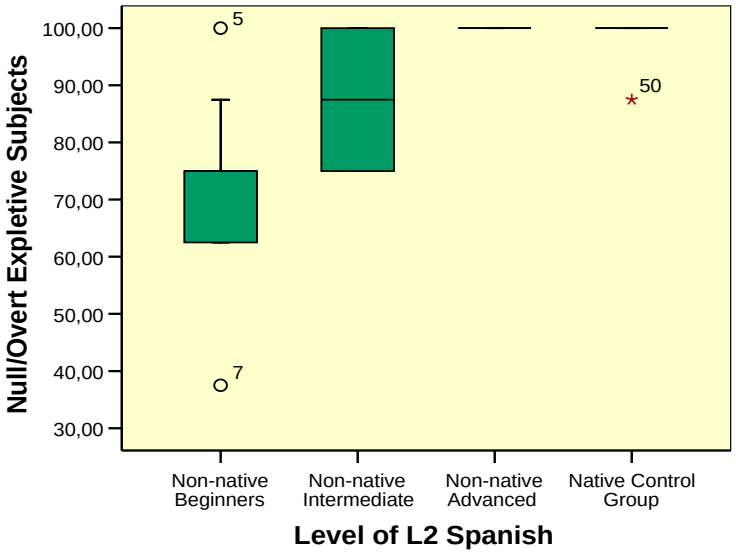
Graph 31: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



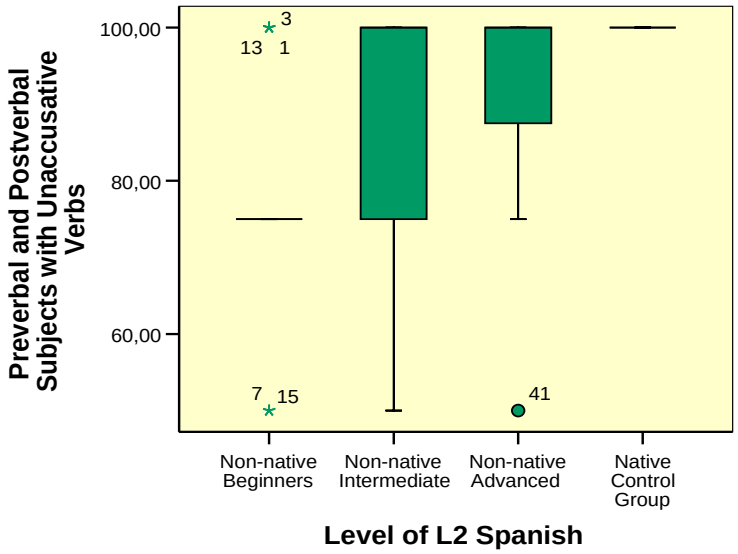
Graph 32: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



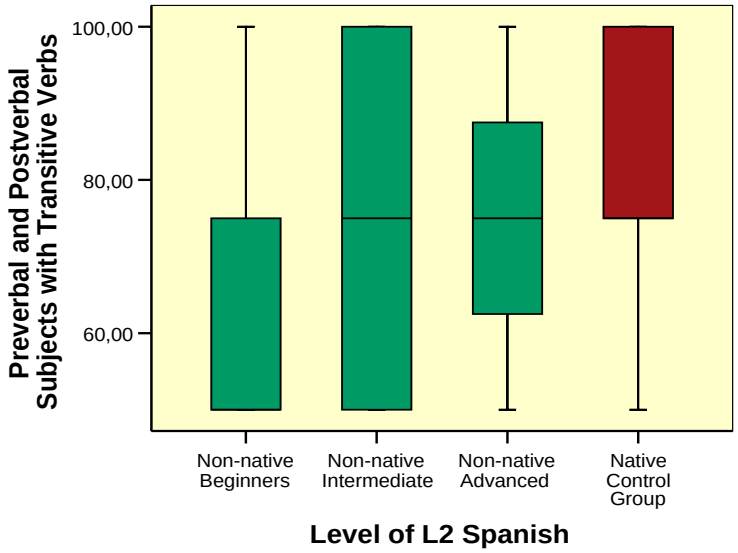
Graph 33: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



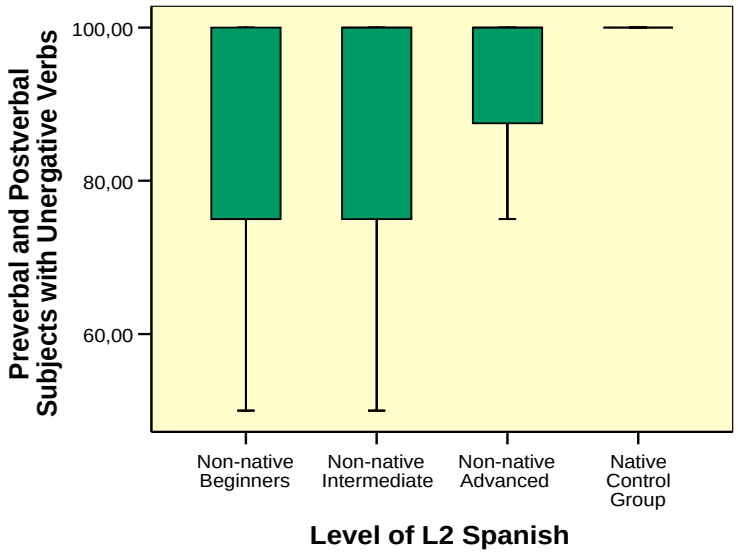
Graph 34: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



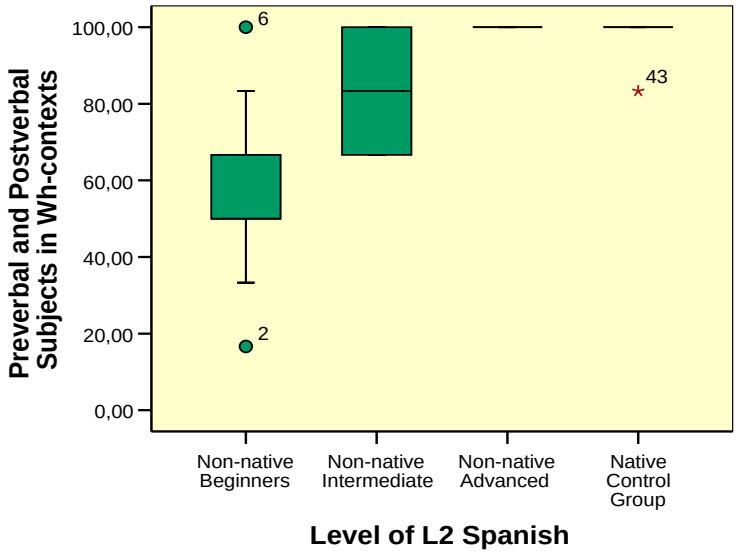
Graph 35: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



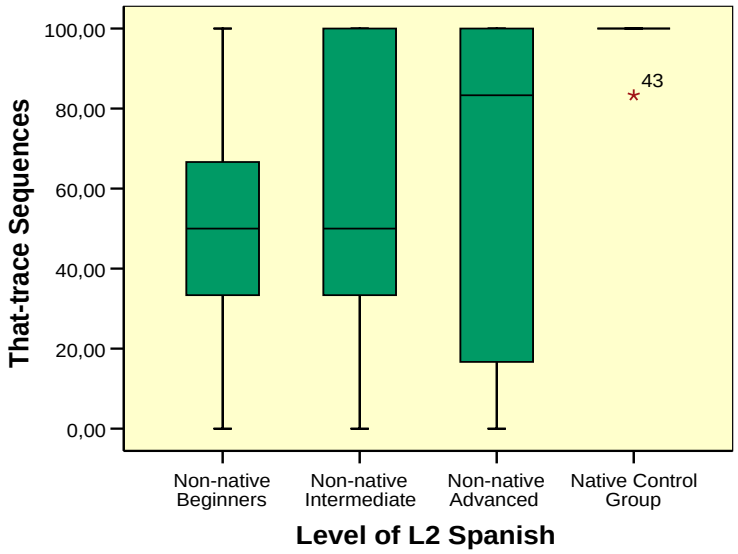
Graph 36: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



Graph 37: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



Graph 38: Box-and-whiskers plot of "That-trace Sequences" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



With respect to the preference variables in the Beginners and the control group, a very similar situation to the results of the acceptance variables emerges. As Table 26 presents, for all variables, except for "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive and Unergative (SV) Verbs", the results are significantly different from those of the control group. As for the learners' "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", native control speakers obtained significantly higher results than the L2 learners, although the latter obtained a median value of 100.00%. Concerning the learners' preference for "Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" where a null subject would be pragmatically expected and "Overt Expletive Subjects", where a null subject is required, results from the control group are accurately and significantly lower than those of the experimental group. "Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" are preferred by both groups with median values of 50.00% but still marginally significantly different (U 68.500, p=.057). Almost total preference for Preverbal Subjects is shown with Transitive Verbs and with Unergative Verbs in contexts which trigger SV neutral orders, both in the case of the experimental and the control groups, although the percentage values are higher (but not statistically significantly) in the control group.

Another significant difference emerges in the case of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)", where the Beginner group obtained a median value of 100.00% and a mean value of 70.58%, whereas the control group obtained a median and a mean value of 0.00% and 15.38%, respectively. As for the last two variables, where the preference implied ungrammaticality, control learners' results were significantly (and accurately) lower than those of the experimental group.

Table 26: Mann-Whitney U Test between Beginners and the control group. Preference variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Beginners	17	100.00	78.42	65.000	.010
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Beginners	17	33.33	21.56	60.000	.010
	Control group	13	0.00	2.56		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Beginners	17	33.33	45.09	32.500	<.001
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Beginners	17	25.00	17.64	32.500	<.001
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Beginners	17	50.00	67.64	68.500	.057
	Control group	13	50.00	42.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Beginners	17	100.00	94.11	106.000	.717
	Control group	13	100.00	96.15		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Beginners	17	100.00	70.58	49.500	.003
	Control group	13	0.00	15.38		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Beginners	17	100.00	64.70	80.000	.082
	Control group	13	100.00	92.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Beginners	17	0.00	11.76	78.000	.036
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Beginners	17	33.33	45.09	19.500	<.001
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		

Table 27 shows that target-like preference has improved considerably in the Intermediate group, whose results have accurately risen in the case of the "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" and "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" and generally lowered in the remaining variables. Only four

significant differences are observed, namely in "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" (U 52.000 p=.002), "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" (U 78.000 p=.023), "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" (U 76.500 p= .051) and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" (U 39.000 p<.001). "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" remains high in both groups, as expected, and "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" remains around chance level.

Table 27: Mann-Whitney U Test between Intermediate and the control group. Preference variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Intermediate	18	100.00c	100.00	117.000	1.000
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Intermediate	18	0.00	11.11	93.000	.162
	Control group	13	0.00	2.56		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Intermediate	18	33.33	31.47	52.000	.002
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Intermediate	18	0.00	8.33	78.000	.023
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Intermediate	18	75.00	58.33	91.500	.279
	Control group	13	50.00	42.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Intermediate	18	100.00	97.22	114.500	.814
	Control group	13	100.00	96.15		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Intermediate	18	50.00	50.00	76.500	.051
	Control group	13	0.00	15.38		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Intermediate	18	100.00	72.22	93.500	.169
	Control group	13	100.00	92.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Intermediate	18	0.00	9.25	97.500	.128
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Intermediate	18	33.33	42.59	39.000	<.001
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		

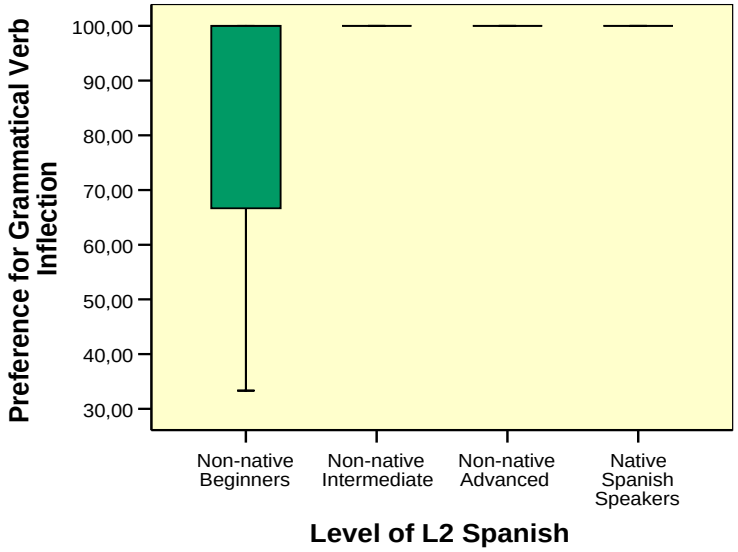
Regarding the comparison between the Advanced group and the control native speakers, a significant difference is only found in "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" (U 19.500 p=.003). In the remaining variables, both groups obtained non-significantly

different results, which points towards clear development. "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" remains at chance level for both groups with no clear preference for either option. The remaining variables obtained expected and target-like results. Graphs 39-48 below illustrate the results of each experimental group and the control speakers for each variable.

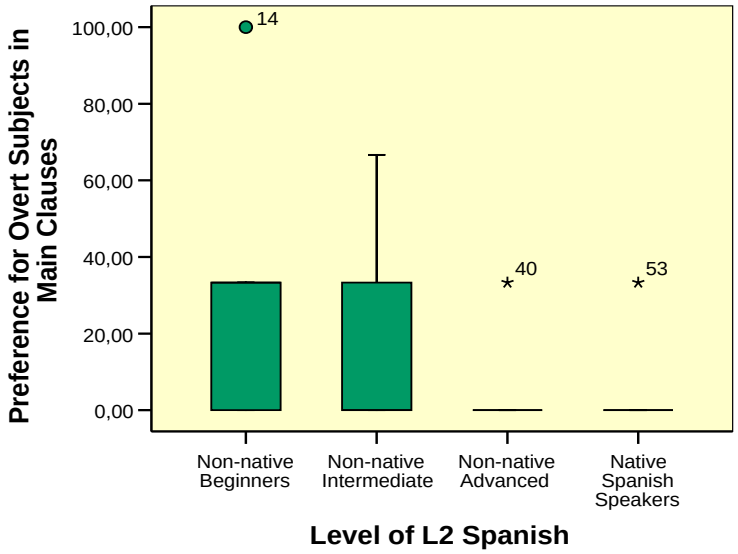
Table 28: Mann-Whitney U Test between Advanced and the control group. Preference variables.

Variable	Level of L2 Spanish	N	Median %	Mean %	Mann-Whitney U	Asym p. Sig.
Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection	Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	45.500	1.000
	Control group	13	100.00c	100.00		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Advanced	7	0.00	4.76	42.500	.648
	Control group	13	0.00	2.56		
Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00	45.500	1.000
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects	Advanced	7	0.00	3.57	39.000	.173
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs	Advanced	7	50.00	42.85	45.000	.966
	Control group	13	50.00	42.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs	Advanced	7	100.00c	100.00	42.000	.463
	Control group	13	100.00	96.15		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)	Advanced	7	0.00	28.57	39.500	.493
	Control group	13	0.00	15.38		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)	Advanced	7	100.00	85.71	42.500	.648
	Control group	13	100.00	92.30		
Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts	Advanced	7	0.00c	0.00	45.500	1.000
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		
Preference for (That)-trace Sequences	Advanced	7	33.33	42.85	19.500	.003
	Control group	13	0.00c	0.00		

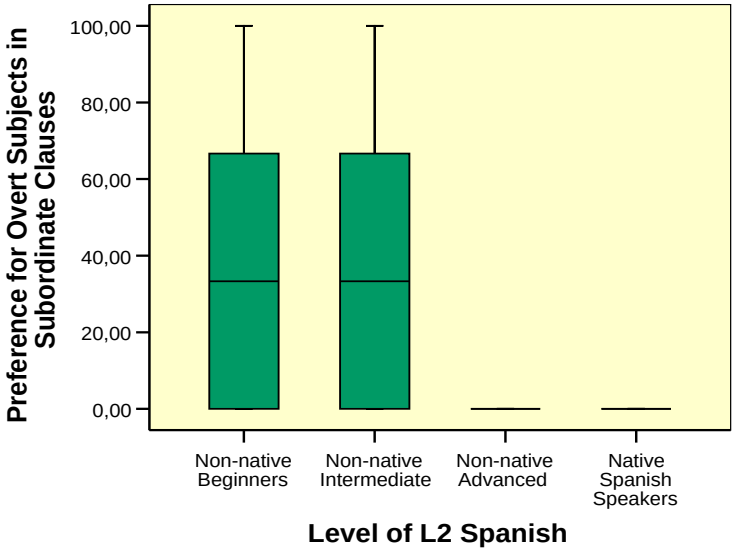
Graph 39: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



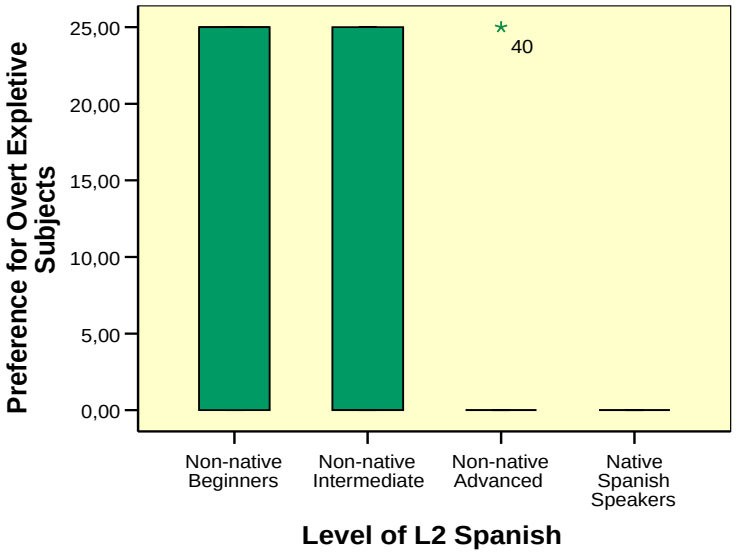
Graph 40: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



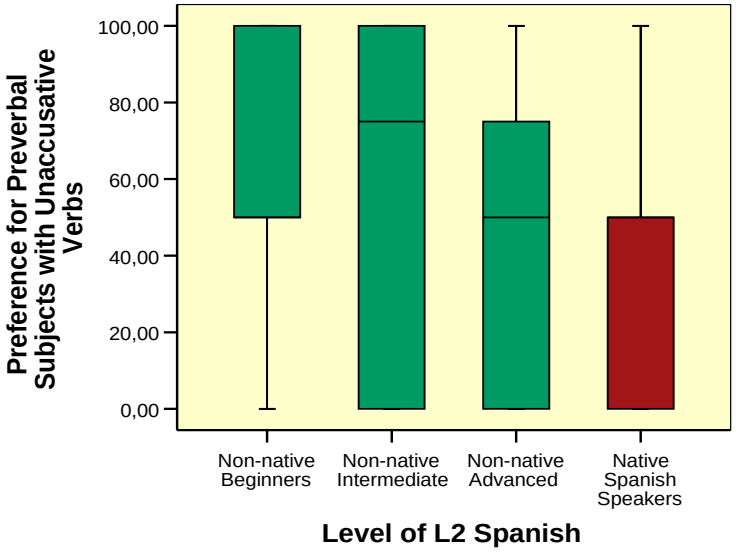
Graph 41: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



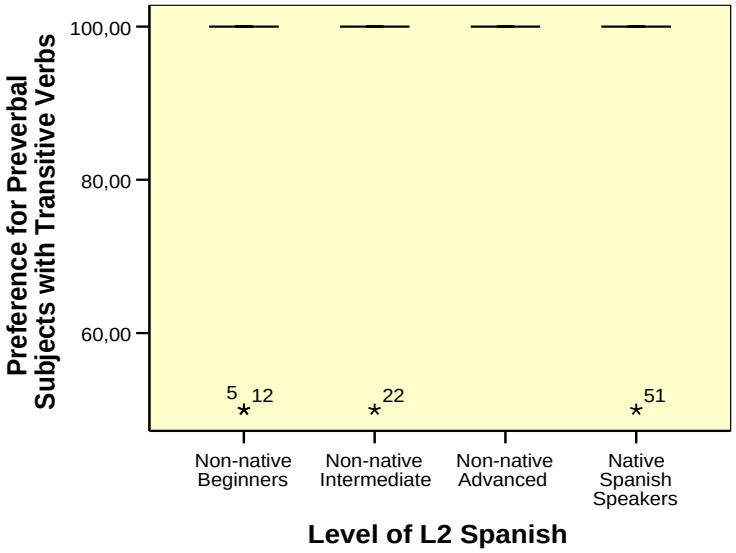
Graph 42: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



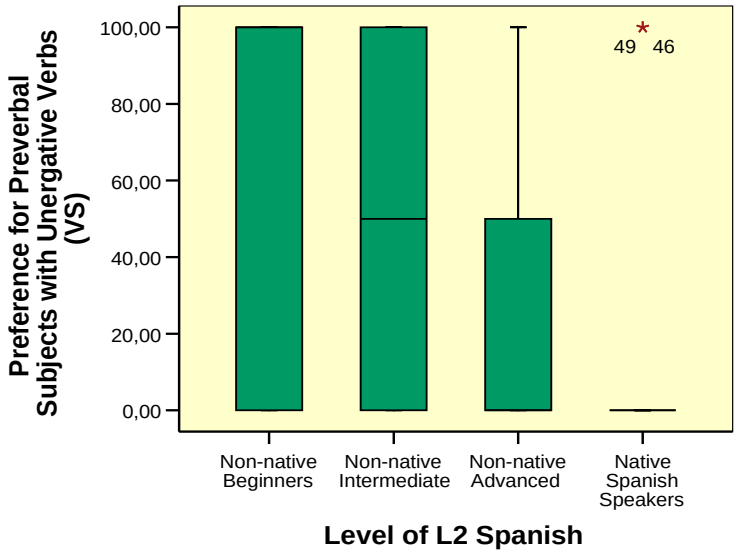
Graph 43: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



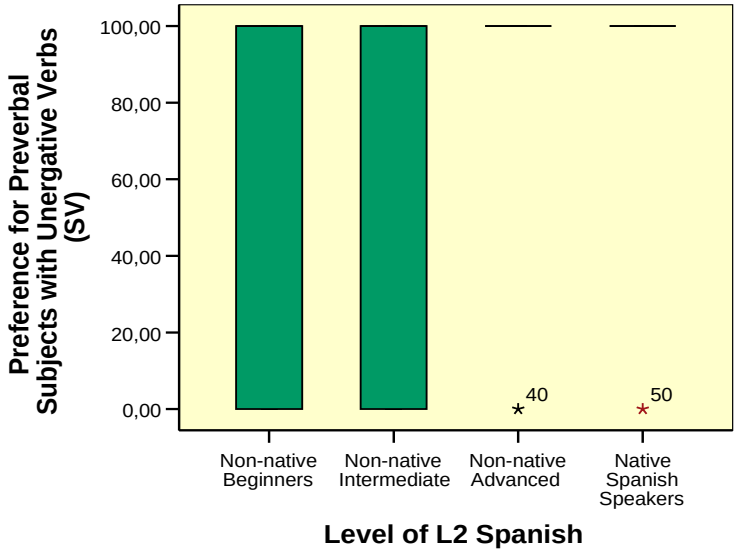
Graph 44: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



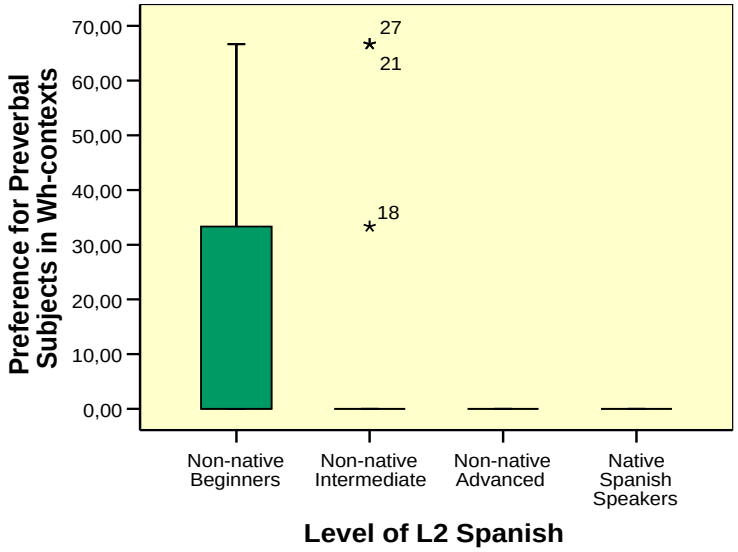
Graph 45: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



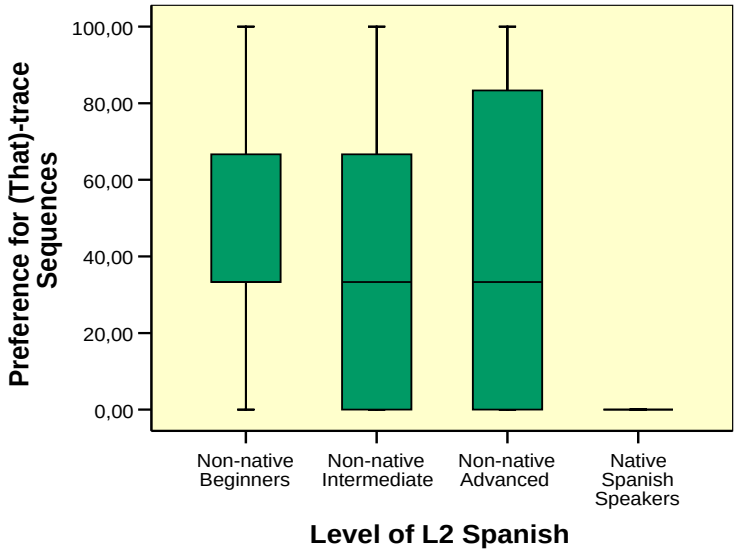
Graph 46: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



Graph 47: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



Graph 48: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" for the three experimental groups and the control group.



In sum, there is a tendency for correct judgements to increase and for preference for the "English option" to lower with proficiency, although native-like levels are more problematic to reach than in the case of child L2A, especially as far as discourse/pragmatic constraints are concerned. We will now focus on the development of each subject property at each of the three level groups.

7.3.1.3 A comparison of the development of subject properties at each of the three levels

As was done with the adult L2 English experimental groups, the acceptance/rejection (i.e. correct judgements) of null/overt expletive subjects, null/overt pronominal subjects in main and subordinate clauses, preverbal/postverbal subjects[116] and that-trace sequences were statistically compared to one another at each of the three non-native level groups to determine their similar or distinct behaviour in terms of L1 Transfer and acquisition. Only Acceptance Variables were considered to be indicative of the learners' structural acquisition of the feature value responsible for L2 subject development, as Preference Variables were generally taken to illustrate the learners' discursive and pragmatic use of subjects. For each group, paired comparisons of related samples were carried out using the non-parametric Wilcoxon Z test with the Bonferroni correction[117], which tests the null hypothesis that two related medians are the same.

Table 29 displays the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the Beginner L2 Spanish group. The null hypothesis of equal medians is rejected for the "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", whose results are significantly different from "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects". The remaining paired comparisons do not yield significantly different results and hence the null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected. Graph 49 presents the distribution of results and the non-significant and significant differences among the medians. Percentages of correct

[116] In order to carry out this analysis, the four Acceptance Variables dealing with preverbal/postverbal subjects with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs and in Wh-contexts, where postverbal subjects are obligatory, were grouped into a single variable, Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects to facilitate the analysis.

[117] As was done in the analysis of L2 English, if the obtained p-values were already non-significant (i.e. $p>.05$), the Bonferroni correction was not applied.

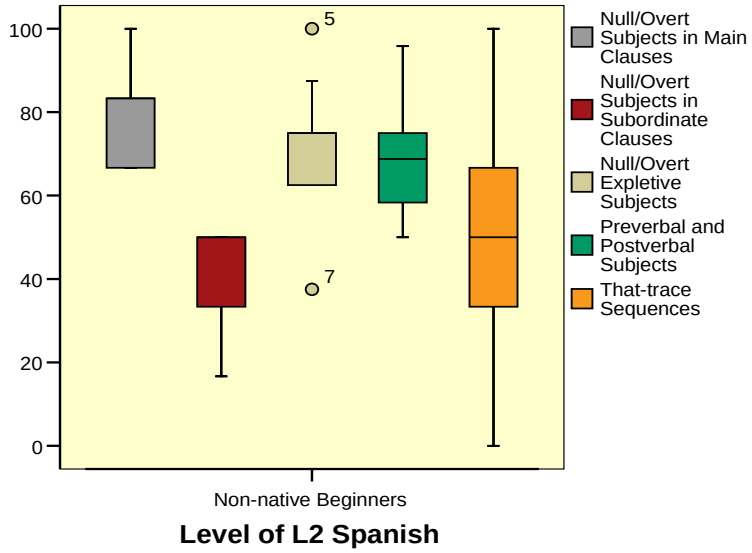
judgements are considerably high[118], except in the case of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and in "That-trace Sequences", which only reach 50.00% of correctness. The fact that the latter is not significantly different from the other variables results from its great variability of results, ranging from 0.00% to 100.00% and hence overlapping with the remaining variables. It is important to recall that all variables have significantly different results from those of the control group (see section 7.3.1.2), which clearly points towards L1 Transfer of the Agr feature value or the impossibility of resetting it to its target L2 value. As for "That-trace Sequences", their results are low and extremely variable, whereas the results from the other variables do not display such variability.

Table 29: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the Beginner L2 Spanish experimental group.

	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-3.671) p< .001	Z (-.214) p= .831	Z (-2.107) p= .350	Z (-2.653) p= .080
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-3.671) p< .001		Z (-3.647) p< .001	Z (-3.624) p< .001	Z (-.253) p= .801
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-.214) p= .831	Z (-3.647) p< .001		Z (-.878) p= .380	Z (-2.109) p= .350
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z (-2.107) p= .350	Z (-3.624) p< .001	Z (-.878) p= .380		Z (-1.917) p= .550
That-trace Sequences	Z (-2.653) p= .080	Z (-.253) p= .801	Z (-2.109) p= .350	Z (-1.917) p= .550	

[118] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 68.75% for the experimental Beginner group and of 93.75% for the control group. These two medians are significantly different (Mann-Whitney U 7.500, p<.001).

Graph 49: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Beginner non-native group.



Regarding the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the Intermediate L2 Spanish group and as we can see in Table 30, significant differences emerge between "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects". Likewise, median values of "That-trace Sequences" and "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" are also significantly different. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for the remaining comparisons. As Graph 50 indicates, all median percentages are over 80.00%[119], except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "That-trace Sequences", whose medians only reach 50.00%. Despite the high percentages, all variables examined here display significantly different results with respect to those of the control native speakers, which clearly indicates that acquisition of the new feature value of Agr is not taking place in adult Intermediate learners.

[119] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 84.37% for the experimental Intermediate group and of 93.75% for the control group. These two medians are significantly different (Mann-Whitney U 44.000, p=.003).

Table 30: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the Intermediate L2 Spanish experimental group.

	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-3.896) p< .001	Z (-2.126) p= .330	Z (-.501) p= .616	Z (-2.133) p= .330
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-3.896) p< .001		Z (-3.753) p<.001	Z (-3.726) p<.001	Z (-.747) p= .455
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-2.126) p= .330	Z (-3.753) p<.001		Z (-1.526) p= .127	Z (-2.963) p= .030
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z (-.501) p= .616	Z (-3.726) p<.001	Z (-1.526) p= .127		Z (-2.438) p= .150
That-trace Sequences	Z (-2.133) p= .330	Z (-.747) p= .455	Z (-2.963) p= .030	Z (-2.438) p= .150	

Graph 50: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Intermediate non-native group.

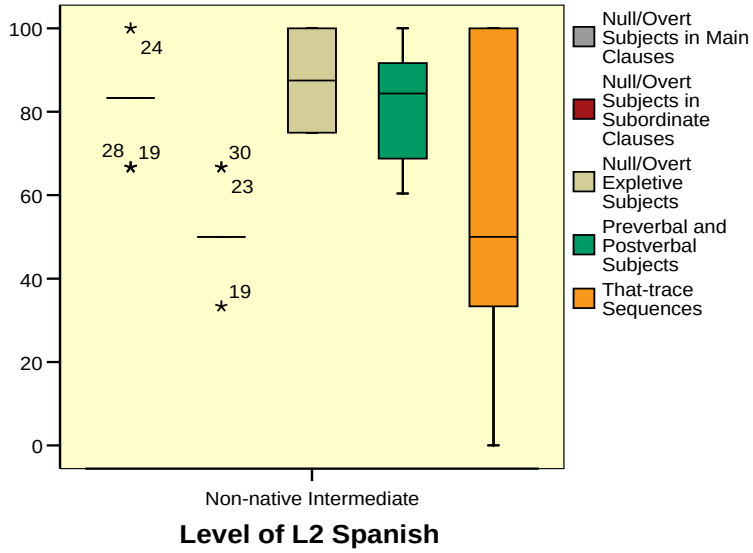


Table 31 presents the results of the paired comparisons of subject properties variables of the Advanced L2 Spanish group. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for any variables. As can be observed in Graph 51, all median values are over 80.00%[120], except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", which remains at 50.00% although its mean value has increased to 64.28% and its variability ranges from 50.00% to 100.00%. As was seen in section 7.3.1.2, the Advanced group's results are not significantly different from the control group's results for any variable,

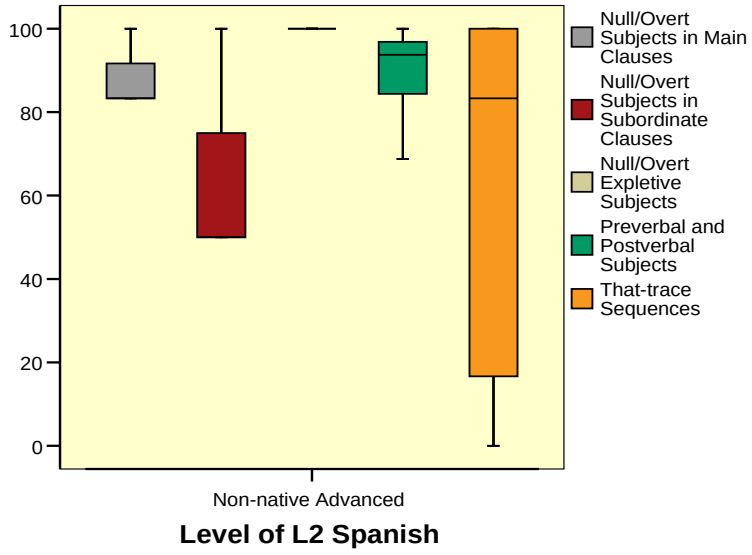
[120] The new variable, "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" has a median value of 93.75% for the experimental Intermediate group and of 93.75% for the control group. These two medians are not significantly different (Mann-Whitney U 36.000, p=.431).

except in the case of "That-trace Sequences", which display a different developmental pattern and for two "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" variables, namely with unergative and unaccusative verbs. We will argue in section 7.3.2 that this lack of systematic native-like results adds evidence to the claim that adult L2 learners do not reset the Agr feature value, at least up to the Advanced level being tested here.

Table 31: Wilcoxon Z test with Bonferroni correction applied to Acceptance/Subject Properties variables in the Advanced L2 Spanish experimental group.

	Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	That-trace Sequences
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses		Z (-2.058) p= .400	Z (-2.236) p= .250	Z (-.526) p= .599	Z (-1.219) p= .223
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	Z (-2.058) p= .400		Z (-2.264) p= .240	Z (-1.873) p= .610	Z (-.681) p= .496
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	Z (-2.236) p= .250	Z (-2.264) p= .240		Z (-2.060) p= .390	Z (-1.841) p= .660
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	Z (-.526) p= .599	Z (-1.873) p= .610	Z (-2.060) p= .390		Z (-1.577) p= .115
That-trace Sequences	Z (-1.219) p= .223	Z (-.681) p= .496	Z (-1.841) p= .660	Z (-1.577) p= .115	

Graph 51: Box-and-whiskers plot of the subject properties variables from the Advanced non-native group.



7.3.1.4 A comparison between subject and inflectional development

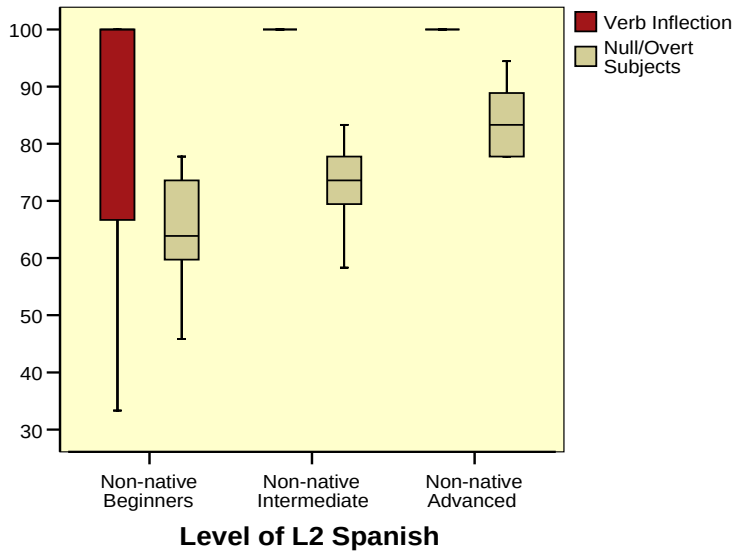
As was done with adult L2 English, the relationship between subject and inflectional development was statistically analysed by means of a statistic correlation test between "Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection" and "Acceptance/Rejection of Null

Subjects". The three acceptance variables dealing with null/overt subject properties, namely "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and "Null/Overt Expletives" were grouped into a new variable referred to as "Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects". Yet and even if such correlation holds in adult L2 Spanish, we will argue in section 7.3.2 that the two properties are not syntactically related in the L1 sense, as has been attested on numerous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others). Table 32 presents the means and medians of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables for each experimental age group and Graph 52 presents their graphic representation.

Table 32: Descriptive statistics of Verb Inflection and Null Subjects variables.

Variable	Group	Mean %	Median %
Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	Beginners	83.33	100.00
	Intermediate	100.00	100.00c
	Advanced	100.00	100.00c
Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects	Beginners	64.21	63.88
	Intermediate	73.53	73.61
	Advanced	84.12	83.33

Graph 52: Box-and-whiskers plot of "Verb Inflection" and "Null/Overt Subjects" for each experimental L2 Spanish group.



As can be observed in the graph, both variables have an increasing developmental tendency. However, results from "Verb Inflection" sharply rise from the Beginner to the Intermediate group reaching a constant median and mean value of 100.00%, which is maintained in the Advanced group. Results from "Null/Overt Subjects" show a more steady increase, which reaches a median value of 83.33% in the Advanced group. The Spearman's Rho correlation test was applied to the two variables (see Table 33) obtaining a significant correlation coefficient of 0.381 with a significance value of .013, which implies that for adult L2 Spanish, "Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection" and "Acceptance/Rejection of Null Subjects" are positively correlated along the three experimental level groups in terms of comprehension.

Table 33: Spearman's Rho correlation between Verb Inflection and Null/Overt Subjects.

			Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects
Spearman's Rho	Acceptance/Rejection of Verb Inflection	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.381(*)
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.013
		N	42	42
	Acceptance/Rejection of Null/Overt Subjects	Correlation Coefficient	.381(*)	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.
		N	42	42

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

7.3.1.5 Directionality of acquisition effects

As was mentioned in Hypothesis 3, since Adult L2A is assumed to be UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired) but not the result of parameter resetting but of general learning mechanisms, no resemblance to the process of L1A is expected to follow from grammatical reasons. We aimed at testing whether the adult data showed any directionality of acquisition effects, that is to say, whether subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish than in L2 English, as occurs in L1A (Rizzi, 2002, 2005) and as was shown to occur in child L2A (see Chapter 6). Directionality of acquisition

effects are not expected to be systematic in adult L2English and Spanish and if they are observed, they might result from extra-linguistic or methodological factors.

In order to carry out the statistical comparison between the L2 English and the L2 Spanish adult learners, Mann-Whitney U tests were performed on each variable. Rejection variables from the L2 English data and Acceptance/Rejection variables from the L2 Spanish data were grouped together as six variables[121] to which statistical comparisons were applied between the L2 English and the L2 Spanish groups in each level group.

As for adult Beginners, the median and mean values of correct judgements are higher in the case of L2 Spanish learners than in L2 English learners in all variables. Statistically significant differences between the two groups are observed in all variables except in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", whose median and mean values are similarly low in both learners' groups. Subjects in subordinate clauses prove to be problematic in the early stages of L2A of both languages, as their low percentages of correct judgements show. Results are displayed in Table 34 and Graph 53 below.

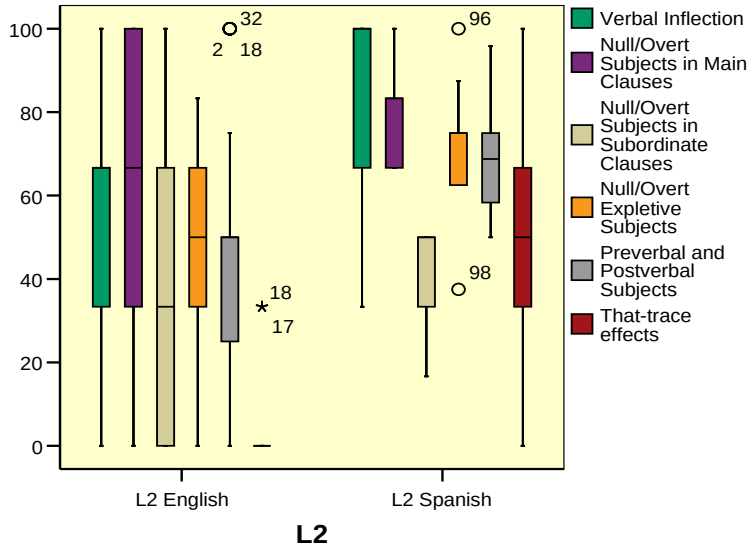
Table 34: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish adult Beginners.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	33	54.54	66.66	135.500	.002
	L2 Spanish	17	83.33	100.00		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	33	54.54	66.66	180.500	.035
	L2 Spanish	17	76.46	83.33		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	33	38.38	33.33	251.000	.534
	L2 Spanish	17	44.11	50.00		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	33	47.06	50.00	108.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	17	72.05	75.00		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	33	46.96	50.00	108.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	17	69.11	68.75		

[121] The different "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" variables in the L2 Spanish group were grouped into one new variable to facilitate the comparison.

That-trace Sequences	L2 English	33	2.02	0.00	41.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	17	49.01	50.00		

Graph 53: Results from the L2 English and L2 Spanish Beginners groups.



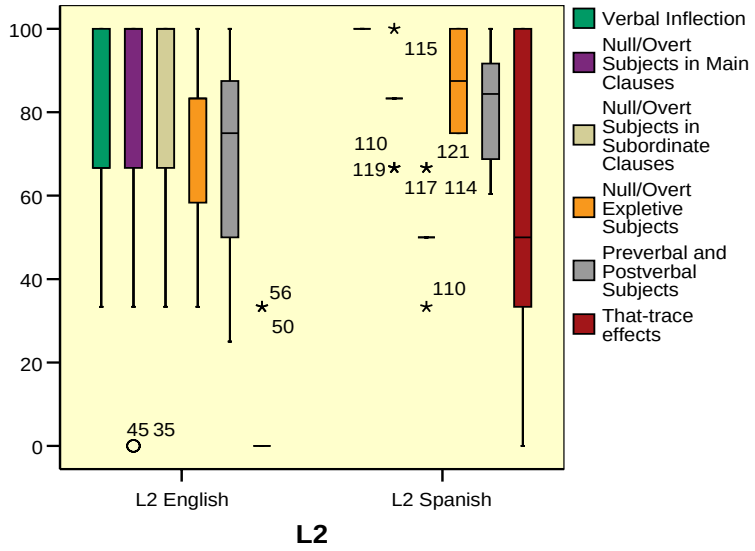
As Table 35 and Graph 54 indicate, results from the Intermediate group show a tendency for L2 Spanish percentage of correct judgements to be higher than L2 English, though this imbalance is lost in some of the variables. L2 English intermediate learners obtain higher median percentages in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses". The difference is not significant in the case of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" but it certainly is in the case of "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" (U 43.000 p<.001). Correct judgements of subjects in subordinate clauses sharply rise in the case of L2 English but remain at chance level in the case of L2 Spanish. Likewise, results from the two groups in "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects" are not significantly different from each other. The remaining variables show significantly higher results for the L2 Spanish than for the L2 English intermediate learners.

Table 35: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish adult Intermediate informants.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	27	76.54	66.66	117.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	18	100.00	100.00c		

Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	27	74.68	100.00	230.500	.763
	L2 Spanish	18	81.47	83.33		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	27	85.18	100.00	43.000	<.001
	L2 Spanish	18	50.92	50.00		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	27	74.07	83.33	132.500	.009
	L2 Spanish	18	88.29	87.50		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	27	67.59	75.00	164.000	.064
	L2 Spanish	18	82.75	84.37		
That-trace Sequences	L2 English	27	2.46	0.00	45.500	<.001
	L2 Spanish	18	58.33	50.00		

Graph 54: Results from the L2 English and L2 Spanish Intermediate groups.



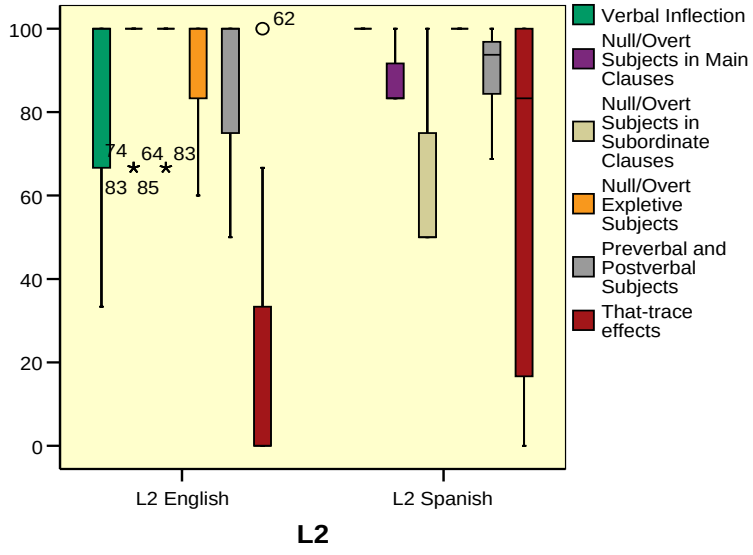
In the Advanced learners' groups, where percentages are considerably high and approaching those of the native control group, directionality effects are not consistent and cannot be generalised to all variables. As illustrated in Table 36 and Graph 55, no significant differences are observed between the groups in "Verb Inflection", "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects", though the median and mean values of the L2 Spanish group are slightly higher. As for "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" and as was the case in the Intermediate level, the L2 English group's percentages of correct judgements are higher than in the L2 Spanish group and the difference is statistically significant in both variables. "That-

trace Sequences" continue being problematic for the L2 English learners, whose results are significantly lower than in the L2 Spanish Advanced group.

Table 36: Mann-Whitney U Test between L2 English and L2 Spanish adult Advanced informants.

	L2	N	Mean %	Median %	Mann-Whitney U	Asymp. Sig.
Verbal Inflection	L2 English	31	84.94	100.00	66.500	.052
	L2 Spanish	7	100.00	100.00c		
Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses	L2 English	31	95.69	100.00	55.000	.007
	L2 Spanish	7	88.09	83.33		
Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses	L2 English	31	96.77	100.00	21.500	<.001
	L2 Spanish	7	64.28	50.00		
Null/Overt Expletive Subjects	L2 English	31	92.25	100.00	66.500	.052
	L2 Spanish	7	100.00	100.00c		
Preverbal/Postverbal Subjects	L2 English	31	87.90	100.00	89.500	.427
	L2 Spanish	7	89.28	93.75		
That-trace Sequences	L2 English	31	19.35	0.00	57.000	.035
	L2 Spanish	7	59.52	83.33		

Graph 55: Results from the L2 English and L2 Spanish Advanced groups.



7.3.2 Discussion: Adult L2 Spanish

As with child L2 Spanish, data from adult L2 Spanish were presented according to "Acceptance Variables", which represent the learners' correct judgements (i.e. acceptance of grammatical sentences and rejection of ungrammatical sentences) and

"Preference Variables", which stand for their preference for grammatical Verb Inflection and for their L1 subject properties (i.e. overt referential subjects and expletives, preverbal subjects and (That)-trace sequences).

Regarding the learners' correct judgements (i.e. Acceptance Variables) and as expected, an increase-by-proficiency level tendency is observed in all variables, although the results are remarkably high in the Beginner group (i.e. all above 50.00% median values in all variables) and the increasing tendency is non-significant between the groups in some variables (see Table 20), which already shows the distinct nature of subject development in adult L2A, as compared to child L2A. Results are non-significantly different between groups in "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative, Transitive and Unergative Verbs". Percentages of correct judgements are considerably high in the Beginner group and their development is non-significant. Lack of significant development is also observed in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main Clauses", whose median values in the three experimental groups reach 83.33%. "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" present relatively lower results with respect to the other variables and as had been the case in child L2 Spanish, although their development is a bit more significant. "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" display clear and relevant increasing development with significant differences between the level groups. Development is also observed in "Verb Inflection", although results from the Beginner group are already quite accurate. Finally, "That-trace Sequences" present non-significant though slightly increasing development but with low results in the Advanced group with respect to the remaining variables, which already sets it apart from the set of associated subject properties.

A general decreasing tendency is expected in the "Preference Variables", since the "English option" (i.e. L1 Transfer) is expected to gradually disappear (see Table 21). This falling tendency is not observed in "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection", as expected, or in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs", where the three experimental groups obtained constant median values at 100.00%, since postverbal subjects with transitive verbs result in marked and unnatural constructions, as was observed in child L2 Spanish. "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)", in neutral contexts which trigger SV orders, accurately display an increasing tendency, as the learners become aware of the discourse properties of Spanish. The remaining variables present a decreasing tendency in their results, although significant differences between the groups are not observed in all variables. "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences" display no significant development and their median and mean values are inaccurately rather high in the three level groups. The lack of significant development in the remaining variables results from the fact that median and mean values in the Beginner groups are already very accurate. As will be discussed below, adult learners obtain rather accurate results from very early on as their rate of acquisition is usually faster than in the case of children, due to their cognitive maturity and their developed learning strategies. Yet their process of acquisition differs greatly from the child's and from the native speakers'. Adults' cognitive maturity can also be observed in the extremely low incidence of results in "Preference for both" variables, which indicates that, even if not always target-like, adults' decisions on grammaticality and discourse distinctions are readily made.

As for the L2 Spanish Beginner group, percentages of correct judgements from the L2 learners are significantly lower than those of the control group in all acceptance

variables (see Table 23), not only in the ones which express a grammaticality contrast, as was the case in child L2 Spanish. The least accurate results were obtained in "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", with median and mean values of 50.00% and 44.11%, respectively, although it should be noted that the control group also obtained its lowest score in this variable. "That-trace Sequences" also display relatively low results compared to the other variables but really accurate if we compare them to their L2 English counterparts, with median and mean values of 0.00% and 2.02%. The remaining variables all present rather high percentages of correct judgements with median and mean values over 50.00%.

Significant differences are observed between the Beginner group and the control group in all "Preference Variables" except in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects" with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs in neutral contexts triggering SV (see Table 26). Beginner L2 learners strongly prefer Grammatical Verb Inflection, although the results are significantly lower than those of the control group. As for "Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" and "Overt Expletives", results are accurately quite low (i.e. lower preference for the "English option") but still significantly higher than those of the control group. At the same time, the L2 learners show a strong and general preference for preverbal subjects with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs in both neutral and focused contexts triggering SV and VS orders. Unaccusative verbs yield a higher preference for preverbal subjects in the experimental group than in the control group although the difference is non-significant. Transitive verbs, as expected, trigger a strong preference for preverbal subjects in both the experimental and the control groups, as VS orders with transitive verbs are extremely marked and unnatural. Unergative verbs in focused and neutral contexts trigger a remarkable preference for preverbal subjects in the experimental group. The

control group correctly preferred preverbal subjects in neutral contexts but postverbal subjects in focused environments. Very accurately low results in the experimental and the control groups, although significantly different from each other, were obtained in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences". All in all, acceptance and preference results are clearly significantly different from the native control group, which points towards L1 Transfer of the verbal Agr feature.

The statistical paired comparison among the acceptance variables in the Beginner group indicates that, as expected, no significant differences are found among the subject properties, including "That-trace Sequences", except "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", whose results were lower than the remaining variables[122] (see Table 29). Yet results from the experimental group in all acceptance variables were statistically different from those obtained in the control group, which clearly shows that adult L2 learners are relying on their English L1 Agr feature value. In other words, significant percentages of overt pronominal and expletive subjects and preverbal subjects are observed at the expense of null expletive and referential subject pronouns and postverbal subjects. "That-trace Sequences", as predicted, are not part of the same cluster of subject properties. The fact that results of "That-trace Sequences" are not significantly different from those of the other variables results from their great variability and data dispersion, ranging from 0.00% to 100.00% and hence necessarily overlapping with the results of the remaining variables, which do not display such variability.

[122] "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" have presented unexpectedly very low results in all experimental and control child and adult groups as compared to the other variables, whereas the corresponding preference variable yielded the expected results. As was pointed out in Chapter 6, this might be due to our interpretation and coding of the data, which was considered ungrammatical whereas the majority of informants considered them grammatical but correctly dispreferred them in the preference variables.

Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A can be assumed for adult L2 Spanish and in terms of their acceptance of or rejection to the linguistic structures derived from the Agr verbal feature, which is repeated below:

Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A ✓

> Adult L2A's beginner stage is characterised by the Transfer of L1 properties and is UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired). The feature value of verbal Agr, responsible for the languages' subject properties, transfers to the L2 initial stage adult interlanguage grammars of English and Spanish, without the L1 overt agreement morphology.

Predictions made by *Hypothesis 1 – Adult L2A* are confirmed by the data. L2 learners of Spanish allow a significant percentage of overt referential subjects, overt expletives and preverbal subjects which is significantly higher than that of the control group and hence the L1 English [+weak -interpretable] verbal feature Agr transfers to the early stages of adult L2 Spanish causing the clustered transfer of the subject properties associated with it. The fact that adult L2A is initially characterised by clustered L1 Transfer and that L2 learners are sensitive to grammaticality distinctions suggests that UG might be involved in adult L2A, even if indirectly and not in the same way as in child L2A.

A slight development has taken place in the Intermediate group's Acceptance Variables, although the correct judgement percentages only reach native-like levels in "Verb Inflection" and "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs". Results from the remaining variables are still significantly lower than those of the control group (see Table 24), thus showing the learners' reliance on their L1 Agr feature value. Results on "Verb Inflection" display an accurate constant value of 100.00% in the experimental group. "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs" display a bit higher results with respect to the Beginner group and non-significantly different from the control group, although percentages of correct judgements do not reach extremely accurate values in either group, since postverbal subjects with transitive

verbs were often judged as ungrammatical utterances. "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" remain problematic for both groups, although the experimental group's percentage has slightly risen. Results have generally increased in the remaining variables although they do not reach native-like levels.

Results from the Intermediate group in the "Preference Variables" have also increased in L2 accuracy but are not strictly parallel to the "Acceptance Variables". Significant differences between the experimental and the control group are only observed in three variables, namely "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences". An almost significant difference is found in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (VS)" in focused contexts, where the experimental Intermediate group preferred significantly more preverbal subjects and the control group correctly rejected a significant percentage of preverbal subjects. "Preference for Grammatical Verb Inflection" and "Preference for Overt Subjects in Main Clauses" obtained very accurate and native-like results. Likewise, very accurate and target-like results were obtained in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects in Wh-contexts" and "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unergative Verbs (SV)" in neutral contexts. As expected, preverbal subjects were highly preferred by both groups with transitive verbs and considerably preferred by the experimental group and at chance level by the control group with unaccusative verbs. Although the preference for overt subjects in main clauses was almost null, the remaining discourse-related subject properties remain far from target-like, which, together with the fact that percentages of correct judgements were significantly different from those of the control group in almost all variables, suggest that the Intermediate adult learners still possess the L1 English [+weak – interpretable] verbal Agr feature value. Yet they do have certain knowledge about the

possibility of allowing null pronominal referential and expletive subjects and postverbal subjects, although their use is non-native. General learning strategies from adult L2 learners are most likely behind the increasingly accurate but not native-like results.

With respect to the paired comparisons of the subject properties in the Intermediate group (see Table 30), significant differences emerge between "Null/Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses" and the remaining variables, as expected by its low results, except for "That-trace Sequences", which in turn is significantly different from "Null/Overt Expletive Subjects" and displays great variability of results in comparison with the other variables. The null hypothesis of equal medians cannot be rejected for the remaining comparisons. Yet results are still significantly lower than those of the control group (section 7.2.1.2) and hence there is no indication of clustered acquisition of subject properties, as we had predicted. It is clear though that some development has occurred and that L1 Transfer and its syntactic consequences are not affecting the L2 learners of English as much as they did in the Beginner group, as percentages of correct judgements have increased. However, the L2 learners of English are expected to keep the same Agr feature value as their L1, since feature value resetting is assumed not to be possible in adult L2A and although learners apparently accept native-like structures. Before characterising it, this developmental process needs to be observed in the Advanced learners' group.

As opposed to L2 English, the adult L2 Spanish Advanced experimental group's results have reached native-like levels in all Acceptance Variables, except for "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs", although their percentages of correct judgements are extremely accurate, and for "That-trace Sequences", which present the lowest mean value (see Table 25). Results from the "Preference Variables" have also reached native-like levels in the Advanced group fro

all variables except for "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences", which remains significantly different from the control group. As for the remaining subject properties, grammatical contrasts are accurately judged and discourse/pragmatic contrasts, such as null/overt subject distribution and preverbal/postverbal subject distribution with different kinds of lexical verbs, are fully native-like. However, the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" remains rather high, around chance level for both the experimental and the control groups. The paired comparisons of the subject properties in the Advanced experimental group were non-significantly different from each other, although "That-trace Sequences" display great variability of results as compared to the other variables.

Such native-like results in the Advanced group alone might be taken to indicate that the L1 English verbal Agr feature responsible for the subject properties at hand has been reset to its L2 target value. However, we need to bear in mind that this native-likeness is not as systematic as in child L2 Spanish and that some variables were not quite native-like, such as postverbal subjects with unaccusative and unergative verbs, which rules out the possibility of clustering acquisition effects and hence parameter-resetting. At the same time, adult subject development has not resulted in clear and relevant significant differences between the level groups. Results were already rather high in the Beginner group, as in adults and due to their learning capacity, the learning rate is much faster than in children. Yet developmental results were significantly different from those of the control group well beyond the Intermediate level group and most importantly and as was outlined in the predictions made by Hypothesis 2, the fact that parameter resetting is assumed not to be accessible to adult L2 learners and hence only Partial UG Access is granted does not necessarily mean that L2 learners will not be able to accommodate L2 structures which differ from their L1. Learners resort to general learning strategies and

mechanisms to interpret and judge sentences correctly. However, these structures will only be superficially native-like and no full clustering effects are expected. We need to acknowledge that whereas Hypothesis 2 was fully justified by the general non-native results of adult L2 English, adult L2 Spanish data are not so evident and hence a strong component of assumption, fully consistent with the L2 English data, has been called for.

We therefore assume Hypothesis 2 – Adult L2A, which is repeated below:

Hypothesis 2 – Adult L2A ✓

> Having Partial Access to UG, adult L2 learners cannot reset the Agr feature value, as parameter resetting and clustering effects are not available in adult L2A. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar will accommodate L2 structures which are different from the L1 through UG grammatical options and general learning mechanisms. Structures will gradually be superficially native-like but no clustering effects are expected.

Since parameter-resetting is assumed not to be available to adult L2 learners, the L1 verbal Agr feature value is kept. However, and as predicted by the fact that general learning mechanisms take over in adult L2A, where the L1 and the L2 differ, we observed a gradual increase in the acceptance of empty and postverbal subjects and in the rejection of expletive subjects.

As was explained in section 7.2.2, the confirmation of *Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 –Adult L2A* corroborates the adequacy of a Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach to adult L2A (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991), by which adult interlanguage grammars are unimpaired and hence UG-constrained but L2 learners cannot acquire new parameter values. Yet the L1-based interlanguage grammar can indeed accommodate L2 input which differs from the L1 by reanalysing the L2 data according to general learning mechanisms and thus achieve a superficial-like L2 structure which is UG-constrained but which is not the result of parameter-resetting and clustering

effects. As confirmed for adult L2 English, clustering effects are seen in the L1 Transfer stage of adult L2A, which confirms that the subject properties examined, namely null pronominal subjects, null expletive subjects and postverbal subjects indeed derive from the verbal Agr feature value and at the same time adds evidence to the fact that adult interlanguage is constrained, but not triggered, by UG and hence successful ultimate attainment very much depends on personal aptitude and motivation, as social and learning factors come into play. No indication of clustering effects of the Null Subject Parameter traditional properties was found in previous Spanish L2A research (Liceras, 1989), although a great number of these studies also included That-trace effects in the cluster. Yet clustering effects were indeed found in Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998), although only null pronominal and expletive subjects were analysed.

Before dealing with *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A* (i.e. inflectional and subject development and directionality of acquisition effects), we will briefly comment on *Hypothesis 4 – Adult L2 Spanish*, which predicts that focus/discourse contrasts responsible for subject distribution will persistently cause more problems to adult L2 learners than the purely syntactic constraints on subject properties of L2 Spanish. The fact that parameter resetting is not available to adult L2A and that non-native-like word order does not result in ungrammaticality or lack of comprehension will make it difficult for learners to become fully aware of the discourse constraints on L2 Spanish subject use. Previous research on subject use and distribution of null/overt subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects has determined that subject use in L2 Spanish might remain non-native even at the Advanced level and that pragmatic/discourse constraints are acquired later than grammatically regulated subject distribution constraints (Liceras et al. 1998, 1998, 1999; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999; Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006).

Our data on adult L2 Spanish examined the discourse constraints on the null/overt subjects in main (and non-emphatic) and subordinate clauses and preverbal/postverbal subjects with unaccusative and unergative verbs in focused and neutral contexts and with transitive verbs in neutral contexts. As for null/overt subject distribution in main and subordinate clauses, percentages of correct judgements (i.e. syntactic) were a bit less accurate and target-like than percentages of preference (i.e. discursive) in all three level groups and contrary to what *Hypothesis 4* predicts. We need to bear in mind that our data are only comprehension data and hence the concept of "subject use" would need to be explored together with production data. Yet as far as our data are concerned, L2 learners of Spanish seem to find no greater difficulty in learning discourse versus syntactic null/overt subject constraints but rather, slightly reversed difficulty in the case of null/overt subjects in main clauses and clearly reversed difficulty in the case of null/overt subjects in subordinate clauses. This at least points to a different subject development process in comparison to child L2 Spanish and might well be a consequence of adult L2A proceeding via UG-constrained general learning mechanisms, which might deal with syntactic and discourse subject properties alike, rather than parameter resetting and all its syntactic and pragmatic automatic consequences.

As for preverbal/postverbal subject distribution, we first need to set apart preverbal/postverbal subjects with transitive verbs, as the word order alternation with this kind of verbs is certainly found to be strongly marked and confined to emphatic structures. The preference for preverbal subjects with transitive verbs is almost absolute since the Beginner group and the percentages of correct judgements are rather high but far from perfect in that whereas preverbal subjects with transitive verbs were always

judged as grammatical, postverbal subjects were not only strongly dispreferred but widely judged as ungrammatical.

Finally, our data from preverbal/postverbal subject distribution with unaccusative and unergative verbs confirm *Hypothesis 4*, although we always need to be aware that results are based only on comprehension data. Along the three level groups, percentages of correct judgements are much higher than percentages of preference, indicating that although learners are aware of the possibility of there being postverbal subjects in L2 Spanish, their preference is clearly for preverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs in both focused and neutral contexts and with unergative verbs in focused contexts triggering VS orders and correctly in neutral contexts triggering SV orders. Even Advanced learners present difficulties with discourse constraints on subject-verb word order, which is in line with previous comprehension studies on word order in L2 Spanish (Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006).

Therefore, our data only confirm *Hypothesis 4 – Adult L2 Spanish* as far as preverbal/postverbal subject distribution is concerned, whereas null/overt subject distribution displays a distinct developmental pattern:

> *Hypothesis 4 – Adult L2 Spanish* ✓ **(only for preverbal/postverbal subject distribution)**
>
> Pragmatic/discourse constraints on missing pronominal subjects and postverbal subjects are acquired later than purely syntactic constraints (Lozano, 2006; Hertel, 2003; Pérez-Leroux and Glass, 1997, 1999) and even the advanced group of L2 learners will not be fully aware of the discourse contrasts and their syntactic consequences (i.e. presence/absence of pronominal subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects and their corresponding functional focus projections) in L2 Spanish subject use.

As part of *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A* and as was done for adult L2 English, the relationship between the correct judgement percentages of "Null/Overt Subjects", including null/overt referential subjects in main and subordinate clauses and null/overt

expletive subjects in L2 Spanish and the correct judgement percentages of ungrammatical instances of L2 Spanish verb inflection was examined. As predicted by the first part of *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A*, subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related in adult L2A as they are in L1A, as corroborated by previous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others). As was seen in section 7.3.1.4, inflection and null/overt subjects have an increasing tendency along the three level groups. Results from "Verb Inflection" sharply rise to a constant 100.00% value of correct judgements after the Beginner group, whereas results from "Null/Overt Subjects" display a more regular and steady increase reaching only a median value of 83.33%. The two properties are weakly and positively correlated with a correlation coefficient of .381, only significant at the 0.05 level (and not at the 0.01 level as had been the case in the previous correlations). Taking into account that the kind of data presented here are only comprehension data, we can only assume but not prove that subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related in adult L2 Spanish. Instead, their relationship must result from the general developmental process affecting all properties tested, as was assumed for adult L2 English. Previous studies on adult L2 Spanish based on production data have determined that there is no developmental correspondence between the production and use of null subjects and correct verbal inflection in L2 Spanish. Morphological variability in verb inflection is often present in L2 learners' utterances long after their use of null subjects has developed, since these instances of optional verb inflection are not syntactically constrained but instances of "missing inflection" (see section 7.3.3.2), as opposed to L1A (Liceras and Díaz, 1998; Liceras, Valenzuela and Díaz, 1999). Such an assumption is in line with a UG-constrained but not parameter-resetting approach to adult L2A, where no resemblance with L1A subject development is expected to be due to grammatical factors.

The second prediction of *Hypothesis 3* refers to the possible existence of directionality of acquisition effects in the adult acquisition of L2 English hand L2 Spanish. According to Hypothesis 3, since Adult L2A is assumed to be UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired) but not the result of parameter resetting but of general learning mechanisms, no resemblance to the process of L1A is expected to follow from grammatical reasons. Directionality of acquisition effects are not predicted to be as systematic as they were in the case of child L2A (cf. Chapter 6) or L1A, where the acquisition of subject properties takes place earlier in null subject languages than in non-null subject languages. If directionality of acquisition effects are found, they will not be due to the learners being faced with a similar situation to L1A (Rizzi, 2002, 2005), where children acquiring L2 English will drop null subjects for longer, especially in root positions as a consequence of the delayed setting of the Root Drop Parameter, whereas children acquiring L2 Spanish, for which the Null Subject Parameter is mostly relevant (i.e. what we have been referring to as verbal Agr feature value), will more readily acquire the L2 Spanish subject properties (see section 6.3.2 in Chapter 6). If parameter resetting is assumed not to be accessible to adult L2 learners and only Partial Access to UG is granted, directionality of acquisition effects, if present, will be only due to external non-linguistic factors and not to the fact that a certain resetting process of the verbal Agr feature might be simpler and faster than the other one.

Bearing in mind that both groups of speakers had the same conditions of exposure to the L2 language, our statistical comparisons between L2 English and L2 Spanish level groups show that as for adult Beginners, percentages of correct judgements are higher in the case of L2 Spanish learners than in L2 English learners in all variables. L2 Spanish results are statistically significantly higher than L2 English results in all variables except in “Null/Overt Subject in Subordinate Clauses”, whose percentages are similarly

low in both groups. Regarding the Intermediate learners, the general tendency is for the L2 Spanish group to obtain much higher results than the L2 English group, although the situation is reversed in the case of "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses" and significant differences are not observed in all variables. Likewise, the tendency remains the same although the differences are less significant and the L2 English group obtained higher results again in "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses".

Directionality of acquisition effects are indeed present in the Beginner experimental groups, although their tendency continues along the Intermediate and Advanced group and hence proves to be different from the ones found in child L2A. We should recall that directionality of acquisition effects in child L2A were clearly found in the 5 year-old groups but they had vanished in the 10 and 17 year-old groups in all variables, as they were caused by the children's direct access to UG and hence to two subject parameters (i.e. the Root Drop Parameter and the Null Subject Paramter (Rizzi, 2002, 2005)) and by the effects of L1 Transfer of the verbal Agr feature and the simplicity or difficulty in resetting it to its target value. Such effects had already disappeared in the 10 year-old group. However, in the case of adults, directionality of acquisition effects seem to generally persist for longer in the majority of variables except for "Null/Overt Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses". This long persistence and the lack of systematisation in that directionality effects do not affect all variables alike add further evidence to the claim that the process of adult L2A follows very different paths of development with respect to child L2A and that even if constrained by UG, adult L2A necessarily relies on the learners' cognitive maturity and general learning capacity and aptitude.

More specifically, directionality of acquisition effects in adult L2A and as far as subject development is concerned, might be due to the kind of input the learners receive in class and from the different textbooks used in L2 English and L2 Spanish classes. Although this opens a new and extensive topic of research and is therefore kept for further research, we should notice that the L2 Spanish classes that were visited in order to collect the data for the present thesis were much more prescriptive and language-guided than the L2 English classes. The L2 Spanish textbooks included more metalinguistic language and more prescriptive rules about subject use than the L2 English textbooks, which included no specific reference to the fact that subjects are obligatorily overt and preverbal in English. The learners' comments on the grammaticality judgement and correction and preference tasks were a lot more prescriptive and based on linguistic rules given by the teacher and the textbooks in the case of L2 Spanish learners than in the case of L2 English learners.

In short, the first part of *Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A* can only be assumed, whereas the second part is confirmed as far as subject development is concerned:

Hypothesis 3 – Adult L2A

Since the process of Adult L2A is hypothesised to be UG-constrained (i.e. unimpaired) but not the result of parameter-resetting but of learning mechanisms, no resemblance with L1A subject development is expected to be due to grammatical reasons:

- subject and inflectional development are not syntactically related. ✓ **(assumed)**
- directionality of acquisition effects, if present, are not linguistically motivated but due to external factors. ✓

Having presented the results and discussed their implications for adult L2 English and adult L2 Spanish, we will now summarise the main points in order to conclude the chapter and move to the general considerations about the research questions posed at the

beginning of the thesis, draw the general conclusions of the present study and establish possible lines of further research in the last chapter.

7.4 Summary

7.4.1 Adult L2 English Data

- The adult L2 English data are characterised by a general increase-by-proficiency level percentage of correct judgements in rejection variables and for all subject properties, except for "That-trace Sequences", whose results are extremely low. Percentages of correct judgements are remarkably high in the Beginner group and the presence of significant differences between the level groups indicates that clear and relevant development takes place. Very accurate results are obtained in the grammatical sentences, which indicates the learners' sensitivity to grammaticality/ungrammaticality contrasts and hence their UG-constrained, but not necessarily parameter-resetting interlanguage.

- Beginner group:

  - Statistically significant percentage of null expletives, null subjects in main and subordinate clauses and postverbal subjects with respect to the control group's results, which are significantly higher.

  - Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, except for "That-trace Sequences which are significantly lower than the remaining variables, which suggests clustered L1 Transfer of the Agr verbal feature value, although the learners find it more difficult to judge and correct ungrammatical null expletives (Phinney, 1987 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991) and postverbal subjects (contra White, 1985) than null referential subjects in main clauses.

- Results suggest that "That-trace Sequences" follow a different developmental pattern and are not part of the cluster of subject properties associated with the Agr verbal feature.

- HYPOTHESIS 1: FULL CLUSTERED L1 TRANSFER → CONFIRMED

- Intermediate group:

- Percentages of correct judgements have slightly improved though not as much as in child L2 development (see Chapter 6 section 6.2.1.2).

- All variables, except for "Null Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", display significantly lower results than those of the control group, whose median values all reach 100.00%. Yet L2 learners of English are gradually increasing their rejection to null referential subjects, null expletives and postverbal subjects.

- Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, except for "That-trace Sequences", which clearly sets it apart from the other subject properties.

- As results are still significantly lower than those of the control group, no indication of clustered acquisition of subject properties is observed and we are dealing with a distinct developmental process with respect to the "parameter resetting" approach outlined in child L2A.

- Advanced group:

- The Advanced experimental group's results show remarkably high percentage median values, although they display a bit lower mean values and remain significantly different from the control group in all variables, except in "Null Subjects in Main and Subordinate Clauses", whose results are native-like.

- "Null Expletives" (Phinney, 1987; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991) and "Postverbal Subjects" remain significantly different from the control group, although

their median and mean values are considerably high, and as expected, "That-trace Sequences" remain problematic for the Advanced group.

- Median values of correct judgements of the different subject variables are not significantly different from each other, except for the "That-trace Sequences" variable, which again illustrates the different developmental path and indicates that adult L2 English presents persistent difficulty with this property (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991).

- HYPOTHESIS 2: NO RESETTING OF THE AGR FEATURE VALUE AND NO CLUSTERING EFFECTS → CONFIRMED.

- A Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach to adult L2A (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991) is confirmed for adult L2 English and as far as subject development is concerned. The absence of clustering effects in the acquisition process of the traditional properties of the Null Subject Parameter was also observed in previous research on adult L2 English (White, 1985; Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991).

- That-trace effects are clearly NOT a property of the cluster of subject properties associated with the verbal Agr feature value.

- There exists a certain positive correlation between verb inflection and subject development in adult L2 English, although it is assumed that the two properties are not syntactically related in the L1 sense, as has been attested on numerous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others).

- HYPOTHESIS 3: SUBJECT AND INFLECTIONAL DEVELOPMENT ARE NOT SYNTACTICALLY RELATED: ASSUMED (UNAPPROAPRIATE EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM IT).

7.4.2 Adult L2 Spanish Data

- Regarding the learners' correct judgements, adult L2 Spanish is characterised by an increase-by-proficiency level tendency in all variables, although the results are remarkably high in the Beginner group and the increasing tendency is non-significant between the groups in some variables. Results on the "Preference for the English option" variables generally follow a falling-by-level tendency, although development is not always significant, as expected.

- Beginner group:

- Percentages of correct judgements from the L2 learners are significantly lower than those of the control group in all acceptance variables.

- "That-trace Sequences" display relatively low results compared to the other variables but really accurate if we compare them to their L2 English counterparts.

- Significant differences are observed between the Beginner group and the control group in all "Preference Variables" except in "Preference for Preverbal Subjects" with unaccusative, transitive and unergative verbs in neutral contexts triggering SV.

- Acceptance and preference results are clearly significantly different from the native control group, which points towards L1 Transfer of the verbal Agr feature. Significant percentages of overt pronominal and expletive subjects and preverbal subjects are observed at the expense of null expletive and referential subject pronouns and postverbal subjects.

- HYPOTHESIS 1: FULL CLUSTERED L1 TRANSFER → CONFIRMED

- Intermediate group:

- A slight development has taken place in the Intermediate group's Acceptance Variables, although the correct judgement percentages only reach native-like levels in

"Verb Inflection" and "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Transitive Verbs". Results from the remaining variables are still significantly lower than those of the control group thus showing the learners' reliance on their L1 Agr feature value.

- Results from the Intermediate group in the "Preference Variables" have also increased in L2 accuracy but are not strictly parallel to the "Acceptance Variables". Significant differences between the experimental and the control group are only observed in three variables, namely "Preference for Overt Subjects in Subordinate Clauses", "Preference for Overt Expletive Subjects" and "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences".

- Some development has occurred in the Intermediate group and L1 Transfer and its syntactic consequences are not affecting the L2 learners of English as much as they did in the Beginner group, since percentages of correct judgements have increased. However, the L2 learners of English are expected to keep the same Agr feature value as their L1, since feature value resetting is assumed not to be possible in adult L2A and although learners apparently accept native-like structures.

- Advanced group:

- Results have reached native-like levels in all Acceptance Variables, except for "Preverbal and Postverbal Subjects with Unaccusative and Unergative Verbs" and for "That-trace Sequences".

- Results from the "Preference Variables" have also reached native-like levels in for all variables except for "Preference for (That)-trace Sequences". However, the "Preference for Preverbal Subjects with Unaccusative Verbs" remains rather high, around chance level for both the experimental and the control groups.

- The fact that parameter resetting is assumed not to be accessible to adult L2 learners and hence only Partial UG Access is granted does not necessarily mean that L2

learners will not be able to accommodate L2 structures which differ from their L1. Learners resort to general learning strategies and mechanisms to interpret and judge sentences correctly. However, these structures will only be superficially native-like and no full clustering effects are expected.

- HYPOTHESIS 2: NO RESETTING OF THE AGR FEATURE VALUE AND NO CLUSTERING EFFECTS → CONFIRMED.

- A Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach to adult L2A (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991) is confirmed for adult L2 Spanish and as far as subject development is concerned. The absence of clustering effects in the acquisition process of the traditional properties of the Null Subject Parameter was also observed in previous research on adult L2 Spanish (Liceras, 1989), although clustering effects were indeed found between null pronominal and expletive subjects in Al-Kasey and Pérez-Leroux (1998).

- As for null/overt subject distribution in main and subordinate clauses, percentages of correct judgements (i.e. syntactic) were a bit less accurate and target-like than percentages of preference (i.e. discursive) in all three level groups and contrary to what *Hypothesis 4* predicts.

- The preference for preverbal subjects with transitive verbs is almost absolute since the Beginner group and the percentages of correct judgements are rather high but far from perfect.

- Our data from preverbal/postverbal subject distribution with unaccusative and unergative verbs confirm *Hypothesis 4*, as along the three level groups, percentages of correct judgements are much higher than percentages of preference (Hertel, 2003; Lozano, 2006).

- HYPOTHESIS 4: DISCOURSE CONSTRAINTS ON SUBJECT USE ARE ACQUIRED LATER THAN SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES AND DIFFICULTIES PERSIST IN THE ADVANCED LEVELS → CONFIRMED ONLY FOR PREVERBAL/POSTVERBAL SUBJECT DISTRIBUTION (null/overt subject distribution displays a distinct developmental pattern)

- That-trace effects are clearly NOT a property of the cluster of subject properties associated with the verbal Agr feature value, as their development is different from the other subject variables.

- There exists a certain positive correlation between verb inflection and subject development in adult L2 Spanish, although it is assumed that the two properties are not syntactically related in the L1 sense, as has been attested on numerous studies (Prévost and White, 2000; Lardière, 2000, among others).

- Directionality of acquisition effects are present in adult L2 subject development (L2 Spanish results are more accurate than L2 English data) but they are not so systematic as in child L2A and persist for longer.

- HYPOTHESIS 3:

  - SUBJECT AND INFLECTIONAL DEVELOPMENT ARE NOT SYNTACTICALLY RELATED: ASSUMED (UNAPPROAPRIATE EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM IT).

  - DIRECTIONALITY OF ACQUISITION EFFECTS, IF PRESENT, ARE NOT LINGUISTICALLY MOTIVATED BUT DUE TO EXTERNAL FACTORS → CONFIRMED.

Chapter 8: Concluding remarks

8.1 Research questions answered: main findings

Having dicussed the data, the results and the hypotheses posed for child and adult English and Spanish L2A of subject development in Chapters 6 and 7, we will now address the six research questions which motivated and guided the present study and which will serve us to summarise the main findings of the thesis.

Research question 1

Is the L2 initial state characterised by clustered transfer of subject properties associated with L1 parameter values?

According to the data obtained and analysed, the initial stage of *both child and adult* English and Spanish L2A are indeed characterised by clustered transfer of the subject properties associated with the L1 verbal Agr feature value, which includes null/overt subject pronouns, null/overt expletive subjects and preverbal/postverbal subjects. However, full clustered L1 transfer could not be strictly corroborated for child L2 Spanish due to lack of evidence at the tested stage in which some development was already taking place. Clustered transfer was assumed to have occurred earlier.

Research question 2

Is L2 development characterised by clustered acquisition of subject properties associated with the L2 parameter values?

Our data reveal that whereas *child* L2 English and Spanish development is characterised by full clustered L2 feature acquisition of subject properties, *adult* L2 English and Spanish development indicates no resetting of the L1 to the L2 feature value and hence absence of any clustering effects. Our child L2 learners of English and

Spanish are able to acquire the L2 feature value and the subject properties associated with it, although we need to bear in mind that, dealing with L2A, resetting of L1 feature values is not inevitable and that extralinguistic factors may well be involved. Our adult L2 learners keep the same verbal Agr feature value as their L1. Yet this does not mean that the L1 subject properties persistently remain in the learners' interlanguage. Superficially native-like structures gradually emerge as a result of learning mechanisms of induction, analogy or restructuring but no clustered acquisition is observed.

Research question 3

What are the theoretical implications of the results of the present research for the Partial/Full Transfer and Partial/Full UG Access positions to L2A?

Research question 4

Can the same theoretical approach to L2A be maintained for both children and adults?

Research questions 3 and 4 are answered together. Although the present study was not aimed at comparing child versus adult L2A as the two learning situations and conditions were extremely different, the data analysis suggests that different –though related- theoretical approaches should be assigned to child and adult L2A, as far as subject development is concerned. As for child L2A, the present results generally give support to a a Full UG Access and Full L1 Transfer position (Schwartz and Sprouse, 1996; Schwartz, 1998, 2003, 2004) by which the child learners transfer the cluster of properties associated with the L1 feature value of the parameter and are able to acquire the cluster of syntactic properties associated to the different L2 parameter value. Our results from adult L2A point towards a Partial UG Access and Full L1 Transfer approach to adult L2A (Liceras, 1996, 1998, 2003; Liceras and Díaz, 1999; Hawkins and Chan, 1997 and Tsimpli and Roussou, 1991), by which adult interlanguage grammars are unimpaired and hence UG-constrained but L2 learners cannot acquire

new parameter values. As Full Transfer operates in L2A, L2 learners can only access L1 parameter settings, while parameter-resetting is claimed to be impossible. However, the L1-based interlanguage grammar can indeed accommodate L2 input which differs from the L1 by reanalysing the L2 data according to mechanisms and grammatical options of UG and thus achieve a superficial-like L2 structure which is UG-constrained but which is not the result of parameter-resetting or clustering effects.

Although the two L2 learning situations presented in this thesis are distinct and non-comparable and hence call for different theoretical approaches, child and adult L2A share –to a different extent- a common origin, namely the existing L1 and UG.

Research question 5

Can the notion of "Null Subject Parameter" as in L1A be maintained in L2A?

Bearing in mind that the process of L1A is unique and deemed to success in normally developing children, the notion of a given L1 parameter cannot be identical in L2A. Yet child L2A allows for Full UG Access and hence parameter resetting and clustering effects, which suggests that the idea of different subject properties associated with a certain verbal feature value can be maintained, at least in child L2A. However, the fact that adult L2A only grants UG Partial Access and that no parameter resetting or clustering effects are present suggests that the notion of "Null Subject Parameter" might be irrelevant in adult L2A, as the L2 subject properties involved are learned individually and superficially and not as a result of parameter resetting. Once again, we are dealing with distinct processes of L2 acquisition, where the concept of *parameter* is different as well.

Research question 6

Are there any directionality of acquisition differences between English L2A (by Spanish speakers) and Spanish L2A (by English speakers)?

The intuition that directionality of acquisition effects are present in L2 subject development was corroborated by the data. Yet the extent to which they are present and their origin depend on whether they are found in child or adult L2A. In both cases, subject properties are acquired earlier in L2 Spanish (by English speakers) than in L2 English (by Spanish speakers), although in the case of child L2A, differences are significant in all properties and mainly found in the initial stage, whereas in the case of adult L2A, differences are present in all three level groups but they are not so systematically present in all variables. As for their origin and in line with the previous conclusions, directionality differences were found to be based on grammatical and linguistic reasons in child L2A, whereas they are not linguistically motivated but due to external factors in adult L2A.

8.2 Contributions and limitations of the present study

The most relevant contribution of the present thesis is the fact that it provides a thorough study of all the subject properties traditionally associated with the Null Subject Parameter and determines their relationship and relevance in L2 development. Previous research, with the exception of the first *pro-drop* studies in L2A (White, 1985, 1986; Liceras, 1989) only focused on a subset of the cluster of subject properties and hence no general conclusions about the parameter and its set of properties could be drawn. The present thesis has explored both the syntactic and discursive status of missing/overt referential and expletive subjects, preverbal/postverbal subjects and even *that-trace* effects under one of the most recent syntactic theoretical frameworks. The fact that this comprehensive study has been carried out in two languages, namely L2 English and Spanish by Spanish and English speakers respectively, greatly contributes to the research in the field, where unidirectional studies are usually carried out. More

specifically, this has allowed us to contribute to the intuitive notion of *directionality differences*, which have been observed in the data. Finally, this thesis also fills the need for cross-sectional non-native child subject development data in both L2 English and Spanish, where child L2A subject data had normally been longitudinal and expands and elaborates on existing research on adult L2A subject development.

As for the limitations, the first and most obvious caveat in the present thesis is the fact that it is too large and provides an enormous amount of data. This makes the analysis too broad and at times superficial, as individual analyses could not be carried out and hence relevant aspects of the data have inevitably been overlooked. Similarly, there is a part of the data which has not been specifically tackled, namely the metalinguistic comments made by the informants, which justified their answers in the experimental tasks and would have well provided a further useful insight on their language development.

The most unfortunate but very difficult to avoid limitation is the fact that child and adult data could not be directly and statistically compared in the present study, since their acquisition settings and conditions differed substantially and their L2 proficiency levels could not be paired. Child L2 informants were undergoing an L2 acquisition process based on school immersion and implicit learning, whereas adult L2 informants had exclusively been exposed to instructed and explicit language learning, which makes any comparison undesirable and scientifically weak.

A further limitation to mention is the fact that the experimental tasks were only designed to provide comprehension data and therefore, any conclusions from the data analysis would ideally need to be corroborated by production data. Although the experimental task in the child L2 English 5 year-old group triggered production, the main focus was comprehension and although the rest of the experimental tasks in child

and adult L2 English triggered corrections, the central focus was again on the judgement of the utterances. Similarly, L2 Spanish tasks were centred on the judgement of utterances even if the informants were asked to justify their answers, which in turn were also based on their interpretation of the experimental sentences. In fact, and as was already mentioned in the discussion section of adult L2A (Chapter 7), comprehension data were not clear enough evidence to confirm any parallelisms between subject development and inflection development in L2A.

8.3 Further research

Many aspects of this thesis can and deserve to be pursued in further research. Some of these are briefly mentioned below. The set of subject properties studied here should be separately and more deeply analysed, designing experimental tasks for each of them. Particularly *that-trace* effects and the fact that they are not part of the cluster of subject properties deserve further investigation, especially in child L2 learners. At the same time, it would be worth analysing individual data and dealing with the informants' corrections of the task utterances and metalinguistic comments on their judgements, since they constitute a valuable set of data which have not been directly analysed.

Another aspect that deserves further research is the fact that directionality of acquisition effects have been observed in the data. More specifically, the fact that L2 Spanish subject properties are acquired earlier and more accurately than L2 English subject properties and its motivation should be further studied. Grammatical reasons in child L2A and external factors such as the kind of input or textbooks in adult L2A should be explored.

The present characterisation of adult L2 subject development as a Partial UG Access approach, where learners make use of "general learning mechanisms" such as induction,

restructuring and analogy to reanalyse the data and achieve superficially native-like structures should be refined and more specifically defined. Experimental tasks should be designed to explore adult L2A data and their strategies to learn new L2 properties which do not match their L1 existing linguistic experience.

Our last and most important proposal for further research is to examine child L2 development in classroom instructed environments, where immersion is not provided and hence their learning becomes explicit and to some extent adult-like. This is particularly motivating in the case of Spanish schools where courses, other than English, are being taught in English.

All in all, the present thesis opens a set of research possibilities which will hopefully contribute to our understanding of language in general and second language acquisition in particular.

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APPENDIX A: Child L2 English and Spanish Experiment Sheets/Tasks

Experiment Sheet
L2 English 5 year-olds & Control group

Johnny Lion and Susie Cow – Kindergarten Class - BFIS

1) Is raining a lot today.
2) Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
3) My sister is always tired because works a lot!
4) Who did you say that came late?
5) My best friend play football twice a week.
6) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.
7) Elizabeth likes card games. Plays "Snap" every day.
8) Has come my granny from America.
9) My sister like rainforests very much.
10) Last week we finish our books on rainforests.
11) He didn't waited for me!
12) Who do you think will arrive first?
13) We will not go to the patio if don't clean up the tables.
14) They didn't know when finished the class.
15) It is raining very hard these days.
16) They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.
17) We will be late if don't take the train.
18) Ms Valerie say that we have to clean up the tables.
19) He didn't know when the class started.
20) Last Thursday I take a book from the library.
21) Had fun in "Western Night" and he ate a lot of pizza.
22) The children in Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly.
23) Who do you think that will win the game?
24) The two boys fix their problem yesterday.
25) Cried the baby all night long.
26) The children in Kindergarten go to the patio yesterday morning.
27) My friend John likes toucans and monkeys very much.
28) Seems that Ms Valerie is very happy today.

Experiment Sheet
L2 English 10 and 17 year-olds & Control groups

Name:
Age:
Language(s) you speak at home:
Parents' nationality:
You've been a student in BFIS since:

Imagine you are a language teacher. Correct the following sentences if necessary. If they sound fine, circle "Right", if you are not sure, circle "Not Sure" and if they sound wrong, circle "Wrong" AND provide the correct version. Sentences are not related to one another and meaning is not to be considered.

1. Are five American students in my class.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

2. Who did you say that came late?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

3. My cousins came over for the vacation.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

4. My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

5. Seems that our students are working well.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

6. There are two music teachers in the school.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

7. They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

8. Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

9. They didn't know when finished the class.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

10. Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

11. Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

12. It snowed very little last winter.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

13. He didn't waited for me!

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

14. Who do you think will arrive first?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

15. Has come my sister from the United States.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

16. Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

17. Last week we finish our class project.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

18. She didn't like the book at all.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

(2nd part)
Name:

19. Martha never forget her homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

20. We will not go to the patio if don't finish the homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

21. It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

22. Is said that rainforests are in danger.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

23. My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

24. It seems that we are going on a trip next week.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

25. Our French teacher said had a dog.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

26. She didn't explain why complained the students.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

27. Ian helped his little sister with her homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

28. Who did the teacher say that was ill?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

29. Cried the baby all night long.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

30. Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

31. There arrived two new students.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

32. Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

33. Who do you think that will win the game?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

34. Is raining a lot these days.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

35. We will be late if we don't take the train.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

36. He didn't know when the class started.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

Experiment Sheet
L2 Spanish 5 year-olds & Control group

INFANTIL B

Name: _____

1. ¿Quién ha llegado?

c. Ha llegado la nueva profe al colegio. ✓ ×
d. La nueva profe ha llegado al colegio. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

2.

a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres) ✓ ×
b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

3.

a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido? ✓ ×
b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido? ✓ ×

Preference: a b

4.

a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día. ✓ ×
b. La semana pasada llovió cada día. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

5. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?

a. Creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes. ✓ ×
b. Yo creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

6. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?

c. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos. ✓ ×
d. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

7.

a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer? ✓ ×
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer? ✓ ×

Preference: a b

8.

a. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada. ✓ ×
b. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

9.

a. Hay cinco niños en la clase. ✓ ×
b. Ello hay cinco niños en la clase. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

10.

a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro. ✓ ×
b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

11.

a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita) ✓ ×
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

12.

a. Es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme. ✓ ×
b. Ello es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

13. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?

a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir al parque. ✓ ×
b. Finalmente decidimos ir al parque. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

14.

a. Mi madre no sabe quién es la profesora. ✓ ×
b. Mi madre no sabe quién la profesora es. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

15.

a. Mis padres salen ayer a cenar. ✓ ×
b. Mis padres salieron ayer a cenar. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

16. ¿Quién llamó desde España?

c. Llamó mi abuelo desde España. ✓ ×
d. Mi abuelo llamó desde España. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

17.

a. Si ella se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta (ella=Marta). ✓ ×
b. Si se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

18.

a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos? ✓ ×
b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren? ✓ ×

Preference: a b

19.

a. María come muchos caramelos. ✓ ×
b. Come muchos caramelos María. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

20. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el cole?

c. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el cole. ✓ ×
d. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el cole. ✓ ×

Preference: a b

Experiment Sheet
L2 Spanish 10 and 17 year-olds & Control groups

Nombre:……... **Edad:……**
Curso actual:…… **Primer curso en el *Colegio Español*:……**

Nacionalidad de los padres:……
Lengua(s) habitual(es) en casa:…….....

Instrucciones

Lee las siguientes frases y decide si son correctas (✓) o incorrectas (✕). A continuación decide cuál prefieres y especifica el por qué.

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.	**[ ]**
b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

2.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.	**[ ]**
b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

3.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.	**[ ]**
b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

5.

	✓ ó ✕
a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.	**[ ]**
b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

6.

	✓ ó ✕
a. María come muchas ensaladas.	**[ ]**
b. Come muchas ensaladas María.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

7.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.	**[ ]**
b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

8.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.	**[ ]**
b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

10.

	✓ ó ✕
a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.	**[ ]**
b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.	**[ ]**
b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

12.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir (ellos=mis padres).	**[ ]**
b. Mis padres no pueden venir porque están de vacaciones.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

13.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.	**[ ]**
b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

14.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.	**[ ]**

b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

15.

✓ **ó** ✕

a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español? **[ ]**
b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español? **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

16.

✓ **ó** ✕

a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro. **[ ]**
b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?

✓ **ó** ✕

a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid. **[ ]**
b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

18.

✓ **ó** ✕

a. Tomás tendrá los resultados. **[ ]**
b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

19.

✓ **ó** ✕

a. Conviene que empecemos hoy. **[ ]**

b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

20.

✓ **ó** ✗

a. ¿Con quién María estudia? **[ ]**
b. ¿Con quién estudia María? **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

21.

✓ **ó** ✗

a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer? **[ ]**
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer? **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

22.

✓ **ó** ✗

a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir.
(ella=mi hermanita). **[ ]**
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?

✓ **ó** ✗

a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés. **[ ]**
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

24.

✓ **ó** ✗

a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar. **[ ]**
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

25.

✓ **ó** ✗

a..Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.
(ella=Marta) **[ ]**
b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

APPENDIX B: Child L2 English and Spanish Transcribed Data

Transcription L2 English 5 year-olds (Kindergarten Class BFIS) N= 7 students

(1) Is raining a lot today.

Alvaro: Is raining a lot today.
Lara: **It**'s raining a lot today.
Guillermo: **It**'s raining a lot today.
Lisa: Is raining a lot today.
Maria: Is raining a lot today.
Alexandra: Is raining a lot today.
Alba: Is raining a lot today.

(2) Last Monday we went for lunch very late.

Alvaro: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Lara: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Guillermo: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Lisa: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Maria: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Alexandra: Last Monday we went for lunch very late.
Alba: Last Monday **I** went for lunch very late.

(3) My sister is always tired because works a lot!

Alvaro: My sister is **very** tired because **aaa (doubt/hesitation)** works a lot.
Lara: My sister is always tired because **he** works a lot.
Guillermo: My sister is always tired because **she's working** a lot.
Lisa: My sister is tired because **it** works a lot.
Maria: My sister is tired because **she** works a lot.
Alexandra: My sister is always tired because works **(pause/hesitation)** a lot.
Alba: My sister is always tired because **it** works a lot.

(4) Who did you say that came late?

Alvaro: Who did you say came late?
Lara: Who did you say **they till** late?
Guillermo: Who did you say that came late?
Lisa: Who did you say that came late?
Maria: **I don't remember.**
Alexandra: Who **xxx** say **some come** late?
Alba: Who did you say that late?

(5) My best friend play football twice a week.

Alvaro: My best friend **is playing** football **…** .
Lara: My best friend play**s** football twice a week.
Guillermo: My best friend play**s** football twice a week.
Lisa: My best friend play football twice a **day**.
Maria: My best friend play**ed** football **two weeks ago**.
Alexandra: My best friend play football twice a week.
Alba: My best friend play**s** football twice a week.

(6) My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.

Alvaro: My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.
Lara: My sister **likes** apples so **he** eats one every day.
Guillermo: My sister loves apples so she eats **them** every day.
Lisa: My sister loves apples **...** she eats **...** every day.
Maria: My sister loves apples **but** she eats one every day.
Alexandra: My sister **likes** apples so **he** eats one every day.
Alba: My sister **love** apples she eats one every day.

(7) Elizabeth likes card games. Plays "Snap" every day.

Alvaro: Elizabeth likes card games. **She can Snap** every day.
Lara: Elizabeth likes card games. **She** plays Snap all the day.
Guillermo: Elizabeth likes card games. **She** plays **(doubt)** Snap every day.
Lisa: Ø
Maria: Elizabeth likes card games **and** plays Snap every day.
Alexandra: Elizabeth likes card games and **(doubt/hesitation) she likes to play** every day.
Alba: Elizabeth loves **xx** games **she** plays every day.

(8) Has come my granny from America.

Alvaro: Has come my granny from America.
Lara: Has come my granny from America.
Guillermo: **My granny is** from America.
Lisa: Has come my granny from America.
Maria: **My granny comes** from America.
Alexandra: **Have** come **(doubt/hesitation)** my granny from America.
Alba: Has come my granny from America.

(9) My sister like rainforests very much.

Alvaro: My **grandfather** like**s** rainforests very much.
Lara: My sister like rainforests very much.
Guillermo: My sister like**s** rainforests very much.
Lisa: My sister like**s** rainforests very much.
Maria: My sister like**s** rainforests very much.
Alexandra: My sister like rainforests very much.
Alba: My sister like**s** rainforests very much.

(10) Last week we finish our books on rainforests.

Alvaro: **This** week we finish our books on rainforests.
Lara: Last week we finish**ed** our books **of** rainforests.
Guillermo: Last week we finish**ed** our books on **the** rainforests.
Lisa: Last week we finish**ed** our books **in the** rainforests.
Maria: Last week we finish**ed** our books on rainforests.
Alexandra: Last week we finish our books on rainforests.
Alba: Last week we finish**ed** our books **in the** rainforests.

(11) He didn't waited for me!

Alvaro: He didn't wait**ing** for me!
Lara: He didn't waited for me!
Guillermo: He didn't **wait** for me!
Lisa: He didn't waited for me!
Maria: He didn't waited for me!
Alexandra: He didn't **xxx xx** me!
Alba: He didn't **wait** for me!

(12) Who do you think will arrive first?

Alvaro: Who do you think **(doubt/hesitation) arrives** first?
Lara: Who do you think **he** arrive first?
Guillermo: Who do you think will arrive first?
Lisa: Who **didn't** think **to** arrive first?
Maria: **very difficult**.
Alexandra: Who do you think **they** arrive **more**?
Alba: Who do you think **to** arrive first?

(13) We will not go to the patio if don't clean up the tables.

Alvaro: **When we go** to the patio **we need to** clean up the tables.
Lara: **Ø**
Guillermo: We will not go to the patio if **we are not cleaning** up the tables.
Lisa: We will not go to the patio if **we** don't clean up the tables.
Maria: We will not go to the patio if **we** don't clean up the tables.
Alexandra: We'll not go **in** the patio if **we not** clean the tables.
Alba: We will not go to the patio if don't clean the tables.

(14) They didn't know when finished the class.

Alvaro: They didn't know when **they** finished the class.
Lara: They didn't know when finished the class.
Guillermo: They didn't know when **finish** the class.
Lisa: They didn't know **they** finished the class.
Maria: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Alexandra: **We** didn't know when **you** finished the class.
Alba: They didn't know when **finish** the class.

(15) It is raining very hard these days.

Alvaro: Is raining very hard these days.
Lara: It is raining very hard these days.
Guillermo: **It is sunny very much today**.
Lisa: It is raining very hard these days.
Maria: It is raining very hard these days.
Alexandra: It is raining very hard these days.
Alba: It is raining very hard these days.

(16) They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.

Alvaro: They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.
Lara: They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.
Guillermo: They didn't saw any Toucans in the **forest**.
Lisa: They didn't saw **a Toucan** in the rainforest.
Maria: They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.
Alexandra: **They saw the Toucan of the rainforest.**
Alba: They didn't saw any Toucans in the rainforest.

(17) We will be late if we don't take the train.

Alvaro: We will late if we we **will** take the train.
Lara: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Guillermo: We **would** be late if we don't take the train.
Lisa: We will late if we don't take the train.
Maria: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Alexandra: We**'re going to be** late if we don't **get** the train.
Alba: We will be late if we don't take the train.

(18) Ms Valerie say that we have to clean up the tables.

Alvaro: Ms Valerie say that clean up the tables.
Lara: Ms Valerie **said** we **need** to clean up the tables.
Guillermo: Ms Valerie **says** that we clean up the tables.
Lisa: Ms Valerie **said** that we have to clean up the tables.
Maria: Ms Valerie say that we have to clean up the tables.
Alexandra: Ms Valerie say we **need** to clean up the tables.
Alba: Ms Valerie say that **xxx** clean up the tables.

(19) He didn't know when the class started.

Alvaro: **She** didn't know when the class started.
Lara: He didn't know when the class started.
Guillermo: He didn't know when the class started.
Lisa: **They** didn't know when the class started.
Maria: He didn't know when the class started.
Alexandra: **We** didn't know when the class started.
Alba: He didn't know when the class started.

(20) Last Thursday I take a book from the library.

Alvaro: Last Thursday I take a book from the library.
Lara: Last Thursday I take a book from the library.
Guillermo: Last Thursday I **took** a book from the library.
Lisa: Last Thursday I take a book from the the library.
Maria: Last Thursday I **took** a book from the library.
Alexandra: Last Thursday **we get a library book.**
Alba: **...** I take a book from the library.

(21) Had fun in "Western Night" and he ate a lot of pizza.

Alvaro: **Have** fun in "Western Night" and he ate a lot of pizza.
Lara: **Have** fun in "Western Night" and he ate**s** a lot of pizza.
Guillermo: **Have** fun in "Western Night" and **eat** a lot of pizza.
Lisa: **Have** fun in "Western Night" and he **eat ...** pizza.
Maria: Had fun in "Western Night" and ate a lot of pizza.
Alexandra: Had fun in **the** "Western Night" and he ate a lot of pizza.
Alba: **Have** fun in "Western Night" and he ate pizza.

(22) The children in Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly.

Alvaro: The children in Kindergarten **they** finished their drawings very **late**.
Lara: The children in Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly.
Guillermo: The **class of** Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly.
Lisa: The children in **the** Kindergarten **they** finished their drawings **...** quickly.
Maria: The children in Kindergarten finished their drawings very quickly.
Alexandra: The children **of** Kindergarten finished **the** drawings very quickly.
Alba: The children of Kindergarten **they** finished very quickly.

(23) Who do you think that will win the game?

Alvaro: Who **will** think will win the game?
Lara: Who do you think **to** win the game?
Guillermo: Who do you think that will win the game?
Lisa: Who do you think that win the game?
Maria: Who do you think that will win the game?
Alexandra: Who do you think that win the game?
Alba: Who do you think will win the game?

(24) The two boys fix their problem yesterday.

Alvaro: The two boys fix**ed** their problem **that Saturday.**
Lara: The two boys fix**ed** their problem yesterday.
Guillermo: The two boys fix**ed** their problem **today**.
Lisa: The two boys **the**y fix their problems yesterday.
Maria: The **three** boys fix**ed** their problem yesterday.
Alexandra: The two boys fix**ed** their problem yesterday.
Alba: The two boys fix**ed** their problem yesterday.

(25) Cried the baby all night long.

Alvaro: Crie**s** the baby all night long.
Lara: Cried the baby all night long.
Guillermo: **Cry** the baby all night long.
Lisa: Cried the baby all night long.
Maria: Cried the baby all **day** long.
Alexandra: Cried the baby all night long.
Alba: Cried the baby all night long.

(26) The children in Kindergarden go to the patio yesterday morning.

Alvaro: The children in Kindergarden **go (doubt/hesitation)** to the patio yesterday morning.
Lara: The Kindergarden **went** to the patio yesterday.
Guillermo: The **class of** Kindergarden **(doubt/pause)** go **(doubt/pause)** to the patio yesterday.
Lisa: The children **of** Kindergarden **(doubt/pause) they going** to patio.
Maria: The children in Kindergarden **went** to the patio yesterday.
Alexandra: The children **of** Kindergarden **go yesterday in the patio**.
Alba: The children in Kindergarden go to the patio **(doubt/hesitation)**.

(27) My friend John likes toucans and monkeys very much.

Alvaro: My sister **like** toucans and monkeys very much.
Lara: My friend likes toucans and monkeys very much.
Guillermo: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Lisa: My friend likes **the** monkeys very much.
Maria: My friend John likes toucans very much.
Alexandra: My friend John **he** likes **very much the toucans of the rainforest.**
Alba: My friend John likes toucans and monkeys very much.

(28) Seems that Ms Valerie is very happy today.

Alvaro: Ms Valerie is **not** happy today.
Lara: **Seem** Ms Valerie is very happy today.
Guillermo: Seems **(hesitation/doubt)** that Ms Valerie is very happy today.
Lisa: Seems **today** that Ms Valerie is very happy.
Maria: Seems that Ms Valerie **today** is happy **today**.
Alexandra: Ms Valerie is very happy today.
Alba: Seem Ms Valerie is very happy today.

Transcription L2 English 10 year-olds (5th Grade BFIS)
N= 12 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Wrong: There are five…
Andrea: There are five…
Laura A.: There are five…
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Wrong: They are five…
Patricia: Wrong: **There** are five Americans students in my class.
Sara: Wrong: **There** are five Americans in my class.
Nina L.: Wrong: **In my class are five American students.**
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **There** are five American students in my class.
Daniel G. : Wrong: **There** are five Americans in my class.

(2) Who did you say that came late?

Diego F.: Wrong: Who came late?
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: Who did you that came late?
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Not sure.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(3) *My cousins came over for the vacation.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Wrong: My cousins came over for vacation.
Andrea: Wrong: My cousins came over for vacation.
Laura A.: Wrong: My cousins came over for vacation.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: My cousins came over for vacation.
Paula: Wrong: This vacation my cousins visited me.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Wrong: My cousins came over for vacation.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Diego F.: Wrong: because she works…
Santi: Wrong: because she works…
Andrea: Wrong: because she works…
Laura A.: Wrong: because she works…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: because she works…
Paula: Wrong: because she works…
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

Sara: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** work… a lot.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Daniel G.: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

Diego F.: Wrong: It seems…
Santi: Wrong: It seems…
Andrea: Wrong: It seems…
Laura A.: Wrong: It seems…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: It seems…
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Wrong: **It** seems that…
Sara: Wrong: **It** seems that…
Nina L: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **It** seems that…
Daniel G.: Wrong: **It** seems that…

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Wrong: In the school there are two music teachers.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G. : Right.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Diego F.: Wrong: It surprised…
Santi: Wrong: It surprised…
Andrea: Wrong: It surprised…
Laura A.: Wrong: It surprised…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: It surprised…
Paula: Wrong: It surprised…
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: **It** surprised me…

Sara: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **They surprised me when everyone came to the meeting.**
Daniel G.: **It** surprised me…

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

Diego F.: Wrong: …when the class finished.
Santi: Wrong: …when the class finished.
Andrea: Wrong: They didn't know when was the class going to finish.
Laura A.: Wrong: …when the class finished.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: …when we finished the class.
Paula: Wrong: …when the class finished.
Nina V.: Wrong: …when we finished the class.
Patricia: Not sure.
Sara: Wrong: They didn't know **when the class finished.**
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: They didn't know **when class finished.**
Daniel G.: Wrong: They didn't know **when the class finished.**

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

Diego F.: Wrong: He walks…
Santi: Wrong: She walks…
Andrea: Wrong: He walks…
Laura A.: Wrong: She walks…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: He walks…
Paula: Wrong: She walks…
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: **She** walks…
Sara: Wrong: **I walks** to … at 8.00.
Nina L.: Wrong: **At 8:30 every morning walks to school.**
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **He** walks…
Daniel G.: Wrong: **He or She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.

(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

Diego F.: Wrong:…and he plays…
Santi: Wrong: …She plays…
Andrea: Wrong: …She plays…
Laura A.: Wrong: …She plays…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: …He plays…
Paula: Wrong: …She plays…
Nina V.: Wrong: …She plays…
Patricia: Wrong: …She plays…
Sara: Wrong: …He plays…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: …He plays…
Daniel G.: Wrong: …She plays…

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.

Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Wrong: Last winter it snowed very little.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

Diego F.: Wrong: wait.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Wrong: wait.
Laura A.: Wrong: wait.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: He did not **wait** for me!
Daniel G.: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Not Sure.
Nina L.: Right
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

Diego F.: Wrong: My sister came from the United States.
Santi: Wrong: My sister came from the United States.
Andrea: Wrong: My sister has come…
Laura A.: Wrong: My sister came from the United States.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: My sister has come…
Paula: Wrong: My sister has come…
Nina V.: Wrong: My sister came from the US.
Patricia: Wrong: **My sister** has come from the US.
Sara: Wrong: **My sister** has come from the US.
Nina L.: Wrong: **My sister** has come from the US.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **My sister** has come from the US.
Daniel G.: Wrong: **My sister** came back fro United States.

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Diego F.: Wrong: A dinosaur…
Santi: Wrong: A dinosaur…
Andrea: Wrong: The dinosaur appeared…
Laura A.: Wrong: A dinosaur…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared in the playground.
Paula: Wrong: A dinosaur…
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared**…

Sara: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared**…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **A dinosaur was in the playground.**
Daniel G.: Wrong: **Suddenly a dinosaur appeared in the playground.**

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

Diego F.: Wrong: finished.
Santi: Wrong: finished.
Andrea: Wrong: finished.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Wrong: …**we finished**…

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

Diego F.: Wrong: forgets.
Santi: Wrong: forgets.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Wrong: forgets.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Wrong: forgets or forgot.
Nina V.: Wrong: forgot.
Patricia: Wrong: Martha **will never forget** her homework.
Sara: Wrong: …**forgets**…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong:…**forgets**…
Daniel G.: Wrong: …**forgets**…

(20) We will not go to the patio if don't finish the homework.

Diego F.: Wrong:…if we don't finish our homework.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Wrong: if we don't…
Laura A.: Wrong: if we don't…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: if we don't…
Paula: Wrong: if we don't…
Nina V.: Wrong: if we don't…
Patricia: Wrong: …if **you** don't…

Sara: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: …if **we** don't…
Daniel G.: …if **we** don't…

(21) *It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Wrong: Mike got surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Not Sure.
Nina L.: Wrong: Mike it surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Wrong: You said that…
Laura A.: Wrong: It said that…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: It said that…
Paula: Wrong: "Name" said that…
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests…
Sara: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests…
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests…
Daniel G.: Wrong: **It is said** that…

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.

Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

Diego F.: Wrong: said she had…
Santi: Wrong: said that she had…
Andrea: Wrong: said that she had…
Laura A.: Wrong: said she had…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: said she had…
Paula: Wrong: said she had…
Nina V.: Wrong: said that she had…
Patricia: Wrong: …said **she** had…
Sara: Wrong: Our French teacher **has had** a dog.
Nina L.: Wrong: **French teacher said had a dog**.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: …said **she** had…
Daniel G.: Wrong: …**told us she had a dog.**

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

Diego F.: Ø
Santi: Wrong: why the students complained.
Andrea: Wrong: why did the students complained.
Laura A.: Wrong: why the students complained.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: Ø
Paula: Wrong: why the students complained.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
Sara: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
Daniel G.: Wrong: She didn't explain **why she complained about the students.**

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

Diego F.: Not Sure.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Not Sure.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Wrong: Who did the teacher say that she was ill?
Patricia: Right.

Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Wrong: **Who did say to the teacher was ill?**
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Wrong: **Who was ill? The teacher said.**

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

Diego F.: Wrong: The baby cried…
Santi: Wrong: The baby cried…
Andrea: Wrong: The baby cried…
Laura A.: Wrong: The baby cried…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: The baby cried…
Paula: Wrong: The baby cried…
Nina V.: Wrong: The baby cried…
Patricia: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
Sara: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
Nina L.: Wrong: **The baby cried** all the long night.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
Daniel G.: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

Diego F.: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Santi: Wrong: Their arrived two new students.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
Sara: Not Sure.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G: Wrong: **There two new students that arrived.**

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Diego F.: Wrong: Finally she decided…
Santi: Wrong: She finally decided…
Andrea: Wrong: Finally they decided…
Laura A.: Wrong: Finally I decided to go to the party and I had a lot of fun.
Juan Antonio: Wrong: Finally he decided…
Paula: Wrong: Finally we decided to go to the party and we had a lot of fun.
Nina V.: Wrong: Finally we decided…
Patricia: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…

Sara: Not Sure
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…
Daniel G.: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

Diego F.: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Not Sure.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

Diego F.: Wrong: It's raining…
Santi: Wrong: It's raining…
Andrea: Wrong: It's raining…
Laura A.: Wrong: It is raining…
Juan Antonio: Wrong: It's raining…
Paula: Wrong: It's been raining a lot…
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot of days.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Wrong: **These days is raining a lot.**
Laura M.P.: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot these days.
Daniel G.: Right.

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Right.
Patricia: Right.
Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G.: Right.

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

Diego F.: Right.
Santi: Right.
Andrea: Right.
Laura A.: Right.
Juan Antonio: Right.
Paula: Right.
Nina V.: Not Sure
Patricia: Right.

Sara: Right.
Nina L.: Right.
Laura M.P.: Right.
Daniel G: Right.

Transcription L2 English 17 year-olds (12th Grade BFIS)
N= 8 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

ST1: Wrong: **There** are five American students in my class.
ST2: Wrong: **There** are ….
ST3: Wrong: **There** are ….
ST4: Wrong: **There** are ….
ST5: Wrong: **Five students in my class are American**.
ST6: Wrong: **There** are ….
ST7: Wrong: **There** are ….
ST8: Wrong: **There** are ….

(2) Who did you say that came late?

ST1: Wrong: Who did you say ~~that~~ came late?
ST2: Wrong: Who did you say ~~that~~ came late?
ST3: Not sure
ST4: Wrong: Who did you say ~~that~~ came late?
ST5: Right
ST6: Wrong: Who did you say ~~that~~ came late?
ST7: Wrong: Who did you say ~~that~~ came late?
ST8: Right

(3) *My cousins came over for the vacation.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Wrong: for vacation.
ST3: Right
ST4: Wrong: My cousins came over **on** vacation.
ST5: Wrong: for vacation.
ST6: Right
ST7: Wrong: My cousins came over **from** vacation.
ST8: Right

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

ST1: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST2: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST3: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST4: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST5: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST6: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST7: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.
ST8: Wrong: … because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

ST1: Wrong: **It** seems that…
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Wrong: **It** seems that…
ST5: Wrong: **It** seems that…
ST6: Wrong: **It** seems that…
ST7: Wrong: Seems **like** our students are working well.
ST8: Right

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

ST1: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST2: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST3: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST4: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST5: Wrong: **I was surprised that everyone came to the meeting.**
ST6: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST7: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
ST8: Wrong: **It** surprised me…

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

ST1: Wrong: …when **the class** finished.
ST2: Wrong: …when **they** finished the class.
ST3: Wrong: …when **the class was** finished.
ST4: Wrong: …when **class** finished.
ST5: Wrong: …when **the class** finished.
ST6: Wrong: …when **the class** finished.
ST7: Wrong: …when **the class** finished.
ST8: Wrong: …when **the class** finished.

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

ST1: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST2: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST3: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST4: Right
ST5: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST6: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST7: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….
ST8: Wrong: **He/She** walks ….

(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

ST1: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST2: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST3: Wrong: …**She** plays…

ST4: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST5: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST6: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST7: Wrong: …**She** plays…
ST8: Wrong: …**She** plays…

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(13) He didn't waited for me!

ST1: Wrong: **wait**
ST2: Wrong: **wait**
ST3: Wrong: **wait**
ST4: Wrong: **wait**
ST5: Wrong: **wait**
ST6: Wrong: **wait**
ST7: Wrong: **wait**
ST8: Wrong: **wait**

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

ST1: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST2: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST3: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST4: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST5: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST6: Wrong: **My sister came** from the US
ST7: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
ST8: Wrong: **My sister** has come…

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

ST1: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST2: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST3: Wrong: **In the playground a dinosaur appeared.**
ST4: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST5: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST6: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST7: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared ….
ST8: Wrong: **It** appeared a dinosaur…

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

ST1: Wrong: …finish**ed**…
ST2: Right
ST3: Wrong: **We finished our class project last week.**
ST4: Wrong: **We finished our class project last week.**
ST5: Wrong: …finish**ed**…
ST6: Wrong: …finish**ed**…
ST7: Wrong: …finish**ed**…
ST8: Wrong: …finish**ed**…

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

ST1: Wrong: **forgets**
ST2: Wrong: **forgets**
ST3: Wrong: **forgets**
ST4: Wrong: **forgets**
ST5: Wrong: **forgets**
ST6: Wrong: **forgets/forgot**
ST7: Wrong: **forgot**
ST8: Wrong: **forgets**

(20) We will not go to the patio if don't finish the homework.

ST1: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST2: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST3: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST4: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST5: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST6: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST7: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
ST8: Wrong: …if **we** don't…

(21) *It surprised Mike that she couldn't pass the exam.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Not sure
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

ST1: Wrong: **It** is said…
ST2: Wrong: **It** is said…
ST3: Not sure

ST4: Wrong: **It** is said…/**He/She** said that…
ST5: Wrong: **It** is said…
ST6: Wrong: **It** is said…
ST7: Wrong: **It** is said…
ST8: Right

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

ST1: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
ST2: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
ST3: Wrong: …said **that she** had a dog.
ST4: Wrong: …said **she/he has** a dog.
ST5: Wrong: …said **she/he** had a dog.
ST6: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
ST7: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
ST8: Wrong: …said **that she/he** had a dog.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

ST1: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST2: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST3: Not sure
ST4: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST5: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST6: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST7: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.
ST8: Wrong: …why **the students** complained.

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

ST1: Wrong: …the teacher say ~~that~~ was ill?
ST2: Wrong: …the teacher say ~~that~~ was ill?
ST3: Wrong: …the teacher **said that** was ill?
ST4: Wrong: …the teacher say ~~that~~ was ill?
ST5: Right
ST6: Wrong: …the teacher say ~~that~~ was ill?
ST7: Wrong: …the teacher say ~~that~~ was ill?
ST8: Right

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

ST1: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST2: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST3: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST4: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST5: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST6: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST7: Wrong: **The baby** cried …
ST8: Wrong: **The baby** cried …

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

ST1: Wrong: There arrive~~d~~ …
ST2: Wrong: **Two new students** arrived.
ST3: Wrong: **Two new students** arrived.
ST4: Wrong: **Two new students have** arrived.
ST5: Wrong: **Two new students** arrived.
ST6: Wrong: **Two new students have** arrived.
ST7: Wrong: **Two new students** arrived.
ST8: Wrong: **Two new students have** arrived.

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

ST1: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
ST2: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and **I** had a lot of fun.
ST3: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and **I** had a lot of fun.
ST4: Wrong: **He/She/I** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
ST5: Wrong: **We/They** finally decided…
ST6: Wrong: **I/She/He/They** …finally decided…
ST7: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…
ST8: Wrong: Finally **he/she/we/etc** decided…

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

ST1: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
ST2: Wrong: Who do you think **that we/he/they** will win the game?
ST3: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ is going to win the game?

ST4: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
ST5: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
ST6: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
ST7: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ will win the game?
ST8: Wrong: Who do you think ~~that~~ is going to win the game?

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

ST1: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST2: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST3: Right
ST4: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST5: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST6: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST7: Wrong: **It** is ….
ST8: Right

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

ST1: Right
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

ST1: Wrong: …when the class starts.
ST2: Right
ST3: Right
ST4: Right
ST5: Right
ST6: Right
ST7: Right
ST8: Right

Transcription Control Group
L2 English 5 year-olds (Tadpoles Class - Long Meadow School, Shenley Brook End, Milton Keynes, UK)
N=7 students

(1) Is raining a lot today.

Kiah: **It's** raining a lot today.
Becky: **It's** raining a lot today.
Jacob: **It's** raining a lot today.
Shannon: **It's** raining a lot today.
Bailey: **It's** raining a lot today.
Alexander: **It's** raining a lot today.
Claudia: **It's** raining a lot today.

(2) Last Monday we had lunch very late!

Kiah: Last Monday we had very lunch.
Becky: Last Monday we had lunch very late!
Jacob: Last Monday we had lunch very late!
Shannon: Last Monday we had lunch very late!
Bailey: Last Monday we had lunch very late!
Alexander: Last Monday we had lunch very late!
Claudia: Last Monday we had lunch very late!

(3) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Kiah: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Becky: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Jacob: My sister is always tired because **she** works.
Shannon: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Bailey: My sister is always tired because **we** works a lot.
Alexander: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Claudia: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

(4) Who did you say that came late?

Kiah: Who did you say came late?
Becky: Who did you say who came late?
Jacob: Ø
Shannon: Who did you say that came late?
Bailey: Who did you say that came late?
Alexander: Who did you say came late?
Claudia: Who did you say came late?

(5) My best friend play football twice a week.

Kiah: My best friend **played** football twice a week.
Becky: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.
Jacob: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.
Shannon: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.
Bailey: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.
Alexander: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.
Claudia: My best friend **plays** football twice a week.

(6) My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.

Kiah: My sister loves apples. She **loves it** everyday.
Becky: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.
Jacob: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.
Shannon: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.
Bailey: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.
Alexander: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.
Claudia: My sister loves apples. She eats one everyday.

(7) Mary likes card games. Plays Snap all day long.

Kiah: Mary loves card games. **She Snaps** very long.
Becky: Mary likes card games **and she plays** Snap all day long.
Jacob: Mary likes card games. **She Snaps** all days.
Shannon: Mary likes card games **and plays** Snap all day long.
Bailey: Mary likes card games **and plays** Snap all day long.
Alexander: Mary likes card games. **She plays** Snap all day long.
Claudia: Mary likes card games. **She plays** Snap all day long.

(8) Has arrived my granny from London.

Kiah: Hesitation.
Becky: She didn't like it/Hesitation but didn't correct it.
Jacob: **Has my granny arrived** from London**?**
Shannon: My granny has arrived from London.
Bailey: **Has my granny from London?**
Alexander: **My granny came** from London.
Claudia: **My granny has arrived** from London.

(9) My sister like puppets very much.

Kiah: My sister **likes** puppets very large.
Becky: My sister **likes** puppets very much.
Jacob: My sister **liked** puppets very much.
Shannon: My sister **likes** puppets very much.
Bailey: My sister **likes** puppets very much.
Alexander: My sister **likes** puppets very much.
Claudia: My sister **likes** puppets very much.

(10) Yesterday we finish our drawings.

Kiah: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Becky: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Jacob: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Shannon: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Bailey: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Alexander: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.
Claudia: Yesterday we **finished** our drawings.

(11) He didn't waited for me!

Kiah: He didn't **wait** it for me!
Becky: He didn't **waited** for me!
Jacob: He didn't **waited** for me!
Shannon: He didn't **wait** for me!
Bailey: He didn't **waited** for me!
Alexander: He didn't **wait** for me!
Claudia: He didn't **wait** for me!

(12) Who do you think will arrive first?

Kiah: Who do you think will arrive first?
Becky: Who do you think will arrive first?
Jacob: Who do you think will arrive first?
Shannon: Who do you think will arrive first?
Bailey: Who do you think will arrive first?
Alexander: Who do you think will arrive first?
Claudia: Who do you think will arrive first?

(13) We will not go out if don't clean up the tables.

Kiah: We will not go out if **you** don't clean up the tables.
Becky: We will not go out **until we** clean up the tables.
Jacob: We will not go out if **you** clean up the tables.
Shannon: We will not go out if **you** don't clean up the tables.
Bailey: We will not go out if **we** don't clean up the tables.
Alexander: We will not go out if **we** don't clean up the tables.
Claudia: We will not go out if **we** don't clean up the tables.

(14) They didn't know when finished the class.

Kiah: They didn't know when **we finished the class.**
Becky: They didn't know when **we finished the class.**
Jacob: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**
Shannon: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**
Bailey: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**
Alexander: They didn't know when **we finished the class.**
Claudia: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**

(15) It is raining very hard these days.

Kiah: It is raining very hard these days.
Becky: It is raining very hard these days.
Jacob: It is raining very hard these days.
Shannon: It is raining very hard these days.
Bailey: It is raining very hard these days.
Alexander: It is raining very hard these days.
Claudia: It is raining very hard these days.

(16) They didn't saw any animals in the woods.

Kiah: They **didn't saw** any animals in these woods.
Becky: They **didn't saw** any animals in the woods.
Jacob: They **didn't see** any animals in the woods.
Shannon: They **didn't see** any animals in the woods.
Bailey: They **didn't see** any animals in the woods.
Alexander: They **didn't see** any animals in the woods.
Claudia: They **didn't see** any animals in the woods.

(17) We will be late if we don't take the train.

Kiah: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Becky: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Jacob: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Shannon: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Bailey: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Alexander: We will be late if we don't take the train.
Claudia: We will be late if we don't take the train.

(18) Mary say that we have to clean up the tables.

Kiah: Mary **didn't have to say** that we have to clean up the tables.
Becky: Mary **said** that we have to clean up the tables.
Jacob: Mary **said** that we have to clean up the tables.
Shannon: Mary **says** that we have to clean up the tables.
Bailey: Mary **says** if we have to clean up the tables.
Alexander: Mary **says** that we have to clean up the tables.
Claudia: Mary **says** that we have to clean up the tables.

(19) He didn't know when the class started.

Kiah: He didn't know when the class started.
Becky: He didn't know when the class started.
Jacob: He didn't know when the class started.
Shannon: He didn't know when the class started.
Bailey: He didn't know when the class started.
Alexander: He didn't know when the class started.
Claudia: He didn't know when the class started.

(20) Last week I take a book from the library.

Kiah: Last week I **taked** a book from the library.
Becky: Last week I **took** a book from the library.
Jacob: Last week I **take** a book from the library.
Shannon: Last week I **took** a book from the library.
Bailey: Last week I **took** a book from the library.
Alexander: Last week I **took** a book from the library.
Claudia: Last week I **took** a book from the library.

(21) Had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!

Kiah: **I** had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!
Becky: **I** had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!
Jacob: **He** had fun at the party and he ate a lot of pizza!
Shannon: **I** had fun at the party and I ate a lot of pizza!
Bailey: **I** had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!
Alexander: **I** had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!
Claudia: **I** had fun at the party and ate a lot of pizza!

(22) The children finished their work very quickly.

Kiah: The children finished their work very quickly.
Becky: The children finished their work very quickly.
Jacob: The children finished their work very quickly.
Shannon: The children finished their work very quickly.
Bailey: The children finished their work very quickly.
Alexander: The children finished their work very quickly.
Claudia: The children finished their work very quickly.

(23) Who do you think that will win the game?

Kiah: Who do you think **who** win the game?
Becky: Who do you think **that** will win the game?
Jacob: Who do you think will win the game?
Shannon: Who do you think **that** will win the game?
Bailey: Who do you think **that** will win the game?
Alexander: Who do you think will win the game?
Claudia: Who do you think will win the game?

(24) Cried the baby all night long.

Kiah: Cried the baby all night long.
Becky: **He** cried all night long.
Jacob: Cried the baby all night long.
Shannon: **The baby cried** all night long.
Bailey: Cried the baby all night long.
Alexander: **The baby cried** all night long.
Claudia. **The baby cried** all night long.

(25) The two boys fix a broken car yesterday.

Kiah: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Becky: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Jacob: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Shannon: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Bailey: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Alexander: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.
Claudia: The two boys **fixed** a broken car yesterday.

(26) My classmates go to the gym yesterday morning.

Kiah: My classmates **goed** to the gym yesterday morning.
Becky: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.
Jacob: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.
Shannon: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.
Bailey: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.
Alexander: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.
Claudia: My classmates **went** to the gym yesterday morning.

(27) My friend John likes monkeys very much.

Kiah: He likes monkeys very much.
Becky: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Jacob: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Shannon: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Bailey: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Alexander: My friend John likes monkeys very much.
Claudia: My friend John likes monkeys very much.

(28) Seems that Mary is very happy today.

Kiah: **It seem** that Mary is very happy today.
Becky: **'t** seems that Mary is very happy today.
Jacob: **It** seems that Mary is very happy today.
Shannon: **It** seems that Mary is very happy today.
Bailey: **'t** seems that Mary is very happy today.
Alexander: **It** seems that Mary is very happy today.
Claudia: **It** seems that Mary is very happy today.

Transcription Control Group
L2 English 10 year-olds (Year 5 Class - Long Meadow School, Shenley Brook End, Milton Keynes, UK)
N= 12 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

Chris: Wrong : **There are** five American students in my class.
Ellie: Wrong : **Are there** five American students in my class?
Ross: Wrong : **There are** five American students in my class.
Christopher: Wrong: **Are there** five American students in my class?
Shirley: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Bethany W. : Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **There are** no American students in my class.
Charlotte: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Olivia: Wrong: **There is three Americans pupils** in my class.
Caroline: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.

(2) Who did you say that came late?

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Vicki: Wrong: **Who came late?**
Bethany M.: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Charlotte: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(3) My cousins came back from London yesterday.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Chris: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Ellie: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Ross: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Christopher: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

Shirley: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **sh**e works a lot.
Bethany W.: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Jade: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **sh**e works a lot.
Vicki: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Bethany M.: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Charlotte: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Olivia: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **sh**e works a lot.
Caroline: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

Chris: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Ellie: Wrong: **Seems like** our students are working well.
Ross: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Christopher: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Olivia: Wrong: **It seem** that our students are working well.
Caroline: Wrong: **Looks like** our students are working well.

(6) There are two music teachers in the school.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(7) They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Wrong: The children went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.
Christopher: Wrong: The children went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Wrong: The children went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.
Caroline: Right.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Chris: Wrong: **They** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Ellie: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Ross: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Christopher: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **You** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Jade: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Vicki: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Charlotte: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Olivia: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.
Caroline: Wrong: **They** surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

Chris: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class was finished.**
Ellie: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class was going to finish.**
Ross: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Christopher: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Shirley: Wrong: They didn't know when **they finished class.**
Bethany W.: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class have finished.**
Jade: Wrong: They didn't know when **class finished.**
Vicki: Wrong: They didn't know when **we finished the class.**
Bethany M.: Wrong: They didn't know when **they finished class.**
Charlotte: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished**.
Olivia: Wrong: The children didn't know when **the class finished.**
Caroline: Wrong: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8:30.

Chris: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Ellie: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Ross: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Christopher: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Shirley: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **He/She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Jade: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Vicki: Wrong: **We** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Charlotte: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Olivia: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Caroline: Wrong: **We** walk to school every morning at 8:30.

(11) Jane likes football a lot. Plays in a team every day.

Chris: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Ellie: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Ross: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Christopher: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Shirley: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Bethany M.: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Charlotte: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Olivia: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day
Caroline: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day

(12) It snowed very little last winter.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Wrong: It snowed a little bit last winter.
Ross: Right.

Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

Chris: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Ellie: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Ross: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Christopher: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Shirley: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Bethany M.: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Charlotte: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Olivia: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Caroline: Right.

(14) Who do you think will arrive first?

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(15) Has arrived my sister from Manchester.

Chris: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Ellie: Wrong: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester yet?**
Ross: Wrong: **Here** has arrived my sister from Manchester. ←
Christopher: Wrong: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester?**
Shirley: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **Has she arrived from Manchester?**
Jade: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Vicki: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **My sister has just arrived** from Manchester.
Charlotte: Wrong: **Has she arrived from Manchester?**
Olivia: Wrong: **My sister has just arrived** from Manchester.
Caroline: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester?**

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Chris: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Ellie: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Ross: Wrong: **There has** appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Christopher: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Shirley: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Jade: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Vicki: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared in the playground.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **A dinosaur** arrived in the playground.
Charlotte: Wrong: **Then** appeared a dinosaur in the playground.
Caroline: Wrong: **It** appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(18) She didn't like the book at all.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Ross: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Jade: Wrong: Martha never **forgot** her homework.
Vicki: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Bethany M.: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Charlotte: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Olivia: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Caroline: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.

(20) We will not go to the patio if don't finish the homework.

Chris: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **we** don't finish our homework.
Ellie: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **I** don't finish my homework.
Ross: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **you** don't finish the homework.
Christopher: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **you** don't finish your homework.

Shirley: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **you** don't finish your homework.
Bethany W.: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **you** don't finish the homework.
Jade: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **we** don't finish the homework.
Vicki: Wrong: We will not go to the playground if **we** don't finish our homework.
Bethany M.: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **you** don't finish your homework.
Charlotte: Wrong: We will not go to the playground if **we** don't finish the homework.
Olivia: Wrong: We will not go to the playground if **we** don't finish the homework.
Caroline: Wrong: We will not go to the patio if **I** don't finish the homework.

(21) It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline. Right.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

Chris: Wrong: **It's** said that rainforests are in danger.
Ellie. Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Ross: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests are in danger.
Christopher: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Shirley: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests are in danger.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **I said** that rainforests are in danger.
Jade: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests are in danger.
Vicki: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **Everyone says** that rainforests are in danger.
Charlotte: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Olivia: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Caroline: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.

(23) My sister loves apples, so she eats one every day.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Wrong: My sister loves apples and she eats one every day.

(24) It seems that we are going on a trip next week.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.

Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: We are going on a trip next week.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Wrong: We are going on a trip next week.
Caroline: Wrong: **It look like** we are going on a trip next week.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

Chris: Wrong: Our French teacher said **he** had a dog.
Ellie: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **they** had a dog.
Ross: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Christopher: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Shirley: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Bethany W.: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Jade: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she/he** had a dog.
Vicki: Wrong: Our French teacher said **he** had a dog.
Bethany M.: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Charlotte: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Olivia: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **they** had a dog.
Caroline: Wrong: Our French teacher said **I** had a dog.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

Chris: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Ellie: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Ross: Wrong: She didn't explain why **she complained to the students.**
Christopher: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Shirley: Wrong: She didn't explain why **they complained to the students.**
Bethany W.: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Jade: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Vicki: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Bethany M.: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Charlotte: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Olivia: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Caroline. Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**

(27) Ian helped his little sister with her homework.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Wrong: Ian helped his little sister do her homework.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia. Right.
Caroline: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?

Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Olivia: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Caroline: Right.

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

Chris: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Ellie: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Ross: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Christopher: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Shirley: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Jade: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Vicki: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Charlotte: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Olivia: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.
Caroline: Wrong: **The baby** cried all night long.

(30) Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(31) There arrived two new students.

Chris: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Ellie: Wrong: Two new students arrived in our class.
Ross: Wrong: They arrived, two new students.
Christopher: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Shirley: Wrong: They arrived two new students.
Bethany W.: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Jade: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Vicki: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Bethany M.: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Charlotte: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Olivia: Wrong: Two new students arrived today.
Caroline: Wrong: Two new students arrived.

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Chris: Wrong: **He** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Ellie: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and I had a lot of fun.
Ross: Wrong: **We** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Christopher: Wrong: Finally **we** decided to go to the party and we had a lot of fun.

Shirley: Wrong: **He** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and have lots of fun.
Jade: Wrong: **We** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Vicki: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Bethany M.: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Charlotte: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Olivia: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and I had a lot of fun. ←
Caroline: Wrong: Finally **I** decided to go to the party and have a lot of fun.

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

Chris: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Ellie: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Shirley: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Bethany W. : Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Jade: Right.
Vicki. Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Olivia: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Caroline: Right.

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

Chris: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot these days.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Wrong: **It has been** raining a lot these days.
Christopher: Wrong: **It has been** raining a lot these last few days.
Shirley: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot these days.
Bethany W.: Wrong: **It'**s raining a lot these days.
Jade: Wrong: **It'**s raining a lot these days.
Vicki: Wrong: **It'**s raining a lot these days.
Bethany M.: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot more these days.
Charlotte: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot these days.
Olivia: Wrong: **It** is raining a lot today.
Caroline: Wrong: **It'**s raining a lot these days.

(35) We will be late if we don't take the train.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.
Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

(36) He didn't know when the class started.

Chris: Right.
Ellie: Right.
Ross: Right.
Christopher: Right.

Shirley: Right.
Bethany W.: Right.
Jade: Right.
Vicki: Right.
Bethany M.: Right.
Charlotte: Right.
Olivia: Right.
Caroline: Right.

Transcription Control Group
L2 English 17 year-olds (Year 12 Class – Lord Grey School, Bletchley, Milton Keynes, UK)
N= 8 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

Craig: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Joe: Wrong: **Five American students are** in my class.
Mark: Wrong: **Are there five American students in my class?**
Keziah: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Leia: Wrong: **Are there five American students in my class?**
Emma: Wrong: **Are there five American students in my class?**
Maria: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
Luke: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.

(2) Who did you say that came late?

Craig: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Joe: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Mark: Wrong: Who did you say came in late?
Keziah: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Leia: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Emma: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Maria: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
Luke: Wrong: Who did you say came late?

(3) My cousins came back from London yesterday.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Craig: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Joe: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Mark: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Keziah: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Leia: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Emma: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Maria: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
Luke: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

Craig: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Joe: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Mark: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Keziah: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Leia: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.

Emma: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Maria: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.
Luke: Wrong: **It** seems that our students are working well.

(6) There are two music teachers in the school.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(7) They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Craig: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Joe: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Mark: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Keziah: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Leia: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Emma: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Maria: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.
Luke: Wrong: **It** surprised me that everyone came to the party.

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

Craig: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Joe: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Mark: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Keziah: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Leia: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Emma: Wrong: They didn't know when **they finished the class.**
Maria: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class finished.**
Luke: Wrong: They didn't know when t**he class finished.**

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8:30.

Craig: Wrong: **He/She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Joe: Wrong: **He/She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Mark: Wrong: **He/She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Keziah: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
Leia: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Emma: Wrong: **He/she/name** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
Maria: **Not Sure.**
Luke: **Not Sure.**

(11) Jane likes football a lot. Plays in a team every day.

Craig: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot**. She** plays in a team every day.
Joe: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Mark: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Emma: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Maria: Wrong: Jane likes football a lot. **She** plays in a team every day.
Luke: Right.

(12) It snowed very little last winter.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

Craig: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Joe: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Mark: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Keziah: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Leia: Right.
Emma: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Maria: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
Luke: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!

(14) Who do you think will arrive first?

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(15) Has arrived my sister from Manchester.

Craig: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Joe: Wrong: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester?**
Mark: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Keziah: Wrong: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester?**
Leia: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Emma: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Maria: Wrong: **My sister has arrived** from Manchester.
Luke: Wrong: **Has my sister arrived from Manchester?**

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Craig: Wrong: **There appeared** to be a dinosaur in the playground. ←
Joe: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
Mark: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
Keziah: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.

Leia: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
Emma: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared in the playground.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Wrong: Last week we *finished* our class project.
Mark: Wrong: Last week we *finished* our class project.
Keziah: Wrong: We *finished* our last project last week.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Wrong: Last week we *finished* our class project.
Maria: Wrong: Last week we *finished* our class project.
Luke: Wrong: Last week we *finished* our class project.

(18) She didn't like the book at all.

Craig. Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

Craig: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Joe: Wrong: Martha never **forgot** her homework.
Mark: Wrong: Martha never **forgot** her homework.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Emma: Wrong: Martha never **forgot** her homework.
Maria: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
Luke: Wrong: Martha never **forgot** her homework.

(20) We won't go home if don't finish the homework.

Craig: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.
Joe: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.
Mark: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.
Keziah: Wrong: You can't go home if **you** haven't finished the homework.
Leia: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.
Emma: Wrong: We won't go home if **you** don't finish the homework.
Maria: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.
Luke: Wrong: We won't go home if **we** don't finish the homework.

(21) It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Wrong: It surprised Liz that she didn't pass the exam.
Leia: Wrong: It surprised Liz that she didn't pass the exam.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

Craig: Wrong: **It's** said that rainforests are in danger.
Joe: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Mark: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Keziah: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Leia: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Emma: Wrong**: It is** said that rainforests are in danger.
Maria: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests are in danger.
Luke: Wrong: **It is** said that rainforests are in danger.

(23) My sister loves apples, so she eats one every day.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(24) It seems that we are going on a trip next week.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

Craig: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Joe: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she/he** had a dog.
Mark: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Keziah: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **they** had a dog.
Leia: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **she** had a dog.
Emma: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
Maria: Wrong: Our French teacher said **they** had a dog.
Luke: Wrong: Our French teacher said **he** had a dog.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

Craig: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Joe: Wrong: She didn't explain why **she complained about/to the students.**
Mark: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Keziah: Wrong: She **couldn't explained** why **the students complained.**
Leia: Wrong: **"She didn't explain why", complained the students.**
Emma: Wrong: She didn't explain why **the students complained.**
Maria: Wrong: **"She didn't explain why", complained the students.**
Luke: Wrong: She didn't explain why t**he students complained.**

(27) John helped his little sister with her homework.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.

Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

Craig: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Joe: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Mark: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Keziah: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Leia: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Emma: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Maria: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
Luke: Right.

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

Craig: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Joe: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Mark: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Keziah: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Leia: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Emma: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Maria: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.
Luke: Wrong: *The baby cried* all night long.

(30) Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(31) There arrived two new students. ←

Craig: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Joe: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
Mark: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Keziah: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
Leia: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Emma: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Maria: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
Luke: Wrong: Two new students arrived.

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Craig: Wrong: Finally **he/she** decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Joe: Wrong: **I/we** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Mark: Wrong: **He/she** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Keziah: Wrong: **I** finally decided to go to the party and have a lot of fun.
Leia: Wrong: **He** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.
Emma: Wrong: **He/she/name** finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Maria: **Not Sure.**
Luke: **Not Sure.**

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

Craig: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Joe: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Mark: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Emma: Right.
Maria: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
Luke: Right.

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

Craig: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
Joe: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
Mark: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
Keziah: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
Leia: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
Emma: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
Maria: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
Luke: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.

(35) We will be late if we don't take the train.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Right.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

(36) He didn't know when the class started.

Craig: Right.
Joe: Right.
Mark: Right.
Keziah: Right.
Leia: Wrong: He didn't know when the class had started.
Emma: Right.
Maria: Right.
Luke: Right.

Data Instituto Español Vicente Cañada Blanch
L2 Spanish 5 year-olds ("Infantil" Class)
N=7 students

Acceptance: ✓
Rejection: ×
Preference: a or b.

1. ¿Quién ha llegado al colegio?

e. Ha llegado la nueva profe al colegio.
f. La nueva profe ha llegado al colegio.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: =

2.

c. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
d. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.

3.

c. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
d. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ×: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: =

4.

c. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
d. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Olivia: a. ×, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.

Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.

5. ¿Qué crees que ha hecho Ana?

c. Creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes.
d. Yo creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Enrico: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.

6. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?

e. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.
f. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.

7.

c. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
d. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: =
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: Ø

8.

c. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.
d. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: = (doesn't tell the difference).
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: = (doesn't tell the difference).

9.

c. Hay cinco niños en la clase.
d. Ello hay cinco niños en la clase.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

10.

c. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
d. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: = (doesn't tell the diference).
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: = (doesn't tell the diference).
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Danny: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.

11.

a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

12.

c. Es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme.
d. Ello es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Danny: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.

13. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?

c. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir al parque.
d. Finalmente decidimos ir al parque.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

14.

c. Mi madre no sabe quién es la profesora.
d. Mi madre no sabe quién la profesora es.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.

15.

c. Mis padres salen ayer a cenar.
d. Mis padres salieron ayer a cenar.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: =
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: =
Charles: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

16. ¿Quién llamó desde España?

e. Llamó mi abuelo desde España.
f. Mi abuelo llamó desde España.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Charles: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

17.

c. Si ella se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta (ella=Marta).
d. Si se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: =
George: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: a.

18.

c. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
d. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.

19.

c. María come muchos caramelos.
d. Come muchos caramelos María.

Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
George: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.
Danny: a. ✓, b. ✕: a.

20. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el cole?

e. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el cole.
f. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el cole.

Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.
Isabella: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
George: a. ✕ , b. ✓: b.
Charles: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Estefanía: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Enrico: a. ✓, b. ✓: b.
Danny: a. ✕, b. ✓: b.

Data Instituto Español Vicente Cañada Blanch
L2 Spanish 10 year-olds (5th Course)
N= 13 students

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque yo normalmente uso ese.
Alexa: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que suena mejor.
James: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos estan bien.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta la letra.
Adam: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan correcto.
Jack: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque se habla megor.
Ethan: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porke la ve mejor.
Jessica: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque entendi mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque eso es como hablo.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Jackie: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el otro no hace sentido.
Alexa: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas como suena.
James: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta correcto.
Stefano: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es estupida.
Adam: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en el colegio lo decimos asi.
Oscar: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Jack: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se habla megor.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porke el b. no la entiendo.
Jessica: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque entendio mejor que el otro.
Adrian: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la profesora me lo dice.
Patrick: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque b. suena bien.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque he oido a personas decirlo así.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque creo que esta mejor dicho.
James: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la gente lo dice.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque las personas en fútbol lo dicen.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque lo dice la profe.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque se habla megor.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porke tiene mejor que en el b.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque entendio.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque los dos suenan iguales.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gusta.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.

b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo uso normalmente.
Alexa: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Adam: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece bien.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Jack: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se habla bien.
Ethan: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porke my al principio.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio las dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque es lo mismo.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque he oido a personas decirlo así.
Alexa: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me resulta mas facil.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo dice la profe.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan.
Oscar: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena correcto.
Jack: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se habla así.
Ethan: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porke me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque entendio mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque asi lo dice el colegio.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque es lo mismo.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo uso más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque me suena mas facil.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque esta mas correcto.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque no se dice b.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porke tiene mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque entendio mas.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la b. no suena bien.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Jackie: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque he oido a personas decirlo así.
Alexa: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece mas correcto.
James: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta correcto.
Stefano: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la profe lo dice.
Adam: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la profesora lo dice.
Oscar: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está correcto.

Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no se dice “está enferma la semana pasada”.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Adrian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ha mi me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es el presente.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el otro me suena incorrecto.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta como suena.
James: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque gente lo dice.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo yo.
Oscar: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no se dice como b.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta mas.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque ha mi me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no suena.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena más correcto.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece mas rapido.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta más.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque estan bien.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son iguales y suenan megor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice de esa manera.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio las dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque lo digo asi.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque son lo mismo.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Jackie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el otro me suena incorrecto.
Alexa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me resulta mas correcto.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo dice la profe.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo decimos asi en el colegio.
Oscar: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice en esa manera.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio las dos.
Adrian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?

a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la digo más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que esta bien.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice esa manera.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porke la ve mejor.
Jessica: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque entendio mas.
Adrian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo uso más.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me resulta mas facil.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan las dos.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice más.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corto de decir.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porke es mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio los dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque a mi me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es como hablo.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo he oido así.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me resulta mas facil.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos estan correctas.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mejor que el otro.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta mejor.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque los dos suenan mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio los dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Jackie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el a. me suena incorrecto.
Alexa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece correcto.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena correcto.
Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mas listo.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo decimos asi en el colegio.

Oscar: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta correcto.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corto.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porke no tiene que decir "ello".
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio los dos.
Adrian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ha mi me gusta.
Patrick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que esta bien.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Jackie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he oido a mis compañeros.
Alexa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque yo pienso que esta correcto.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no suena tan raro.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mejor.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo dice la profesora.
Oscar: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta correcto.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es largo.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entiendo.
Jessica: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque entendio mejor que el otro.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan igual.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he oido a otras personas.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque pienso que esta bien dicho.
James: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo dice el profe de musica.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice asi.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque esta bien.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque esta mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena megor que el otro.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo entiendo.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta mas.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque esta bien.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he oido a muchas personas.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta no se porque.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan los dos.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice más.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan las dos.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corto.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan los dos.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo digo más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me resulta mas facil.
James: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo dicen los profes.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es una pregunta.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque esta mejor.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena bien.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he oido decirlo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque pienso que esta bien dicho.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque los dos estan correctos.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es más corto.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio los dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me suenan bien las dos.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mal la b.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
    b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Jackie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se lo he oido a personas.
Alexa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me resulta mas bien.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo dice gente.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena bien.
Adam: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque yo y mi amigo lo decimos asi.
Oscar: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio bien.
Adrian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta mas.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me suenan bien.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
    b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me resulta mas rapido.
James: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo yo algunas veces.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta más.

Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque la clase lo decimos asi.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corto.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me duena megor.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio mas.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me suenan bien.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque son lo mismo.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo uso más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque pienso que esta correcto.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan las dos.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque lo dice mi abuelo.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Jack: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice hasi.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque entendio mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque estan bien.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo digo más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque pienso que me suena mejor.
James: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me encantan las dos.
Stefano: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es una pregunta.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque los entiendo los dos mismos.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta mejor.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena megor.
Ethan: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio los dos.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se dice.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mal la b.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el otro no me suena correcto.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me parece bien dicho.
James: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque esta correcto.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mejor.

Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mejor.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Jackie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo oigo más amenudo.
Alexa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me resulta mejor dicho.
James: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Olivia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque los dos están correctos.
Stefano: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta la letra.
Adam: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo digo yo.
Oscar: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque esta más corto.
Jack: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Chelsea: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena megor.
Ethan: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mejor.
Jessica: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque entendio igual.
Adrian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan igual.
Patrick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque es lo mismo.

Data Instituto Español Vicente Cañada Blanch
L2 Spanish 17 year-olds (2nd "Bachillerato" Class)
N= 8 students

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suelo decirlo más, puede que sea por economía.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la oigo mas.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la suelo decir mas.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suelo hablar así.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra no es correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra suena incorrecta.
Elías: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque para mi tiene más sentido.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es lo que digo.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta; a. no es.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es incorrecta.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no es correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque yo usaría mas esta frase.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. suena incorrecta.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena correcto y es lo que digo.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta; la otra no.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque coloquialmente me suena mejor.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la oigo mas.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suelo hablar así.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque siempre lo digo.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más corta y fácil de decir.
Miguel: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Jeannie: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que yo no usaría la otra.
Elías: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque tiene más sentido.
Carol: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Owen: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la b. suena extraña.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es la correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la otra no me suena muy bien.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta más.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es más clara.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es correcto.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Drolma: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. el verbo está incorrecto.
Miguel: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Jeannie: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra es incorrecta.
Elías: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no se puede hablar en el presente y en el pasado a la misma vez.
Carol: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el tiempo del verbo.
Talia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la que utilizo.
Imanol: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta; tiene el verbo en pasado.
Owen: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la otra no es correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es la que yo usaría.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la b. es incorrecta.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque b. no está estructurada de forma correcta.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor y es correcta.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la mas corta.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no creo que es necesario decir que soy “yo”.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque queda mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice menos palabras.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "lo" en la a. sobra.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera es incorrecta.
Elías: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es incorrecta.
Talia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la que utilizo.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no debería de llevar ese "lo".
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque te lías mas con la primera.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque queda mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más directa; el "ellos" no hace falta decirlo.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sabe que son "los padres" y no use "ellos".
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta "ellos".
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor y es correcto.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda es incorrecta.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no me gusta como suena la b.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. no es correcto.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. no está estructurada de forma correcta.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" en la primera sobra.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra no es correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra no está bien dicha.
Elías: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Talia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es incorrecto.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta el "ello" en a.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto y suena mejor.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera es incorrecta.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas correcta.
Elías: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena bien.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque le falta el "que" a la frase a.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo debe estar en plural porque hay dos personas que realizan la acción.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no es correcta; no concuerda el verbo.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos personas y cantan; tiene que ser plural.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos la que cantan no una.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es doble sujeto y el verbo tiene que estar en plural.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el verbo.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo en b. debería de estar en plural.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
        a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
        b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera suena extraño.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corta y me suena mejor.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobre entiende que somos "nosotros".
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario especificar la persona.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque queda mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta el "nosotros" en a.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no se necesita decir "nosotros".

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo siempre va detrás del nombre.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no me suena bien.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suelo hablar así.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena correcto.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. no está bien estructurada.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es propio poner el nombre primero.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el "lo" en la segunda es incorrecto.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no suena bien.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el "lo" no suena bien.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena bien y es la que utilizo.

Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no hace falta el "lo" en b.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está mal poner "lo" enfrente de la frase b.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Miguel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Jeannie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no tiene sentido la a.
Elías: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Talia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Imanol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no está bien estructurada.
Owen: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque primero va el verbo.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda falta el "que".
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta y la otra no.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta mas.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque le falta el "que" en la frase b.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se entiende mejor.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Drolma: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ella" sobra.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta repetir "ella".
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobre entiende que ablamos de mi hermana.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta el "ellas" en la frase a.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende que estás hablando de la hermana.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la oigo mas.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta mas.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la encuentro más fácil para decir.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el tiempo del verbo.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no es correcta; no concuerda el verbo.
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra no es correcta.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Carol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es el pasado.

Talia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcto.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo de b. está mal.
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo es pasado.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
    b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Drolma: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Miguel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta repetir "ella".
Jeannie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sabe que se abla de Marta.
Elías: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más fácil para decir.
Carol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque queda mejor.
Talia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la que utilizo.
Imanol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no necesita el "ella".
Owen: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende que estás hablando de Marta.

Transcription Control Group
L2 Spanish 5 year-olds (P-5 Class *Escola Santíssima Trinitat*, Badalona)
N=7 students

Acceptance: ✓
Rejection: ×
Preference: a or b.

1. ¿Quién ha llegado al colegio?

   g. Ha llegado la nueva profe al colegio.
   h. La nueva profe ha llegado al colegio.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

2.

   e. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
   f. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

3.

   e. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   f. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ×: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ×: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ×: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ×: a

4.

   e. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
   f. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Daniel: a. ×, b. ✓: b

Sergio: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Manuel: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Christian: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Edu: a. ✕, b. ✓: b

5. ¿Qué crees que ha hecho Ana?

e. Creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes.
f. Yo creo que Ana ha recogido los juguetes.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: b

6. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?

g. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.
h. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: b

7.

e. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
f. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

8.

e. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.
f. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

9.

e. Hay cinco niños en la clase.
f. Ello hay cinco niños en la clase.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

10.

e. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
f. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

11.

c. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
d. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

12.

e. Es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme.
f. Ello es posible que mi hermana venga a buscarme.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

13. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?

e. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir al parque.
f. Finalmente decidimos ir al parque.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

14.

e. Mi madre no sabe quién es la profesora.
f. Mi madre no sabe quién la profesora es.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

15.

e. Mis padres salen ayer a cenar.
f. Mis padres salieron ayer a cenar.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Sergio: a. ✕, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b (doesn't tell the difference)
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b (doesn't tell the difference)
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b (doesn't tell the difference)
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓: a (doesn't tell the difference)
Edu: a. ✕, b. ✓: b

16. ¿Quién llamó desde España?

g. Llamó mi abuelo desde España.
h. Mi abuelo llamó desde España.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

17.

e. Si ella se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta (ella=Marta).
f. Si se porta bien en casa, Marta vendrá a la fiesta.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a and b

18.

e. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
f. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

19.

e. María come muchos caramelos.
f. Come muchos caramelos María.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✕: a

20. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el cole?

g. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el cole.
h. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el cole.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Sergio: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Eric: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Manuel: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Christian: a. ✓, b. ✓: b
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓: a
Edu: a. ✓, b. ✓: a

Transcription Control Group
L2 Spanish 10 year-olds (5th course *Escola Santíssima Trinitat*, Badalona)
N=13 students

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más correcto en castellano.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo escucho más pero el b. también está bien.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque siempre lo he oído así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos las veo correctas.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mis padres lo dicen así.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque siempre lo he oído así.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo digo.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos suenan bien.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena más correcto.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la contraria hay una palabra que no debe estar.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el a. no tiene sentido.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que la primera es incorrecta.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra para mí no tiene sentido.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta en castellano.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicho.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien ordenado.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no se entiende.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice así.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más correcta.
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he escuchado.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra no suena bien.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ello" no combina con la frase.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria no está bien.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el b. no está bien dicho.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo dice mi padre.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he oído así.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien escrita.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no se explica bien.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es una cosa que escucho mucho en el fútbol.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo dicen en la televisión.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no está bien escrita.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me gusta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la primera está bien dicha.

Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. falta el "que".

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque están las dos bien dichas.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque creo que las dos están bien para comunicarse.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque creo que las dos son correctas.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo digo más.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien las dos.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque en castellano utilizamos las dos.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor dicho.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque dice quién habla.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la he oído más.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque está bien decir una que otra.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque todos lo dicen así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se nombra una nación.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las veo bien.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor dicho.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está en orden.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el otro no lo he escuchado.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque creo que la b. tendría que estar en forma de pregunta.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mis padres lo dicen así.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque para que la b. sea correcta debería ser pregunta.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es una frase que utilizamos mucho.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se escucha mejor.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no está bien puesta.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la más correcta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque va primero el nombre que lo que hace.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque primero va el nombre.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque tiene el verbo correcto.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en el a. sale el presente y el pasado juntos.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la frase a. está mal decirla.

Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la manera correcta.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. está en presente y tiene que estar en pasado.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra está mal dicha.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo entiendo mejor.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mejor.
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque porque si decía que era pasado, la a. es presente.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es pasado.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria tiene las palabras mal colocadas.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el b. no es signo de pregunta.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mi madre lo dice así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque siempre lo he oído así.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está escrita correctamente.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien ordenada cada palabra.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la veo correcta.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien escrita.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo escucho así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mi padre la utiliza.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda está mal.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos estan bien.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque digo las dos.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque está bien decir las dos.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque siempre lo escucho en la calle.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos estan bien.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las oigo mucho.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es mejor.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la contraria tiene una palabra de más.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no está correcta.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es incorrecto decir la a.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque siempre lo he oído así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no está bien escrita.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. tiene el “lo” y no se pone.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque siempre la he dicho así.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor explicada.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque sin “lo” es mejor.
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta.

Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. "lo" está de más.

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la contraria está desordenada.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la uso más.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque expresa más motivos.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque siempre lo he dicho así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena más común.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mucho mejor.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se escribe así.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece más correcta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque lo digo.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. está en forma de pregunta.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque dicen lo mismo.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque uso las dos.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se pueden decir las dos correctamente.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque al decir "mis padres" no hace falta decir "ellos".
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque yo siempre he oído eso.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a la a. le sobra "ellos".
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo te indica que son "ellos".
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se entiende de las dos maneras.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien escritas.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya hablas de "ellos" en la frase.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque queda mejor.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está escrita correctamente.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no la conozco muy bien.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la otra frase es como si estuviera desordenada y no se entiende.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque siempre se dice así.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque yo lo digo así.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no tiene orden.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se entiende claramente lo que dice.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se entiende.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la veo mejor escrita.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está mal dicha.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está mal escrita.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la contraria empieza por una palabra que no es correcta.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no he escuchado el a.

Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera palabra de la otra frase no existe para referirse a lo que quiere comunicar.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en todos los sitios lo he oído así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está escrita en castellano.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más común de decirlo.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo digo así.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se escribe así.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" sobra.
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he escuchado.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. está mal escrita.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la contraria falta una palabra.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el a. no está correcta.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mi hermano lo dice.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me han enseñado que es así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mi madre la dice así.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se entiende.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor explicado.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la otra sin "que" queda mal!
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. está mal.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria no está coordinada con el número.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es singular.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo "cantan" les identifica mejor que el otro.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "Ana y Silvia" es plural y "canta" es singular.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la palabra "cantan" se refiere a las dos y en la b. se refiere a una.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está en singular.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está mejor dicha al referirse a ellas dos.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque yo lo entiendo.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque a la b. le falta una "n".
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque hablas de dos, no puedes poner un verbo en singular.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
    a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
    b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque dicen lo mismo.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque conozco las dos.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque siempre lo he oído así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque dice "nosotros" y no hace falta que digamos "nosotros" ya que esa palabra se refiere a "nosotros".
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor sin el "nosotros".
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos suenan bien.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.

Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque están bien.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la escucho más.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque está mejor explicada.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria tendría que ser una pregunta.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el b. es una pregunta.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda frase creo que se expresaría mejor con un signo de interrogación.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es una pregunta.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es una pregunta.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque al decirla suena mucho mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la he escuchado.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque yo la escucho así.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque las b. es más pregunta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he escuchado.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque va primero el nombre que lo que hace.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está en forma de pregunta.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria tiene un artículo de más.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no la he escuchado.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he oído siempre así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mi profesora lo dice así.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. lleva “lo”.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la otra casi no se entiende lo que dice.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo dice mi madre.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es así como se dice.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la correcta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. “lo” está de más.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
    b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está en orden.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden de a. no está correcto.
Eva: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que la primera frase está mal escrita.
Adrián: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he oído siempre así.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que es correcto.
Eduard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien ordenada.
Rubén: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Manolo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien.
Ricard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Dani: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se dice así.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor escrita.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
    b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tiene un orden consecutivo.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está correcta.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque siempre la he oído así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo veo más correcto.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien dicha.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. le falta "que".
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque nosotros la decimos así.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque yo lo entiendo.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he escuchado decir así.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice así.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mi padre lo dice.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está mejor.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque están bien escritas las dos.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque digo las dos.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me parece que está mejor explicado.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se dice de las dos maneras.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las entiendo bien.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque están bien.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me parece que se dice de las dos formas.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mi madre lo dice.
Javier: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque está mejor explicada.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque dicen lo mismo.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la uso más.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos explican lo mismo pero de diferente manera.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me han enseñado que se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos maneras.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque está mejor dicho.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos suenan bien.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien escritas.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque lo he escuchado.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos están bien.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque está mejor escrita.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Daniel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la contraria no tiene el verbo correcto.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el b. es en presente y tendría que ser pasado.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda frase hay una palabra mal escrita.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "salen" es presente y al decir "ayer" quieren decir pasado.
Alba: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien escrita.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. tiene "salen".
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo digo así.

Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque lo he escuchado.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice así.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es pasado.
Tomás: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está mejor escrita.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
    b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Daniel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la contraria sobra un artículo.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque digo las dos.
Eva: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo he oído siempre así.
Adrián: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque lo he escuchado de las dos maneras.
Alba: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir "ella" cuando ya sabemos que se trata de Marta.
Eduard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque estoy acostumbrado a decirlo.
Celeste: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos suenan bien.
Rubén: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.
Manolo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque estan bien escritas.
Ricard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se puede decir de las dos formas.
Dani: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque lo digo de las dos maneras.
Javier: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque se dicen las dos.
Tomás: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor.

Transcription Control Group
L2 Spanish 17 year-olds (Batxillerat - *Escola Mare de Déu del Carme*, Terrassa, Barcelona)
N= 8 students

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo más.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque creo que ambas son correctas.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque suenan bien.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es la más común en mi casa.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque uso las dos por igual.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque se utiliza más.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la utilizo más.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera no tiene sentido.
Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que "ello" es incorrecto en este caso.
Cristina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no es correcta, no se entiende.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la oración a. es incorrecta y la palabra "ello" no está bien utilizada.
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta ya que el "ello" no se utiliza como sujeto.
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera me suena mal.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda falta la conjunción.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque creo que en la b. falta un "que" que introduzca la subordinada.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no se entiende.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es gramaticalmente correcta.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. falta el "que".
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. falta el "que" que de sentido a la oración.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tienes que "creer que" algo pase.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor ordenada y suena mejor.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es la que uso normalmente.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque utilizo las dos de manera igual.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me suenan igual de bien las dos.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la uso más en casa.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque se utiliza más.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la utilizo más.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta que aparezca el sujeto.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta conocer el sujeto y por tanto puede ser impersonal.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta poner "ellos".
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both; la oración a. es más específica y en cambio la b. es un sujeto general.
Carlos: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es una frase sin sujeto.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta especificar el sujeto.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque depende de lo que se refiera; si se refiere a los habitantes de Bélgica solo es correcta la segunda.
Toni: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la veo más correcta.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque no veo que la segunda sea muy correcta.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque creo que la b. es incorrecta ya que no tiene sentido.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la b. no se entiende, está desordenada.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es gramaticalmente más correcta.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque en la b. el orden está mal.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque para mí es mejor decir el sujeto antes que el verbo.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Alicia: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la primera el tiempo verbal no es correcto.
Manel: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta por tiempos verbales que no coinciden.
Cristina: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo tiene que estar en pasado.
Lorena: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la forma verbal está bien conjugada en pasado como nos indica el CCT.
Carlos: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es una oración en pasado.
Karol: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque concuerda el tiempo verbal con el circunstancial de tiempo.
Alberto: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ×, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo tiene que estar en pasado porque el tiempo en el que sucede la acción es de pasado.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la segunda no es correcta.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la b. está mal construida.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque la b. no se entiende, está desordenada.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es gramaticalmente correcta. La b. utiliza la estructura del inglés.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque en la b. las palabras están mal ordenadas.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ×. Prefers a. porque es correcta y me suena mejor.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque utilizo las dos por igual.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque yo lo digo de las dos maneras, aunque no hace falta decir "yo" porque ya se sobreentiende.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque si hablas en primera persona no es necesario poner el pronombre personal.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende el sujeto.

Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo está en primera persona y no hace falta poner "yo" de sujeto.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos suena bien.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la forma verbal "creo" ya expresa la primera persona y no cal repetirlo con el pronombre.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la primera no tiene que aparecer "lo".
Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta porque no se necesita el pronombre "lo".
Cristina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el pronombre "lo" no tiene que ponerse en esta frase.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta. En la a. sobra el "lo" ya que "llover" es un verbo intransitivo.
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es una oración impersonal.
Karol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "lo" sobra.
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera no suena bien con la partícula "lo".

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque utilizo las dos por igual.
Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la que uso yo siempre.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es el orden lógico en castellano aunque abmas son correctas.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor con el sujeto delante.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden de las palabras en b. suena mejor.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se utiliza más.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo más.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta que se repita el sujeto.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es como yo lo diría y no se necesita "ellos".
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir "ellos", ya se sobreentiende.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. ya que en la a. se hace una repetición innecesaria del sujeto.
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se ha dicho antes el sujeto.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto ya lo sabemos y no hace falta reiterarlo.
Alberto: a. ✕ , b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto de "están" ya se sobreentiende.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la forma verbal "están" ya expresa la persona.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda no es correcta.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suelo utilizarla más.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no se entiende, está desordenada.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es el orden lógico de los sintagmas.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el verbo está mal situado.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está mal construida.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo normalmente.

Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" es incorrecto.
Cristina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no se entiende.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta gramaticalmente. En la a. sobra el "ello".
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque tiene coherencia.
Karol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" como sujeto no se utiliza.
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" nunca lo utilizo.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera no es correcta.
Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se requiere el "que" que introduce la subordinada.
Cristina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la frase necesita el "que" para que se entienda.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta por la utilización del "que", ausente en la oración a.
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no tiene sentido sin el "que".
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la digo así.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda no hay concordancia.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta en cuanto a concordancia.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos personas; el sujeto y el verbo deben concordar en número y género.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tiene correcta concordancia entre sujeto y verbo.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo es en plural.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el sujeto y el verbo no concuerdan.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos personas; el verbo tiene que estar en plural.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor sin repetir el sujeto, ya que no hace falta.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "nosotros" de la a. se puede elidir.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir "nosotros", ya se sobreentiende.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. hay una utilización innecesaria del pronombre personal.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en el verbo ya se ven las personas.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo más.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto de "decidir" se sobreentiende.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no utilizo los pronombres cuando la forma verbal ya lo expresa.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la segunda no se utiliza.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la utilizo normalmente.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque yo lo diría así; suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque tiene el orden lógico.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la b. resulta más como una pregunta.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es más correcta.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda no tiene sentido.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es incorrecta ya que sobra el "yo".
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el pronombre "lo" no debe estar en la frase, no se entiende.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la oración b. sobra el pronombre "lo" y es innecesario.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no utilizamos el "lo" si no sustituye a ningún complemento directo.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el "lo" sustituiría "que empecemos hoy" y lo ponen repitiendo otra vez lo sustituido.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Alicia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Manel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. está mal construida.
Cristina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es gramaticalmente correcta.
Carlos: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden de las palabras.
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo y lo digo así.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda falta la conjunción.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. falta el "que", necesario para introducir una subordinada.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque sin el "que" no se entiende la frase.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta por la utilización del "que".
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tiene el "que".
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. falta el "que" que de sentido a la oración.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la utilizo más.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ella" de la a. se puede elidir.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir "ella".
Lorena: a. ✕ , b. ✓. Prefers b. porque evita el pronombre "ella" que ya se sobreentiende.
Carlos: a. ✕ , b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende "Ella".
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la primera oración ya hemos dicho quién es el sujeto.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto de "viene" se sobreentiende.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende de quién habla y utilizo esta forma.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor que la segunda.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque uso las dos normalmente.
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque yo lo diría así, suena mejor.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque utilizo ambas por igual.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me gustan las dos.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas y utilizadas con frecuencia.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las utilizo por igual.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
    b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la segunda no hay concordancia.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es incorrecta en cuanto a concordancia entre el verbo y "ayer".
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque si salieron "ayer" el verbo debe estar en pasado, sino la frase no tiene sentido.
Lorena: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque hay concordancia del tiempo verbal con el CCT.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está en pasado.
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el verbo y el complemento circunstancial de tiempo no concuerdan.
Alberto: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el verbo no concuerda con el tiempo en el que pasó la acción.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
    b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Alicia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se utiliza más que la otra.
Manel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. se puede elidir el "ella".
Cristina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir "ella", ya se sobreentiende.
Lorena: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suprime el pronombre personal "ella"; veo innecesaria su repetición.
Carlos: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende que es "ella".
Karol: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta repetir el sujeto dos veces.
Alberto: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto de "estudia" se sobreentiende.
Toni: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo digo así.

APPENDIX C: Adult L2 English and Spanish Experiment Sheets/Tasks

Experiment Sheet
L2 English Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced Adults & Control group

Age:
Studies/Profession:
Language(s) you speak at home:
Level:
You've been learning English since:

Imagine you are a language teacher. Correct the following sentences if necessary. If they sound fine, circle "Right", if you are not sure, circle "Not Sure" and if they sound wrong, circle "Wrong" AND provide the correct version. Sentences are not related to one another and meaning is not to be considered.

1. Are five American students in my class.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

2. Who did you say that came late?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

3. My cousins came back from London yesterday.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

4. My sister is always tired because works a lot.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

5. Seems that our students are working well.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

6. There are two music teachers in the school.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

7. They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

8. Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

9. They didn't know when finished the class.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

10. Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

11. Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

12. It snowed very little last winter.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

13. He didn't waited for me!

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

14. Who do you think will arrive first?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

15. Has come my sister from the United States.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

16. Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

17. Last week we finish our class project.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

18. She didn't like the book at all.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

19. Martha never forget her homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

20. We will not go home if don't finish the homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

21. It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

22. Is said that rainforests are in danger.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

23. My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

24. It seems that we are going on a trip next week.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

25. Our French teacher said had a dog.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

26. She didn't explain why complained the students.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

27. Ian helped his little sister with her homework.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

28. Who did the teacher say that was ill?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

29. Cried the baby all night long.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

30. Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

31. There arrived two new students.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

32. Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

33. Who do you think that will win the game?

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

34. Is raining a lot these days.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

35. We will be late if we don't take the train.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

36. He didn't know when the class started.

Right Not Sure Wrong .....

Experiment Sheet
L2 Spanish Beginner, Intermediate and Advanced Adults & Control group

Nombre: **Edad:**
Curso: **Primera lengua/Otras:**
Profesión/Estudios: **Estudio español desde:**

Instrucciones

Lee las siguientes frases y decide si son correctas (✓) o incorrectas (✕). A continuación decide cuál prefieres y especifica el por qué. Puedes utilizar el inglés para escribir los comentarios.

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.	[ ]
b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.	[ ]

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

2.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.	[ ]
b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.	[ ]

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

3.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?	[ ]
b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?	[ ]

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.	[ ]
b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.	[ ]

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

5.

	✓ ó ✕
a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.	**[ ]**
b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

6.

	✓ ó ✕
a. María come muchas ensaladas.	**[ ]**
b. Come muchas ensaladas María.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

7.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.	**[ ]**
b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

8.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.	**[ ]**
b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

10.

	✓ ó ✕
a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.	**[ ]**
b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.	**[ ]**
b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

12.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir (ellos=mis padres).	**[ ]**
b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

13.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.	**[ ]**
b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

14.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.	**[ ]**
b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

15.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

16.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.	**[ ]**
b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.	**[ ]**
b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

18.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.	**[ ]**
b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

19.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.	**[ ]**
b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

20.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Con quién María estudia?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Con quién estudia María?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

21.

	✓ ó ✕
a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?	**[ ]**
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

22.

	✓ ó ✕
a..Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella=mi hermanita)	**[ ]**
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?

	✓ ó ✕
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.	**[ ]**
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.	**[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

24.

	✓ ó ✕
a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.	**[ ]**

b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

25.

✓ **ó** ✕

a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.
(ella=Marta) **[ ]**
b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. **[ ]**

¿Cuál prefieres? **a** **b**
¿Por qué? .....

APPENDIX D: Adult L2 English and Spanish Transcribed Data

Transcription L2 English Adult Beginners (British Council) N= 33 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

PI1: Wrong: **American students are** five in my class.
PI2: Wrong: **There are**…
PI3: Wrong: **There are**…
PI4: Wrong: **There are**…
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: **There are**…
PI7: Wrong: **There are**…
PI8: Wrong: **I am five** American students in my class.
PI9: Wrong: **We are five** American students in my class.
PI10: Wrong: **There are**…
PI11: Wrong: **There are**…
PI12: Wrong: **There are**…
PI13: Wrong: **They are five** American students in my class.
PI14: Wrong: **There are**…
PI15: Right.
PI16: Wrong: **There are**…
PI17: Wrong: **There are**…
PI18: Wrong: **There are**…
PI19: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
P20: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI21: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI22: Wrong: **They are** five American students in my class.
PI23: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI24: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI27: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI28: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI29: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI30: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI31: Wrong: **In my class are** five American students.
PI32: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.
PI33: Wrong: **There are** five American students in my class.

(2) Who did you say that came late?

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: Who did you say **that come** late?
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Wrong: Who did you say **that come** late?
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: Who did you say **that come** late?

PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Ø
PI16: Wrong: Who did you say **that I came** late?
PI17: Wrong: **Who came late did you say?**
PI18: Wrong: **Who did come late?**
PI19: Wrong: Who did you say **that come** late?
PI20: Right.
PI21: Not Sure.
PI22: Wrong: Who did you say **when came late?**
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Wrong: Who did you say **that late?**
PI26: Wrong: **What did you say that came late?**
PI27: Wrong: **What did you say that came late?**
PI28: Wrong: **What did you say that came late?**
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Wrong: **What did you say that came late?**
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: **Who say that came late?**
PI33: Not Sure.

(3) *My cousins came back from London yesterday.*

PI1: Right.
PI1: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: My cousins **come** back from London yesterday.
PI12: Wrong: My cousins **cames** back from London yesterday.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Right.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

PI1: Wrong: My sister always is tired because **she** works a lot.
PI2: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI3: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI4: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI5: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI6: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI7: Wrong: My sister **always is** tired because works a lot.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI10: Wrong: **My sister work a lot because is tired.**
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot of.
PI13: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI16: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: My sister **always is** tired because **she** works a lot.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
PI24: Wrong: My sister **always is** tired because works a lot.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: My sister **always is** tired because works a lot.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Not Sure.
PI32: Wrong: My sister is always tired because **she** works a lot.
PI33: Right.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

PI1: Wrong: **Seem** that our students are working well.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Wrong: **Our students look like** are working well.
PI4: Wrong: **It seems** that…
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Wrong: **Our students are working well.**
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: **It seems** that…
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **Seems?**
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: **It seems** that…
PI17: Wrong: **It seems** that…
PI18: Right.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Not Sure.
PI21: Right.

PI22: Wrong: **We see** that our students are working well.
PI23: Wrong: **Our students seems that are** working well.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Not Sure.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Not Sure.
PI32: Wrong: **Seems that our students work well.**
PI33: Right.

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: There are two music teachers at school.
PI3: Wrong: There are two music teachers at school.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Wrong: There are two music's teachers in the school.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Right.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Wrong: There are twice music teachers in the school.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Wrong: There are two musics teachers in the school.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: There are two music teachers at school.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: …and they had a lot of fun.

PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: …and had a lot of funny.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI17: Not Sure.
PI18: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** fun during the party.
PI19: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI20: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Wrong: They went a birthday party and had a lot of fun.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** fun a lot.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI33: Not Sure.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **I surprised** that everyone came to the meeting.
PI3: Wrong: **I surprised** that everyone came to the meeting.
PI4: Wrong: **I surprised** that everyone came to the meeting.
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Wrong: **I'm surprised** that every one came to the meeting.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **Surprise me** that everyone came to the meeting.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Not Sure.
PI14: Wrong: **I was surprised** because everyone came to the meeting.
PI15: Wrong: **I'm surprised that** everyone came to the meeting.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: **I was surprised** because everyone came to the meeting.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Not Sure.
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Not Sure.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: Everyone came to the meeting and **that surprised me** a lot.
PI31: Not Sure.

PI32: Wrong: **Surprise me** that everyone came to the meeting.
PI33: Right.

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

PI1: Wrong: …when **we finished the class.**
PI2: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Wrong: **When the class finished they didn't know.**
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: **When the class was finished, they didn't know nothing.**
PI19: Wrong: They didn't know **when finish the class.**
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: They didn't know when **the class will be finish.**
PI22: Right.
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Wrong: They didn't know **when finish the class.**
PI25: Wrong: They didn't know **when finish the class.**
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Wrong: They didn't know **when finish the class.**
PI32: Wrong: They didn't know **when the class finished.**
PI33: Right.

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

PI1: Wrong: **She** goes to school walking every morning at 8:30.
PI2: Wrong: **He/She/It** walks…
PI3: Wrong: **I** walk…
PI4: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: **I** walk…
PI7: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
PI8: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
PI9: Wrong: **He** walks…
PI10: Wrong: **He/She/It** walks…
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: **I** walk…
PI13: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
PI14: Wrong: **He** walks…
PI15: Wrong: **She** walks…
PI16: Wrong: **She** walks…
PI17: Wrong: **She** walks…

PI18: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Wrong: **I** walk to school every morning at 8:30.
PI21: Wrong: **He's walking** to school every morning at 8:30.
PI22: Wrong: **She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI23: Wrong: **She** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Not Sure.
PI26: Wrong: **He/she** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI27: Wrong: **He/she** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: **He** goes on foot every morning at 8:30 to school.
PI31: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI32: Wrong: **He** walks to school every morning at 8:30.
PI33: Wrong: **Walking** at school every morning at 8:30.

(11) Jane likes football so plays in a team every day.

PI1: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she play** in a team every day.
PI2: Wrong: …so **she** plays…
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: …so **she playing** in a team every day.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: …**so playing**…
PI12: Wrong**: Jane likes plays football in a team every day.**
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Wrong: Jane likes football **and plays** in a team every day.
PI16: Wrong: Jane likes football **and plays** in a team every day.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: Jane **likes play** football in a team.
PI19: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she** plays in a team every day.
PI20: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she's** playing in a team every day.
PI21: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she's** playing in a team every day.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: Jane l**ikes playing** football in a team every day.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: **Jane plays football in a team every day.**
PI30: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she** plays in a team every day.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: Jane likes football so **she** plays in a team every day.
PI33: Wrong: Jane **likes plays** football in a team every day.

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

PI1: Wrong: It didn't snow much last winter.
PI2: Wrong: It snowed a little last winter.
PI3: Right.

PI4: Wrong: It very little snowed last winter.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Wrong: It snowed a little…
PI10: Not Sure.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: It snowed a few last winter.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: **Last winter snowed a few.**
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: It has snowed very little last winter.
PI30: Wrong: Last winter **it isn't a lot of snow.**
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

PI1: Wrong: He didn't **wait** to me!
PI2: Wrong: **wait**
PI3: Wrong: **wait**
PI4: Wrong: **waite**
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Wrong: **wait**
PI8: Right.
PI9: Wrong: **wait**
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **wait**
PI12: Wrong: **wait**
PI13: Wrong: **wait**
PI14: Wrong: **wait**
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: **wait**
PI17: Wrong: **wait**
PI18: Wrong: He didn't **wait me!**
PI19: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI20: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI21: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI22: Wrong: He **doesn't waite**d for me!
PI23: Right.
PI24: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI25: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI26: Right.

PI27: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI28: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI29: Wrong: He didn't **waite** for me!
PI30: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI31: Wrong: He didn't **wait** for me!
PI32: Wrong: He didn't **waited to** me!
PI33: Wrong: He didn't **wait** to me!

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

PI1: Ø
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: **What do you think will arrive first?**
PI7: Not Sure.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **Who do you think arrive first?**
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: **Who do you think that will the first arrive?**
PI17: Wrong: **Who will arrive first do you think?**
PI18: Wrong: **In your opinion, who will arrive first?**
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Wrong: **Who do you think will they arrive first?**
PI21: Right.
PI22: Not Sure.
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Wrong: **Do you think who will arrive first?**
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Wrong: **What do you think will arrive first?**
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Not Sure.
PI32: Wrong: **Who do you think that will arrive first?**
PI33: Not Sure.

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI3: Wrong: **My sister comes** from United States.
PI4: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI5: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI6: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI7: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI8: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI9: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI12: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI13: Wrong: **My sister has come…**

PI14: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI15: Wrong: **My sister came…**
PI16: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
PI17: Wrong: **Has my sister come from the United States?**
PI18: Wrong: **My sister come** from the United States.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the US.
PI22: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI23: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI24: Wrong: **My sister came** from the US.
PI25: Wrong: **My sister come** from the United States.
PI26: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI27: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI28: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI29: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI30: Wrong: **My sister comes** from the United States.
PI31: Wrong: **I have come** from the US.
PI32: Wrong: **My sister has come** from the United States.
PI33: Right.

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI3: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI4: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI8: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI11: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared**…
PI12: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI13: Ø
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI16: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI17: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
PI18: Wrong: **In the playground appeared a dinosaur.**
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: Appeared a dinosaur **on the playground.**
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
PI24: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
PI25: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
PI26: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

PI1: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI2: Wrong: **finished**
PI3: Wrong: **finished**
PI4: Wrong: We **finish** our class project last week.
PI5: Wrong: We **finish** our class project last week.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: **finished**
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **finished**
PI12: Right.
PI13: Wrong: **finished**
PI14: Wrong: **finished**
PI15: Wrong: Last week we **are finished** our class project.
PI16: Wrong: We **finished** our class project the last week.
PI17: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI18: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI19: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI20: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI21: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI22: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI23: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI24: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI25: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
PI26: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI27: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: We **finish** our class project last week.
PI30: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI31: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI32: Wrong: Last week we **finished** our class project.
PI33: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: She didn't like at all the book.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: She **didn't likes** the book at all.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: She didn't like the book.
PI19: Wrong: She didn't like at all the book.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: She didn't at all like the book.

PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: She **don't like** the book at all.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: She didn't like the book.
PI33: Wrong: She **don't like** the book at all.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **forgets**
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: Martha **never forgetting** her homework.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Wrong: Martha **didn't forget** her homework.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Wrong: **forgets**
PI18: Right.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
PI22: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: Martha never **forgets** her homework.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(20) We will not go home if don't finish the homework.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: We **won't go** home **if don't** finish the homework.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Wrong: We **will go at home if don't finish** the homework.
PI8: Wrong: We **won't go at home if don't finish** the homework.
PI9: Wrong: We **don't will go home if don't finish** the homework.
PI10: Wrong: We **will not going to home if don't finish** the homework.

PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Wrong: We won't go home **if didn't finish** the homework.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: We will not go home **if the homework don't finish.**
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: **If we don't finish the homework we don't going home.**
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: We will not go home **if we don't finish the homework.**
PI22: Not Sure.
PI23: Not Sure.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Not Sure.
PI27: Wrong: We will not go home **if we don't finish the homework.**
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: **We not will go home if don't finish the homework.**
PI30: Wrong: We won't go home **if we don't finish** the homework.
PI31: Wrong: We **won't go** home **if don't finish** the homework.
PI32: Wrong: We **won't go** home **if don't finish** the homework.
PI33: Wrong: We **don't go** home **if don't finish** the homework.

(21) *It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **Liz was surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI3: Wrong: **Liz surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: **She couldn't pass the exam because it surprised.**
PI9: Wrong: **Liz surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: **It surprise Liz** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Wrong: **Liz is surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI14: Wrong: **Liz was surprised** because she couldn't pass the exam.
PI15: Wrong: **It surprised that Liz** couldn't pass the exam.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Wrong: **Liz surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI8: Wrong: **She surprised** because she think that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: **Liz had surprise** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI22: Wrong: **She surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Wrong: **Liz it's surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Wrong: **Liz was surprised** that she couldn't pass the exam.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

PI1: Wrong: **He said: "Are dangerous the rainforests?"**
PI2: Wrong: **It said that…**
PI3: Wrong: **She** said that…
PI4: Wrong: **It said that…**
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: **They** said that…
PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: **Is said that rainforests are in dangerous.**
PI11: Wrong: **He is said** that rainforests are in danger.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Wrong: **He/She said** that…
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Wrong: **Rainforests are in danger.**
PI17: Wrong: **It is sad that** rainforests are in danger?
PI18: Wrong: **He said** that the rainforests are in danger.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Wrong: **She say** that rainforests are in danger.
PI23: Wrong: **He is said that** rainforests are in danger.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Not Sure.
PI26: Wrong: **He/she is said** that rainforests are in danger.
PI27: Wrong: **It said** that rainforests are in danger.
PI28: Not Sure.
PI29: Wrong: **It is said** that rainforests are in danger.
PI30: Wrong: **He/She** said that rainforests are in danger.
PI31: Wrong: **He** said that rainforests are in danger.
PI32: Wrong: **They** said that rainforests are in danger.
PI33: Right.

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: My sister loves apples but she eats one every day.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: My sister likes apples…
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: My sister loves apples, she eats an apple every day.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.

PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: …going to a trip…
PI3: Right.
PI4: Wrong: It seems that we will go…
PI5: Right.
PI6: Ø
PI7: Right.
PI8: Wrong: It seems that we are going to go a trip next week.
PI9: Wrong: It seems that we will go…
PI10: Right.
PI11: Not Sure.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Wrong: It seems that we will go on a trip next week.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: I think that we going to trip next week.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Wrong: **It seem** that we are going on a trip next week.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Wrong: **He/she seems** that we are going on a trip next week.
PI27: Wrong: **We seem** that we are going on a trip next week.
PI28: Wrong: **He/She/We seems** that we are going on a trip next week.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Wrong: It seems that we will go on a trip next week.
PI32: Wrong: It seems that we are going to do a trip next week.
PI33: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

PI1: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
PI2: Wrong: …said **they** had a dog.
PI3: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
PI4: Wrong: **Our French teacher had a dog.**
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.

PI8: Wrong: …said that **she** has a dog.
PI9: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: …**said has a dog.**
PI13: Wrong: …said **he/she** had a dog.
PI14: Wrong: …said **she** has a dog.
PI15: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
PI16: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
PI17: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
PI18: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **he** had a dog.
PI19: Wrong: Our French teacher said **he** had a dog.
PI20: Wrong: Our French teacher **said that had a dog.**
PI21: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **he** had a dog.
PI22: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **she** had a dog.
PI23: Wrong: Our French teacher **had said a dog.**
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Not Sure.
PI27: Wrong: Our French teacher said **she** had a dog.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **she** had a dog.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: Our French teacher said that **he** had a dog.
PI33: Right.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
PI3: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: …why **complain the students.**
PI12: Wrong: …why **she did complain the students.**
PI13: Wrong: …why **complained to the students.**
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
PI17: Wrong. …why **the students complained.**
PI18: Wrong: She didn't explain why **she complained the students.**
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Not Sure.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Not Sure.

PI32: Wrong: She didn't explain why **she complained the students.**
PI33: Right.

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Wrong: Ian helped his younger sister…
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Right.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: Ian was helping his little sister with her homework.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Wrong: Ian helped to his little sister with her homework.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Not Sure.
PI10: Not Sure.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: **Who the teacher did say that was ill?**
PI13: Wrong: **Who did the teacher say that it was ill?**
PI14: Wrong: **Who said the teacher that was ill?**
PI15: Not Sure.
PI16: Wrong: **Who did the teacher say that I was ill?**
PI17: Wrong: **Who did say that the teacher was ill?**
PI18: Not Sure.

PI19: Wrong: **Who said the teacher that was ill?**
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: **Who did the teacher say that he was ill?**
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Not Sure.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Not Sure.
PI31: Not Sure.
PI32: Wrong: **Who said that the teacher was ill?**
PI33: Wrong: **Who did the teacher said that was ill?**

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: **They cried the baby** all night long.
PI3: Wrong: **The baby cried** all long night.
PI4: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI5: Wrong: **All night long the baby cried.**
PI6: Not Sure.
PI7: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI8: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI9: Wrong: **The baby was cried** all night long.
PI10: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI11: Wrong: Cried the baby all long night.
PI12: Wrong: Cried the baby all long night.
PI13: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: **The baby is cried** all night long.
PI16: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI17: Not Sure.
PI18: Wrong: All night **she** cried.
PI19: Wrong: Cried the baby all long night.
PI20: Not Sure.
PI21: Wrong: **The baby was crying** all night long.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI24: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI25: Not Sure.
PI26: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI27: Wrong: **Cried the baby all night a lot.**
PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI30: Wrong: All night **the baby cried.**
PI31: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI32: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
PI33: Wrong: **The baby crieds** for a long night.

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.

PI6: Wrong: Mike usually **go** to school at 8 am.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: Usually Mike **go** to school at 8 am.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: Mike **usually is going** to school at 8 am.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Right.
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: Mike usually goes to school at 8 am.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Wrong: Mike usually goes to school at 8 am.
PI33: Right.

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

PI1: Ø
PI2: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI3: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
PI4: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI7: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: There arrived **two news** students.
PI11: Wrong: **Two new students there arrived.**
PI12: Wrong: **There are arrived** two new students.
PI13: Wrong: **There are arrived** two new students.
PI14: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI15: Wrong: **There are two new students arrived.**
PI16: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived.**
PI17: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
PI18: Wrong: **There are** two new students.
PI19: Wrong: **There is arrived** two new students.
PI20: Wrong: **There have arrive** two new students.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Not Sure.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Wrong: **Have arrived two new students.**
PI25: Wrong: **They arrived two new students.**
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.

PI29: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
PI30: Not Sure.
PI31: Right.
PI32: Not Sure.
PI33: Wrong: **There were arrived two new students.**

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

PI1: Wrong: Finally **he** decided…and **he** had a lot of fun.
PI2: Wrong: Finally **we** decided going to the party and had a lot of fun.
PI3: Wrong: **He/I**… finally decided…
PI4: Wrong: Finally **he/she** decided…
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…
PI8: Wrong: **They** finally decided…
PI9: Wrong: Finally decided go to the party…
PI10: Right.
PI11: Not Sure.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Wrong: Finally **he/she** decided…
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: Finally **we are to go to** the party decided and…
PI16: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…and **we** had a lot of fun.
PI17: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…
PI18: Wrong: Finally **we** decided go to the party and **we** fun during the night.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and **its** had a lot of fun.
PI21: Wrong: Finally **I** decided to go to the party and **I** had a lot of fun.
PI22: Wrong: Finally **I** decided to go to the party and **I** had a lot of fun.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Right.
PI25: Not Sure.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Wrong: Finally decided go to the party and had a lot of fun.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and funnied a lot.
PI31: Wrong: Finally decided to went to the party and had a lot of fun.
PI32: Wrong: Wrong: Finally **they** decided to go to the party and **they** had a lot of fun.
PI33: Right.

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: Who do you think **that is going to** win the game?
PI3: Right.
PI4: Right.
PI5: Not Sure.
PI6: Wrong: **What** do you think that will win the game?
PI7: Wrong: **Who do you think that I** will win the game?
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Wrong: Who **did** you think that will win the game?
PI11: Wrong: Who do you think that **will won** the game?
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: **Who do you think that the game win?**
PI16: Wrong: **Who do you think that will the game win?**

PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: **In your opinion, who wins the game?**
PI19: Right.
PI20: Wrong: Who doing are you think?
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Wrong: **Do you think that will win the game?**
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Not Sure.
PI30: Not Sure.
PI31: Wrong: **Who do you think that won the game?**
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

PI1: Wrong: These days **it's** raining a lot.
PI2: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot…
PI3: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot this days.
PI4: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot this days.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
PI8: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
PI9: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot…
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Wrong: Is raining these days a lot.
PI13: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot…
PI14: Not Sure.
PI15: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot…
PI16: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
PI17: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
PI18: Wrong: **These days rains a lot.**
PI19: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
PI22: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
PI27: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
PI28: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Wrong: These days **it's** raining a lot.
PI31: Wrong: **He** is raining a lot these days.
PI32: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot these days.
PI33: Wrong: Is raining for a lot of days.

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Right.
PI3: Right.

PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Wrong: We will be late **if now don't take the train.**
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Right.
PI12: Right.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Right.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Wrong: If we don't take the train, we arrive late.
PI19: Right.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Right.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.
PI28: Right.
PI29: Right.
PI30: Right.
PI31: Wrong: We will be late if we won't take the train.
PI32: Wrong: We going to be late if we don't take the train.
PI33: Right.

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

PI1: Right.
PI2: Wrong: He didn't know when the class starts.
PI3: Wrong: **…when started the class.**
PI4: Right.
PI5: Right.
PI6: Right.
PI7: Right.
PI8: Right.
PI9: Right.
PI10: Right.
PI11: Wrong: He didn't know when the class start.
PI12: Wrong: He didn't knows when the class started.
PI13: Right.
PI14: Wrong: He didn't know when the class start.
PI15: Right.
PI16: Right.
PI17: Right.
PI18: Right.
PI19: Not Sure.
PI20: Right.
PI21: Wrong: He didn't know when the class will be start.
PI22: Right.
PI23: Ø
PI24: Right.
PI25: Right.
PI26: Right.
PI27: Right.

PI28: Right.
PI29: Wrong: He didn't know **when started the class.**
PI30: Wrong: He didn't know **when start the class.**
PI31: Right.
PI32: Right.
PI33: Right.

Transcription L2 English Adult Intermediate (British Council) N= 27 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

FC1: Wrong: There are…
FC2: Wrong: There are…
FC3: Wrong: There are…
FC4: Wrong: There are…
FC5: Wrong: There are…
FC6: Wrong: There are…
FC7: Wrong: There are…
FC8: Wrong: There are…
FC9: Wrong: There are…
FC10: Wrong: There are…
FC11: Wrong: There are…
FC12: Wrong: There are…
FC13: Wrong: There are…
FC14: Wrong: There are…
FC15: Wrong: There are…
FC16: Wrong: There are…
FC17: Wrong: There are…
FC18: Wrong: There are…
FC19: Wrong: There are…
FC20: Wrong: There are…
FC21: Wrong: There are…
FC22: Wrong: There are…
FC23: Wrong: There are…
FC24: Wrong: There are…
FC25: Wrong: There are…
FC26: Wrong: There are…
FC27: Wrong: There are…

(2) Who did you say that came late?

FC1: Right.
FC2: Wrong: **Who say you that came late?**
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: Who did you say that **come** late?
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: **Who say that you came late?**
FC9: Wrong: **Who did you say that is coming late?**
FC10: Not Sure.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Not Sure.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: **Who did you say that it came late?**
FC16: Wrong: **Who did you say that I came late?**
FC17: Wrong: **Why did you come late?**
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: Who did you say that **come** late?
FC20: Not Sure.
FC21: Wrong: **Who did you say that he came late?**

FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Wrong: **Who did you say that would come late?**
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: **Who did you say that had come late?**

(3) *My cousins came back from London yesterday.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Right.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

FC1: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC4: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC5: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC6: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC7: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC10: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC11: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC12: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC13: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC14: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC17: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC18: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC19: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC20: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC21: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.

FC22: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC23: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC26: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
FC27: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

FC1: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC2: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC6: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC7: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC8: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC11: Right.
FC12: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC17: Right.
FC18: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC19: Not Sure.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC22: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC23: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC24: Wrong: **It** seems…
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: **It** seems…

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Not Sure.
FC10: Wrong: There are two music's teachers in the school.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: There are two teachers of music in the school.

FC20: Right.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC7: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC8: Not Sure.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: They went to a birthday's party…
FC11: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** enjoyed it a lot.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: They went to a birthday party and **they** were fun.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

FC1: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Not Sure.
FC5: Not Sure.
FC6: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC7: Right.
FC8: Not Sure.
FC9: Wrong: **It was surprising that…**
FC10: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC11: Right.
FC12: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC15: Not Sure.
FC16: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC17: Wrong: **It** surprised me…

FC18: Wrong: **I was surprised** because everyone came to the meeting.
FC19: Wrong: **I'm** surprised because everyone came to the meeting.
FC20: Wrong: **I was surprised** that everyone came to the party.
FC21: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC22: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC23: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC24: Wrong: **I was surprised** because everyone came to the meeting.
FC25: Wrong: **It had surprised me…**
FC26: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
FC27: Wrong: **That everyone came to the meeting surprised me**.

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

FC1: Right.
FC2: Not Sure.
FC3: Wrong: …when **the class has finished.**
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: They didn't know **when was finish the class.**
FC7: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC8: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC9: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC10: Wrong: …when **did they finish the class.**
FC11: Wrong: …when **they finished the class.**
FC12: Wrong: …when **finish the class.**
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC15: Wrong: They don't know when finished the class.
FC16: Wrong: …when **they finished the class.**
FC17: Wrong: …when **the class is over.**
FC18: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC19: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC20: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC21: Right.
FC22: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
FC25: Wrong: …when would finished the class.
FC26: Wrong: …when **the class finish.**
FC27: Wrong: …when **they will finished the class.**

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

FC1: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC2: Not Sure.
FC3: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC4: Wrong: **She/He** walks…
FC5: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC6: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC7: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC8: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC9: Wrong: **She** walks…
FC10: Wrong: **I** walk…
FC11: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC12: Right.
FC13: Wrong: **He** walks…
FC14: Wrong: **She** walks…
FC15: Right.

FC16: Wrong: **He** walks…
FC17: Wrong: **He** walks…
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: **He** walks…
FC20: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC21: Wrong: **I** walk…
FC22: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC23: Wrong: **She** walks…
FC24: Wrong: **Goes** to school every morning at 8.30.
FC25: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
FC26: Wrong: **He** walks…
FC27: Wrong: **He/She** walks…

(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: Jane likes football **and she** plays in a team every day.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC9: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC10: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC11: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC15: Wrong: Jane likes football, **she play** in a team every day.
FC16: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC17: Wrong: Jane likes playing football. Plays in a team every day.
FC18: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC19: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC20: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC21: Right.
FC22: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC23: Wrong: Jane likes football, that is why **she** plays in a team every day.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC26: Wrong: …**She** plays…
FC27: Right.

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

FC1: Wrong: **Last winter snowed very little.**
FC2: Wrong: It snowed very few last winter.
FC3: Wrong: **Last winter snowed very little.**
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: It snowed very few last winter.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: It snowed very few last winter.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: It snowed very few last winter.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Wrong: It was snowing very little last winter.
FC13: Wrong: It snowed a little last winter.
FC14: Right.

FC15: Wrong: It snowed very few last winter.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Wrong: It snowed not so much last winter.
FC19: Not Sure.
FC20: Not Sure.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Wrong: It snowed not a lot last winter.
FC24: Wrong: It snowed a little bit last winter.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Not Sure.
FC27: Wrong: It snowed a little last winter.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

FC1: Wrong: wait
FC2: Wrong: wait
FC3: Wrong: wait
FC4: Wrong: wait
FC5: Wrong: wait
FC6: Wrong: wait
FC7: Wrong: wait
FC8: Wrong: wait
FC9: Wrong: wait
FC10: Wrong: wait
FC11: Wrong: wait
FC12: Wrong: wait
FC13: Wrong: wait
FC14: Wrong: wait
FC15: Wrong: He didn't waited me!
FC16: Wrong: wait
FC17: Wrong: wait
FC18: Wrong: wait
FC19: Wrong: wait
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: wait
FC22: Wrong: wait
FC23: Wrong: wait
FC24: Wrong: wait
FC25: Wrong: wait
FC26: Wrong: wait
FC27: Wrong: wait.

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Not Sure.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Wrong: **Who do you think that will arrive first?**
FC6: Not Sure.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: Who do you think is going to arrive first?
FC11: Right.
FC12: Not Sure.

FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: Why do you think will arrive first?
FC16: Wrong: **Who do you think that will arrive first?**
FC17: Wrong: **Who do you think that will arrive first?**
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Not Sure.
FC21: Wrong: **Who do you think that will arrive first?**
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

FC1: Wrong: **My sister** has come…
FC2: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC3: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC4: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC5: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC6: Wrong: Has come my sister from United States yet.
FC7: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC8: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC9: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC10: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC11: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC12: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC13: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC14: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC17: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC18: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC19: Wrong: **Today, has come my sister…**
FC20: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC21: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC22: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC23: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC24: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC25: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC26: Wrong: My sister has come…
FC27: Wrong: **Has come my sister from the US?**

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

FC1: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC2: Right.
FC3: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC4: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC5: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC6: Wrong: **It was appear a dinosaur** in the playground.
FC7: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC8: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC9: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC10: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…

FC11: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC12: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur** in the playground.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur** in the playground.
FC17: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
FC18: Wrong: **In the playground appeared** a dinosaur.
FC19: Wrong: **Yesterday, appeared** a dinosaur…
FC20: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC21: Wrong: **It appeared** a dinosaur…
FC22: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC23: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC24: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC25: Not Sure.
FC26: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…
FC27: Wrong: **A dinosaur** appeared…

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

FC1: Wrong: **finished**
FC2: Wrong: finished
FC3: Wrong: finished
FC4: Wrong: finished
FC5: Wrong: finished
FC6: Wrong: finished
FC7: Wrong: finished
FC8: Wrong: finished
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: finished
FC11: Wrong: We finish our class project last week.
FC12: Wrong: finished
FC13: Wrong: finished
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: finished
FC16: Right.
FC17: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
FC18: Wrong: finished
FC19: Wrong: finished
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: finished
FC22: Wrong: finished
FC23: Wrong: finished
FC24: Wrong: finished
FC25: Wrong: finished
FC26: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
FC27: Right.

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Not Sure.

FC9: Not Sure.
FC10: Right.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Not Sure.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: She didn't like the book so much.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

FC1: Wrong: **forgets**
FC2: Wrong: forgets
FC3: Wrong: forgets
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: forgets
FC9: Wrong: forgets
FC10: Wrong: forgets
FC11: Right.
FC12: Wrong: forgets
FC13: Wrong: forgets
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Not Sure.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Wrong: forgets
FC19: Right.
FC20: Wrong: forgets
FC21: Right.
FC22: Wrong: forgets
FC23: Wrong: forgets
FC24: Right.
FC25: Wrong: forgets
FC26: Wrong: forgets
FC27: Wrong: forgets

(20) We will not go home if don't finish the homework.

FC1: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC2: Right.
FC3: Wrong: **We won't go home if don't finish…**
FC4: Wrong: **We won't go home if don't finish…**
FC5: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC6: Wrong: …if **we** don't…

FC7: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC8: Wrong: …if **we/you** don't…
FC9: Wrong: If **we** don't finish the homework we wouldn't go home.
FC10: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
FC11: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC12: Right.
FC13: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC14: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
FC17: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC18: Wrong: **We won't go home if don't finish the homework.**
FC19: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC20: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC21: Right.
FC22: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
FC25: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC26: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
FC27: Wrong: …if **you** don't…

(21) *It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Not Sure.
FC3: Not Sure.
FC4: Not Sure.
FC5: Not Sure.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Wrong: **Failing the exam surprised Liz a lot.**
FC10: Right.
FC11: Wrong: **Surprised Liz that…**
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Not Sure.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Wrong: **Couldn't pass the exam was a surprise for Liz.**
FC19: Right.
FC20: Wrong: Liz was surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: It surprised to Liz that…
FC25: Not Sure.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: That she couldn't pass the exam surprised Liz.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

FC1: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC2: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC3: Not Sure.
FC4: Wrong: **He** said that…

FC5: Wrong: **He** said that…
FC6: Right.
FC7: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC8: Wrong: **It said** that…
FC9: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC10: Wrong: **It is** said that…/They said that…
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC14: Wrong: **He** said that…
FC15: Wrong: **They** said that rainforest is in danger.
FC16: Wrong: **He** said that…
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC20: Wrong: **It** said that…
FC21: Wrong: **People** said that…
FC22: Wrong: **It is** said that…
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: **It's** said that…
FC25: Not Sure.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: **It is** said that…

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Wrong: My sister **love** apples…
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: My sister loves apples **and** she eats one every day.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Right.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: My sister **love** apples so she **eat** one every day.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Wrong: My sister **love** apples so she eats one every day.
FC19: Wrong: …the apples…
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: …so she eats once a day.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

FC1: Wrong: It seems that we are going for a trip next week.
FC2: Right.

FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: It seems that we'll go on a trip next week.
FC11: Wrong: **Seems that we are…**
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Wrong: It seems that we will go on a trip next week.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: It seems that we will go on a trip next week.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: It seems that we are going on trip next week.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: It seems that we are going on trip next week.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: It seems that we're going to do a trip next week.
FC25: Not Sure (preposition 'on').
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

FC1: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
FC2: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
FC3: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
FC4: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
FC5: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
FC6: Wrong: …said that **he/she** had a dog.
FC7: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
FC8: Wrong: …said **he/she** had a dog.
FC9: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC10: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC11: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
FC12: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC13: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
FC14: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC15: Wrong: **Our French teacher has a dog.**
FC16: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC17: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC18: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
FC19: Wrong: …said that **she** had a dog.
FC20: Wrong: …said us **she** had a dog.
FC21: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.
FC22: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
FC23: Wrong: …said **he/she** had a dog.
FC24: Wrong: …said (that) **he** had a dog.
FC25: Wrong: …said that **he** had had a dog.
FC26: Wrong: …said **he** had a dog.
FC27: Wrong: …said that **he** had a dog.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

FC1: Right.

FC2: Wrong: …why **the students had complained.**
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: She didn't explain us why complained the students.
FC7: Wrong: …why **the students have complained.**
FC8: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
FC9: Wrong: …why were the students complaining about.
FC10: Wrong: …why did she complain the students.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: …why **she complained the students.**
FC17: Not Sure.
FC18: Wrong: …why **the students was complained.**
FC19: Wrong: …why **she complained the students.**
FC20: Not Sure.
FC21: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
FC22: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
FC23: Wrong: …why **she complained the students.**
FC24: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
FC25: Not Sure.
FC26: Not Sure.
FC27: Right.

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: Ian helped his young sister with her homework.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Right.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Wrong: Ian helped to his little sister…
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Not Sure.
FC22: Wrong: Ian helped his young sister with her homework.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

FC1: Not Sure.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Wrong: **Who did say that the teacher was ill?**
FC4: Wrong: **Who did say the teacher that was ill?**
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: **Who said that the teacher was ill?**
FC9: Not Sure.
FC10: Wrong: Who did the teacher said that was ill?
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Not Sure.
FC14: Wrong: **Who did the teacher say that he was ill?**
FC15: Not Sure.
FC16: Wrong: **Who said the teacher that was ill?**
FC17: Wrong: **Did the teacher say that she was ill?**
FC18: Wrong: **Who said the teacher was ill?**
FC19: Right.
FC20: Not Sure.
FC21: Wrong: Who did to the teacher say that I was ill?
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: **Who did say that the teacher was ill?**
FC25: Wrong: **Who did say that the teacher was ill?**
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

FC1: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC2: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC3: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC4: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC5: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC6: Wrong: **The baby was crying** all night long.
FC7: Wrong: **He cried the baby** all night long.
FC8: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC9: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC10: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC11: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC14: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC15: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC16: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC17: Wrong: **The baby have cried** all night long.
FC18: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC19: Wrong: **The baby was crying** all night long.
FC20: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC21: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC22: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC23: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC24: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC25: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC26: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
FC27: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: Mike usually **go** to school at 8 am.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC9: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC10: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC11: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC12: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Wrong: Mike usually **goed** to school at 8am.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Wrong: Mike usually **goes** to school at 8am.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

FC1: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
FC2: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived.**
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: **There were arrive** two new students last week.
FC7: Not Sure.
FC8: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
FC9: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived there.**
FC10: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
FC11: Right.
FC12: Not Sure.
FC13: Wrong: **There were arrive two new students.**
FC14: Wrong: **Yesterday arrived two new students.**
FC15: Not Sure.
FC16: Wrong: **Last week arrived two new students.**
FC17: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived.**
FC18: Wrong: **Two new students has arrived.**
FC19: Wrong: **There are arrived two new students.**
FC20: Wrong: **There are arriving two new students.**
FC21: Wrong: **Two new students had arrived.**
FC22: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived.**
FC23: Wrong: **Two new students arrived there.**
FC24: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Wrong: **There were arrived two new students.**

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

FC1: Wrong: **He** finally decided…
FC2: Right.
FC3: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…and **I** had a lot of fun.
FC4: Wrong: Finally **he/she** decided…
FC5: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…and **I** had a lot of fun.
FC6: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…
FC7: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…
FC8: Wrong: Finally **they/she** decided…and **they/she** had a lot of fun.
FC9: Wrong: **I** finally decided…
FC10: Wrong: **They** finally decided…
FC11: Wrong: Finally **I/you/she/he/we/they** decided…
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…and **they** had a lot of fun.
FC15: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…
FC16: Wrong: Finally decided to go to the party **and she** had a lot of fun.
FC17: Ø
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: Finally **he** decided…
FC20: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…
FC21: Wrong: Finally **he/she** decided…and **he/she** enjoyed it.
FC22: Wrong: Finally **we** decided…
FC23: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…and **I** had a lot of fun.
FC24: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…
FC25: Wrong: Finally **I** decided…
FC26: Wrong: **He** finally decided…
FC27: Wrong: Finally **he** decided…

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

FC1: Right.
FC2: Not Sure.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Not Sure.
FC10: Wrong: Who do you think that is going to win the game?
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Wrong: Why do you think that will win the game?
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Wrong: **Who do you think is going to win the game?**
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

FC1: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
FC2: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC3: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC4: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC5: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC6: Right.
FC7: Wrong: It's raining a lot …
FC8: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC9: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC10: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC11: Wrong: It has been raining a lot…
FC12: Wrong: It was raining a lot…
FC13: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC14: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC15: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC16: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC17: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC18: Right.
FC19: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC20: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC21: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC22: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC23: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC24: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
FC25: Right.
FC26: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
FC27: Wrong: It's raining a lot…

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

FC1: Right.
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Wrong: We will be late if we won't take the train.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Wrong: If we didn't take the train we would be late.
FC10: Right.
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Right.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Right.
FC21: Not Sure.
FC22: Right.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Right.
FC27: Right.

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

FC1: Wrong: …when **started the class.**
FC2: Right.
FC3: Right.
FC4: Right.
FC5: Right.
FC6: Right.
FC7: Right.
FC8: Right.
FC9: Right.
FC10: Wrong: He didn't know when **did the class start.**
FC11: Right.
FC12: Right.
FC13: Right.
FC14: Right.
FC15: Right.
FC16: Wrong: …when the class start.
FC17: Right.
FC18: Right.
FC19: Right.
FC20: Wrong: …when the class starts.
FC21: Right.
FC22: Wrong: …when the class had started.
FC23: Right.
FC24: Right.
FC25: Right.
FC26: Wrong: …when the class starts.
FC27: Right.

Transcription L2 English Adult Advanced (British Council) N= 31 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

P1: Wrong: **There are…**
P2: Wrong: There are…
P3: Wrong: There are…
P4: Wrong: There are…
P5: Wrong: There are…
P6: Wrong: There are…
P7: Wrong: There are…
P8: Wrong: There are…
P9: Wrong: There are…
P10: Wrong: **Are there five American students in my class?**
P11: Wrong: There are…
P12: Wrong: There are…
P13: Wrong: There are…
P14: Wrong: There are…
P15: Wrong: There are…
P16: Wrong: There are…
P17: Wrong: There are…
P18: Wrong: There are…
P19: Wrong: In my class **there are…**
P20: Wrong: There are…
P21: Wrong: There are…
P22: Wrong: There are…
P23: Wrong: There are…
P24: Wrong: There are…
P25: Wrong: There are…
P26: Wrong: There are…
P27: Wrong: There are…
P28: Wrong: There are…
P29: Wrong: There are…
P30: Wrong: There are…
P31: Wrong: There are…

(2) Who did you say that came late?

P1: Wrong: **Who did you say would come late?**
P2: Wrong: **Did you say who came late?**
P3: Not Sure.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: Who did you say that had come late?
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Not Sure.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Wrong: Who did you say who came late?
P15: Not Sure.
P16: Wrong: Who did you say that had come late?
P17: Right.
P18: Wrong: Ø
P19: Right.

P20: Not Sure.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: Who did you say **it** came late?
P23: Wrong: Who did you say who was late?
P24: Right.
P25: Not Sure.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: Who did you say **it** came late?
P30: Wrong: **Who did come late?**
P31: Right.

(3) *My cousins came back from London yesterday.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

P1: Wrong: …because **she** works…
P2: Wrong: …because she works…
P3: Wrong: …because she works…
P4: Wrong: …because she works…
P5: Wrong: …because she works…
P6: Wrong: …because she works…
P7: Wrong: …because she works…
P8: Wrong: …because she works…
P9: Wrong: …because she works…
P10: Wrong: …because she works…

P11: Wrong: …because she works…
P12: Wrong: …because she works…
P13: Wrong: …because she works…
P14: Wrong: …because she works…
P15: Wrong: …because she works…
P16: Wrong: …because she works…
P17: Wrong: …because she works…
P18: Wrong: …because she works…
P19: Wrong: …because she works…
P20: Wrong: …because she works…
P21: Wrong: …because she works…
P22: Wrong: …because she works…
P23: Right.
P24: Wrong: …because she works…
P25: Wrong: …because she works…
P26: Wrong: …because she works…
P27: Wrong: …because she works…
P28: Wrong: …because she works…
P29: Wrong: …because she works…
P30: Wrong: …because she works…
P31: Wrong: …because she works…

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

P1: Wrong: **It seems…**
P2: Wrong: It seems…
P3: Wrong: It seems…
P4: Wrong: It seems…
P5: Wrong: It seems…
P6: Wrong: It seems…
P7: Wrong: It seems…
P8: Wrong: It seems…
P9: Wrong: It seems…
P10: Wrong: It seems…
P11: Wrong: It seems…
P12: Wrong: It seems…
P13: Wrong: It seems…
P14: Wrong: It seems…
P15: Wrong: It seems…
P16: Wrong: It seems…
P17: Right.
P18: Wrong: It seems…
P19: Wrong: It seems…
P20: Wrong: It seems…
P21: Wrong: It seems…
P22: Wrong: It seems…
P23: Wrong: It seems…
P24: Wrong: It seems…
P25: Wrong: It seems…
P26: Wrong: It seems…
P27: Wrong: It seems…
P28: Wrong: It seems…
P29: Wrong: It seems…
P30: Wrong: It seems…
P31: Wrong: It seems…

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

P1: Right.

P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: There are two teachers of music in the school.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Not Sure.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

P1: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
P2: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
P23: Right.
P24: Not Sure.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.

P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Wrong: …and **they** had a lot of fun.
P31: Right.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

P1: Wrong: **It surprised me…**
P2: Wrong: It surprised me…
P3: Wrong: It surprised me…
P4: Wrong: It surprised me…
P5: Wrong: It surprised to me…
P6: Wrong: It surprised me…
P7: Wrong: I was surprised that…
P8: Wrong: It surprised me…
P9: Wrong: It surprised me…
P10: Wrong: It surprised me…
P11: Wrong: It surprised me…
P12: Wrong: It surprised me…
P13: Wrong: It surprised me…
P14: Not Sure.
P15: Wrong: It surprised me…
P16: Wrong: It surprised me…
P17: Wrong: It surprised me…
P18: Wrong: **What surprised me was** that everyone…
P19: Wrong: What surprised me was that everyone…
P20: Wrong: What surprised me is that everyone…
P21: Wrong: **I was surprised** because everyone came to the meeting.
P22: Wrong: It surprised me…
P23: Wrong: It surprised me…
P24: Wrong: It surprised me…
P25: Wrong: It surprised me…
P26: Wrong: **The fact that everyone came to the meeting surprised me.**
P27: Wrong: It surprised me…
P28: Wrong: It surprised me…
P29: Wrong: **It was surprising for me** that everyone came to the meeting.
P30: Wrong: It surprised me…
P31: Wrong: It surprised me…

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

P1: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
P2: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P3: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P4: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P5: Wrong: …when the class was finished.
P6: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P7: Wrong: …**when was the class going to finish.**
P8: Wrong: …when **they finished the class.**
P9: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P10: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P11: Wrong: …when the class had finished.
P12: Wrong: …when they finished the class.
P13: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P14: Wrong: …**when was going to finish the class.**
P15: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P16: Wrong: …when **did the class finish.**

P17: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P18: Wrong: …when **did the class finish.**
P19: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P20: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P21: Wrong: …when the class should finish.
P22: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P23: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P24: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P25: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P26: Wrong: …when the class would finish.
P27: Right.
P28: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P29: Wrong: …when the class finished.
P30: Wrong: …when did the class finish.
P31: Wrong: …when the class finished.

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

P1: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
P2: Wrong: He/She walks…
P3: Wrong: He/She walks…
P4: Wrong: He/She walks…
P5: Wrong: He/She walks…
P6: Wrong: He walks…
P7: Wrong: He/She walks…
P8: Wrong: He/She walks…
P9: Wrong: He/She walks…
P10: Wrong: He walks…
P11: Wrong: He walks…
P12: Wrong: He walks…
P13: Wrong: He walks…
P14: Not Sure.
P15: Wrong: She/He goes to school…
P16: Wrong: He walks…
P17: Wrong: She walks…
P18: Wrong: She/He walks…
P19: Wrong: He/She walks…
P20: Wrong: He/She/It goes to school…
P21: Wrong: He walks…
P22: Wrong: He walks…
P23: Wrong: He/She walks…
P24: Wrong: He/She walks…
P25: Wrong: He/She walks…
P26: Not Sure.
P27: Wrong: He walks…
P28: Wrong: He walks…
P29: Wrong: He walks…
P30: Wrong: She walks…
P31: Wrong: He/She walks…

(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

P1: Wrong: …**She** plays…
P2: Wrong: …She plays…
P3: Wrong: …She plays…
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: …She plays…
P6: Wrong: …She plays…
P7: Wrong: …She plays…

P8: Wrong: …She plays…
P9: Wrong: …She plays…
P10: Wrong: …She plays…
P11: Wrong: …She plays…
P12: Wrong: …She plays…
P13: Wrong: …and plays…
P14: Wrong: Jane likes playing football. She plays…
P15: Wrong: …therefore she plays…
P16: Wrong: …She plays…
P17: Wrong: …She plays…
P18: Wrong: …She plays…
P19: Wrong: …She plays…
P20: Wrong: …She plays…
P21: Wrong: …She plays…
P22: Wrong: Jane likes football so much that she plays in a team every day.
P23: Not Sure.
P24: Wrong: …She plays…
P25: Wrong: …She plays…
P26: Wrong: …She plays…
P27: Wrong: …She plays…
P28: Wrong: …She plays…
P29: Wrong: …She plays…
P30: Wrong: …She plays…
P31: Wrong: …She plays…

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

P1: Not Sure
P2: Right.
P3: Not Sure
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: Last winter it didn't snow very much.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Not Sure.
P26: Right.
P27: Not Sure.
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: It didn't snow much last winter.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

P1: Wrong: **wait**
P2: Wrong: wait
P3: Wrong: wait
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: wait
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: wait
P8: Wrong: wait
P9: Wrong: wait
P10: Wrong: wait
P11: Wrong: wait
P12: Wrong: wait
P13: Wrong: wait
P14: Wrong: wait
P15: Wrong: wait
P16: Wrong: wait
P17: Wrong: wait
P18: Right.
P19: Wrong: wait
P20: Wrong: wait
P21: Wrong: wait
P22: Wrong: wait
P23: Wrong: wait
P24: Wrong: wait
P25: Wrong: wait
P26: Wrong: wait
P27: Right.
P28: Wrong: wait
P29: Wrong: wait
P30: Wrong: wait
P31: Wrong: wait

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

P1: Not Sure
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Wrong: Who do you think **that will arrive the first?**
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: Who do you think **that will arrive first?**
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Wrong: Who do you think **that will arrive first?**
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: Who do you think **it will arrive first?**
P23: Right.

P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: Who do you think **it will arrive first?**
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

P1: Wrong: **My sister has come…**
P2: Wrong: My sister has come…
P3: Wrong: My sister has come…
P4: Wrong: My sister has come…
P5: Wrong: My sister has come…
P6: Wrong: My sister has come…
P7: Wrong: My sister has arrived from the USA.
P8: Wrong: My sister has come…
P9: Wrong: My sister has come…
P10: Wrong: My sister has come…
P11: Wrong: My sister has come…
P12: Wrong: My sister has come…
P13: Wrong: My sister has come…
P14: Wrong: My sister has come…
P15: Wrong: My sister has come…
P16: Wrong: My sister has come…
P17: Wrong: My sister has come…
P18: Wrong: My sister has come…
P19: Wrong: My sister has come…
P20: Wrong: My sister has come…
P21: Wrong: My sister has come…
P22: Wrong: My sister has come…
P23: Wrong: My sister has come…
P24: Wrong: **It has come my sister from the US**/My sister has come from the US.
P25: Wrong: My sister has come…
P26: Wrong: My sister has come…
P27: Wrong: My sister has come…
P28: Wrong: My sister has come…
P29: Wrong: My sister has come…
P30: Wrong: My sister has come…
P31: Wrong: My sister has come…

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

P1: Wrong: **A dinosaur appeared…**
P2: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P3: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P4: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P5: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur…**
P6: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P7: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P8: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P9: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P10: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P11: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P12: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P13: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P14: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…

P15: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P16: Wrong: **There appeared a dinosaur…**
P17: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P18: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur…**
P19: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P20: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P21: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur…**
P22: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P23: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P24: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur in the playground/A dinosaur appeared** in the playground.
P25: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P26: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P27: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P28: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P29: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
P30: Wrong: **It appeared a dinosaur…**
P31: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

P1: Wrong: We finish our class project last week.
P2: Wrong: We **finished** our class project last week.
P3: Wrong: …finished…
P4: Wrong: …finished…
P5: Wrong: …finished…
P6: Wrong: Next week we finish our class project.
P7: Wrong: …finished…
P8: Wrong: …finished…
P9: Wrong: …finished…
P10: Wrong: …finished…
P11: Wrong: …finished…
P12: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P13: Wrong: …finished…
P14: Wrong: …finished…
P15: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P16: Right.
P17: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P18: Wrong: …finished…
P19: Wrong: …finished…
P20: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P21: Wrong: …finished…
P22: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P23: Wrong: …finished…
P24: Wrong: …finished…
P25: Wrong: …had finished…
P26: Wrong: We finished our class project last week.
P27: Wrong: …finished…
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: …finished…
P30: Wrong: …finished…
P31: Right.

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.

P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

P1: Not Sure.
P2: Wrong: **forgets**
P3: Wrong: forgets
P4: Wrong: forgets
P5: Wrong: forgets
P6: Wrong: forgets
P7: Wrong: forgets
P8: Wrong: Martha never forget to do her homework.
P9: Right.
P10: Wrong: forgets
P11: Wrong: forgets
P12: Wrong: forgets
P13: Wrong: forgets
P14: Wrong: forgets
P15: Right.
P16: Wrong: forgets
P17: Wrong: forgets
P18: Wrong: forgets/has never forgotten
P19: Wrong: forgets
P20: Wrong: forgets
P21: Wrong: forgets
P22: Wrong: forgets
P23: Wrong: forgets
P24: Wrong: forgets
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Wrong: forgets
P28: Wrong: forgets
P29: Wrong: forgets
P30: Wrong: forgets
P31: Wrong: forgets

(20) We will not go home if don't finish the homework.

P1: Wrong: …if **we** don't …
P2: Wrong: …if we don't…
P3: Wrong: …if we don't…
P4: Wrong: …if we don't…
P5: Wrong: We will not be allowed to go home **until we have** finished the homework.
P6: Wrong: …if we don't…
P7: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
P8: Wrong: …if we don't…
P9: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
P10: Wrong: …if we don't…
P11: Wrong: …if we don't…
P12: Wrong: …if we don't…
P13: Wrong: …if we don't…
P14: Wrong: …if we don't…
P15: Wrong: …if we do not…
P16: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
P17: Wrong: …if we don't…
P18: Wrong: …if we don't…
P19: Wrong: We are not going to go home if we don't…
P20: Wrong: …if you don't…
P21: Wrong: …if we don't…
P22: Wrong: …if you don't…
P23: Wrong: …if you don't…
P24: Wrong: …if we don't…
P25: Right.
P26: Wrong: …if we don't…
P27: Wrong: …if you don't…
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: …if you don't…
P30: Wrong: …if you don't…
P31: Wrong: …if we don't…

(21) *It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.*

P1: Right.
P2: Wrong: The fact that she couldn't pass the exam surprised Liz.
P3: Wrong: Liz was surprised because she couldn't pass the exam.
P4: Wrong: It was surprising that Liz couldn't pass the exam.
P5: Wrong: Liz was surprised of not having passed the exam.
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: Liz was surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
P8: Right.
P9: Wrong: Liz was surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Wrong: Liz was surprised of her not passing the exam.
P14: Not Sure.
P15: Right.
P16: Wrong: Liz was surprised because…
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Wrong: Liz was so surprised that she couldn't pass the exam.
P21: Right.

P22: Wrong: Liz was surprised because she couldn't pass the exam.
P23: Right.
P24: Not Sure.
P25: Ø
P26: Wrong: Liz was surprised because she couldn't pass the exam.
P27: Wrong: The fact that she couldn't pass the exam surprised Liz.
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: Liz was surprised because she didn't pass the exam.
P30: Not Sure.
P31: Right.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

P1: Wrong: **It is said…**
P2: Wrong: It is said…
P3: Wrong: It is said…
P4: Wrong: It is said…
P5: Wrong: Is said that rainforests is in danger.
P6: Wrong: It is said…
P7: Wrong: It is said…
P8: Wrong: It is said…
P9: Wrong: It is said…
P10: Wrong: It is said…
P11: Wrong: It is said…
P12: Wrong: It is said…
P13: Wrong: It is said…
P14: Right.
P15: Wrong: It is said…
P16: Wrong: It is said…
P17: Wrong. It is said…
P18: Wrong: It is said…
P19: Wrong: It is said…
P20: Wrong: It is said…
P21: Wrong: It is said…
P22: Wrong: It has been said…
P23: Wrong: It is said that…
P24: Wrong: It is said that…
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Wrong: It is said that…
P28: Wrong: It is said that…
P29: Wrong: **Rainforests are said to be** in danger.
P30: Wrong: It is said that…
P31: Right.

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.

P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: My sister loves apples that's why she eats one every day.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

P1: Not Sure.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: It seems that we will go on a trip next week.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Not Sure.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Wrong: It seems that we'll go on a trip next week.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: It seems that next week we'll go on a trip.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Wrong: It seems that we'll go on a trip next week.
P31: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

P1: Wrong: …said **she** had a dog.
P2: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P3: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P4: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P5: Wrong: …said that he had a dog.
P6: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P7: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P8: Wrong: …said he/she had a dog.
P9: Wrong: …said to us that he/she had a dog.
P10: Wrong: …said that he/she had a dog.
P11: Wrong: …said that she had a dog.
P12: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P13: Wrong: …said that she had a dog.
P14: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P15: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P16: Wrong: …said that she had a dog.
P17: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P18: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P19: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P20: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P21: Wrong: …said that she had a dog.
P22: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P23: Wrong: …said he/she had a dog.
P24: Wrong: …said he had a dog.
P25: Wrong: …said that he had a dog.
P26: Wrong: …said that he/she had a dog.
P27: Wrong: …said that she had a dog.
P28: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P29: Wrong: Our French teacher told us that she had a dog.
P30: Wrong: …said she had a dog.
P31: Wrong: …said he had a dog.

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

P1: Wrong: She didn't explain why **she complained the students.**
P2: Wrong: …why did **the students complain.**
P3: Wrong: …why **she complained to the students.**
P4: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
P5: Wrong: …why the students complained about.
P6: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P7: Wrong: …why the students had complained.
P8: Wrong: …why she complained the students.
P9: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P10: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P11: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P12: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P13: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P14: Wrong: …why **did the students complained.**
P15: Wrong: …why **she complained about the students.**
P16: Wrong: …why **did the students complain.**
P17: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P18: Not Sure.
P19: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P20: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P21: Wrong: …why the students were complaining.
P22: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P23: Wrong: …why she complained the students.
P24: Wrong: …why she complained about the students.
P25: Wrong: She couldn't explain why the students had complained.
P26: Wrong: …why she had complained the students.

P27: Wrong: …why the students had complained.
P28: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P29: Wrong: She didn't explain **what the students complained about.**
P30: Wrong: …why the students complained.
P31: Wrong: …why she complained the students.

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

P1: Not Sure .
P2: Wrong: **Did the teacher say who was ill?**
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Not Sure.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Not Sure.
P16: Right.
P17: Wrong: **Who said the teacher that was ill?**

P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Not Sure.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: **Who did the teacher say it was ill?**
P23: Not Sure.
P24: Right.
P25: Not Sure.
P26: Wrong: **Who said the teacher that was ill?**
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Wrong: **Who said the teacher it was ill?**
P30: Right.
P31: Wrong: **Who said the teacher was ill?**

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

P1: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
P2: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P3: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P4: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P5: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P6: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P7: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P8: Wrong: The baby was crying all night long.
P9: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P10: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P11: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P12: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P13: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P14: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P15: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P16: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P17: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P18: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P19: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P20: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P21: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P22: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P23: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P24: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P25: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P26: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P27: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P28: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P29: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P30: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.
P31: Wrong: The baby cried all night long.

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.

P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Not Sure.
P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Wrong: …at school…
P26: Wrong: …at school…
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

P1: Wrong: **Two new students have arrived.**
P2: Wrong: **Two new students arrived.**
P3: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P4: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P5: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P8: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P9: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P10: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
P11: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P12: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
P13: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P14: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P15: Wrong: **There were two new students arrived.**
P16: Wrong: And then the two new students arrived.
P17: Not Sure.
P18: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P19: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P20: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P23: Wrong: Two new students have arrived.
P24: Right.
P25: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P26: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P27: Wrong: There had arrived two new students.
P28: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P29: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
P30: Right.
P31: Wrong: Two new students arrived.

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

P1: Wrong: **He/She** finally decided…
P2: Wrong: **I** finally decided …and **I** had a lot…
P3: Wrong: **We** finally decided…
P4: Wrong: **He** finally decided…
P5: Wrong: **He/She/They** decided…
P6: Wrong: **They** finally decided…
P7: Wrong: **He/She** finally decided…
P8: Wrong: Finally he/she/they decided…
P9: Wrong: Finally we decided…
P10: Wrong: Finally they decided…
P11: Wrong: Finally they decided…
P12: Wrong: He finally decided…
P13: Wrong: Finally I decided…
P14: Wrong: Finally **we** decided …and **we** had a lot of fun.
P15: Wrong: He/She finally decided…
P16: Wrong: **I** finally decided…and **I** had a lot of fun.
P17: Wrong: Finally she decided…
P18: Wrong: Finally we/they/she/he decided…
P19: Wrong: Finally she decided…
P20: Wrong: **She** finally decided…and **she** had a lot of fun.
P21: Wrong: Finally we decided…
P22: Wrong: **He/She** finally decided…where **she/he** had a lot of fun.
P23: Wrong: Finally I decided…
P24: Wrong: Finally **he** decided…and **he** had a lot of fun.
P25: Wrong: He/She/They finally decided…
P26: Wrong: Finally they decided…
P27: Wrong: Finally I decided…
P28: Wrong: **I** finally decided…and **I** had a lot of fun.
P29: Wrong: Finally they decided…
P30: Wrong: Finally **they** decided…and **they** had a lot of fun.
P31: Wrong: We finally decided…

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

P1: Not Sure
P2: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P6: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P10: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P11: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Wrong: **Who do you think is going to win the game?**
P15: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P16: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P23: Right.
P24: Right.

P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P29: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P30: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**
P31: Wrong: **Who do you think will win the game?**

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

P1: Wrong: **It's** raining…
P2: Wrong: It is raining…
P3: Wrong: These days it is raining a lot.
P4: Wrong: It is raining…
P5: Wrong: **These days is raining a lot.**
P6: Wrong: It is raining…
P7: Wrong: It's been raining a lot…
P8: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P9: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P10: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P11: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P12: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P13: Wrong: **These days is raining a lot.**
P14: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P15: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P16: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P17: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P18: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P19: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P20: Wrong: **A lot these days is raining.**
P21: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P22: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P23: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P24: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P25: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P26: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P27: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P28: Wrong: It's raining a lot…
P29: Wrong: It is raining a lot…
P30: Wrong: It's raining…
P31: Wrong: It is raining a lot…

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Right.
P4: Right.
P5: Right.
P6: Right.
P7: Right.
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Right.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Wrong: We are going to be late if we don't take the train.
P15: Right.

P16: Right.
P17: Right.
P18: Right.
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Right.
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Right.
P26: Right.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Right.
P31: Right.

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

P1: Right.
P2: Right.
P3: Wrong: …when the class had started.
P4: Right.
P5: Wrong: …when the class start.
P6: Right.
P7: Wrong: …when **was the class starting.**
P8: Right.
P9: Right.
P10: Right.
P11: Wrong: …when the class had started.
P12: Right.
P13: Right.
P14: Right.
P15: Right.
P16: Wrong: He didn't know it when the class started.
P17: Right.
P18: Wrong: …when **does the class start/when did the class start.**
P19: Right.
P20: Right.
P21: Right.
P22: Wrong: …when **did the class start.**
P23: Right.
P24: Right.
P25: Wrong: …when the class starts.
P26: Wrong: …when the class would started.
P27: Right.
P28: Right.
P29: Right.
P30: Wrong: …when the class had started.
P31: Right.

Transcription English Control Group (native speakers) N= 13 students

(1) Are five American students in my class.

NS1: Wrong: **There are**…
NS2: Wrong: **There are**…
NS3: Wrong: **There are**…
NS4: Wrong: **Are there** five…?
NS5: Wrong: **There are…**
NS6: Wrong: **Are there** five…?
NS7: Wrong: **There are**…
NS8: Wrong: **There are**…
NS9: Wrong: **There are**…
NS10: Wrong: **There are**…
NS11: Wrong: **There are**…
NS12: Wrong: **Are five American students in my class?**
NS13: Wrong: **Are five American students in my class?**

(2) Who did you say that came late?

NS1: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
NS2: Wrong: To whom **did you say/tell that you** came late?
NS3: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
NS4: Wrong: **Who came late?**
NS5: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
NS6: Wrong: **Who came late?**
NS7: Wrong: Who did you say was late?
NS8: Not Sure: Sounds strange.
NS9: Wrong: Who did you say came late?
NS10: Wrong: **Who was it you said came late?**
NS11: Wrong: Who arrived late?
NS12: Not Sure: **Who and That don't go together very well.**
NS13: Wrong: Who did you say came late?

(3) *My cousins came back from London yesterday.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Not Sure.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(4) My sister is always tired because works a lot.

NS1: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS2: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS3: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS4: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.

NS5: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS8: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS9: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS10: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS11: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS12: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.
NS13: Wrong: …because **she** works a lot.

(5) Seems that our students are working well.

NS1: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS2: OK for colloquial but Wrong for formal: **It** seems that…
NS3: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS4: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS5: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS6: Wrong: **It** seems as if our students are working well.
NS7: Wrong: **It** would seem that…
NS8: Right.
NS9: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS10: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS11: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS12: Wrong: **It** seems that…
NS13: Wrong: **It** seems that…

(6) *There are two music teachers in the school.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Not Sure.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(7) *They went to a birthday party and had a lot of fun.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(8) Surprised me that everyone came to the meeting.

NS1: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS2: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS3: Wrong: **I was** surprised that everyone…
NS4: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS5: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS6: Wrong: **I was** surprised that everyone…
NS7: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS8: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS9: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS10: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS11: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS12: Wrong: **It** surprised me…
NS13: Wrong: **I** was surprised that everyone…

(9) They didn't know when finished the class.

NS1: Wrong: …when **the class was finished.**
NS2: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS3: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS4: Wrong: …when **they had finished the class.**
NS5: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS6: Wrong: …when **the class was finished.**
NS7: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS8: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS9: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS10: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS11: Wrong: …when **the class was finished.**
NS12: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**
NS13: Wrong: …when **the class finished.**

(10) Walks to school every morning at 8.30.

NS1: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
NS2: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
NS3: Wrong: **She/He** walks…
NS4: Wrong: **She/He** walks…
NS5: Wrong: **She/He** walks…
NS6: Wrong: **She** walks…
NS7: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
NS8: Wrong: **She** walks…
NS9: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
NS10: Wrong: **He/She** walks…
NS11: Wrong: **He/She/It** walks…
NS12: Wrong: **Who** walks to school?
NS13: Wrong: **who?**

(11) Jane likes football. Plays in a team every day.

NS1: Wrong: …**She** plays…
NS2: OK for colloquial but Wrong for formal: …**She** plays…
NS3: Right.
NS4: Wrong: …and **she** plays…
NS5: Wrong: …**She** plays…
NS6: Wrong: …football so much **that she** plays on a team every day.
NS7: Wrong: …**and she** plays…
NS8: Wrong: …**She** plays…
NS9: Wrong: …**She** plays…

NS10: Wrong: …**She** plays…
NS11: Wrong: …**and** plays…
NS12: Wrong: …**She** plays…
NS13: Wrong: …**She** plays…

(12) *It snowed very little last winter.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(13) He didn't waited for me!

NS1: Wrong: wait
NS2: Wrong: wait
NS3: Wrong: wait
NS4: Wrong: wait.
NS5: Wrong: wait.
NS6: Wrong: wait
NS7: Wrong: wait
NS8: Wrong: wait.
NS9: Wrong: wait.
NS10: Wrong: wait.
NS11: Wrong: wait.
NS12: Wrong: wait.
NS13: Wrong: wait.

(14) *Who do you think will arrive first?*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Wrong: Whom do you think will arrive first?
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(15) Has come my sister from the United States.

NS1: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS2: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS3: Wrong: **Has my sister come from the US?**
NS4: Wrong: **Has my sister come from the US?**

NS5: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS6: Wrong: **My sister came** from the US.
NS7: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS8: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS9: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS10: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS11: Wrong: **My sister has come**…
NS12: Wrong: **Has my sister come from the US?**
NS13: Wrong: **Has my sister come from the US?**

(16) Appeared a dinosaur in the playground.

NS1: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS2: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS3: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS4: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS5: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS6: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS7: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS8: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS9: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS10: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS11: Wrong: A dinosaur appeared…
NS12: Wrong: Has a dinosaur appeared in the playground?
NS13: Wrong: Has a dinosaur appeared in the playground?

(17) Last week we finish our class project.

NS1: Wrong: finished
NS2: Wrong: finished
NS3: Wrong: finished
NS4: Wrong: finished
NS5: Wrong: finished
NS6: Wrong: finished
NS7: Wrong: finished
NS8: Wrong: finished
NS9: Wrong: finished
NS10: Wrong: finished
NS11: Right.
NS12: Wrong: finished
NS13: Wrong: finished

(18) *She didn't like the book at all.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(19) Martha never forget her homework.

NS1: Wrong: forgot
NS2: Wrong: forgets
NS3: Wrong: forgets/forgot
NS4: Wrong: forgot
NS5: Wrong: forgets
NS6: Wrong: forgot
NS7: Wrong: forgets/forgot
NS8: Wrong: forgot
NS9: Wrong: forgets
NS10: Wrong: forgot
NS11: Wrong: forgets
NS12: Wrong: forgot
NS13: Wrong: forgot

(20) We will not go home if don't finish the homework.

NS1: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS2: **OK but better: If don't finish the homework we will not go home.**
NS3: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS4: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS5: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS6: Wrong: …if **you** don't…
NS7: Wrong: …**until we** have finished our homework.
NS8: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS9: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS10: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS11: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS12: Wrong: …if **we** don't…
NS13: Wrong: …if **we** don't…

(21) *It surprised Liz that she couldn't pass the exam.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(22) Is said that rainforests are in danger.

NS1: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS2: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS3: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS4: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS5: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS6: Wrong: **It** is sad that…
NS7: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS8: Wrong: **I** said that…
NS9: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS10: Wrong: **It** is said…

NS11: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS12: Wrong: **It** is said…
NS13: Wrong: **It** is said…

(23) *My sister loves apples so she eats one every day.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(24) *It seems that we are going on a trip next week.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Not Sure.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(25) Our French teacher said had a dog.

NS1: Wrong: …said **he** had…
NS2: Wrong: …said **he/she** had…
NS3: Wrong: …said **he/she/they**…etc…had…
NS4: Wrong: …said that **she/he** had…
NS5: Wrong: …said **he** had…
NS6: Wrong: …said that **she** had…
NS7: Wrong: …said **she** had…
NS8: Wrong: …said **she** had…
NS9: Wrong: …said **she** had…
NS10: Wrong: …said **he/she** had…
NS11: Wrong: …said **he/she** had…
NS12: Wrong: …said **she** had…
NS13: Wrong: …said **she** had…

(26) She didn't explain why complained the students.

NS1: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
NS2: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
NS3: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
NS4: Wrong: …why **the students had complained.**

NS5: Wrong: …why t**he students complained.**
NS6: Wrong: …why **the students complained.**
NS7: Wrong: **"She didn't explain why", complained the students.**
NS8: Wrong: …**why the students complained.**
NS9: Wrong: …why the students complained.
NS10: Wrong: **The students complained that she didn't explain why.**
NS11: Wrong: …**why the students complained.**
NS12: Wrong: …**why the students complained.**
NS13: Wrong: …**why the students complained.**

(27) *Ian helped his little sister with her homework.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(28) Who did the teacher say that was ill?

NS1: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS2: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS3: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS4: Right.
NS5: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS6: Right.
NS7: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS8: Right.
NS9: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS10: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS11: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS12: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?
NS13: Wrong: Who did the teacher say was ill?

(29) Cried the baby all night long.

NS1: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS2: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS3: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS4: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS5: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS6: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS7: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS8: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS9: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS10: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS11: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS12: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.
NS13: Wrong: **The baby cried** all night long.

(30) *Mike usually gets to school at 8 am.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(31) *There arrived two new students.*

NS1: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
NS2: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
NS3: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
NS4: Not sure: Two new students arrived.
NS5: Wrong: There were two new students.
NS6: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
NS7: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
NS8: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
NS9: Right in literary context, but Wrong in regular speech: Two new students arrived there.
NS10: Right (kind of archaic but might be correct)
NS11: Wrong: Two new students arrived.
NS12: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.
NS13: Wrong: Two new students arrived there.

(32) Finally decided to go to the party and had a lot of fun.

NS1: Wrong: **He/She/They** finally decided to go to the party …
NS2: Wrong: **We** finally decided…
NS3: Wrong: **He/She/We/They** finally decided…and he/she/we/they had a lot of fun.
NS4: Wrong: **He/She** finally decided…
NS5: Wrong: **I** finally decided…
NS6: Wrong: **They/We/I** finally decided…
NS7: Wrong: **I/We** finally decided…
NS8: Wrong: **I** finally decided…
NS9: Wrong: **We/I/He/She/They** finally decided…
NS10: Wrong: **He/She** finally decided…
NS11: Wrong: **"Something"** decided…
NS12: Wrong: **He/She**…finally decided…
NS13: Wrong: **He/she/name**…finally decided…

(33) Who do you think that will win the game?

NS1: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS2: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS3: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS4: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS5: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS6: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS7: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS8: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS9: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS10: Wrong: Who (or whom) do you think will win the game?
NS11: Wrong: Who do you think will win that game?

NS12: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?
NS13: Wrong: Who do you think will win the game?

(34) Is raining a lot these days.

NS1: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot …
NS2: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot …
NS3: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot …
NS4: Wrong**: It is** raining a lot…
NS5: Wrong: **It has been** raining a lot…
NS6: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot these days.
NS7: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
NS8: Wrong: **It's** raining a lot…
NS9: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
NS10: Wrong: **It has been** raining a lot these days.
NS11: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
NS12: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…
NS13: Wrong: **It is** raining a lot…

(35) *We will be late if we don't take the train.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

(36) *He didn't know when the class started.*

NS1: Right.
NS2: Right.
NS3: Right.
NS4: Right.
NS5: Right.
NS6: Right.
NS7: Right.
NS8: Right.
NS9: Right.
NS10: Right.
NS11: Right.
NS12: Right.
NS13: Right.

Transcription Data *Instituto Cervantes* Adult L2 Spanish Beginners (A4) N=17

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is similar to the correspondent one in English.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because verb before noun sounds more Spanish.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because its word order is closer to English.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. and b.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is más facil de hablar.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it has a subject-verb order.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he's always used this sentence.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., subject before the verb.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "mis padres" es el sujeto y es supone ante del verbo. A. doesn't look right!
Gerard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he thinks it makes more sense.
Brett: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it makes better sense to him.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "mis padres" indicates who called from Valencia.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both sound right.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both could be correct.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas claro que la frase quiero decir.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because he always uses "hay" to start a sentence like that.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" doesn't have a purpose in the sentence.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" isn't correct.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" is redundant in the sentence.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because 'hay'= 'there is', so there's no need for 'ello'.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the word "ello" is unnecessary.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is not required.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he's not used a. before.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. doesn't make sense.
Gerard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better and more correct.
Brett: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it's unnecessary to put "ello" in front of "hay".
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" and "hay" don't go together.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the use of a pronoun at the start of a sentence doesn't sound right.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no me intendi la primera.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" is important to understand grammar.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "que" is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "who do you think that will win the whatever?" doesn't make much sense.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is incorrect.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.

Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is incorrect.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "creo" is always followed by "que".
Gerard: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the "que" implies that they must win.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as creer+que
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "creer" is followed by "que".
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both are plausible.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as las dos se miran correcto a mi.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is more similar to English.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because verb before noun sounds more Spanish.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., as word order of a. is not good.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better and easier to say.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. is incorrect.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Beth1: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es correcto.
Gerard: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as subject should come first.
Belinda: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "mi padre" indicates the person.
Katie: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is a better sentence structure.
Ian: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it makes more sense.
Mariah: a.✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el segundo es correcto.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's not necessary to use "ellos".
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's more specific about who speaks French.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is not necessary in Spanish.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. A. sounds better to an English-speaking person because b. sounds as if something is missing as "ellos" is contained in the verb. Now that I'm getting used to the economy of Spanish, I like b. better.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., as it's more informal.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is obvious that the sentence refers to "they" due to the form of "hablan".
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it refers to the generality of people.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is more useful.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" seems to indicate specific people, not a general meaning.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., because it is unnecessary to put "ellos" in front because "hablan" is plural.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. initially but then she says b. is correct because you don't need "ellos" as "hablan" says "ellos".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the "ellos" make it clear to him that "they speak French in Bélgica".
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as b. is more the phrasing for a question than a statement.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "ellos" indicates the person. It personalises the verb "hablar" when we make a generalisation.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both are correct.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as pronouns are not used as much in Spanish as in English.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corto.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.

b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds better.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of the word order.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because word order should be subject-verb-object.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., because the word order makes more sense.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it is correct.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of the subject-verb order.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as b. sounds like a question.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a., as it flows more logically.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the subject comes before the verb.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because a. is the correct order and b. should be a question.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is incorrect and does not make sense.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as subject should be first.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "María" is the person who did the action "comer".
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it has the correct sentence structure.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't make sense.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es mas directo.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because in a. tense is not correct.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. is more correct in terms of tense.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the sentence must be past.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as she's not familiar with 'estaba'. (Past tense not studied).
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the tense in a. is wrong.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of tense.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb tense refers to the immediate past.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is mixing tenses.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., as tense is confirmed by "pasada".
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of past tense.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because in a. there is a mismatch between the tenses.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as he's not familiar with 'estaba'. (Past tense not studied).
Brett: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as only b. is past tense.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's past tense.
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's past tense.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. He's not familiar with 'estaba'. (Past tense not studied).
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of tense.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it sounds better and he believes b. is not Spanish.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because he expects noun/pronoun before the verb.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because verb before noun sounds better in Spanish.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as b. is the English order and might sound better but now a. sounds better in Spanish.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as word order in a. isn't correct.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of subject-verb order.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as he doesn't like to end a sentence with a verb.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a., as the sentence is better balanced without the verb floating at the end.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "los vecinos" is the object and normally in Spanish the order is subject-verb-object.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as they both mean the same to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds more correct.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it sounds better.

Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't sound Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's correct.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
    a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
    b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds better.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's more economical.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "yo" is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. She likes both but had to get used to the idea that one can say 'creo' on its own.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is more informal.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is shorter to say; the "yo" is unnecessary.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "yo" is unnecessary.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he was taught that the 'yo' was dropped.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., as "yo" no es necesario, unless to emphasise.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because you don't need the "yo" as "creo" is "yo".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both mean the same to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is unnecessarily formal (using "yo").
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as "yo" personalises the sentence.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. a. sounds more argumentative.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la mejor frase en un conversacion normal.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. is not correct.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because he doesn't need to use "lo".
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "lo" is not correct.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. but admits that a. is appealing since it resembles the English construction.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is a direct translation from English 'it rained'. In Spanish 'llovió' ('lo' is not necessary).
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is easier to say.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the sentence requires an object.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is incorrect.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as you don't need "lo", as "llovió" is "it rained".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as the "lo" makes it more clear to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better but it is unnecessarily formal.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "lo" is a direct pronoun.
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "lo" isn't right.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's better.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because word order is more similar to English.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds more Spanish to have the verb first.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. since a. is a bit disorientating as the subject of the sentence doesn't appear until later on.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is less formal to say.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of subject-verb order.

Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he prefers putting the subject first.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. It depends on emphasis. She prefers a., as b. takes English order.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the verb comes before the adjective.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. but thinks you can also say a. although it doesn't seem right to have the verb before the subject.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more correct but maybe due to English?
Brett: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it makes more sense.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "mi hermanito" at the beginning of the sentence indicates the person who did the action.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds more Spanish in construction.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both sound the same.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is not necessary.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's more specific about who work.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Definitely prefers a. as "ellos" reinforces the meaning.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" is unnecessary.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because although "ellos" is understood it is better to state it.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both and he would use either.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" is not necessary.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as you don't need the "ellos" as "estan" says "ellos" (or "ellas").
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's shorter but it is just as clear as a.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "están" covers the fact it is "they".
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it seems like a more complete description.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better as pronouns are not used so much in Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es mas facil para decir.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's correct.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because word order is more correct.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds better to have the verb first.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. sounds wrong, though it's similar to English.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. is a direct translation of English.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it is correct.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because he wouldn't finish a sentence with "es".
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since she likes better "es" before "mi profesor".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as in b. "es" is in the wrong spot.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as we should not split the "who is", like in English.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because a verb isn't actually at the end of a Spanish sentence structure.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't sound Spanish at all.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as hay una cosa un poquito raro con el segundo.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. is not correct.

Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because “ello” is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., as in a. “ello” seems redundant.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ello” is not necessary.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because “ello” is unnecessary.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ello” is not necessary.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. is incorrect.
Elizabeth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ello” is unnecessary.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. doesn’t make sense to her.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both are clear to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ello” is not necessary.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ello” indicates a person, so it’s unnecessary to use it in this sentence.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. sounds very wrong.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as no intiendo la primera.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
John: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it’s more specific.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. but considers both to be correct.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as “que” seems redundant.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. does not sound correct.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “que” is required to complete the sentence.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the “que” is unnecessary.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. seems incomplete, but she would say “¿Quién dices quién es el professor de español?
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the “que” does not make sense.
Brett: a. ✕, b. ✕. Prefers neither.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as decir+que (it’s a rule).
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is the right structure.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no se que es la problema con el segundo frase pero no me mira correcto.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b is not correct.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the noun is plural.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it’s two girls.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a., as conjugation is wrong in b.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is incorrect.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb is plural.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. uses a singular verb for two people.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the verb is in the plural.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since “cantan” is plural and there are two people.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as there are two people.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. but he thinks it should be “cantar”.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb is plural.
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. is wrong.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. has wrong conjugation.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as el verbo es plural.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
    a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
    b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the sentence is not reflexive.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's more economical.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "nosotros" is not needed.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since it's more confortable for an English speaker as it's clear who the subject is as "nosotros" isn't hidden in the verb.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" is unnecessary.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" is not necessary for the sense.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he was taught that the "nosotros" was unnecessary.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" no es necesario.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "decidimos" is enough (ending "imos" tells us it is "nosotros").
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b., because you don't need the "nosotros" as "decidimos" is "nosotros".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as he understands both the same.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" is not necessary.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as "nosotros" indicates who.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" is not really needed.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is more concise.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as la primera es demasiado largo.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds better.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order: subject-verb-object.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of word order.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it sounds correct.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the word order in b. is incorrect.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as he would put the subject at the beginning of the sentence.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as subject comes before verb.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the order is right.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it makes sense to have the subject first.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "Tomás" indicates the person who takes the action.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't sound right.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it sounds more Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se mira la mejor.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because in a. there's a pronoun missing.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds more Spanish.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers b. Very temptying to put "lo" in as in English we'd say 'it is convenient'. Something seems to be missing in a.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is a bad translation from English.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the article "lo" is needed here as it is the start of the sentence.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't make sense.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better and a. seems incomplete somehow.

Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both mean the same to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as "lo" is not necessary.
Belinda: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "lo" is the indirect object.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "lo" seems to give the sentence more meaning.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both are plausible sounding.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's a lot clearer. In b., is "María" subject or object?
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds more Spanish.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Alexander: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Dominic: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as in question form "María" should come at the end of the sentence.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he doesn't like ending the sentence with the verb.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Both are the same.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since subject comes before verb.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds nicer and more comfortable.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both are the same to him.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both as both sound plausible.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Paul: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because we need "que".
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is a poor translation from English.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. does not sound right.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the "que" is unnecessary.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Beth1: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as she thinks you don't need the "que".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it makes more sense.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as decir+que (rule).
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "que" needs to separate "has dicho" and "vendrá".
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es mas corto.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's more specific.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it's clearer.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as "ella →sister" sounds better.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is shorter and easier to say.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the sentence needs a subject.

Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since he would use it more often as he would want to emphasise "ella" in a new sentence.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a., since it confirms "mi hermana".
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as you don't need the "ella" before "viene".
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is just more clear.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ella" is not necessary.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "Ella" indicates clarification of person.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is more obvious who is coming from aerobic class.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is easier to understand.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es mas facil para decir.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
    a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de francés.
    b. El nuevo profesor de francés ha llegado.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of word order.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds more Spanish.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the subject is first.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as its word order makes much more sense.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is less formal to say.
Barry: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it has a subject-verb order.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as he prefers to put the subject first.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it's like the English order.
Kiki: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the subject comes before the verb.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. since it is better and the right order of things.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more correct.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Katie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds right.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds more Spanish though b. is more understandable.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
    b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past.
John: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because past is necessary.
Beth: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as she's not familiar with 'salieron' (past tense not studied).
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the tense in b. doesn't seem correct.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it is correct.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✓. Not aware of the contrast. (Past tense not studied).
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Not aware of the contrast. (Past tense not studied).
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of tense.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Not aware of the contrast. (Past tense not studied).
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✓. Not aware of the contrast. (Past tense not studied).
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it makes sense.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past tense.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "ayer" is past so b. is wrong.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Not aware of the contrast. (Past tense not studied).
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because el tense en la segunda frase no es pasado.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
    b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Paul: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because “ella” is not necessary
John: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it’s more specific about who’s studying.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because “ella” is not necessary.
Beth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of inclusion of “ella”.
Alexander: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as “ella” relates the conjugation to “Marta” better.
Dominic: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is easier to say.
Barry: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the “ella” is unnecessary.
Elizabeth: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., as “ella” no es necesario.
Kiki: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., as it is sufficient without “ella”.
Beth1: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b., as you don’t need the “ella”.
Gerard: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it is more clear.
Brett: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as “ella” is not necessary.
Belinda: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of “ella”.
Katie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds better with “ella”.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is more concise.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.

Transcription Data *Instituto Cervantes* Adult L2 Spanish Intermediate (B4 & C1) N=18

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's the correct word order.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of the position of the verb.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because este linea (b.) está construido como lineas estan construido en inglés.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds more Spanish! The second phrase is like an English construction.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it flows better. b. sounds like direct translation from English.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as format seems more Spanish.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el sujeto está antes del verbo y es más facil entender.
Lawrence: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as falta pronombre en a.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "mis padres" is important.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as parece más español.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más normal; a. es más poetico.
Nick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I prefer the subject in front of the verb.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it sounds more natural Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is before the verb.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as the verb comes before the subject and it's clearer.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas español para mi.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" is not required with "hay".
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no necesita "ello".
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because me parece mejor.
Zoe: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I don't often hear "ello" used before "hay".
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because he doesn't understand the use of "ello".
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. does not sound right.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is not required.
Karina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as no entiendo porque la palabra "ello" está en la primera frase.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no estoy familiar con el uso del pronombre en a.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más logica; hay=exists.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" no es el pronombre correcto.
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is an incorrect article. The article is not needed as Spanish doesn't require it. El idioma español is inflexivo.
Nick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I learned to start sentences with "hay".
Mairi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" sounds wrong in a.; no subject.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "hay" doesn't need a subject.
Bernie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's short and clearer.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque nunca he escuchado a. Es raro usar "ello".

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you need the "que".
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you need to use "que". A second verb needs to be an infinitive.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because necesita "que".

Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es más simple.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds more Spanish.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "que" sounds clumsy.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as in b. it sounds as if something is missing.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "que" is not required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque sospecho hay una palabra falta entre "crees" y "ganará" en b.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because las personas son diferentes.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of "creer+que" (no se puede omitir el "que" como se puede omitir el "that" en inglés).
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "ganar" is second verb and it should be in infinitive.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" is missing from b.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it sounds better.
Bernie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. sounds odd. B. is easy to grasp.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because its word order is better.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject precedes the verb.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because es como habla en Perú. Por eso me gusta!
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds more correct; less like English.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. sounds clumsy.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as format seems better.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el sujeto está antes del verbo y es más facil entender lo que pasa.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden es más similar a inglés.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because la estructura es más logica.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as parece más español.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is much more normal.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is in front of the verb.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it looks more natural Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. It depends on whether you want to stress the Fac. It is your father or the fact he is coming.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's more like English word order.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas nativo, menos inglés.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Both correct. Prefers b. because there's no pronoun.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the subject of the verb is not required.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as no necesita "ellos".
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no es necesario poner "ellos".
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds more Spanish; to the point.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's less emphatic than a.
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" does not sound right.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" is not required, unless for emphasis.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Doesn't know which one is better. Conozco la estructura: "En Bélgica se habla Francés".
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as me parece que b. no es incorrecto pero no es claro quiénes hablan Francés.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because la persona falta en el segundo.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. si el significado es que "se habla francés". A. quiere decir que unas personas específicas hablan francés cuando están en Bélgica.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as in a. "ellos" would bring emphasis to particular group already referred to.

Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" seems redundant.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is not necessary.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds clumsy to use the subject. Not usually used in Spanish.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's similar to English word order.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas corriente; tiene un sonido mejor.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the subject precedes the verb.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no es normal tener el verbo al principio.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because simplemente creo que es mejor castellano!
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is an easier way for me to say the sentence.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it flows better.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. sounds awkward.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because sospecho que las ensaladas en b. quieran comer María. No me gustan ensaladas peligrosas.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because es más correcto.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because aquí me gusta más que el sujeto va al empezar de la frase.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as b. podría ser una pregunta.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as the subject is in front of the verb.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. sounds wrong.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because subject-verb-object is a clearer presentation.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's like English word order.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. sounds confusing/wrong.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's a description of the past.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's imperfecto (tense).
Vicotria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. por que "la hermana" enferma la semana pasada, entonces necesita usar ente tenso.
Zoe: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it was last week.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because present tense is wrong.
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it is the correct tense of the verb.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. uses incorrect tense.
Karina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el verbo es conjugada en el pasado y va bien con "la semana pasada".
Lawrence: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el tenso del verbo en a. es incorrecto.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "la semana pasada" es pasado.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of la "semana pasada".
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. doesn't use right tense with a temporal phrase.
Nick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of tense.
Mairi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. has the wrong verb conjugation.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of tense.
Bernie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's correct.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. is wrong; wrong tense.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" needs to be followed by a verb.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es una linea más fluida.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. doesn't sound correct to me.

Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. does not sound very Spanish.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as las palabras "Qué quieren" están juntas y entiendo mejor la pregunta sin pensar mucho.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since pienso que b. es incorrecto.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que"+verbo.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no se puede separar el "qué" del verbo.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. sounds illiterate.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. doesn't make sense as a question.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you should invert the subject and verb in a question.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. sounds wrong.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because there's no pronoun.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject of a verb is not required for a statement.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no necesita "yo" excepto para dar énfasis.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no es necesario usar el pronoun.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds more correct to me in Spanish, though a. is how we'd say it in English.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "yo" is not necessary.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. No difference.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. Esther is correct.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since da más énfasis.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as tengo una idea que es mejor usar "yo" al principio de una frase.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "yo" is not important.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because la a. parece que la persona que habla está dando su opinión (diferente al opinión de su amigo, por ej.).
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. in most circumstances, unless you're emphasising the "I".
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is more Spanish looking.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because you only use "I" to stress it. (=5)
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because I like to use "yo" even though it's not necessary.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "lo" is not required.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Zoe: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I don't understand why the "lo" is necessary here.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "lo" is unnecessary.
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I don't think "lo" is necessary.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "lo" is not required.
Karina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as no sé porque la palabra "lo" está en la primera frase.
Lawrence: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que el verbo es un estado no una acción de una cosa así que no estoy seguro sobre el pronombre.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as I don't understand "lo".
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "llover" no lleva pronombre.
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "llover" es un verbo intransitivo y no necesita objeto directo.
Nick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mairi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "lo" shouldn't be in a. No object required.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "lo" is not necessary.

Bernie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's correct.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because you don't need to say "it".

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is followed by the verb.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más fluida.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as I prefer the sentences that are constructed differently to English because otherwise I feel like I'm speaking English but with Spanish words!
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. sounds more colloquial.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. Either is OK.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden del b. es más similar a inglés y más facil a traducir.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as structure es más logical.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because parece más español.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. Esther, depende de las circunstancias.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is first.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is more Spanish looking.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is similar to the English construction.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's clearer.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because prefers without pronouns.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is not required. "vienen" refers to "mis padres".
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más sencillo.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because preferio no uso el pronoun.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the "ellos" is not necessary because "vienen" explains the subjects.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" is superfluous.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as using "ellos" makes it clear who is on holiday.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" is optional.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because la frase es facil entender sin el pronombre "ellos". B. is more succint and easier to say.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because el pronombre no es necesario.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because con "ellos" es más logical.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because sería más común. Depende de las circunstancias.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because extra "ellos" reinforces English phrasing.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" is not necessary. B. is more natural.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's not necessary to have a subject unless you want to stress it.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is already clear and it is not normal to use "they" here in Spanish.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" needs to be followed by a verb.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no es correcto terminar una oración con "es".
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más fluida.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. does not flow well.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. sounds like a literal translation from English.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. sounds tortuous.

Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as es más simple entender sin pensar mucho.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as mejor poner el verbo con su subjeto.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because "es" es importante.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because me parece raro terminar la frase con "es".
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because el orden de las palabras en b. me parece poco normal.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as ending with "es" seems awkward.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is wrong order; b. sounds like English translation.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as I wouldn't put the verb at the end of the sentence.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it is the correct word order.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. sounds wrong.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is unnecessary.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. es mal castellano.
Zoe: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because I don't understand the way "ello" is used in the first sentence.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is incorrect.
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ello" is not correct in a.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of the format of the sentence.
Karina: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as no sé porque la palabra "ello" está en la primera frase. No sé la palabra sirve para algo.
Lawrence: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" no es necesario.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" no es posible.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "Es probable" no lleva pronombre.
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. es incorrecto porque "ser probable" es indirecto. "Ello" no es correcto.
Nick: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mairi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because we should have "esto/eso" in a.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "es probable" doesn't need a subject in Spanish.
Bernie: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds correct.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because b. sounds right. "Ello" is almost never used.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Rachel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because you need the "que".
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as you need "que" before a second verb.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because in b. "que es el profesor de español" es una quotación.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es castellano correcto.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as the first sentence flows better.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of the use of "que" in b. (?)
Kay: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "que" is required to indicate connection to next clause.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" is not required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no sé la palabra "que" es necesario en la frase b.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because pienso que el "que" no es necesario.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because there are two sentences.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as decir+que+verbo.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as el objeto directo "que" no es correcto.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "que" is missing in a.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it looks like English.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb is correct.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you need a plural verb, two subjects.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es correcta. "Canta" es incorrecta porque debe ser plural.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es el parte correcto del verbo.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the second sentence uses the wrong verb structure.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb should be plural.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "Ana y Silvia" require plural verb.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since 3rd person plural is required for two people.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since el verbo en frase b. es conjugado en la 3ª persona persona singular. No es correcta.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because hay dos personas, así que "cantan" no "canta".
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "Ana y Silvia" son dos personas.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because las dos cantan; necesita la forma "ellas" del verbo.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because como hay dos personas es necesario emplear la tercera persona plural y no singular.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's plural.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because there's wrong conjugation in b.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the verb should be plural.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's correct.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's two people; plural.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
    a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
    b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because there's no pronoun.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as there's no need for "nosotros".
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no es necesario usar el pronoun.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the "nosotros" is not necessary; less like the English construction.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is less emphatic than a.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "nosotros" is unnecessary.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "nosotros" is not required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el pronombre "nosotros" no es necesario.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "nosotros" no es necesario.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "decidimos" implies "we".
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. clarifica "nosotros" pero suena raro.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más normal; pero hay situaciones donde sería posible enfatizar el "nosotros".
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because "nosotros" reinforces English phrasing.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it looks more natural.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the subject is not necessary unless you want to stress it.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because you don't need to say "we"; it sounds funny in Spanish.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb is followed by the object.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because simplemente me parece mejor.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the second sentence sounds better and more Spanish to me!
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it sounds less clumsy.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. sounds too awkward and a. is clear.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since el orden es mejor.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of structure.

Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because parece más español.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. es en forma de pregunta sin las ¿? No me parece correcto.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because subject comes first.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because b. might be incorrect.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is similar to the English construction.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it's like English word order.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it's clearer.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as you need an object "lo".
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because the second phrase is more complicated to me.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the verb needs an object.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "lo" is not required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because no sé porque el pronombre "lo" es necesario en frase b.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Kristine: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. since "lo" es importante.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. Convenir a alguien; entonces: ¿Le conviene?
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. Podría ser "le conviene", pero "convenir" no toma objeto directo.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "convenir" doesn't take object.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds right.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
    b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of word order.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's a question.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because me parece mejor.
Zoe: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the first sentence sounds wrong to me!
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of word order.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es más facil entender sin pensar mucho.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of structure.
Caroline: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because quién+verbo.
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as a. me parece un poco illiterate.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it seems to flow more logically.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it looks more natural Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the subject goes after the verb in a question.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as subject comes last in a question.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
    b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you need the "que".
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because you need "que"to separate the two verbs.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es necesario usar "que" para introducir la persona que vendrá a comer.
Victoria: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because me parece correcto.

Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because I'd say it this way.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "que" in a. is not necessary.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it's clearer.
Simon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "que" is not required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as yo creo que "que" es necesario en esta estructura.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no está seguro que "que" es necesario.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as no se puede omitir el "que". Decir+que+verbo.
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el "qué" de a. me parece más como el "qué" que se emplearía en reported speech y no en discurso directo.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "que" is missing in b.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's correct.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. though it's hard to guess.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's clearer.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it emphasises "mi hermana".
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. para dar más énfasis.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más simple.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as the "ella" in the first sentence is unnecessary.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it sounds better.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it connects to previous clause.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as "ella" helps clarify who's going.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el pronombre "ella" no es necesario en este caso. Es claro quien es el sujeto.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because tengo la idea que "ella" es mejor al principio de una frase.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because there are two sentences.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because está claro que habla de su hermana, entonces no hay que decir "ella".
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ella" no es necesaria porque español es inflexivo y además como el sujeto es establecido en la primera frase, es incorrecto repetirlo; a menos que se refiere a otra mujer.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because there is the subject.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ella" is not necessary and a. looks more natural.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as there is no need to repeat the subject.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because it's clearer because it's two separate sentences.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Mary: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it is a statement, not a question.
Frank: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it is a much snappier sentence; sounds more like a Spanish sentence than the second.
Jo: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. Either is correct.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. since a. suena más como una pregunta.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of structure.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because me gusta más.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. pero depende de las circunstancias. Tal vez la gente se pide cuando llegará el profesor, entonces es el hecho de su llegada y no de la persona que es más importante.

Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is first.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it looks more Spanish.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better not to have the verb at the end of the sentence.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's easier to understand because there are many words for the subject.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because the verb is correct.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's the correct tense. It refers to 'yesterday'.
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. es presente; a. es correcta.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because necesita usar el pasado.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. is not in the correct tense.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as the verb tense is wrong in b.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as we need past tense because the action occurred yesterday.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as past tense is required.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as el verbo en frase b. no es en el pasado.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. since el verbo tiene que ser en el pasado.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because pasado con "ayer".
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "ayer"+tiempo pasado.
Clare: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as con "ayer" se necesita usar el pasado.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as b. has the wrong tense/conjugation.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because of tense.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. as it is correct.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it's past.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Rachel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because there's no pronoun.
Mary: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because it emphasises "Marta".
Frank: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Victoria: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because no me gusta mucho usar ella, ellos, etc.
Zoe: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the "ella" in a. does not seem necessary.
Jo: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. since it is more emphatic.
Kay: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as I prefer how it sounds.
Simon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. Either is correct.
Karina: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as el pronombre "ella" no es necesario.
Lawrence: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" no parece necesario.
Kristine: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "Marta" es claro.
Caroline: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because está claro que habla de Marta; no hay que decir "ella".
Clare: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. no sería sensato si "ella" era una otra persona que "Marta". Y el castellano es inflexivo entonces no necesita subjeto.
Nick: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Mairi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ella" is not necessary.
Mariah: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because the subject is not needed.
Bernie: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as it sounds better.
Ian: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. since "ella" sounds redundant.

Transcription Data *Instituto Cervantes* Adult L2 Spanish Advanced (D4-Higher) N=7

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
    a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
    b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es más elegante.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because el énfasis está mejor.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor en español.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor. Normalmente el verbo va primero.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor porque parece más típico de la forma de hablar del español.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que es mas correcto.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mas español.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ello" no existe.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no entiendo para que sirve la palabra "ello" en esta frase.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no es correcto.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque si usas "ello" tiene que usar el verbo "tener".
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because en español hace falta "que".
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "que" es unnecesaria.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se dice creer+que.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas correcto.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
    a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
    b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as es más elegante.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of emphasis.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor en español.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es más típico.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas simple y correcto.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena español.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "ellos" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" es unnecesario.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" no es necesario.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" no es necesario.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta.

Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque si es una generalidad no necesita el uso de "ellos"; "ellos" es mas específico.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because es más simple.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "María" es más importante.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el orden.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena más familiar.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mas correcta.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el orden.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of tense.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es pasado.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "la semana pasada" necesita pasado.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "la semana pasada" es en el pasado.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. tiene el tiempo incorrecto.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es en el pasado.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es pasado.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mas correcta.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. as "yo" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "yo" no es necesario.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta "yo" (salvo para énfasis).
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque los españoles enfatizan repitiendo el sujeto.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. En la a. hay un énfasis sobre el "yo".
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because it's correct.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es correcto.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no es correcta.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es incorrecta.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas correcto.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es incorrecta.

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of the order.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of order.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of order.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque enfatiza el hecho de llorar.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. el énfasis es sobre el acto de llorar.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ellos" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" no es necesario.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta "ellos".
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta enfatizar "mis padres".
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas correcto y simple.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" no es necesario.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. es como el inglés.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el orden.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo al fin no me suena bien; suena Inglés.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el orden.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a no es correcto.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. es incorrecto.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no es correcta.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta "ello"; es entendido en "es".
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcto.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because en español hace falta "que".
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque decir+que.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque decir+que.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. es singular.

Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es plural.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "cantan" es plural.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque son dos.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el tienpo en b. es incorrecto.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es plural.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
    a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
    b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "nosotros" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es más breve.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "nosotros" no es necesario.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "nosotros" no es necesario.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario repetir "nosotros".
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "nosotros" no es necesario.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of order.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. as es más natural.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque "Tomás" es más importante.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. por el orden.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. pero depende de lo que queremos enfatizar.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mas correcto.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. por el orden.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. no es correcta.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because b. no es correcto.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es incorrecta. b. puede ser "le conviene".
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. Tienen sentidos diferentes. La segunda es más específico; habla de una persona. La primera es más general.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "lo" es incorrecto.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
    b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Chris: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because a. me suena incorrecta.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because es correcta.
Theresa: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Mae: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden en a. es incorrecto.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
    b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because "que" es necesario en español.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque decir+que.

Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque decir+que.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" es unnecesario.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" no es necesario.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" no es necesario.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya sabemos de quien habla la persona.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario repetir "ella".

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because of order.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. because of énfasis.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es más español.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el hecho más importante de la frase es la idea de llegar.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas clara de entender.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because necesitamos pretérito con "ayer".
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. because es pasado.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "salieron" es pasado.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "ayer" es pasado.
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el tiempo en b. es incorrecto.
Claudia: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es pasado.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es "ayer".

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Chris: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" no es necesario.
Robert: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. because "ella" es unnecesario.
Theresa: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" no es necesaria.
Fiona: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta "ella".
Mae: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. da énfasis a Marta que no es el hecho importante. La idea la más importante es de estudiar lo suficiente.
Claudia: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es mas simple.
Alex: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" no es necesario.

Transcription Spanish Control Group (native speakers)
N= 13 students

1. ¿Quién llamó desde Valencia?
   a. Llamó mi padre desde Valencia.
   b. Mi padre llamó desde Valencia.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la acción es más importante y es lo que destacaría en primer término.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me parece mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque parece más usual.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por que tiene sujeto+verbo+todo lo demás.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me es más fácil decirla.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque yo lo diría así.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta más como queda.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque es mejor.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. por la estructura.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.

2. a. Ello hay sólo un baño en esta casa.
   b. Hay sólo un baño en esta casa.

Samuel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. está mal estructurada. "Ello" es innecesario.
Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es lo correcto.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque lo otro es una barbaridad.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera no es correcta para mi.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera no es correcta.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera tiene dos sujetos.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no veo bien "ello" delante.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. es incorrecta.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. es incorrecta.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. está mal.

3. a. ¿Quién crees que ganará el partido?
   b. ¿Quién crees ganará el partido?

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien dicha.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la frase b. está mal estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque a la b. le falta la unión "que".
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque si después del "crees" hay un verbo se pone el "que".
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda me suena mal.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. está mal dicho.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque a la b. le falta la conjunción.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda cuesta de leer.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. falta "que".

4. ¿Qué ocurrió después del accidente?
   a. Vino mi padre a ayudarnos.
   b. Mi padre vino a ayudarnos.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mantiene el orden natural de las frases: SUJ-VERBO-CC
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos me suenan bien.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto está al principio.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "mi padre" hace referencia.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto va primero.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es sujeto+verbo.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos se utilizan mucho.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. por intuición.

5. a. En Bélgica ellos hablan Francés.
   b. En Bélgica hablan Francés.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. Según el sujeto usaría una u otra. Si es con sentido general, usaría la b., si nos referimos a alguien en concreto, usaría la a.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más normal; ya se sobreentiende el sujeto.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. si se refiere a los belgas en general; si se refiere a alguien en concreto sería la a.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende el "ellos".
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende que son los belgas y no suena bien en la a. la repetición del sujeto.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque al decir Bélgica te refieres a todo el país y no necesitas el pronombre.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya sustituye al artículo.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. pero en un contexto más específico utilizaría a.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" está implícito.

6. a. María come muchas ensaladas.
   b. Come muchas ensaladas María.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el protagonista de la frase es el sujeto y no la acción.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque está mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el orden de la b. sería para una interrogación.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque tiene mejor el orden.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor el sujeto antes del verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el sujeto está antes del verbo; la b. parece indio.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque siempre empiezo por el nombre, y luego explico lo que quiero decir.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el sujeto va primero.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. suena a pregunta.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la b. no es una afirmación.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. la utilizaría sólo para interrogar.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. está el orden cambiado.

7. a. Mi hermana está enferma la semana pasada.
   b. Mi hermana estaba enferma la semana pasada.

Samuel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta; mantiene concordancia de tiempo.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. el verbo está mal conjugado.

Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque hay que utilizar el verbo en pasado.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo está en pasado.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no concuerda el verbo con el complemento de tiempo.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo ha de ir en pasado.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es pasado. En la primera mezcla presente y pasado.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es pasado y hemos de utilizar el verbo en pasado.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la frase a. está en presente y pasado.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el tiempo verbal de la a. no está conjugado bien.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el verbo está en pasado.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. el verbo está mal conjugado.

8. a. ¿Qué quieren los vecinos?
   b. ¿Qué los vecinos quieren?

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la correcta; mantiene un orden más lógico.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. está mal estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. suena fatal.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. no tiene construcción.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en una pregunta después de "que" viene el verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en una interrogación primero verbo y luego sujeto.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. la veo mal dicha.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no está construida correctamente.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el sujeto va detrás del verbo aquí.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el orden es correcto.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. está mal estructurada.

9. ¿Qué crees que le pasa a Ana?
   a. Yo creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.
   b. Creo que Ana trabaja demasiado.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "yo" de la frase a. me resulta redundante.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más común en uso.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. sería para enfatizar el sujeto.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos podrían estar bien.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende el sujeto con el verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario "yo" si utilizo la primera persona del singular.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario "yo"; en la primera se recalca demasiado su opinión.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque cuando digo "creo" pienso que el "yo" ya no hace falta.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la uso habitualmente.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta utilizar los pronombres cada vez que hablas.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.

10. a. La semana pasada lo llovió cada día.
    b. La semana pasada llovió cada día.

Samuel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la correcta.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario incluir "lo"; a. está mal estructurada.
Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no es correcta.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "lo" no pinta nada.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "lo llovió" está mal dicho.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "lo" es complemento directo inútil en esta frase.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no es correcta; parece que especificas lo que llovió.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "lo" no lo veo bien expresado.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no es correcta.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. el "lo" no es correcto.

Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "lo" es incorrecto.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta especificar lo que llueve.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque sobra el "lo".

11. ¿Qué le ocurría a tu hermanito al empezar el colegio?
    a. Lloraba mucho mi hermanito al empezar el colegio.
    b. Mi hermanito lloraba mucho al empezar el colegio.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque mantiene el orden natural.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor estructurada y tiene mejor comprensión.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque tiene sujeto+predicado.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque queda mejor el sujeto antes del verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto está antes del verbo.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor primero el sujeto. La a. parece indio.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque pienso como lo diría yo y podría utilizar las dos expresiones.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la construcción de la a. parece una pregunta.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque hay sujeto+verbo+complementos.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque tiene mejor orden.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.

12. a. Cuando ellos trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir. (ellos=mis padres)
    b. Cuando trabajan, mis padres no vienen a dormir.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera frase es redundante con el sujeto.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. repite el sujeto y no es necesario ni habitual.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta repetir el sujeto en la frase subordinada.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ellos" ya se sobreentiende con la frase.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la primera se repite el sujeto.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya sabemos quién es el sujeto; no hace falta utilizar "ellos".
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque creo que no hace falta poner "ellos" porque ya digo "mis padres" después.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya especifica el sujeto.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto no está explícito y suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" son "mis padres" y no hace falta ponerlo.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta el pronombre.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ellos" está implícito.

13. a. Mi madre no sabe quién es mi profesor de historia.
    b. Mi madre no sabe quién mi profesor de historia es.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque mantiene un orden más comprensible.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está mejor estructurada; la b. deja el verbo para el final.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no parece bien construida.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. no está bien el orden.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque después del "quién" viene el verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la segunda es incorrecta.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque cuando preguntas "¿Qué no sabe mi madre?" (CD), la respuesta es: "quiés es ……de historia".
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque sería mi manera de expresarme.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. parece indio.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la construcción b. no es correcta.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el orden no es correcto.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque está bien ordenada.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. está mal estructurado.

14. a. Ello es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.
    b. Es probable que Luisa apruebe el examen.

Samuel: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la frase a. es redundante; me sobra la subordinada.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "Ello" es innecesario y a. está mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "Ello" no pinta nada.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "Ello" no debería estar.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el "ello" no se pone.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la primera es incorrecta.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es un verbo con complemento directo y en la a. lo reiteras, lo dices dos veces.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ello" no se utiliza en esta frase.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no suena bien.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no está bien construida. El "apruebe el examen" está referenciado dos veces.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ello" hace de sujeto pero no debería estar.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. sobra el "ello".
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor y a. es incorrecta.

15. a. ¿Quién dices es el profesor de español?
    b. ¿Quién dices que es el profesor de español?

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena más fluida.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la frase a. falta incluir "que".
Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no se suele usar.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es la construcción correcta.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está bien dicho con el "que".
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque falta la conjunción "que" en la segunda frase.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me suena mejor con la conjunción.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque necesitaría decir "que" para hacer la pregunta.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en a. no se entiende bien la pregunta.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. falta conjunción.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque hace falta el "que".
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.

16. a. Ana y Silvia cantan en un coro.
    b. Ana y Silvia canta en un coro.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la correcta; mantiene la relación de número entre sujeto y verbo.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tiene la conjugación correcta.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en el sujeto hay dos personas; el verbo debe estar en plural.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo en la b. está mal.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el sujeto es plural y se necesita un verbo en plural.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo es tercera persona plural.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo tiene que ser tercera persona del plural.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es plural y diría "canta" si sólo fuera Ana o si sólo fuera Silvia.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. está en singular.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo de la b. no está en su tiempo correcto.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo se refiere a ambas.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el verbo es plural.

17. ¿Qué decidisteis hacer ayer por la tarde?
    a. Finalmente nosotros decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.
    b. Finalmente decidimos ir de compras a Madrid.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es redundante.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más habitual; se sobrentiende el sujeto.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque por la persona verbal se sabe el sujeto, no es necesario repetirlo.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque me gusta más.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende el sujeto con el verbo.

Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta volver a decir "nosotros" ya que queda claro al utilizar el tiempo verbal.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario el sujeto.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos las veo correctas.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque con el verbo ya se especifica.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario el "nosotros".
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto está omitido.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque sobra el "nosotros".
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "nosotros" está implícito.

18. a. Tomás tendrá los resultados.
    b. Tendrá los resultados Tomás.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque mantiene el orden lógico de las oraciones.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque la b. no es muy clara; parece una frase dubitativa en vez de comunicativa.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. parece una construcción para una pregunta.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque queda mejor el sujeto antes del verbo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor. La segunda sería válida en una interrogación.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. parece una pregunta.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque primero utilizaría el nombre y luego el verbo.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both ya que son las dos correctas.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. es como una pregunta.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. sería una interrogación.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. suena interrogativa.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓ . Prefers a. porque b. tiene el orden invertido.

19. a. Conviene que empecemos hoy.
    b. Lo conviene que empecemos hoy.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no es redundante. En la primera frase me sobra la subordinada.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no es necesario incluir "lo" en la frase.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. es incorrecta.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es correcta.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque no se ha de poner "lo".
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "lo" no debe ponerse.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el "lo" es como si dijéramos dos veces "que empecemos hoy", es reiterativo.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both. La b. la utilizaría para una exigencia; enfatizando más.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque b. no es correcta.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "lo" no es correcto.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el pronombre "lo" es incorrecto.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "lo" sobra.

20. a. ¿Con quién María estudia?
    b. ¿Con quién estudia María?

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es una frase más natural, suena fluida.
Ramon: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la construcción de a. es incorrecta.
Aitor: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.
Lope: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en una pregunta queda mejor el sujeto después del verbo.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el orden de la primera es incorrecto.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en una interrogación primero has de decir el verbo.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es como haría yo la pregunta.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque b. parece indio.
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. no está bien construida.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto va detrás del verbo en pregunta.

Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque está más ordenada.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es correcta.

21. a. ¿Quién has dicho que vendrá a comer?
b. ¿Quién has dicho vendrá a comer?

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor; en la b. me falta algo.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. falta incluir "que" para buena estructura.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es la construcción correcta.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque va con "que".
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la conjunción "que" es necesaria.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque necesitamos "que".
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "que" me parece imprescindible en la frase.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque creo que en la b. falta algo.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. falta conjunción.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es más completa.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. falta el nexo "que".

22. a. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, ella se va a dormir. (ella= mis hermanita)
b. Cuando mi hermanita está cansada, se va a dormir.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es tan redundante.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque es más habitual; se sobrentiende el sujeto.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. hay una reiteración innecesaria del sujeto, suena mal.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque se sobreentiende el sujeto con la frase.
Javi: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario repetir el sujeto ya que se sobreentiende.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta decir de quién se trata; hablas de "la hermana".
Olalla: a. ✕ , b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya hace referencia de que es ella.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las dos son correctas.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque el sujeto solo se nombra una vez. Se usa más así.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque la a. se puede referir a dos personas diferentes.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" sobra.

23. ¿Quién ha llegado?
a. Ha llegado el nuevo profesor de Francés.
b. El nuevo profesor de Francés ha llegado.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque el protagonista de la frase es la acción y me suena mejor que esté en primer término.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me suena mejor, a pesar de que la b. está mejor estructurada.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque b. suena muy formal.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque me gusta más.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque en esta frase lo más importante es que alguien ha llegado, y se enfatiza más poniéndolo al principio.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. por el orden.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque veo mejor primero el sujeto antes del predicado.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me parecen correctas las dos.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque me parecen bien las dos.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers a. porque suena mejor.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las uso por igual.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both porque las uso igual.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers both.

24. a. Mis amigos salieron ayer a cenar.
b. Mis amigos salen ayer a cenar.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque se usa el tiempo verbal correcto.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque tiene Buena conjugación.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque "ayer" es pasado por lo tanto el verbo debe ir en pasado.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque coincide el verbo con la partícula de tiempo.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el tiempo del verbo no concuerda con el adverbio de tiempo.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el tiempo verbal en b. es incorrecto.
Mària: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es un pasado, no un presente.
Olalla: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque es pasado.
Ana: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque la b. no es correcta.
Laura: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el tiempo verbal no es correcto.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en la b. el tiempo verbal es incorrecto.
Antonio: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque el tiempo verbal es incorrecto en la b.
Mario: a. ✓, b. ✕. Prefers a. porque en b. el verbo está mal conjugado.

25. a. Si ella estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen. (ella=Marta)
    b. Si estudia lo suficiente, Marta aprobará el examen.

Samuel: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es tan redundante.
Ramon: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no es necesario ni habitual repetir el sujeto.
Estela: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la a. se repite el sujeto y no parece necesario.
Aitor: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena bien.
Lope: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque ya se sobreentiende el sujeto con la frase.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en la primera se repite el sujeto sin ser necesario.
Mària: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. repite el sujeto en la misma oración.
Olalla: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no me parece que deba utilizar por segunda vez "ella" porque ya hace referencia al principio de la frase de que "ella" es Marta.
Ana: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque a. no es correcta; no hace falta el "ella".
Laura: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque en a. "ella" vuelve a referenciar a "Marta" en la misma frase.
Javi: a. ✓, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque no hace falta repetir el pronombre.
Antonio: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque suena mejor.
Mario: a. ✕, b. ✓. Prefers b. porque "ella" sobra.